



Peace and Conflict Studies 164B

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Transcripts

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Table of Contents

Part 1 Introduction	14
PACS164B Lecture 1	14
Difference Between PACS164A and PACS164B	16
Search for a Nonviolent Future	18
Two Definitions of Peace - Positive and Negative	19
Science of Nonviolence - Mirror Neurons.....	20
Strategic and Principled Nonviolence	20
Person Power	21
Basic Characteristics of Nonviolence.....	22
Means and Ends - Conflict and Struggle	23
Success vs Work.....	23
Win/Win is Possible	24
Learning Not Fighting	25
Nagler's Law.....	26
The Person is Not the Problem.....	26
Facing Dehumanization.....	27
Persuasion vs Coercion	28
Motivations of Organization	29
Perspective of Resources	30
Intro to The Paradigm Shift.....	31
PACS164B Lecture 02.....	33
Fellowship of Reconciliation	34
Redefining the World Order	34
Structure of Institutions.....	35
Two Drives to World Order	36
Nonviolent Hierarchy	37
Strangeness of Nonviolence in an Emergency.....	39
Intentional Principled Nonviolence	40
Nagler's Law.....	41
Emergencies and Nonviolence	41
Hierarchical Campaign Structure.....	42
Example of Hurricane Katrina	43

Violent vs Nonviolent Organization.....	45
Marketing and Searching for Purpose	45
Corporate Responsibility vs Person Power.....	47
Hierarchies and the Paradox of Repression	49
The Grande Illusion.....	49
Oceanic Circles.....	50
Four Ingredients for a Successful Insurrection	50
Example of Rosenstrasse Prison.....	52
Spontaneous vs Organized Nonviolence	52
Central American Dictators.....	53
Withdrawal of Consent	54
PACS164B Lecture 03.....	56
Question of the Iraq Emergency	56
Phases of the Escalation Curve.....	56
Dan Ellsberg and the Pentagon Papers	57
Iraq and the Escalation Curve.....	57
Comparing the Conflicts of Algiers and India.....	58
1940 - Polish Defense and 1991 - Moscow Coup Attempt.....	59
The Good War and Those Who Refuse to Fight It.....	60
Film Review.....	61
PACS164B Lecture 04.....	63
Science of Metta.....	63
Caligula's Statue in the Temple	64
Uprisings and "The Good War and Those Who Refuse to Fight".....	65
Competition vs Cooperation	67
Draft Resistance	68
King of the Deer.....	68
Examples of Nonviolent vs Violent Resistance	69
Non-Participation and Cooperation	70
Cowardice, Resistance, and Dehumanization.....	72
Quaker Influence in WWI and WWII.....	74
Insurrection in El Salvador	75
Effervescence of the Crowd and Legitimacy.....	76

Power of Propaganda and Legitimacy	77
Capacity of the Nonviolent Actor.....	77
Costa Rica, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Honduras	78
Stage 3 of the Escalation Curve	79
Protest Power, and Change	80
Paradox of Repression.....	81
Part 2 Insurrection and Freedom Struggles	83
PACS164B Lecture 05.....	83
Search for Common Ground	83
Oak Satyagraha.....	83
Insurrectionary Movements	83
Work vs "Work".....	84
Mixed Success of Nonviolent Movements.....	84
Science and Strategy of Nonviolent Resistance	86
PACS164B Lecture 06.....	89
Nonviolent Means Leads to a Nonviolent End.....	89
Cooperation with Good - Non-Cooperation with Evil	91
Example of Denmark	92
Example of Bulgaria and Niels Bohr.....	93
Direct Resistance - Andre Trocme in Le Chambon	93
Trocme - Universe Bends Towards Justice	95
Framing and Categorizing Movements.....	96
The First Intifada.....	97
The Situation in the Philippines.....	99
Pitfalls of Peace Imperialism	100
Peace Imperialism vs TPNI	100
Category of Strategies - Civilian Based Defense	101
Strategy of Chickens.....	102
Strategies in Chile	103
Strategy in the Philippines	104
Invoking the Nonviolent Traditions	106
Category of Players	106
PACS164B Lecture 07.....	108

Nonviolent Intervention vs Peace Imperialism.....	109
Swadeshi	109
Intervention and Interposition	110
Example of the EDSA Rebellion	111
Use of Symbolism in Movements	112
"Why Nations Go to War"	113
Nonviolence is Cooperation for Peace not for Human Shields	113
Analysis - 1978, Iranian Revolution.....	116
Rehumanizing in Stage 3 of the Escalation Curve.....	117
Morality vs Strategy	120
Analysis - Missing Principled Elements	121
Obstructive vs Constructive Program.....	122
Throwing Stones.....	124
Analysis - Importance of Nonviolent Discipline.....	128
PACS164B Lecture 08.....	131
Difference Between Anger and Rage.....	131
Power of Truth in Anger and Rage	133
SERPAJ and EDSA	135
Analysis of the EDSA Rebellion.....	136
The Great Chain of Nonviolence	138
Nonviolent Social Movements.....	139
Precaution of the Non-Violent Actors	140
Analysis - First Intifada	141
Constructive Program and Comparative Advantage of Nonviolent Movements	142
Power of Vulnerability.....	144
Constructive Program and International Support.....	145
Support of the Media	147
Arby's Talk - Armenia	147
PACS164B Lecture 09.....	150
Stages of a Nonviolent Insurrection	151
Language of Nonviolence	151
Person Power	153
Commemoration of the Armenian Genocide.....	154

The Appeal for Redress - Iraq War.....	154
PACS164B Lecture 10.....	157
Modeling Nonviolent Leadership.....	159
Expressing Anger with Discipline.....	161
Awakening an Opponent and Symbolic Action.....	163
No Nonviolent Coercion	165
Effects of Coercion.....	166
Movement Organization	167
Replace the System vs Reforming	168
Coal Miners Strike and Paradox of Repression	169
Analysis - Otpor	170
Part 3 Anti-Militarism and Related Struggles	177
PACS164B Lecture 11.....	177
NAFTA and Costa Rica	177
Symbolic Action	180
Characteristics and History.....	181
Anti-Militarism	183
Leaders of the Larzac Movement	184
Intro to the Larzac Movement.....	185
Lanza del Vasto and Gandhi	186
Lanza del Vasto, the Catholic Church, and Anti-Militarism.....	187
Larzac and the Nonviolent Communities.....	189
Community of the Ark and Farmers of Larzac.....	191
Days of Joy and Farmer's Protest in Paris	192
Law of Progression and Paradox of Repression	193
Dedication and Timing.....	194
APAL and Constructive Program.....	195
Civil Disobedience.....	195
Larzac Review	196
PACS164B Lecture 12.....	198
Larzac - Escalating to Fasting.....	198
Satyagraha Fasting.....	199
Rules of Fasting.....	201

Assessment of Fasting of Larzac.....	205
Resistance to Military Service for International Attention.....	206
Guest Speakers from Costa Rica - CAFTA.....	207
PACS164B Lecture 13.....	213
The Larzac Climax	213
No Fresh Issue and Anti-Militarism.....	214
Success and Analysis of Larzac	215
Third-Party Nonviolent Intervention.....	217
Example of TPNI with ROTC and Interposition	218
David Hartsough -- Beginning in Nonviolence	220
Lunch Counter Sit-ins	220
Disturber of War	222
Nuremberg Actions	222
Peace Conference in the Hague - Kosovo.....	223
Nonviolent Peaceforce	224
Nonviolent Peaceforce in Sri Lanka	226
Global Nonviolent Peaceforce.....	227
Protest Against the Iraq War	229
Question of Expenses	230
Prioritizing the Overwhelming Requests.....	230
Opening Space for Democracy and Training for Change.....	232
Deciding to Leave a Country	232
PACS164B Lecture 14.....	234
Bil'in and Repression	234
Mexico and Pemex.....	235
Wall in Palestine - Nonviolent Resistance.....	235
"Work" vs Work.....	236
Successes of Nonviolence and Non-Triumphalism	237
Danilo Dolci and the Jato Dam.....	238
Learning Processes with Nonviolence	239
Third-Party Nonviolent Intervention - Non-Partisanship.....	240
Example of Non-Partisanship and Interpositioning - KKK vs Ann Arbor	241
Protecting All from Victimizing - PITS	243

TPNI - Invitation, Intervention and Influence.....	245
Hating the Act, Not the Victimizer - Requires Training and Discipline	247
Importance of Meditation and Discipline in Training	248
Kindred vs Hatred.....	250
Question of Truth and Justice	251
Dehumanizing Characterization.....	252
Is There a Cure for Zionism?.....	254
Demonstrations - Humor and Surprise	256
PACS164B Lecture 15.....	259
Unity in Diversity and Swadeshi.....	261
TPNI - Interpretation and Intervention.....	263
Interpretation & Framework - Nonviolent Peaceforce Study in Sri Lanka	265
Strategies of Building Framework.....	266
Three Levels of TPNI Training	267
International Witness and Recording	267
Restorative Justice.....	269
A Definition of Justice	270
Question of Dehumanization and Awakening.....	271
Nonviolent Films	274
Civil Disobedience and Deep Change to Justice Frameworks	276
Example of a Restorative Justice Framework	277
PACS164B Lecture 16.....	280
Announcements - Bloody Sunday	280
Restorative vs Retributive Justice and Constructive Program	281
Retribution and Redemption.....	283
Restoration and Construction.....	285
Security and the Human Family.....	286
Values of the Abstract Community and Family.....	287
Entropy of Materialism vs Nonmaterial Pragmatism.....	288
Mythology of the Mystic.....	290
Symbolism and Language	291
The Realms of Creative and Uncreative.....	292
Rights, Responsibility, and Respect.....	293

Regenerative Farming	295
Animal Advocacy	297
Environmental Struggles in India	299
PACS164B Lecture 17	303
Peacemaking, Peacekeeping, and Peacebuilding	303
The Chipko Movement	305
Great Chain of Nonviolence	307
Techniques of Bahuguna	309
Chipko and Hugging Trees	309
Timeframe and Outcomes of the Chipko Movement	310
Constructive Program and Indigenous Nonviolent Mechanisms	311
Midterm Review - DACE	313
Base Communities and Affinity Groups	315
Effervescence of the Crowd and Mob Mentality	317
Monkeywrenching	318
Droit d'ingérence - Responsibility to Help and Sanctity of the Individual.....	319
Power of Vulnerability	321
MST and Tabasco - Summary	323
PACS164B Lecture 18	326
The Timber War	326
Zachary RunningWolf and the Oak Grove	330
Michael's Comments to Mary and Zachary	337
Announcements	338
Midterm Review	339
The Nonviolent Moment	341
Question of Interpretation in TPNI	344
PACS164B Lecture 19	347
Fellowship of Reconciliation and Continuity of Nonviolence	349
Parallel Institutions	350
Person Power and State Power	352
Alay Dungal - To Offer Dignity	353
Third Party Nonviolent Intervention and Civilian Based Defense	354
Radical Pacifism	357

Otpor	357
Hildegard Goss-Mayr.....	359
Essays.....	359
Restorative Justice - Victim-Offender Reconciliation Program	360
Restorative Justice - Alternatives to Violence Project	361
Power of the Community.....	361
Part 4 "Globalization from Below"	364
PACS164B Lecture 20.....	364
Season of Nonviolence	364
Paradigm and Language Shift.....	365
Punctuated Evolution of Nonviolence	366
Crisis of Globalism	368
Books Illuminating the Great Turning and Paradigm Shift.....	370
Transformation - Cognitive and Spiritual	371
Globalism - Statistics	372
Dimension of Global Economies.....	373
Five Characteristics of Globalism	373
Mercantilism	375
Globalization from Above vs from Below.....	376
Resistance to Commoditization - Trusteeship, Swadeshi, and Co-ops.....	377
Community Supported Agriculture and Mondragon Cooperatives	380
PACS164B Lecture 21.....	383
John Lindsay-Poland - TPNI and FOR	383
John's History in Central America.....	385
Community-Based Nonviolent Initiatives	391
Example of International Nonviolent Solidarity	392
FOR Accompaniment	394
Accompaniment and Deterrence	395
The Costs of Actions.....	396
International Accompaniment and Assessment	399
PACS 164B Lecture 22.....	402
Cowardice, Courage, and Gray Areas Between Violence and Nonviolence	402
Gray Areas of Coercion and Persuasion	403

Christian Non-Resistance Explained and Defended	403
Cowardice vs Courage	404
Three Gunas - Dignity and Humiliation	404
Threat Power of Violence vs Threat Power of Nonviolence	405
Matter of Intention and Principles	406
GRIT - Graduated Reciprocal Initiatives in Tension	407
Physical Vulnerability and Spiritual Strength	408
Dehumanization and Fear vs Dignity	409
Maintaining Identity and Freedom of Choice	409
Victimization, Exploitation, and Disarming with Dignity	410
Globalization, Resources, and Wealth Distribution	412
Gray Areas of Intention and Motivation	415
Drive of Exploitation	417
Responsibility and Alternate Institutions	418
PACS 164B Lecture 23.....	420
Sarayaku Situation Review	420
Comments on John Lindsay-Poland's Lecture	421
CANVAS	421
Effectiveness of Nonviolence	422
Bearing Witness and Creating Space	422
Great Chain of Nonviolence	423
Protective Accompaniment	424
State sanctions vs Community Subsidies	426
Movement of Landless Workers	427
MST - Operation, Resistance, and Building Parallel Institutions	429
MST - Constructive Program	433
PACS164B Lecture 24.....	435
MST - Analysis of the Landless Workers Movement.....	435
Holy Land Trust - Symbolism and Concrete Action	437
Theory of Nonviolence Overview	440
Ahimsa and Nonviolence	441
Two Schools of Nonviolence - Aspirants and Overview.....	443
Science of Principled Nonviolence	443

Paul Chappell - Peaceful Democratic Solutions.....	446
Part 5 Toward a Nonviolent Culture	454
PACS 164B Lecture 25.....	454
Sacrifice Trap.....	454
A Difficulty with the Word of Nonviolence.....	456
Difficulties within Democracy.....	457
Disentanglement from the Cycles of Fear	458
Nonviolent Training and Organization.....	460
Handling Emotions and Nonviolent Communication	462
Technique of Role-Playing in Nonviolence Training.....	463
Getting to Yes	465
Consensus and Facilitation with Decision-Making.....	467
Peace Law.....	469
PACS 164B Lecture 26.....	472
Consensus Process	474
Affinity Groups	475
Structure of an Affinity Group	476
Miki Kashtan and Nonviolent Communication	477
Invoking Mutual Empathy by Addressing Human Needs.....	477
Distinction Between Strategies and Needs	482
Sense of Community and Interconnectedness.....	483
Example of a Conflict.....	483
PACS 164B Lecture 27	488
Definitions of Peace	489
In Common Predicament	490
Nonviolent Communication - Review	492
Technology in Organization of Action	493
Organization of Oceanic Circles	495
Viśa Vaidya - Poison Doctors.....	498
Technology, Work, and Meaning	499
Reconciliation and Reconstruction	501
PACS164B Lecture 28.....	506
With Regard to the Matter of Wars -- Rabbi Kook.....	507

Objection to Threat Power	508
Connection Between Spirituality and Nonviolence	510
Cultural Violence and Culture Jamming	512
Rebuilding and Organizing a Spiritual Culture.....	513
Interconnection of the Nonmaterial.....	515
A Culture of Interconnection and Unity	516
Conflict of Material Needs vs Nonmaterial Interconnection.....	517
Tipping Points of Paradigm Shifts.....	518
Communication for Collaboration vs Power Struggle.....	519
Dr. Spiegel - Constellations of Spirituality and Nonviolence	521
PACS164B Lecture 29	523
Rabbi Michael Lerner and the Network of Spiritual Progressives	525
Surplus Powerlessness: Psychodynamics of Everyday Life	527
The World of Work and Psychodynamics of Relationships	528
Insecurity in the World of Work	532
Spiritual Consciousness and Finding Meaning in the World of Work	533
Hunger for Meaning and Spiritual Crisis	534
Network of Spiritual Progressives.....	536
A New Bottom Line	537
Global Marshall Plan.....	539
Collaboration to Defeat Isolation.....	540
PACS 164B Lecture 30.....	544
Reconstructive Program.....	547
The Nonviolent Moment	547
Recognition of Interconnection.....	548
Nonviolence and the Case of the Extremely Ruthless Opponent.....	550
Reconciliation and Reconstructive Program	551
Forms of Violence	553
Review of Lecture 21	555
Navdanya - Conserving Diversity and Reclaiming Commons.....	556
EZLN - Zapatista Army of National Liberation	558
Ruckus Society	559
Ariyaratne and Sarvodaya - Uplift of All.....	561

Part 1 Introduction

[PACS164B Lecture 1](#)

Michael: So, here's your seat, right here. I had a dream last night that I was late for this class, and I was running and running and running. And I ended up back at my office. So, I think I should start off slowly. According to the lists of people who are registered, there's not enough room in the class. So, I'm going to be taking attendance for the first couple of weeks to try to sort that out.

My guess is that there's a lot of people running around, asking at Yali's Café where Warren Hall is. So, especially if you're some reasonable major. So, I'm going to pass around an attendance list just so we can get a sense of who's there. And it just has the first four meetings. Just check off your name if you're here. If you're not here, don't check off your name, okay? And if you're a PACS major, just put a check next to your name on the left. And then there's a second list for a waitlist. Okay. How are you?

I hope most of you got a couple of CourseWeb announcements from me. Did you? Okay, so that did work. Eventually, those of you who like to use CourseWeb. Not everybody does. One – so, if you've done that, you have the syllabus, okay? I brought some extra copies. The syllabus is also going to be right in the front of the course reader, which is at Copy Central. So, I'm going to pass these around. They're two pages. What? Hold on a second here. Yeah. They're two pages back to back. Save a couple of trees. But they're not stapled together, so pick two.

Also, I made an announcement on CourseWeb. I'll be doing that quite frequently when interesting things come up. This was for a film called, [I Want My Father Back](#). And the time for that has been changed. It's this Friday from 12:00 to 2:30. This Friday, 12:00 to 2:30. It's still in Room 20, Stevens. This is probably not going to be a very happy movie. But the relevance of it will be that we're going to be talking a good bit about the struggle for environmental rights, particularly in India. There's – I think there's a seat over here.

And this is where the rubber meets the road in terms of globalism from above, globalism from below. And as a result of that – Hi Jenny, you can take this chair. As a result of that, a large number of farmers in India are committing suicide, and that's what this film is about. So, I'm not saying that this is going to teach you a lot about nonviolence, but it's going to teach you a lot about one of the problems that people have trying to address with nonviolence.

As you've noticed from going through the syllabus, we've got a lot of different ways we could have organized the course. And so, I decided not to organize it. It's just delightfully spontaneous.

But seriously, I decided a long time ago that maybe the best way to do it was by the type of struggle. So, we start off with insurrectionary struggles, which are the most dramatic because

they're the biggest. And that's where you have, you know, entire nations and entire regimes being overthrown or not being overthrown. Nonviolence doesn't always work, as you know.

And then we go to struggles that are – what you might call reformed struggles. They're anti-militarist, but they're not aimed at overthrowing a regime. They're just aimed at, you know, reducing militarism or something like that. And then we'll look at globalization itself, which is kind of the matrix, the master framework in which all of these problems are happening. And I'm going to keep talking about that a little bit today.

And finally, what is going on? And this is really probably going to be the most exciting and upbeat and fun part of the course. And also, the most difficult to get into focus, what is going on in terms of building a nonviolent culture? We're going to be talking today about what people are calling, "[The Great Turning](#)." Some people anyway. It's a struggle that's really taking place throughout human civilization right now.

And the progressive people who are trying to make it come out in a direction – hi Mike. Mike, why don't you come in the other door and grab this chair? That's what the last part of the course will be about. And that's where I'm going to try and have a lot of guest speakers come in and tell us what they've been doing. And everything from think tanks to new economic practices, to struggles of one kind or another.

Okay. We put on the board something I'm very proud of, which is a new website or a website that's just gotten a new look. And this new look should go live today. So, let no one ever tell you this is not an on-time course. There is a chair over here, if you want to – you'll be Okay? Okay.

So, that's one resource that you will be able to make use of throughout the semester. In fact, I'd actually like to invite you to be a part of it, if there's things – I mean this website is for three audiences. Well, it's for the general public, but you know, never mind the general public. It's for activists, journalists, and educators. And I would put most of you probably in the first category. So, if there's something you'd like to know or there's a mistake that you spot or something like that, let us know about it either by telling me or just by going onto the website, info@mettacenter.org, and pointing it out. It's going to have at least one, maybe two blogs. Whatever they are. No, I'm not that old.

And I think in the course of this semester we'll really be able to build it up into something good. It'll be useful all over the world. Another interactive kind of resource for us would be a [Peace Power magazine](#) which was produced every semester. I think it's the first student-run, entirely student-run news magazine or magazine dedicated to principled nonviolence and it's very handsome. It's going international. Now, by next semester it may not be a student publication anymore.

So, one of the feeds for that magazine is your papers for this course – or other papers that you get interested in writing. There's another resource on the web. I mean there's lots and lots, of course. And they will all be on [Metta Center](#) eventually, but we're still going to be looking at Gandhi a lot. And there's a big list serve and resource. It comes out of Berlin called, "[Gandhiserve.org](#)." And it has the collected works of Mahatma Gandhi online.

Now, I've been told by Gandhi scholars in India that the collected works of Mahatma Gandhi is maybe $\frac{3}{4}$ of the stuff that he actually wrote. There's little pieces tucked away in various little ashrams in India. But anyhow, it's a lot. And the published version in print goes to 98 volumes. So, it's not like you'll be lacking for material. And the way you get into it is you go to that

particular link for that – I think it's called, "Web book," or something like that. It's pretty obvious on the home page. I love it when people say something on a computer is pretty obvious. I can never find it. I think this is really pretty obvious.

And then you have a search function there. And so, you put in a phrase like, "Teaching is not a trade and cannot be practiced as such." So, you put in something like, "Practiced as such." And it'll give you the titles of the volumes that have that phrase in it. You go to that and there's another search function which will take you right to the place. So, it's an incredibly good way to get to Gandhi material, which we're still going to be using during the semester.

Those of you who don't know Mahatma Gandhi is, there's a wonderful movie called, [Lago Raho Munna Bhai](#) which is probably the best Bollywood movie ever made, which is not saying a lot. But it's a lot of fun and it will introduce you to the way Gandhi is coming back in modern India, which is sort of fun. So, let's see. That is it for the resources. You know that we have a reader, which I thought I would have copies of in my box, but I suspiciously don't have them. So, has anyone been to Copy Central? Is our reader ready? 1 o'clock today? Okay.

I will speak slowly. But later on today you'll be able to get that reader. And it's organized to the extent that it's organized. It is organized the way the course is organized to some extent, which is by these five different types of event. So, looking around the room, I can see that about a quarter of you have had PACS164A. Very good. I refer to them as my A students. I don't know why everybody laughs when I say that. And they will be a very valuable resource for you when you're panicky about something that I've spewed off without realizing that you never heard it before. Take them across the street to Yali's. Find out what kind of tea they want and sit them down and get that information from them.

Difference Between PACS164A and PACS164B

If you have had the A course, you are likely to feel, in a way, a kind of let down when you start taking this class. Because we have the great luxury of studying nonviolence as she is spoke. You know, nonviolence as organized by the great advocates of it, namely Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. whose birthday we are celebrating today. When things were really kind of as close to the ideal as you're going to get in human life.

Okay, it's not very close. But these were extremely inspiring movements by very charismatic leaders who actually were spiritual figures first before they became leaders of political movements. As most of you know, there was one episode where Gandhi was at some kind of a cocktail party – that doesn't sound likely. He was at some sort of social event and there was a British proletariat there who said, "Oh, yes, Mr. Gandhi. We're both men of God, aren't we?"

And Gandhi said, "You are a politician disguised as a man of God. I am a man of God disguised as a politician." So, don't think that in nonviolence you do not get to tell the truth sometimes when it can really matter. So, these were incredible figures. Their like has not been seen again. And we really saw principled nonviolence in action in PACS164A. And it's great. Well, this semester we come down to the real world. This is where the rubber hits the road. We're going to be talking about a large number of movements which in my vocabulary, and you will be familiarized with this very soon, they're either constructive program, or they're obstructive program, but they're not both.

They're strategic nonviolence trying to become principled nonviolence. You'll be familiar with all these terms pretty soon. So, I'm just forewarning you, that don't expect to find things are going

to be as exciting and rosy and inspirational as they were last semester. But you will be able to see through the grubby kinds of events that people have had to do, emergencies and partialities and the gray areas. You'll be able to see the force that's working there.

Okay. So, the course has a midterm and a final and a final paper just the way A does. Probably is a little too early to start talking about the paper. We'll be giving you some – in fact, in the course reader, there's a cheat-sheet or whatever you want to call it with some tips on how to write a paper for this course. I do not assign topics. You can write on anything, which in a way is not very easy to do. You can write on anything that enables you to explore nonviolence as it has been happening for the last 40 years.

Also, I guess I should say at this point that even though we're talking about the nonviolence that's post-Gandhi-King, in each case we're going to try to get a bit of historical background for that. So, we're actually going to be looking back to the WWII era, and then coming very quickly to what's going on today.

What I really want you to be able to do by the time you get out of this course is to realize it when you're seeing a nonviolent event and be able to analyze it and be able to predict this is not going anywhere because they're violating Nagler's Law. Or, you know, whatever mistake they're making. Or, you know, this is really going to work. This is the one that I want to put my body on the line for.

And frankly, be able to step up and tap some people on the shoulder and say, "You know what? If you were to do this a little bit differently, you might find it'd be more effective." And they would say, "What? What are you talking about?" And you'd be able to come back and say, "Well, look. Look at what happened in Burma in 1985. You know, they tried this, and it worked." So, really, that's what the whole course is geared to.

The reason that journalists are one of the main audiences for our website is that they are basically totally clueless about nonviolence. In a way, you could say they're clueless about everything. I had a student who joined the staff at the San Francisco Chronicle, and she shared with me that their motto is, "If it's news, it's news to us."

Here we are to close proximity to North Gate Hall and I'm dissing journalists. It's not that they aren't intelligent and idealistic in many cases, but they have never been told that there is such a thing as nonviolence. So, they see it happening right in front of them. They do not have a frame. Borrowing a term from Professor Lakoff, [Linguistic professor at Berkeley] "They don't know what they saw and therefore it doesn't stay with them."

There's a literary critic many years ago who said, "The function of a critic is to fix impressions by naming them." And that's the first step in what we're doing. If you see something going on, at any scale, could be an interaction between you and your roommate and you suddenly realize, "Oh my gosh, I've been hanging out with Nagler for so long that I finally did something nonviolent. And guess what? It worked."

Or it could be a big event. Could be something you're even reading about in the news. And you will be able to read between the lines and say, "Those people do not know what they're describing." And finally, as I say, you might be involved in an event. In fact, there's something usually in the spring semester in this course, suddenly half the people aren't there because they just got arrested at Fort Benning or some place like that. And I'm really secretly proud of them, though I pretend to be annoyed as a professor.

So, you actually – well, it's a very good likelihood that you'll be involved in something at some level. And you will be able to do it more effectively and help your colleagues do it more effectively because of what you've learned here. That's my high ambition for this course. That's how it's going to work. There is a fair amount of reading. You're actually slightly in luck because one book went out of print. It happens to nonviolence books a lot.

So, there's a little bit less than there was going to be to save you some time and some money. But do you have any questions now about how the course is going to work? Yeah, John?

Student: Are there any TA's?

Michael: No, the reason that we're in this godforsaken corner of the campus, with apologies to public health students, is that we have absolutely no budget for this course. So, we may be able to get a reader on some sort of voluntary basis, but that's about the best we'd be able to do. Yeah. In fact, I guess there's a fourth goal for this course, and that is that you go back to your parents and your communities all over California and tell them that PACS does not have enough money to operate. Yeah.

Maybe you could get on a motorcycle and ride around and around in Sacramento until you bump into the governor and strike up a conversation with him as you're lying side-by-side in hospital beds. May be the best way we're going to present our case.

So, as you've probably noticed, the course is being webcast. And I feel very good about that. But there is a right way and a wrong way to use the webcast if you're in this course. The right way is if you get deathly ill and there's no possible way that you can come to class. Or if I went over something too quickly and you didn't get it, or you're back home in Riverside and your parents have never heard of nonviolence and you want to show them what you're doing at Berkeley. All of those reasons are very good reasons to look at a webcast for the course.

To use it as the reason not to come class is very bad. Because as you'll soon see, even though I'm sitting up here and you're in these rigidly bolted chairs for the time being, the class is going to be very interactive. And it's really conversational. And if you're not here, you'll really miss something. Okay? Any other questions about the nuts and bolts of it?

Search for a Nonviolent Future

One other thing I might repeat, I guess you've probably seen it on CourseWeb or something. If you are new in the sense that you haven't had PACS164A, there's two good ways that you can catch up really quickly. The book, [Search for a Nonviolent Future](#) really came out of this course. What I did was I took this course and I retooled it for non-Berkeley students, not that I have any special fondness for non-Berkeley students, but they are the majority of the population, so I figured they were worth saving also.

And also, we have some copies of this very handsome booklet which you can have for only five dollars. And of course, it doesn't go into nearly the same sort of detail as *Search* and I'm not saying that one substitutes for the other. But if you want one of these to sort of get some of the basics really quickly, this would be a good way to do that. It's called [Hope or Terror](#). It was brought out last 9/11 because as usual, the world – while I was fully aware that it was the fifth anniversary of the recent 9/11, nobody seemed to be aware that it was the 100th anniversary of the birth of satyagraha in South Africa. So, we brought these out, published 6000 of them, sent them all over the world, including Minnesota.

So, I think that's all I have to say in terms of resources for right now and in terms of the course works mechanically. Yes. Katherine?

Student:[Unintelligible 00:21:26]

Michael: Oh, to see these webcasts you can – the easiest way is probably to go to the university's website and just put in webcast. And then go to Peace and Conflict Studies. As of last semester, this was the first and only PACS course that was being webcast. You'll see right away whether it's me or somebody else up there. But that's the easiest way to do it. There is a faster link. I'm sure I can get for you guys and put it up here later. Okay? Good.

Okay, anything else? Anything you want to say by way of expectations you might have had from coming in here, what are we going to cover? What are we not going to cover before I launch into what I want to try to share with you today? Okay, off we go.

Two Definitions of Peace - Positive and Negative

If you are a PACS major, you are aware that there are basically two definitions of peace out there in the world. There is negative peace which simply means the absence of war. And there's positive peace which means the presence of something else. So, that breaks down into negative and positive. Negative peace means simply there is not a war going on. So, this is a – wherever there isn't a war going on, there is this quasi peace condition.

There could be this horrific injustice. People hate each other. They're stockpiling arms like mad. But it's not in a shooting war. Armed conflict isn't happening so it's not war. The quote 'best,' as in stupidest definition of peace that I ever heard which was a negative peace definition. And I think it's in my book *Search for a Nonviolent Future*. It was developed by the U.S. Navy. Millions and millions of dollars of tax money went into this, I'm sure.

And they came up with a definition of peace which is, "Perpetual pre-hostility." Perpetual pre-hostility. Well, if you can imagine walking across Sproul Plaza in all of these booths. These card tables are set up and going to one of the evangelical groups and saying, "My perpetual pre-hostility, I give unto you." You will get a clear sense immediately of the difference between negative peace and positive peace.

Negative peace is an extremely uninteresting subject which is studied by most political scientists. Positive peace is a lot harder to define. And the way I define it is, "A regime in which all parties spontaneously desire one another's welfare."

You can also use a Gandhian concept for that, which is, "Heart unity." Heart unity prevails. Heart unity – well, Okay. Some of the A folks want to try and define heart unity? I know there's been a long break in-between – Joanna, do you remember what it was?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:25:08]

Yes. I may realize you might not have heard that. I'm going to try and find out if there's a way of shutting this off. A nonviolent way, I mean. What Joanna said was, you know, pretty much starting from what I said, spontaneously wanting the wellbeing of the other person, wanting them – you said, to prevail. I would prefer to say to thrive. Because prevail means they'd have to beat me and I'm not sure I want that. But I want them to succeed at any legitimate goal that they have.

And that means that I can have this feeling with them regardless of differences. It's amazing. Any kind of differences, including differences of power. They can be in charge. And I could not be. And I still want them to be good [buenos]. Be good rulers. Be in charge – good in charge people. And do that well and be happy. And when to the degree that you have this condition prevailing in any population, I would say positive peace prevails in that population.

And that will lead to structural definitions like, you know, justice will happen there and so forth. Okay. And the other main factor that you learn about peace, if you're a Peace and Conflict Studies major – I hope you do. I hope you don't just learn about globalism. That you should also learn that peace is a little bit like an onion in that it has concentric circles. Negative peace folks always start with the biggest circle. There's no armed conflict. We don't have armies on the march. We have peace.

But the minute you start looking at positive peace, you see that there are four concentric circles to it. It actually starts – sometimes three, sometimes four, sometimes five, but you know, who's counting? But it actually starts within the person. You have to be at peace within yourself. You know, if part of you is at war with another part of you, not only are you going to be unhappy, but that's going to spill over into your social environment.

Science of Nonviolence - Mirror Neurons

And as you know from last semester's brief foray into positive psychology – and this will be on the website. There's now a huge lot of scientific evidence. It seems huge if you're not a scientist. I'm sure, to a scientist, it seems like just a drop in the bucket. But there's a comfortably large amount of scientific evidence that people influence one another directly before you even get to words and stuff like that.

There's these things called, "Mirrored neurons," which mean that like if I shrug my shoulders, like I just did, the nerves in your upper trapezius muscles fire off. And they say to your upper traps, "Contract." But then something interferes and said, "No, that's his problem. I don't feel like shrugging right now." So, you intercept that process at the last minute, but it happens.

And it happens not only with motions, but with emotions. So, if I were to say, if I were to start thinking about the PACS budget up here, the next thing you know I'm blubbering, sobbing here. Your whole crying mechanism would kick in, physiologically, and it would go up to the lacrimal gland, and it would say, "Tear." And you might do it. Like I bet you would, Zoe. You might or might not, but you having this reaction is the point.

So, if you have non-peace inside yourself you are giving people around you non-peace. Even before you open your mouth. And then there's the society, the group around you. And then there's the nation and its relationships with other nations, the nation and the world. And then, of course, there's finally the planet, which we have suddenly realized is way more important than we thought.

Peace with the planet, having it be at peace with us, we could actually survive long enough for you people to finish your PhD's, which at this point it looks like it's a little bit in doubt. Okay, so that's peace.

Strategic and Principled Nonviolence

And if you come at this as a PACS major, these are the kind of frameworks that you usually are running around in.

And in a parallel way, we have the same thing for nonviolence. There's a – you can divide nonviolence into negative and positive. And negative nonviolence has a special name. Though not everyone in the field would agree with me. And there's five of us in this field. [Laughter] And principled. And so, strategic nonviolence and principled. Strategic nonviolence means, "Okay, I'm not being violent towards you right now." And that usually is defined on the physical level. Okay?

I mean I don't have heart unity with you. I hope you croak. Get out of my face, but I'm not punching you. I'm not even cursing. Don't worry. This is not the state of mind that I'm in. This is just by way of illustration. And as long as that's going on, some people say, "Hey, this is nonviolence."

Now, that's a huge mistake because this is less than a fraction of 1% of what nonviolence actually is. I'm not saying that strategic nonviolence is the wrong thing to do. If the choice is between strategic nonviolence and violence or cowardice, hey, go with strategic nonviolence every time. But if it doesn't work, don't come to me later and say you want your money back if you pay for this course because nonviolence doesn't work, okay?

So, in a very parallel way then, principled nonviolence means where you have the wellbeing of the other person at heart, and you have the confidence that a solution can be arrived at such that all parties will have their legitimate needs met. So, it's kind of a faith issue, if you will. It's part of a vision. It becomes part of this.

Person Power

And we're going to talk about that more in a minute. But just as we have this setup in peace studies, we have it also in nonviolence. And there's a concept called, "Person Power," which was invented by your humble servant. And any of the A folks would like to define what that is? I know you were incredibly good at this about 3 ½ weeks ago. Zoe?

Student: Person power is defined by the ability of a person to [unintelligible 00:32:51] carried out principled nonviolence, how [unintelligible 00:32:55] of carrying the power to effectively carry out nonviolence as hundreds of people that could not be – that have nonviolence in their heart or carrying out –

Michael: Good. Very good. Now, I'll have to repeat everything for the webcast. So, tell me if I don't get this quite right. But it's the power that an individual person has who is committed to principled nonviolence and is able to carry that power into a given social situation where there could be a hundred people who are going through the same motions, but it's not in their heart. They don't really feel as they haven't had PACS164. It's not their fault.

The reason that I developed this term was a lot of people were saying that nonviolence is people power as opposed to state power. And one of the revolutions that we're going to be studying in this course very soon is the people power revolution that took place in the Philippines in 1986. Where on the one hand you have the power of the state and it is embodied in its institutions, its uniformed military, its homeland security, whatever it uses for this sort of thing.

And on the other hand, you have the power of the people who last November 7th started to say, “Hey, we don’t want this.” And on the 27th of this month, we’re going to go to Washington D.C. and do something about it. And I hope some of you will be there tapping people on the shoulder saying, “You think you’re in Phase 1, but you’re in Phase 2. You should be doing this and so forth.” We’ll get back to that.

But I’m not saying – again, I’m not saying that people power doesn’t exist. But it ain’t nothing compared to [person power](#). And in principled nonviolence you have Gandhi saying, “Numbers do not matter.” Now that’s not totally true. I would rather say there are times when numbers matter. And when you need them, you will have them if you have the kind of committed person that Zoe was just taking about.

So, we have state power versus people power. It’s very real. It’s a very real dynamic. But we’re also going to be thinking about person power which is the incredible power that a single individual can have. If you want to visualize it, just imagine that older man in Tiananmen Square standing in front of that whole column of tanks. It’s a good illustration.

Basic Characteristics of Nonviolence

Okay, so here’s what I would like to do for the rest of today. I’d like to spend some time talking about the basic characteristics of nonviolence. I’m mainly talking here about principled nonviolence. And then I’d like to step back. We go 9:30 to 11:00 – yeah, okay. We’ll be fine. Step back and look at the really big picture. What kind of struggle is the world going through right now? And why should we care about it in this course?

I think I’m going to end up saying why they should care about us. I think we have a couple of clues that the struggle very badly needs. And then finally, I would like to sketch. And if we don’t get to this, it’s okay. Because there’s an article of mine that does discuss it in the reader, which is available, 1 o’clock today at Copy Central on Bancroft.

I would like to discuss what nonviolence has gone through as a global movement since the era that we studied last summer, the great era of Gandhi and King. And the scope of it. You’ll be reading an essay by Richard Deets in your – in the book called – there’s a book by Walter Wink. Thanks. What’s it called again? [Peace Is The Way](#). Thank you. Yeah. A famous statement of – yeah. AJ Muste, he was asked, “What is the way to peace?” And he said, “There is no way to peace. Peace is the way.”

So, in that essay, Richard Deets points out that almost half the people in the world live in a regime that has been substantially affected by some kind of nonviolent movement. You know, starting with India, we have something like 800 million people. And you know, there were things in China. If you add it all up – and most of this incidentally has happened in about the last 10 or 15 years, more people have than have not experienced nonviolence first-hand in the country that they live in.

Not that they know about it, not that they can give it a name. Not that they can explain it. But it has happened. So, it’s a huge thing. And if we can get to it today, if not, we’ll get to it on Thursday. We’ll talk about the changes that have happened if you look at this whole thing as a global movement, which is very – there’s a thrilling thing to be able to do this because it never was possible before, you know? And Gandhi happened and everyone said, “Whoa, what is this? It must be passive resistance.” He said, “No. It’s not passive resistance.”

And the idea of having a history of nonviolence is a very new thing. It's great. There is at least one graduate student history major on this campus right now who is studying nonviolence. Yes. It's a lot more than nothing. Okay. So, first, the general characteristics of nonviolence, looking now at basic characteristics, not at rules like non-embarrassment and things like that, which will come up. But basic characteristics.

Means and Ends - Conflict and Struggle

Let me put two or three on the board and see if you have others. And this is open to anyone, even if you did not have PACS164A.

I'm going to start with this one, but it may not be the most important one. But the funny thing about it is once you adopt it, you are pretty much launched into a nonviolent posture. And that is -- means, ends, equivalency. Let's call it that. If you do not buy nonviolence you think that you can use destructive means to bring about a constructive end.

We have this wonderful quote which I shared with you last semester which is from the commander who is in charge of a large section of American military occupation of Iraq. I'm sure he's been rotated out by now because every time the president changes his mind, he blames it on his whole staff and rotates them out. Anyway, we won't have that on the camera.

Anyway, this person said – he was describing their mission in Iraq. He said, “With enough violence and enough terror and enough money for projects, I think we can convince these people that we are here to help them.” Maybe the less said about this the better. We're all in a pretty good mood so far.

But the fact is if you believe that in any substantial way you can use things like violence and terror and get to a positive condition like democracy or peace or people thinking that you're there to help them – well, how shall I end that sentence?

I'll just very neutrally say, “You do not have a nonviolent worldview.” I was going to say, “You are crazy.” But that may be controversial. The fact is it is not a nonviolent worldview. If you do nothing else but believe that in order to bring about a positive end, you need to use positive means, you're going to have to end up in the nonviolence camp. If you really hold that belief and carry it out consistently, you will – because life is full of conflict and struggle. You're going to find that you are forced to develop nonviolent means to deal with that struggle.

And if you really want to understand why these nonviolent means work, they weren't just a fluke, then you're going to have to understand the whole belief system.

Success vs Work

So, as I say this may not be the single most important thing about nonviolence, but in some ways it's the handiest because if you want to get into it with one proposition, I often think this is the one.

The second thing I'll put up there – and this is, again, a Nagler-ism. I mentioned that I invented these things not because I'm proud of them – which I am – but because I think it's important for you to know that it's not generally accepted in the field. So, you know, you're there on this picket line in Washington D.C. and you say, “You guys are doing it wrong.” And they say, “What are

you talking about?" "Well, this is a violation of work versus work." You have to realize that not everybody uses this vocabulary. It's a new field and we're inventing it as we go along.

And in fact, there's been some suggestion that maybe work versus work is kind of hard to pronounce. And you might want to call it, "Success versus work." But the general idea here is that every action has immediate consequences and long-term consequences. And a lot of stuff in between. Okay?

It has – let's say I'm raising a child. And the child has done something wrong. I have to discipline that child. I can do this in a way which kind of says to the child, "I'm surprised at you. This isn't like you." Or I can do this in a way that says to the child, "There you go again. This is like you." And those two things will both have the same short-term result of getting the child to stop whatever he or she is doing, but they'll have absolutely polar opposite long-term results.

If I do it the first way, "This isn't like you. I'm so surprised. How can you be doing this?" If I do it that way, the child will have internalized the idea that he or she is a good child. If I do it the other way, "There you go again, get out of my face. You keep on doing this, I'm going to have to get rid of you in some way." Even if I don't go that far, that child has internalized the value, belief that they are a bad person. And that will have devastatingly bad consequences when they become a teenager.

And I'll look at them and say, "What did I do wrong? How could this happen?" This is the characteristic of long-term results, the work that's done on the social field. One of the unfortunate characteristics is you don't see the dots. You can't trace the connection. That really has caused the growth of nonviolence to be very, very slow. So, the reason that this is up here on the board at this moment is that in nonviolence, especially in principled nonviolence, there's faith in both of these. There's understanding that this is more important and there's a willingness to sacrifice the immediate success for the long-term goal.

So, that B.R. Ananda who's a really, really great Gandhi historian has said, "What people don't understand about nonviolence is that it's the kind of struggle where you can easily lose every battle and still win the war." He goes, "While you're losing these battles, you're putting out another message which your opponent is internalizing that you don't really regard them as an opponent. Okay? So, that would be the next characteristic I'd like to put up there.

Win/Win is Possible

And the third – I'll stop with these three and see what others you want to add. The belief that – sort of like what Joanna was talking about with heart unity, that there is a solution for everybody. So, let's use this typical social science formula. Win/win is possible. So, a situation presents itself to us and it takes on this guise that in order for me to get what I want, I have to keep [Yalana] from getting it, okay? That is not the case.

But if it were, this would be a win/lose situation. And we would be doomed to perpetual conflict, right? Because next time [Yalana] would come back and she goes, "No, now it's my turn. Snatch." She would have that thing. But if we have the faith that there must be a way of working this out such that everybody can have their needs. I'm using that term very carefully because they cannot all have their wants. This is where our civilization is gone wrong. Multiplying wants all over the place. Nobody ends up getting what they need.

But we have the faith that there must be a way. In every conflict, there must be a way for all parties. And as Johan Galtung has always pointed out, there's really no such thing as a two-party conflict. He's never met a conflict that had fewer than 16 parties in it. There must be a way for all parties to have their legitimate needs met.

Learning Not Fighting

So, the interaction then becomes a learning experience, educational experience and not a fight. It's learning. Not fighting. Because if it were the case that it's either you or me, we've got to fight it out and may the better man win. If women ever use that vocabulary, I don't know. But if it's a case that we both really want – we both need the same thing, but one of us is less aware of it, then the job is to awaken that person.

Now, my favourite and most dramatic and most timely example of this, again, comes from Johan Galtung because I just mentioned his name. He is a – are there two N's in Johan? It's Norwegian anyway. He's a very, very smart person who got out of academia. I have a lot of respect for that choice. And he's become a world-class conflict negotiator. Spent a lot of time listening to people in the Middle East. He didn't have to spend much time listening to people in the West because he knew what they were about.

He spent a lot of time listening to people in the Middle East and he came up with the discovery that what people in the Middle East really, really need is respect for their religion. And what people in the West really, really need is access to their oil reserves. So, there is absolutely no conflict. Not only is there not a clash of civilizations, there's not a clash of anything. There's no clash.

Well, there really is a clash, of course. But what is it of? It is a clash of egos. People saying, in order to get access to your oil reserves, we have to go back to the colonial era, which is over about 100 years now, and reinvent it and with us on top. And absolutely not listening to the needs of the other people. Another good example of this was – if we can get these figures straight. I'm not a medievalist, but one of the kings of France went to the Holy Land and negotiated with the Muslim rulers and came away with this terrific package where Christians would have access to Jerusalem, the holy sites. They would not be harassed or impeded with, interfered with in any way.

This must have been Frederic II. This must have been Frederic II, around the time of St. Francis, the 13th century, not that it matters for our purposes. But I think truth does help. Anyway, he said, you know, that we didn't need any crusades. You can go there whenever you want to. Christian monasteries would not be tampered with. Which the Muslims never did anyway, because they respected – you know, Jesus for them is one of the prophets and they respected anyone who was leading a religious life.

And he came back and said, "I did it. I opened it up. It's all ours." And the pope did not like him, actually. And they got into serious, serious difficulties. Eventually, he was excommunicated.

About 60 or 80 years later – I'll go back and check these facts. They're probably all wrong, but the basic outline of the story is okay, and that's what we need to be there. Louis the IX goes there with a huge expedition and is total failure. Almost every knight that he brings with him is killed. And Jerusalem shuts down and Christians can't go there anymore. And when he comes back, he's made a saint. That's why they named a city after him in Kansas.

So, well, I'm putting – you know, I tell you the story partly because it infuriates me. But partly because it shows that really a win/win situation was possible. And if people hadn't gone in there egocentrically saying, "Your civilization is wrong. My civilization is right. I know it's right because it's mine. And we've got to fight to the last man," there would not have had to have been that war. Okay?

Nagler's Law

So, there are other factors that we could add. And I'd like to talk it over with you, invite you into the conversation now. What are the things do you regard as really fundamental to a nonviolence worldview? Are they different from the prevailing way of looking at things? John, do you want to give it a try?

Student: I was thinking Nagler's Law. Saying that if you wanted – it's kind of similar to means and ends. But if you are going to have a positive end to a situation, you must put positive energy into it. And if you put negative energy, the result will be negative. Even if you're trying to have a positive –

Michael: Yeah. Let's put that, as you say, under means and ends. It's one of the things that – you know, Nagler's Law is sort of a joke, I hope you realize that. Though, in fact, if I get the Nobel Prize for this, I won't turn it down. Then just watch what happens to the budget of Peace and Conflict Studies. No, this states that not only do you need to put positive energy in, but for some funny reason, if you put mixed energy in, you might as well just go with the negative energy. Yeah?

Student: I think that relates to law of attraction, to what [unintelligible 00:53:36]

Michael: Yeah. The law of attractions. Like that Larson cartoon where there's this person who's in an orchestra and his job is to beat the kettle drum. And he's saying to himself, "I won't screw up. I won't screw up. I won't screw up." And the caption of the cartoon is, "George screws up again."

Yeah. Whichever kind of energy you use, positive or negative will tend to draw in more of itself. But for some funny reason, the world is imbalanced such that if you have a largely nonviolent campaign with a little bit of violence in it, the effectiveness is very, very small. And the ultimate result is as if it were a violent campaign. Partly, we described this as the result of the perception of the campaign by the public who is not going to see the nonviolence. They'll only see the violence. But partly, I think there's a deeper reason for it. Yeah, okay? What is your name?

Student: Tammy.

Michael: Tammy.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:54:39]

The Person is Not the Problem

Michael: Yeah. I really like that. Being able to accept not only differences but things that you're damn sure they're wrong. But still, you can accept them as a person. Okay, I'm going to elevate that to a basic principle. And that is the person is not the problem, okay? This is actually pretty key. If you can, in fact, I believe that there's a trade-off here. Such that to the degree that I am

aware that you are not the problem you're causing, I am effective in helping you stop causing that problem.

Or to put it the other way around. To the degree that I confuse you with your wrong behavior, I will be disempowered from helping you change that behavior. For example, we're going to be talking about technique. This is a public health eraser. Nothing like the social science erasers that we usually get.

Anyway, we're going to be talking about something called civilian-based defense, which is one of the two ways that you can use nonviolence in large-scale armed conflict. Shannon, what is CBD in a word?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:56:28]

Michael: Yeah. Like what happened in Prague Spring. How do you define it?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:56:38]

Michael: Yeah. You're starting in exactly the right place. It's disallowing an invasion. I mean we're talking large-scale conflict here. And Prague Spring that Shannon mentioned is the classic example of this, is 1968, '69 in Czechoslovakia. Otherwise, why would it be Prague Spring. Where you do not try to prevent the armed force from physically entering your country, but you non-cooperate with them. And this is very effective. It kept the Soviet army, the Warsaw Pact armies at bay for eight months, they had planned to take over Czechoslovakia in four days.

And what makes it work is you fraternize with those soldiers and instead of saying, you know, "We hate you, get out of here." And we're going to actually see scenes like this when we look at the Denmark episode in WWII. We'll see that in about a week. Instead, you say, "Hey look, you know, we're revolutionaries just like you. What we're trying to do here is build communism with a human face. Why should you be here?"

And you absolutely non-cooperate with them as soldiers. But you absolutely accept them as human beings. And that's what gives civil based defense it's effectiveness. So, that was very good, Tammy. That's a real underlying principle. Again, it's one of those things which if you just did this and almost nothing else, you probably could work your way out to a whole nonviolent worldview. Okay. Alex?

Student: I was thinking [unintelligible 00:58:39]

Facing Dehumanization

Michael: Right. Right. I'm going to unpack that a little bit to make it into a basic principle. But why don't you define it for us before I do?

Student: Sure. It's when in a situation we're your so [unintelligible 00:59:06].

Michael: Yes. Very good. What Alex said was in a situation where your opponent has dehumanized you to the extent that they're not listening to you anymore, petitioning them is not going to work. Even if you go online and collect a million signatures overnight, they've already told you they're not listening. They're not even listening to congress, much less listening to you. Then you're not without recourse.

You've reached the end of one phase, and you have to go over to a phase where you look around and there's a lot of suffering in the situation and you take some of it on. Is this fun? No. We never promised you a rose garden. Nonviolence is very difficult. Obviously, you want to get started sooner, before they dehumanize you that badly, so you don't have to go through those.

But the fact is, we will often find ourselves in situations where it's too late. They're not listening with their head. You have to open their heart. It's all Gandhian terminology. And you do that by taking on – voluntarily taking on suffering in this situation. So, you have to be very clear about two things. You are not a masochist. You don't like suffering. You're doing it because you have to. And you're not adding to the suffering of the situation. You are just using it. You're redirecting it. And as Alex said, instead of inflicting it on the other, you're taking it on yourself.

And most of the really dramatic examples of nonviolence that we will be seeing and hearing about, this is what happened. For example, we'll be seeing very shortly a film about the plebiscite which the vote – referendum I guess it was, which turned Pinochet out of power in Chile. And in order to make that happen, people had to take an incredible risk. They had to overcome tons and tons of fear. They had to go out there in the plaza, Plaza de Mayo and stand there with a little sign saying, "Where is my son?" And when there was only four or five of them, they could have been wiped out very easily.

So, I would say this invokes the law of suffering. The suffering in this case was in the form of risk. A risk of physical abuse. Okay. Anything else that seems to – well, yeah, I said I was going to unpack this a little bit. And I think what I'm getting at here is that there's a sense in which – sorry – nonviolence is an attractive, not a repelling force. And therefore – I was going to go somewhere else with that. But let's just go there for now.

Oh, yeah, yeah. I remember. It operates by persuasion, not coercion. These can all be grouped, I think, under the same heading. So, this is – incidentally, all these things start to talk to each other.

Persuasion vs Coercion

If you're going by persuasion versus coercion, obviously it's going to take longer. So, that's where you get over to the work versus work and you have the faith that it's much better to take time to persuade the person of the rightness of your view, which was never in question in the first place, then to force them to behave in a way that you want them to behave, even if they don't believe it.

Because obviously, the minute they get a chance to reverse that, they will. Whereas if you made it their own – if they have made it their own, that won't happen. I was once in a committee on this campus back in the days when I thought – no, sorry, I'm not going to finish that sentence. Sometime over a latte. Nonviolent equivalent of a beer. If you get me very sentimental, we'll talk about this whole situation.

But there I was on this committee, and I wanted – I was actually a chairman of the committee, whoever put me in charge of that must have bitterly regretted it. And I wanted things to go in a certain way. And it was a reasonable way for it to go. This one person on the committee absolutely adamantly opposed to this. And as long as that person was absolutely adamantly opposed, I did not try to outvote that person, which I could have done. I mean I was chairman. I had enough votes. I could have said, "Sorry, Carl. You're outvoted, ha ha ha. You lost."

Something – I wasn't even all that nonviolent in those days, but somehow instinctively – it wasn't out of fear, I don't think. Let's say it wasn't out of fear. It wasn't out of fear. I didn't want to reach that kind of solution. And then I went on leave. And when I came back, I was off the committee. And I thought, "Oh, well, that's the end of this. I've lost that." And then I ran into a colleague of mine who had been on the committee with us. And we were chatting, and he said, "By the way, I want to tell you, that Carl has now taken over where you left off and he's now advocating in your position."

So, that's a win/win situation. That's how you like it to go, and that's nonviolence. Didn't even require a whole lot of suffering in this case. Just a certain amount of ego suppression. You know, a little anti-machismo. But not very significant amount of suffering, okay? Well, unless you've got another one that you think is equally basic that you want to put up right now, I'd like to try and talk about the big picture for a minute. Okay.

So, I think this would be a very good start for us. And I'm not even sure that this next part is going to be all that easy to talk about. But I think we should give it a shot. Sorry. I think we should give it a try. You can call me on that kind of thing any time. Okay. I better sit down for this one. How shall I start?

Motivations of Organization

Okay, I'm going to start with a formula from Saint Augustine, strangely enough. In his might work, written toward the end of the 4th century of our era called *The City of God, De ciuitate Dei contra paganos -- A City of God Against the Pagans*. He repeatedly comes up with this formula. It's almost like a mantra. [Latin]. I'll put it on the board next time. I don't feel like getting up right now. Literally, that translates, "Two loves create two cities." But you have to realize, first of all, that city was the largest form of social organization known in the Roman world.

The entire Roman empire was just Rome, right? There's not an Italian empire or a European empire. It was the Roman empire. It was basically one city state expanding its domination over the world. And so, he really means the entire world order. And by [*amare*] he means what we would call probably today a drive. So, he's saying that there are two drives. He's very much a person power man. That's why I like him so much.

There are two drives in every one of us. Unless one of them has succeeded in overcoming the other. But the vast majority of us, life is – our inner life is a struggle between two drives. And our outer life is the expression of this struggle. The negative drive, which is the drive towards self-aggrandizement, blowing up the small self until it blots out everything else. That drive creates these very domineering disordered imperial systems.

I hope some of you are Frog and Toad fans. And you know, my favourite Frog and Toad story is where – I forget which is which. Of course, the Frog is giving a lecture and saying – Frog says, "I'm the greatest. I'm the greatest." The audience consists of his one friend, who is Toad. And every time he says – Frog says, "I'm the greatest," Toad goes back about ten rows until finally he can hardly see him, and he feels very lonely.

And he starts developing a whole different kind of discourse, we're all in this together and I'm not better than anybody else. And every time he makes a statement, Toad comes a little bit closer until they finally get back together. Whole seminar presentations have been given on this story.

So, this is a pretty cute way of identifying these two drives. And the point is that these really are the two motive forces in human civilization according to Augustine and I agree with him, obviously, or I would not have brought him in here. So, this struggle that's going on in our world today has really been going on since the dawn of recorded history, if not sooner. And it is the struggle between a negative drive and a positive drive.

But obviously, it's reached a certain shape, which is kind of new in our world today. And it has also reached a crisis that I think nobody has any doubt. In the 1970's there was some forward thinking. People began to recognize this. They had read – we had read, blush – Kuhn's Structure Scientific Revolutions, who used the term paradigm and paradigm shift a lot. And we talked about the dominance paradigm and the emerging paradigm.

So, we knew perfectly well back then that the struggle was going on. But we didn't have a very good beat on it. I shouldn't use that – that's also a military metaphor. We couldn't get it into focus very well. There's lots of elements that we're left out. Now today, the struggle is being recognized much more broadly. So, that's one thing that's happening. We were a very small group of random professors, and as far as Berkeley is concerned, there's a little bit – somewhat more in Stanford. Grr. They always have more of certain things. Not, the axe, however.

And so, there was a few more at Stanford. But you know, the really prestigious places I think had none. Like Princeton, Harvard, those places. They knew it was a good way to lose a job at Harvard if you were thinking in these big picture terms. But the group was so small that there wasn't really much discourse. There was no web in those days. I remember seeing these huge 75-page documents that he cranked out on these mimeograph machines and carried them around from office to office. And they didn't want to read all of that. So, it didn't really get off the ground.

Perspective of Resources

Now, things are different. And there's a sense that it's not the preserve of a few intellectuals in Berkeley. There seems to be a growing – it's not huge, but it's a growing worldwide awareness that we're hitting a wall. And this wall is not just a resource barrier, which is serious enough.

I have a friend who lives somewhere in Minnesota, I think. And they were snowed in last winter. And he thought, "Oh, wow, this is fun. Can't go anywhere." You have to trudge around in your big snow boots and ski shoes and stuff. Only they noticed that three days later, there was no more food in the stores. And then suddenly it wasn't so much fun. There was only canned goods and things like that.

So, we're living in a very fragile world, which is very resource dependent. You know, over the break I was down in Nicaragua. And it's always a huge shock to come from a village in Nicaragua to SFO. Everything is so complicated. This huge canful of people flying through the air with, you know, depending on all of these machines and people on the ground and stuff. It's so fragile because it's so complicated and it's so technology dependent and so resource dependent.

Since – somewhere in the course of PACS164A last semester, oil peaked, right? So, you know, we're on the downslope. But I'm saying that the awareness of this is not just that it is a resource energy problem, but it is an ideology problem. It is a problem of vision. We cannot go on – if we can't go on consuming so much stuff, this means we have to change our whole image of what a human being is.

Because if a human being is an open-ended stuff consumer, and the more stuff it consumes, the happier it gets, then this world have been very badly organized and we're in for some kind of a disaster. So, we're being almost forced to confront the spiritual emptiness of material civilization. Which is great. It's an absolutely great thing.

And this means that there's a dimension – there are new conversations going on which were absolutely not possible when I first became aware of this stuff in the 70's.

Intro to The Paradigm Shift

Last July we put on a conference here at Berkeley called, "Spiritual activism," the conference. First annual spiritual activism conference. Michael Lerner and myself partnered this. And it was going to go on in July. Here it was June and we had like 200 people signed up and we sunk all of this money and time and effort into it.

Michael, who is much more Jewish than I am, he was saying, "If we don't get 500 people, I'm going to kill myself." That's very Jewish. And the doors opened, and 1400 people walked in. Nobody would have come 20, 30 years ago. They might have come to a spirituality conference, but spiritual activism? Never heard of it. Doesn't make any sense. And in many ways, the conversation is opening up in ways which I think are very, very healthy.

And we're discovering the reason that it didn't get anywhere in the 70's is that we were just looking at material things and we were not really getting down to, what does make a human being happy? Which gets down to the question of, what is a human being and what is ethics based on? Stuff like that.

Now, all of this is taking place in a context of greater globalization. And this, I'm sure you're totally familiar with, where for example, I'm sitting in my room. This is a funny story, actually. I think you deserve a joke at this point. Sitting in my room yesterday. I'm supposed to be writing something on the Upanishads. And it's not going very well. I'm at the very awkward stage, I don't know what I'm doing. I don't know whom I'm writing this for. It's not coming. I'm staring at my computer. I'm hating it.

And my phone rings. Now, the only people who know my phone number are usually people right there in my community. So, I thought, you know, I had forgotten to do breakfast cleanup or something momentous like that. I pick up the phone the voice says, "Is this Professor Nagler?" I said, "Yes." And the person said, "I'm calling you from Bulgaria. I want to tell you how much I've enjoyed your writing, especially on the Upanishads."

And I thought you'd like that. But that's not the relevant part. The relevant part – and there is one. The relevant part is you can pick up the phone or you can, you know, look at your cell phone and there'll be a text message. It'll be from Amy. She's the only one who text messages me. But theoretically, it could be from my family in Nicaragua, or it could be from anyone. I mean you know this. The world is globalizing.

The old containers that hold people are starting to break down. Like the mystique of the nation state is starting to dissolve. So, the struggle that's going on now is who gets to pick up the pieces of these broken institutions and who gets to control not just a country, but theoretically, the entire world. So, the old struggle between the negative drive towards self-aggrandizement and the selfless drive towards openness has taken on literally global proportions.

And I think that nonviolence is inherently a piece of this in at least two very important ways. One way is – I'll start with the smaller one. I don't think there's any way that this thing is going to be adjusted without a huge amount of struggle. If that struggle is the same old, same old, kind of struggle, like is going on in Iraq right now, the destruction is going to be so enormous that I'm not entirely sure we'll get through it.

You know, I don't know what will survive something like that. If it really comes down to it, where it's like, say, the global south and its supporters against the corporate networks of the north, and they fight it out with weapons, it's going to be horrendous. So, to have a different way of struggling, even if you knew nothing else about nonviolence, but you knew there was a different way to struggle, you could have that whole struggle take place and come to a successful conclusion with a very, very minimum of bloodshed.

Yes, people got killed in India in the Freedom Struggle which was the closest thing to a principled nonviolence insurrection that we're going to ever meet with, probably. But how many people got killed? In the Amritsar Massacre there was something like 235 people were killed. Maybe another 40 or 50 people got killed in the whole struggle. Whereas in Algeria, which had a population of 11 million people, 900,000 were killed. Carrying on the same structural, same kind of struggle, but they did it violently. India did it non-violently.

So, if we're going to get through the struggle and come out the through end, we're going to have to fight it with nonviolent means. And that doesn't mean we have to get everybody to agree, by the way. If we do our part non-violently, that will be enough to change the balance.

The other thing I want to say, and I'll just barely mention it because we're out of time. Is that I think that nonviolence is actually much bigger than this. Gandhi actually said, "Nonviolence is not the inanity that it has been taken for down the ages. Nonviolence is more than just lubricating the wheels of the struggle of globalism. It is defining the goal. It's really pointing us to the world that we want to go to."

So, we will come back to that toward the end of the semester. Okay. Great. Good to meet you all. See you on Thursday.

[PACS164B Lecture 02](#)

Michael: Good morning, everyone. I was just realizing one of life's little ironies and contradictions of U.C. Berkeley. I prepared the notes for this class in the Free Speech Movement Café. And then I walk back over here on the way to Warren Hall, and I stop in at the Pat Brown Café because you may not realize this, you may be too young, but Pat Brown was the governor of California who ordered the police to come in and arrest the students who were in the Free Speech Movement Café.

So, you can't say that Berkeley is not even-handed. I apologize for – is Gene here? Okay. I apologize for not being to my office hour yesterday. Forgot my own office hour. I think that's pretty lame. But actually, I had quite a few appointments and the rest of them had all gotten switched around. So, I got confused. And I'm a professor, anyway. I get to do things like that.

So, I will be holding an extra one today. I will be there from 12:00 to 1:00 in my office in 101 Stevens. Everything else will be appointment. Normally, it'll be 12:00 to 1:00 on Tuesday in 101 Stephens. It'll be my office hour. Also, sorry if I sent you all the way over to that drastic waiting line at Copy Central only to discover that the reader wasn't ready yesterday afternoon. Anyway, it's ready now. Here it is. The best \$27.60 that you'll ever spend, right here.

As far as getting into the courses concerned, from the look of things, I was assuming that we had plenty of room last time. But when I added up the number of people who were here or had their roommates check them off or whatever happened, it looks like we do have still quite a bit of a waiting list that is more than I can, at the moment, add to the course. So, as mentioned, I'm going to try to get a bigger room, but that is probably going to be very difficult at this time.

So, as far as I'm concerned, anyone who wishes to, can audit the class. It's fine with me. And I'm going to try very hard to get all the PACS majors into the list. But if you – we'll have to take another look at this at the end of next week and see where things stand. I didn't even mention it last time.

It's usually the first thing that I talk about in this class is – this is partly tongue in cheek, the lab.

PACS94, the meditation class is like a practicum or lab for PACS164 series. I actually did try to get it renumbered as 164L. I wanted the committee on courses to admit that meditation was a laboratory for nonviolence. They wouldn't let me do that. They said it has to be a wet lab. And you have to deal with actual physical chemicals, you know, that you can pour into a test tube. I said, "Kundalini won't do?" They said – I didn't actually say that. But you can see what I'm driving at.

What I'm driving at is that that's a terrific combination in taking meditation in the morning and nonviolence later on, you'll find that they support one another very, very well. I can point you to certain people who are doing that, who can give you a testimonial for the price of a latte or whatever it is that they drink.

However, the fact of the matter is, and the reason that I didn't mention it last time is that class also is up to here. We have people sitting, meditating on the floor. But that's at 8 o'clock in the morning. So, I may be able to get a bigger room for that one. And then if you'd like to try that again, you don't have to take it for credit. I always tell the students, "Illumination or one unit, whichever comes first." And we're waiting for the day that somebody says, "Never mind the unit. I've gotten illumined."

But that's another resource for us. And I'm going to be bringing in various ones as we go along. But you've got plenty to deal with right now.

Fellowship of Reconciliation

But if you're interested in the [Fellowship of Reconciliation](#), which is a group that

we're going to be talking about. One of the categories of things that we're going to be learning on a level of accumulating information is organizations. Who's out there doing what and the Fellowship of Reconciliation is one of the oldest peace organizations in the world.

Two years ago, I had the emotional experience of standing on the railway platform in Cologne Germany, which is where a German and a Brit shook hands at the outbreak of WWI and said, "Whatever happens, we will never let this war come between us as friends." And they started the International Fellowship of Reconciliation in 1914. It's still going on.

And right now, they're having a book sale. So, just go onto FORUSA if you feel that you don't have enough nonviolence books already. And I would actually recommend that you just go and take a look at the titles, see what's out there. Whether you feel like buying more books right now or not. It would give you a sense of what's available because we need you right up here. Yeah.

Redefining the World Order

Okay, so what we'd like to do now -- I didn't quite finish elaborating on the ways in which I am going to claim that nonviolence is not just a way of greasing the wheels, for getting to a smoother -- through a smoother transition into the next world order, whatever that is. Whether it's -- what was the name of that novel? *The Lord of the Flies*. We're all just

sort of stranded on some desolate island somewhere clawing out of their existence. Or whether we've actually built a new and more sustainable world order.

In order to get through that transition with a minimum amount of destruction, nonviolence is essential. As Gandhi said, “You can have a violent revolution if you want to, but violent revolution will bring violent swaraj.” Swaraj means independence. It also means what kind of regime you have. And I thought of that in 1976. It was one of the great advantages of being an older person. I was around for the bicentennial of the USA.

And the then president, I forget his name, but he was a screen actor who’d been the governor of California at one time. He was reviewing the troops. The troops were acting out. Revolutionary war stuff, you know, with their stupid costumes and stuff. Sorry, I shouldn’t be putting in all of these editorial comments. But the fact is, he was reviewing the troops between two inches of bulletproof glass.

In other words, we did – we did create a violent swaraj here because our story is that the way we created this country is through a violent revolution, through a war. Actually, it turns out – are you comfortable there Elana? Okay. Great. There’s one chair, so going begging here.

There are historians now who are arguing that neither the revolutionary war, nor the civil war had to get fought. That we would have gotten independence sooner without it and we would have been able to rescue the union without the Civil War. But that doesn’t affect our story, our cultural story that we tell ourselves, as a story of what has been called redemptive violence. And because of that dedication to violence as a problem-solving mechanism, we have a violent swaraj.

So, if nonviolence could provide nothing else, it will provide a mechanism for getting to a new world order, whatever that new world order is going to be, with a minimum of destruction. And that means that it will be a less destructive world order according to the principles of nonviolence. But I’m going to be arguing more than that and slowly filling in this picture that if you look at nonviolence in the full deep sense, the way Gandhi looked at it, it’s much more than just a transition. It’s the definition of the goal. It’s really everything on every level. Everything you need to build a sustainable world is basically there in Gandhi’s worldview.

You might think of – well, I’ve had – Sid put out a list on the board here from last time of the basic characteristics that we came up with for nonviolence. And we’ll be referring back to that as we go into our early case studies.

Structure of Institutions

I want to forewarn you that – the good news and the bad news about today’s talk. The good news is I have some really exciting ideas that I want to share with you. The bad news is, is that I just got them in the FSM Café, so I’m not sure they’re terribly well organized. I know if you’re thinking, “You know, Nagler, you’ve been teaching this course for longer than I’m alive. Haven’t you got it organized yet?”

I don't know. Maybe that's somehow part of the message. You know, maybe when I really get this course organized, I'll retire, and it'll be all over. But bear with me. We have some really, I think, insightful ways of coming at this thing and we'll have to put it all together ourselves.

But what I wanted to try and share with you now is that if you're taking controlling processes, as I know some of you are, you're looking at what are the things that shape the world that we live in? What are the forces that control and shape human behaviour? And I would suggest that we look at them as a three-layer cake for right now.

Structure, meaning governance, you know, what you look in the constitution and it mandates certain things. But also, you look at certain institutions in our governance here for example, and you discover to your shock that the constitution didn't say anything about them. There isn't a word in the constitution about the two-party system. But we have a two-party system which nobody has succeeded in getting out from under or disrupt.

So, I'm including all of that. And I remember John Burton was a great legislator from California. California, of course, is gifted with a handful of really great legislators. California and one in Illinois, a couple of others, and that's about it. Another illegal editorial comment. I'm sorry. But John Burton who was really a great legislator from California, a great mentor to a lot of progressive people.

He said he thinks every time he drives from San Francisco to Sacramento, he passes these flats, you know. [Polder lag](#), I guess. Wetlands. Wetlands. And every time he

passes those wetlands, it reminds him of government. It is everywhere. It's spread out all over everything. It's going to tell what you can do and what you can't do. But it's very shallow. There are things that create what kind of government you're going to have.

So, underneath the structure of things, we have to look at the culture. What are the stories that we tell ourselves about the norms of human behavior and the structure of reality? And out of these norms, we'll develop laws and documents of various kinds to control behavior.

Two Drives to World Order

And then underneath all of that is what I was quoting to you last time from Saint Augustine, his mantrum, if you will, that keeps coming up in the City of God, [Latin]. In fact, I'm going to put that on the board. I think that's really cool.

My parents are looking down from heaven now and smiling because they paid a lot of money for me to get a classical education. Finally using it. So, let's treasure this moment. And this means if you translate it literally, "Two cities are created by two loves." Quote/unquote. And I'm translating that into a modern idiom.

There are two drives. And they create two very different world orders. And in fact, one of these places where Augustine quotes this, he says – and I translate, "There are two

world orders created by two drives. The love of God makes Jerusalem. And the love of the world creates Babylon.”

Those, of course, are Old Testament symbolisms. Symbolism for the ideal world order, sustainable world of peace and harmony, versus what? Versus South Central L.A., you know, certain parts of Chicago, and other places in the world, indeed. So, let each person ask himself what he loves, and he will discover what kind of world he is building. Okay.

So, the dominant concept of how we should fix the world is to – oh, sorry. I interrupted myself. Underneath structure, there is culture. And underneath culture, there is the *amor* or the drive that’s bringing into existence. And the dominant idea of how to fix things is to create the right kind of structure that will control what’s coming out of the culture. You know, that’s where you have a building on campus with very fancy graffiti all over it called, “Barrow’s Hall.” And in there they have a subject called, “Political science.” Another one called, “Sociology.” Sociology is a little more into the cultural area.

But political science is all about creating the right kind of structure to make sense out of the cultural material that we’ve got to work with. And what I’m proposing is that what we’re trying to come to now is not only a different set of values and a different structure, but a different way of going about the whole process. And that is, instead of creating a structure that will control what’s coming out of the culture, we’re talking about how to build a new culture.

Out of which new structures will automatically emerge. And a new sense of how important structures are will automatically emerge, which is that there are a lot less important than the culture and the stories that go into it.

So, one of the big changes that we’re trying to bring about is this new world order with a new structure and a new relationship between the various parts.

Nonviolent Hierarchy

And if you remember from last semester, there is a sense in which in Gandhi’s time, the structure of his movement was hierarchical, right? It had one person at the top, that was the Mahatma, or a great soul.

And while his campaigns were in full swing, he did not hesitate to say, “I am your general. I expect you to obey my orders.” The only difference being, if you remember, that if you don’t like what I’m doing, you fire me.” Which is not what you can do with a dictator. If you could, we wouldn’t have to be sitting here having this course. So, it looks hierarchical.

You have a Mahatma. Underneath that, you have a kind of inner circle. People who live with him practically. They’re very, very close to him. People like Vinoba Bhave and Sardar Patel, some of these people we looked at last time. Very close to that, you have the inmates of the ashram. These are the people who are living in his community,

following his lifestyle. This is the last detail, sort of. I say sort of because there's a story about somebody who wanted to join Gandhi.

He came to his ashram. So, he had a long discussion with Gandhi. And Gandhi was telling him, you know, what you do, what time you get up. Here's when we have prayers. Here's when you spin. And he starts telling him what he had to eat. And the fellow was sort of appalled. Because Gandhi, as it turned, had no sense of taste. He had no sense of taste. No sense of smell.

So, he just ate exactly what he felt was healthiest for him. So, the fellow comes reeling and staggering out of this hut. "You know, I'm willing to sacrifice my life. But I can't eat that stuff." And he bumped into Patel or somebody who said, "No, look. Here, c'mon. This is what you're going to eat." He said, "But Gandhiji told me I have to eat this." And he said, "Look, in matters of food, you will obey me. In all other matters, you obey the mahatma."

So, with some adjustments for the fallibility of human flesh, these are people who have given up everything, living with him. And they're following his disciplines permanently. This is the way of life for them, for as long as they're going to be there anyway. Then underneath that, you have a fairly good cadre of trained satyagrahis. Satyagrahi being people who practice satyagraha. They may not live in the ashram. Some of them are very, very wealthy people who lived in palaces, in fact.

But they had been in campaigns with him. And they're on call. And then underneath that, soon as – I'm thinking, for example, of a big campaign, like the Salt March. The Salt Campaign, the Salt Satyagraha. When it gets started, all of these people are pulled into position. And here, you just have recruits by the hundreds of millions, literally. Out of whom there will be a few who will become satyagrahis and some of them maybe will percolate up and become part of inner circle and so forth.

So, this is a refresher for the A people, but you remember that in a way, what he did was very hierarchical, what he created was very hierarchical. But I think there are three senses in which it was not hierarchical, despite the fact that it looks that way on the blackboard. One is the one that I've already mentioned that it's a provisional hierarchy.

You know, he said, "If you don't want me here, just let me know. I'll be happy to go back to my ashram and just do a lot of meditation and spinning and whatever. The second thing is that this hierarchy was only really pulled into place during emergencies. And there's a qualitative difference almost in nonviolence, as in anything else. Between emergency situations and ordinary situations.

And it's a fact that anthropologists have discovered that in emergencies, societies spontaneously become more hierarchical. They have to, because you have to become efficient, and you have to become coherent. If we have an outside threat, let's say there's another institution down the peninsula which fancies itself also a high-quality institution of higher learning, let's just say. And they were to, you know, assault us in some way.

You couldn't send out, you know, ten different people with different stories about who we are. And you couldn't have a different behaviour every 15 minutes. We'd have to pull this place together. Muster out the ROTC or whatever they call it these days. Military affairs. We're going to defend ourselves. And what I'm thinking now of a fellow, René Girard, whom I draw a lot on his work.

He pulled together some anthropological studies that showed that even if you take the same species, like if you take the same species of chimpanzee, let's say. And you look at how they live in two different environments. If you look at how they live in a secure comfortable environment, like up in the forest canopy where there's not a lot of trouble from leopards, they have a rather egalitarian kind of society, considering that they're chimpanzees. They don't get totally egalitarian. Some things have to be controlled by threat, but they're reasonably egalitarian.

Take the same animals living on the edge of the forest in the savannah where they can be spotted by any passing lion, and you will find that there's a head chimp and underneath him there's a cadre of subordinate chimps down onto the women. Well, the female chimps and the babies. Very hierarchical because of the outside pressure.

So, people who like to have a hierarchical order in their culture will sometimes actually stoop to creating a sense of outside pressure. Like saying, you know, we're about to be invaded by terrorists. Something like that. So, you know, we're going to tear up the constitution now. This is just hypothetically. I'm saying this as an example.

Okay. Do you want some paper? Sorry, okay. All right. So, that's the second thing. This is a provisional hierarchy in the sense that you can fire the top command any time you want to. It's provisional in the sense that it's only brought in in emergency.

Strangeness of Nonviolence in an Emergency

And some of you will remember that in real emergencies nonviolence can look very, very strange. You can almost not be able to tell the difference just looking at it from a behavioral level from violence.

Do you remember that? Guys, we were talking about – Amy, what am I thinking of here?

Student: When you have a person [unintelligible 00:23:24]

Michael: That's right. In case where somebody – there's not even a drawer in this classroom so I can't do what I did last year. But in case somebody runs in here with a gun, obviously deranged. And you know, for one second I think you know, this is a good way to get all the waitlist people into the course. But no, then I have saner thoughts and I want to do something to protect all of you. And it just so happens that I have a loaded 9mm on me,

which is a little bit out of character.

Believe it or not, this is the point. Believe it or not, the nonviolent thing to do would be to shoot that person because I have no other means to protect you in this emergency situation. But if I'm going to really do it in a nonviolent way, it's going to be a little bit different in terms of things that are not visible in terms of attitude. Okay?

So, let's see, what would be the first thing, Joanna, that would be different? I hope you guys don't mind that I'm getting maximum amount of mileage out of you people.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:24:37]

Michael: Well, okay. I wouldn't have a gun in the first place. So, the whole story is absurd, I admit that. But in its own terms, supposed it did actually happen and I'm still claiming that in a sense this is a nonviolent act, what would that claim be based on, John?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:24:55]

Michael: Okay. Okay, let's say I run – yes. I run through all of the alternatives in about 8/10 of a second I realize I don't have any. Yeah.

That would be one thing.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:25:12]

Michael: Right. Yes. Now what Joanna said may sound a little bit silly in a way. I wouldn't want to hurt that person. Here I am shooting them. But it's not that I want to hurt them. It's that I want to protect you. And at the moment, I have no other way to do that. Okay?

Intentional Principled Nonviolence

So, in nonviolence, in principled nonviolence, intention is everything. In fact, if you remember, we'd go over the etymology of the Sanskrit word for nonviolence, *ahimsa*, it seems to literally mean the lack of desire to harm.

And one other thing is equally important we'd like to try – Alex, do you know? I'm putting you guys on the spot, I realize. You don't remember – Amy?

Student: Well, in a way, like [unintelligible 00:26:06].

Michael: Yeah. That's true. This is a dangerous argument, but I'm convincing myself that, you know, you'd be much better off being shot by a nonviolence professor than killing all these people and having to live with that for the rest of your life. That's true. But there's one that's, if anything, even more important than that is the follow up. I wouldn't derive from this the lesson that every professor should be provided with a loaded 9mm in every classroom because this worked. This is our work versus work. It worked, but it did very bad work.

So, instead, I'm going to dedicate myself to changing society, so this kind of thing doesn't happen anymore. You know, tithe part of my time so that we have fewer lunatics in the world, if that could possibly be derived. So, Zoe?

Student: I was wondering [unintelligible 00:27:06].

Nagler's Law

Michael: This is a good question. Nagler's Law, again, partly tongue in cheek. Nonviolence plus violence equals violence. You can see why I'm not a math teacher. But the point that we were talking about a little bit last time. If you have basically a nonviolent campaign, but a little bit of violence creeps into it, that little bit can be very, very destructive. And it's not just because of the way it'll be perceived by the public. But it does something to completely break up the dynamic.

So, tragic example of this was the 1999 anti-WTO demonstrations in Seattle where you had something like 50,000 people who are extraordinarily well disciplined and well organized, and completely nonviolent. As complete as can be, going on there for four, five, six days. And you had this small group of people called, "The black block." Otherwise known as the famous Eugene anarchists who threw some bricks through some windows. And the press zeros in on this. And the entire story of what that movement was, was completely changed.

But I still maintain it's not just the perception and the distortions of the media, but something in the very nature of it. So, Zoe's question is very legitimate. How are we going to square $NV+V=V$. Famous Nagler's Law, with the madmen with the sword analogy, which is what this kind of structure is called. This episode. You can't. That's the point I'm making is that there comes a point where in an emergency, almost everything is stripped away. All the laws that you want to apply earlier on when you've got the time and you can do the organizing, you can't do them.

And you're just reduced to one simple thing, not to hate your opponent. It really comes down to that and I'm really glad you asked me that, Zoe. You can go through all of this is horrible stuff and somehow if you do it without hating that person or persons, you've rescued a nonviolent core in your own behaviour. And that nonviolent core, we believe, will eventually lead to doing good work on the social order. It will change things for the better. Though, at the moment, we don't know how to tell you what all ways that will play out. That's mysterious.

Emergencies and Nonviolence

So, this was part of my point, that the hierarchical nature of Gandhi's campaigns was an artifact of several things. One of them being that these are emergencies. And in fact, from the time he gets back to India, or at least from the time he makes his first move in 1916 until the time that you get independence 31 years later, you're basically in a state of perpetual emergency, right? Because the violence that happened 200 years ago and now you're trying to get rid of it.

And the third – so the third thing is, the third thing that differentiates the hierarchical nature – did you have a question?

Student: Yeah. I was just wondering, [unintelligible 00:30:30].

Michael: This is a very good question. Are we in an emergency now? Well, you know, I think I'm going to give you a very good academic answer to that. Yes and no. I think that we can be working on various levels. And some of those will be for the long term and some of those will be for the short term. And I think that we have to be working on all of them. You know, actually, the whole class is about answering that question. I think we should come back to it at the end of the semester and see what we're going to come up with. Yeah. Hold onto that one.

I think there are some things which – let me put it this way -there are some things which would require late stage, fairly drastic emergency actions if we say to ourselves this has got to be stopped. I don't care what it takes. So, if we were to decide that we're not going to let another 20,000 troops go into Iraq, if we were to decide that the country has got to stop practicing torture, things like that. Those things are in an emergency status. But at the same time, we could be slowly educating the public so that it'll never happen again.

So, we use emergency measures to get rid of them right now. And we use longer term measures to make sure that they don't creep back. This is one of the key principles we're going to be seeing in all of the movements that we're looking at, that they can do a beautiful job in getting rid of a horrible dictatorship. And one or two years later, it's the same old, same old. You're back in the same poverty, the same cycles of repression because you didn't do the long term work to build in the deep changes that get down into culture and actually start mobilizing a different kind of drive from the person.

So, I think we should be working across the board on almost all of these things. That's a great question.

Hierarchical Campaign Structure

Okay, now if I remember, I was about to say the third criterion which tells you that don't be fooled, the hierarchical structure of a campaign, like the Salt March is not the nature of nonviolent world order.

So, we have the fact that you can fire the top leadership. You can – it's an emergency, so everything is likely to look weird. And finally, it really is mobilizing a different drive. Gandhi is deeply committed to the wellbeing of the British people. He's absolutely convinced that the best thing that he can do for them is get them the hell out of there. I shouldn't even put it that way. Get them out of there as rulers. Have them stay on as friends.

By the way, how many of you saw Attenborough's movie, *Gandhi*?

Okay. I would strongly recommend it, if for no other reason, I keep referring to it. It's just part of my consciousness now. It would be easier to figure out what I'm talking about. If you remember the scene where he says – it's right after the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre. They're having a hearing. One of the officials says to him, "Well, boy, you don't just expect us to get up and leave, do you?" And he says, "That is exactly what I expect you to do. Only I expect you to go out as friends, not as enemies." So, with apologies for the ethnic accents and all the rest of it, let's move on.

So, what I'm driving at here is one of the things that we're struggling with now. We, being the progressive movement, is how do we replace the structures of domination with more viable, more democratic structures? And one of the things that we're realizing – now don't ask me who we are. It's just, you know, I've got a handful of friends and sort of the sprinkling of a movement out there.

One of the problems is we don't know each other.

I don't know if you're familiar with a book called, [Cultural Creatives](#) by Anderson and –

Sherri Anderson and Ray – Ray Anderson. This book looks at what Americans really think and what they want politically and came to the conclusion, which I could have told them, but they didn't ask me, that this left/right, red/blue business is nonsense. It's not what people really are after.

There's a whole new political compass. And there's a segment of the population -- there's very good sociologist. They did this study about ten years ago. There are 35 million Americans who want things to be entirely different. They're what we might call a progressive direction. And the only reason -now 35 million is more than enough to get an election to come out right, so dramatically that you couldn't cheat it. Which is what we need to do. There's more than enough people. Five million would probably do it at this time, until they get better voting machines.

But the reason that these people don't pull together and do something is that they don't know one another. They don't know that there are others. You sit in your house thinking. You put your little, you know, "Let's Win in Iraq," slogan on your front lawn and you hide behind that, and you hope that your neighbours don't realize that you don't really want to have a war-making country anymore. Meanwhile, your neighbour is thinking the same thing, putting the same silly stuff on his lawn.

So, one of our great disadvantages is this whole progressive change, the merging paradigm and all of that, all the ingredients are there, but it hasn't been pulled together yet, because we don't know who we are. But whoever we are, one of the things we're struggling with is instead of, as I say, instead of building a different structure to control the culture, somehow change the culture so that it will create a different structure.

And this means that a different kind of organizing can prevail or take over.

Example of Hurricane Katrina

And at this point, I'd like to tell you a story that came in on the Internet last year after Katrina. I tried to just look up this story, but unfortunately Katrina, it turns out, to be a girl's name as well as the name of a hurricane, so I was getting thousands of Katrinas, and I wasn't getting down to the story.

But I remember it well enough. What we all learned in that disaster was the utter incompetence of the central regime, the federal government to manage it, right? Because it was based on the wrong principle. They had FEMA is there to take care of emergencies. It's called the Federal Emergency Management Association. But what it really is is the higher Bush's friend's association. It was based on cronyism, not on competence.

In fact, I'd like to take this slogan and offer it to Barrack Obama and anybody who's listening out there. Competence not cronyism, right? Maybe it won't possibly make as much a difference as I think, but I thought it was kind of neat a 4 o'clock this morning.

Anyway, so this is public knowledge now. We all have this lesson. The central government failed. What we don't know is that there were other organizing systems that did not fail. And there was a story by a doctor who is in a hospital in New Orleans. It was completely flooded out. A students have heard this once already. So, there's no power. And you have patients in very bad shape. They've got to be evacuated. A convey of army trucks comes slogging up through the water to evacuate these patients. But how are you going to get them out?

The next thing you knew, the doctors, the nurses, the ambulatory patients, the volunteers, everybody, had pulled themselves into a structure, if you will, and everybody knew exactly what to do. And they did it and they got those people out of there in no time. So, you know, you had big strong people picking up patients with IV tubes coming out of them, walking down seven flights of stairs in 110 degree heat, getting them into the trucks.

The point that fascinated this young doctor was nobody was in charge. Nobody gave orders. There was no loudspeaker. He didn't get on and say, "Okay, get up to ward six." Everything happened automatically. So, what we're trying to develop is a way that the self-organizing structures can emerge from the culture and replace the suppressive domination by central hierarchical mechanisms.

And that you'll find that this is exactly what Gandhi was actually doing, especially in slightly less acute emergencies. He always said, "I have never led the people. What I do is I listen carefully to them, and I hear what they want, and I help them get it." So, he thought of himself as a facilitator in some kind of spontaneous self-organizing process.

But let's not kid ourselves. There are spontaneous self-organizing processes that are extremely deadly. We studied these last semester when we were talking about scapegoating, where groups of people not only can, but will, left to their own devices, pull themselves into some kind of tense structure where troublemakers are going to be identified and expelled.

And this happens even at the pre-human level. There are monkeys that do this.

Violent vs Nonviolent Organization

So, this gets us back to what Augustine was talking about with the two drives. We need a way to capture, to facilitate the positive love, if you will, and not the negative one. There's incidentally a modern version of this mantrum of his, which I'm sure many of you have heard.

Again, it goes around the Internet. It's a Native American grandfather says to his grandson, "Son, I feel that there are two wolves fighting inside of me. And one of them is a very strong, loving, calm, peaceful animal. And the other is a savage out of control beast." And the grandson says, "For heaven's sake." Well, he wouldn't say that. Native American, he says, "Gosh, grandfather, which one is going to win?"

And what does he say? You've heard this? "The one that I feed." So, realistically, what a culture does is it feeds the positive and starves the negative *amor* that's in each individual. And this brings us to a very clear understanding of the situation that we're in right now. We have created a culture, which not to put too fine a point on it, I have to say, I think this is the worst culture I've ever encountered.

And this is, you know, from somebody who has studied the ancient world, medieval world, modern world. I spent a lot of time looking at cultures. I didn't know that that's what I was interested in, but I was. I was asking myself, "How did ancient Greece work?" And all the rest of it. And I have never seen a culture as destructive as ours. It's like 95% getting negative drive up on through to the higher ranking structures.

Such that you have a president – now I'm not saying he wasn't genuinely moved, but we have a picture of him weeping because of a fallen Marine. You know, that's one fallen Marine. We've got something somewhere between 40 and 100,000 fallen Iraqis and he didn't weep. The entire structure has become a structure for organized violence.

And a colleague who once objected very strongly to this and said, "You can't say the military is organized violence." I said, "Okay, it's disorganized violence." But this is what we're getting at, and this is what I'm saying, that nonviolence is really effective at all of these levels. It's trying to come up with new ways of organization. And as we look at some of the movements that have taken place recently and are taking place now, we're going to try to understand how they organize themselves. And it's kind of hard because they often do it in ways that we're not familiar with and ways that are not documented.

Okay, so I just want to say one really negative thing about our culture because I think it is important for us to recognize this and to know what we're really up against. This is probably the most depressing thing I'm going to have share with all semester.

Marketing and Searching for Purpose

So, let's try and get through it very quickly and move onto the other stuff.

But I was reading a friend of mine, I guess, who is a therapist. Had a young woman, a teenager, I believe, who was a patient who had hurt herself. And she had cut the word, “Empty,” on her forearm. And it really seemed – this struck me because I was remembering that scene in a film that we saw last semester where the civil rights workers went into an area where they knew they might be very seriously attacked. They were very badly beaten.

And all over the country, you saw pictures of them with, you know, teeth coming out, black eye and everything. And they said, “We made our bodies into living witnesses for the law, for the suffering that we had to take on.” Well, this struck me very much the story of this young lady because it seemed to me that what she unconsciously had done was internalized the basic message of our culture.

Let me just get through this and we'll get back up to the rescue part. But we are exposed to something on the order of 3000 commercial messages a day. And there's a subtext in every one of those messages, which is telling you, “You are empty. You need something. If you even glimpse for one moment what there is inside of you, you wouldn't have to buy my product or much of anything else, for that matter.”

So, what's happened is, it's not like we're bad people or anything. We're just people. You know, everybody's got two wolves going on in there somewhere. But because of technology we've given an enormous amount of power to groups that are organized for exploitive purposes. And I started talking about this a little bit last time.

The struggle again, just comes back down to which purpose is society going to be organized for? Is it for life or is it for profit?

[David Korten](#) who is originally an economist – has been writing about these issues. Wrote a book called, [When Corporations Rule the World](#). And he wrote about book after that called, [The Post-Corporate World](#). And his most recent book is called [The Great Turning](#).

And if you think about corporations, I mean there's nothing wrong with corporations per se. I run one, you know, it has a staff of two people, six volunteers. Most of whom are in this room. It's not that corporations themselves are bad, but something happens to them when they go beyond human scale and they lose sight of everything except their own materialistic parameters for wellbeing, right? The bottom-line kind of corporations.

And along the way, two very drastic things happen that intercept the good drive in people. One of them is you deprive people of their responsibility. If I were to invest in a corporation, which is a little bit more likely than coming to class with a loaded 9mm in my pocket. But not totally unlikely. If I invest in a corporation, I am not legally responsible for anything that that corporation does. In fact, the German word for corporation is [German 00:48:14] which means, “An organizing with limited liabilities,” right?

So, I can't go down to, let's say Nicaragua – I have Nicaragua on the brain these days – and you know, kill some poor person, but I can invest in a company that's creating a structure which structurally makes it impossible for that person to live and not be held accountable. So, it takes responsibility out of me and puts it in an artificial structure which does not exist.

If we all decide tomorrow that Microsoft does not exist and nobody goes to work at that company, it will fail to exist. Some might say that this would actually be an advantage. You know, you can go back to using Word Perfect and Open Office and all those programs. But whatever. It's an artificial thing whereas the person is not. That's why nonviolence keeps trying to put its focus back on the person, on the individual.

So, it takes responsibility away from the person and it gives an artificial sense of rights to an abstract entity that doesn't really exist. And it's interesting that this crept into the structure in a very backdoor way. You know, the supreme court did not decide that corporations have rights. Congress did not mandate it. One circuit judge somewhere in some ruling in the early part of the 20th century. I mean this was so 20th century – decided that corporations should be treated as though they had rights.

And that has become globalism, where you can march into a country and say, "You don't own your land. You don't own your water. We get to make you sick, and you can't stop us because if you interfere with us making a profit, we will sue you."

Corporate Responsibility vs Person Power

So, the basic mistake there, which we're going to be struggling to correct through nonviolent methods is that you take the responsibility away from the person, the humanity, in effect, away from the person, and pretend that it's in large corporate entities.

So, one of my favourite – let's see, what we get. Okay, we're about in the right place. One of my favourite slogans for what we're trying to do is not to put a different kind of people in power, but to put a different kind of power in people. Or to put in a slightly different way, to mobilize the positive power that people have, support them institutionally, with the stories that we tell ourselves in our culture, and have that become the structure. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:51:13]

Michael: Right. Well, this is a – I knew this question was going to come up. I've actually got some things to say about it here. The question is, "Okay, we can do this individually. We can decide, you know, I'm going to bike to work. I'm going to try to not hate people and stuff like that, whether they deserve it or not." But how does this get built into the culture and become part of the structure?

Okay, I'm going to say that the reason that we have such hesitation about that is in itself part of the lie of the prevailing culture. Which tells us that you, as an individual, are

powerless. But having said that, I'm going to give you a more honest answer and say, "I don't know." But we are starting to study this to some degree. Since that book in 1962 called, [The Structure of Scientific Revolutions](#) which popularized the concept of paradigm and paradigm shift.

People have been studying how these big changes happen and I guess this book by [Malcolm Gladwell](#) called [The Tipping Point](#). It's interesting that he's a business professional and that book is read in business schools. It should be read in revolutionary cells. You know, Al Qaeda should be reading this book.

But the tipping point discovery is that in any group there are key individuals whose decisions automatically communicate themselves to large numbers of other people. One classic example that will maybe make this vivid. If you grew up in this country, you went to high school in the US of A. You know all about Paul Revere. You know that the British were attacking in, I guess, Boston Harbor or some place in New England.

And they had this signal set up and they were going to alert the minutemen, so they would come out and shoot the British and then we'd have America. And so, Paul Revere got on his horse in the middle of the night and he's riding north somewhere out of Boston, knocking on people's doors and saying, "The redcoats are coming. The redcoats are coming."

People throw open their window and they looked outside and, "Oh my God, it's Paul Revere, the redcoats are coming." They grab their guns, and they get ready to create the United States of America. So, that's the history that we all learned in school. But what Malcolm Gladwell discovered was that Paul Revere was one of about three or four people who were sent out in different directions.

And so, these other people, they would come riding up to your house and knock on the door and say, "The redcoats are coming." And you look out the window and say, "Huh? It's Nagler." And they'd go back to sleep. So, at least the situation is not as hopeless as it looks, even without the Internet, because if we can get this story embedded in key individuals and they can interact with one another in a creative way, there is absolutely no reason why this could not radiate out through the entire culture very quickly. Yeah, John?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:54:43]

Michael: Yes. I would call that an example of person power.

It's one kind of power that specific individuals have. Yeah. Yes, Elana?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:54:54]

Michael: Yeah. That's all perfectly true. What Elana is saying, that there are – people have a tendency in them to want to obey hierarchical directives. That's the [Milgram experiments](#) that we've all learned

about. Very demoralizing. But I would say, “Hey, look, you know, this was a hierarchy. And a lot of people were in it because they wanted to obey Gandhiji.”

But it was the hierarchy that led them to democracy and freedom, if they would actually, you know, go through everything that he was proposing, which wasn't totally the case. But in other words, there are revolutions and revolutions. And there are hierarchies and hierarchies.

Hierarchies and the Paradox of Repression

You know, there are hierarchies which are going to tend to get more and more dense and not let anybody out until finally you reach what's called, “The paradox of repression,” where they lean on people a little bit too hard, and they have to fight back.

And there are hierarchies which are kind of spontaneously self organizing and spontaneously disorganizing, when they're no longer needed. After all is said and done, if everybody liked obedience and following hierarchies they wouldn't come to Berkeley, right? You wouldn't be here if that was the kind of world that you were looking at.

So, I guess part of what I'm saying is something very unpopular, which is that I don't think we can totally dispense with hierarchies. I'm not a complete anarchist in that regard, which is a disgrace because Emma Goldman was actually a relative of mine by marriage, so I'm disgracing the whole family when I say this. But I'm not totally an anarchist, but I'm saying that there is a place for positive hierarchies.

And if we had some positive hierarchies going on, then that very tendency which people have in them, that you're referring to, could be used in such a way that we could create truly democratic structures, truly viable cultures, and truly healthy, empowered, diverse individuals. Okay? And I also would have to say what we're going to be discovering very shortly in this course. While it's true that people have that very disconcerting tendency to fall in line with hierarchies that they also have a tendency – there's something inside them that says, “I want to get the hell out of here.”

And when you show them a way that, it's amazing how quickly you can precipitate a revolution. Someone will go right back into the next available hierarchy, which is why you need a completely nonviolent revolution.

The Grande Illusion

My mentor when I was doing classics in comparative literature was Alain Renoir. And his father was Jean Renoir, the great filmmaker. And so, Alain, when he was a young boy, was hanging out on the set of a film, [Grande Illusion](#). Grand Illusions. And so, this is WWI movie. And cast of thousands. And whether you were a German soldier or a French soldier, whether you got a captain's uniform or a private's uniform depended on how big you were and what time you got to the desk when they were handing out uniforms.

Now, it's totally arbitrary whether you're a private, lieutenant, corporal, what-have-you. Okay, but within one week, Alain noticed – this is why I love the guy. This is why he was my mentor. Within one week he noticed that during lunch breaks on the set, all the officers, the people wearing officer's uniforms, they would congregate over on one side and all of the enlisted men would congregate over on another side. And if one of the enlisted men made the mistake of walking past the officers, they would hand them some money and say, "[French]." You know, give them a ten-franc note and tell them to go buy wine for them and stuff like that. And they would do it. It took one week of wearing uniforms for people to spread themselves out in hierarchies.

So, I agree that we have this tendency, but A, I don't think it's the only tendency we have. After all, Alain Renoir was not wearing one of those uniforms. And B, it does – it's not necessarily fatal because we can create ones that are organic, that draw upon innate structures that are more like biological self-organizing systems. This is what we're trying to get at today in this field.

And that will not impede human development. Will not impede – the individual will not have to sacrifice anything of importance to him or herself for the good of the whole.

Oceanic Circles

So, that's where Gandhi derived this model of [oceanic circles](#). I should have

mentioned that, actually. If this is what it looked like when you had an emergency, when you did not have an emergency, you had this series of concentric circles.

This was his idea. Where he said the individual serves the family. The family serves the village. The village serves the district. The district serves the state. The state serves the nation. And the nation serves the world. So, you have a structure, if you will, that's larger than the individual, but does not impose power on the individual. It's not a domination structure.

And at one point he went even further and said, "You have an individual willing to perish for their family. A family willing to perish for the village." And so on and so forth. If it gets that far.

Okay. So, other questions before I move on?

Four Ingredients for a Successful Insurrection

Okay, good because we're running out of time anyway. I want to start thinking now a little bit about insurrections. And the first example that we're going to look at in a couple of moments was a set of insurrectionary movements, but don't get confused. We're going to go back and do some history of radical pacifism in the U.S. before we get to study insurrectionary movements per se, which will be a week from now.

So, don't let this confuse you. But if you take this list of the characteristics that you need to have a nonviolent episode or campaign or what have you, and you ask yourself a slightly different situation. What if you're in a situation of oppression and you need to fight back against them and you need to do it now, because there's opportunity? If you don't take this opportunity, more lives will be lost, and the thing will close down again.

And you haven't – you haven't got a Mahatma around, for one thing. You know, you put out an ad – you post an ad on your blog and say, "Is there a Mahatma out there? We need to have a nonviolent revolution." Now nobody answers you. Or rather, hundreds of phonies answer you. You know perfectly well that's what would happen. So, you don't have that kind of leadership. You have ordinary people to deal with. They have the problem in them that Elana was talking about it.

What are you going to do? I think there are three basic ingredients with which you can launch a successful insurrection that can capture enough nonviolent energy that it will work quote/unquote – or stand a good chance of work – quote/unquote – and will also do good work in the sense that it will bring the history of nonviolence forward.

And those three characteristics are – and again, this is not – these are in hyperspace. These are not in bronze somewhere on a rock somewhere on the campus. So, if you think maybe there should be four of them or they should be different ones, we can certainly discuss this. But at the moment, I think there are only three ingredients that you need.

You need a just cause. You need enough courage to break out of the spell that's created by the system. And this is very much a tipping point thing. Next week – sorry, week after next we'll be seeing films where this is exactly what happened in five regimes. You know, people suffering a lot of oppression. One or two tipping point individuals stepped forward and say, "I don't care what you do to me. I'm not afraid." And suddenly, the whole thing starts to break up. The whole domination system starts to break up.

And then you need only one other thing. And that's number four. That to some degree you have a sense that it's not about hating people. It's about fixing the problem. And you may even have a sense, not fooling yourself, you really believe that it's better for the oppressors to stop oppressing you.

You know, one of my favourite hadith or traditional stories that's told about the prophet is that he said to his followers one day, "You must help everyone." And one of them said, "You don't mean that. You know, we help brothers, but we do not help oppressors, right?" And the prophet, may peace be upon him, said, "No. I really meant it. You must help everyone." And the person says, "How do I help an oppressor?" And the epic answer was, "By preventing him from oppressing."

So, if you can reach at least some part of that attitude in an honest way, then I think you have the basic ingredients for successful nonviolent insurrection. The rest is strategy.

And that is actually a critical element because people often do this, but they have no idea what to do with it.

Example of Rosenstrasse Prison

This might be an example. It's a very important episode anyway.

It's in my book, the Rosenstrasse Prison Demonstration, 1943 in Berlin. Jews who had been married to non-Jewish wives were arrested. And they were about to be deported when their wives showed up at the detention center as a spontaneous demonstration saying we want our men back. Gestapo came out and said, "This is an illegal demonstration. Go back to your homes." And the women refused to go away. By the end of the weekend there whereas 6000 women there. And two days later, the gestapo relented, and several thousand men were released.

So, it was definitely a just cause. Those women had to overcome an incredible amount of fear. Just unimaginable to me how they were able to do that. And I don't think that they hated the regime so much as they wanted their husbands back. So, there was probably some degree because they were good Germans to some extent. They actually probably believed that Germany had been victimized and this is the way the country was going to rescue itself, to some degree.

But when that was over, there was – they couldn't do anything further with it. It was not – clearly, if you knew how to read the dynamic of what happened there, you would say, "My God, they could have brought down the whole Nazi regime if they had just kept the organization together, gone on, used the next appropriate strategies and so forth. But they knew nothing. They didn't know what to do. There were no nonviolence courses available at the University of Berlin in 1943. Trust me.

Spontaneous vs Organized Nonviolence

So, one of the things that we're going to be looking at quite soon is a new dimension that is coming to the history of nonviolence. And that is a learning process. For probably for centuries, it has been the case that any kind of learning that took place from one movement to the next was basically spontaneous. No one had any way of organizing it. Which is fine up to a point.

But there's a point beyond which, if you can systemize your knowledge and transmit it to other people, it becomes much more effective. Welcome to PACS164B. That's exactly what we're doing here.

But what's happening in the world is people are beginning to realize this. And one famous example that we'll be looking at quite soon when we get into insurrectionary mode. I like that. We're getting into insurrectionary mode. Not against me, you understand. But is the overthrow of [Slobodan Milosevic](#) in Belgrade in 2000. That was not only supported by American agencies that had enough money to translate Gene Sharp's works on nonviolence into Serbo-Croatian, but the students who basically

organized that very successful insurrection were then themselves organized into a group called, "[CANVAS](#)," which I think stands

for Committee Nonviolence Action" Something." I forget exactly what it stands for – who go around the world telling people how they did it. And they have incredible bonafides because they did it. They threw a very violent dictator out of power in basically one day, once they got it moving. We're going to see a movie about that and talk about the pluses and the minuses of that. But the only point that I want to emphasize here is things like this have been happening since at least New Testament times.

We talked about a few examples that took place in ancient Israel last semester. But nobody has systemically come along and said, "What did those people do? How did it work? And how could we make it work better? And could I use that in my country?" And this is the positive part of globalization, right? This is globalization from below. Globalization from above is how do we clamp down with these domination structures so that nobody can wriggle out.

Globalization from below is how people self-organize and mobilize energies in themselves that will enable them to be fulfilled. And without getting into chaos. Okay, so for our last thing I want to talk over with you, is this episode that I want to use as a case study that starts on page 31 of your reader.

And all it is is the preface to a book by Patricia Parkman called *Nonviolent Revolution in El Salvador*. And I know you don't have your readers with you, so let me just read parts of it to you. You can comment on them. I'm going to master this eraser by the end of the semester.

Okay, here's where all of this study and information comes from. There is a nonviolence scholar by the name of Gene Sharp who had a non-teaching position at Harvard. And he started two organizations, Center for Study of Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense. That's not very 21st century kind of title. And the other one was called, "[The Einstein Institution](#)."

And what he did – he was the first to start collecting systematically documented evidence about these nonviolent episodes that had happened.

Central American Dictators

One of his students was Patricia Parkman who was an expert on Central America. And so, because of her and because of this book, people now know that, as she says in the first week of May 1944, so this is a grim time to start thinking about nonviolent revolution and overthrowing dictators, right? It looked like dictators were bestriding the world.

The people of El Salvador's capital city silently demanded the resignation of dictator Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez by staying home from work. On May 9th, a little more than two months after the inauguration of his fourth term, President Martinez stepped down. So, this is incredible. In less than two weeks the people caused the downfall of a

dictator. He was on his way out of the country. Not only that, his downfall set off a chain reaction in Central America.

And she goes on to discuss Costa Rica, Guatemala, Nicaragua and El Salvador. Two of them were spectacular successes. One of them, namely Nicaragua, switched over from a nonviolent uprising – at least of the time we're talking about here, and as we all know very well, into the revolution, the Sandinista revolution. I have just spent a couple of weeks in Leon Nicaragua and Leon was a battleground in the city.

That poor country doesn't have enough money to do anything, and you still walk around, and you still see buildings today which have bullet holes in them because it was a Sandinista stronghold and there were pitched battles between the civil guards and the Sandinistas. So, that was a revolution that worked. In fact, this was a good – this is a case in point that I wasn't even thinking of. It worked, but it did not do very good work in the sense that today that Nicaragua is the second poorest country in the western hemisphere, after Haiti.

Contrast, if you will, one of the – the set of four, gang of four, Costa Rica, where they started with the traditional sort of militant uprising, where people were running out into the streets with handguns. And turned that around – when pitched battles between anti-government demonstrators and police erupted in Costa Rica, opposition leaders, once again, drew on the Salvadorian model in calling for a national strike to protest the actions of government forces.

And they eventually had a nonviolent social revolution. And the first president in 1947 who came in when they crafted the Costa Rican constitution, as you probably are aware, they decided not to have an army. So, Costa Rica does not have an army at this point. It has heavily armed police. But there are only 12 countries in the world, I believe, that do not have armies. And ten of them have security arrangements with some other country.

So, like there is no Liechtensteinian army. But if someone tries to attack Lichtenstein, Austria or France or somebody is going to come and defend them. But Costa Rica has no armed forces. And it is the only social revolution which for some reason was ignored by the United States. And I don't know why it was ignored. And the result of that is that outside of the northern hemisphere, it's the wealthiest country in the western hemisphere.

Whereas we all know what happens to Nicaragua. But what I'm proposing is that that was partly because Nicaragua decided to go on a path – on a violent path. I'm not blaming them, but I'm just saying this is the result.

Withdrawal of Consent

So, let me pull out a few of the key points here that she says silently and staying home when you've been studying nonviolence for a while, you pick up on terms like this and you realize that what she's talking about is strategic nonviolence. In other words, it's the

withdrawal of consent. Period. Now, there's nothing wrong with withdrawing consent from an illegitimate regime. You can call that a form of nonviolence.

But if you want to get from there to full nonviolence, you have to start bringing in positive forces, right? You cannot build an entire world order on a vacuum. You can't write a constitution in which you say, "The people of the United States of America forever withdraw their consent from the government. Period." End of quote. You know, I find in some ways that's kind of attractive, but I don't think you could actually get the milk delivered and things like that.

Yesterday, up where I live, there's a powerline blew down. I was 15 minutes late for a retreat where I was supposed to be at. I was very glad that we had some structures in society, namely the fire department and police and things like that. They could come and fix it so I could get home after the retreat. It was very convenient. But I want to emphasize that all you're talking about here – keep this in mind because you're going to be seeing this all semester.

All we're talking about here is a small piece of nonviolence. It's just a little bit of what nonviolence was capable of. So, 1944, I was 7-years-old. Nonviolence, PACS164 was not on the books yet. Nobody knew what they were doing. All they knew was to withdraw consent from something that they don't like rather than to give consent to something that they do like, which would be healthy and viable.

So, it's way, way less than half of nonviolence. It's a tiny little piece of it. And yet, in one week, Hernandez is out of power. And in a few weeks after that, this is a chain reaction that's spreading throughout Central America. Okay, well, I think I will stop here for now. Do read this little section. Pages 32 to 33 and we'll discuss a couple more details when we get started again on Tuesday. Have a good nonviolent weekend.

[PACS164B Lecture 03](#)

Michael: Good. And that's – there's a website where you can find out more and it's in the East Madron Room in Martin Luther King Center on Thursday night. Peace Corp is very challenging. My son just finished up two years of the Peace Corp and decided to stay in his country, which was Nicaragua. Also, he got married. So, it just shows you some of the things that can happen when you join the Peace Corp. this doesn't happen to all Peace Corps volunteers, but some.

Another announcement is that the website that I told you about before, www.mettacenter.org is now fully operational. Let me put it up here. And we hope to – Metta Center – that it would be very useful for people like you in this class. And so, if you have other – you know, if you see things that it should have or things that are unclear. We want this to be interactive and there's a blog. And there's a way that you can – this is the 21st century. You can get back to us and let us know how it's working for you. And in addition to the website, we also have fantastic T-shirts. I hope we're getting – are we getting this on the webcam?

This is going to be a bumper sticker also that you can send back to your folks. So, let me get redressed here for the rest of the – I'd like to talk a little bit about something that came up last time. I think I made a mistake.

Question of the Iraq Emergency

There was a question about are we – American citizens, vis-à-vis, the war in Iraq, are we in an emergency situation of the type that we're describing in this class?

And I got carried away and said yes. But it's not true. We are not in a situation which requires the use of violence. We're not there yet. We have two audiences. The general public, which can still be reached by education, especially now. Let's not make any mistakes about the general public in the U.S. right now. What they are experiencing is not a revulsion against war. They are not against war. They're against losing.

But we can take this energy, this consciousness, momentum and turn it to an anti-war consciousness. And that should be done by normal means of persuasion. But in terms of reaching policymakers, they cannot be persuaded. They already told us that. As you probably have guessed, we're going to see a film in a little while.

Policymakers have proudly announced that they cannot be reached by reason. So, the reason I got excited and said, "Yes, yes. This is an emergency," is because of my famous model. Can we get the sideboard on the camera if I – Okay. Of course. Ah, here it is.

I'll tell you what. Let's just do it here and we'll put it under the Metta Center. Yeah.

Phases of the Escalation Curve

As all of you know, because you've already read my book, on Page 108 of that book, I make an attempt to be perceived as a scientist, in vain hopes of being fully funded and getting the Nobel Prize at some point. And I have this famous diagram of the escalation of conflict and how it

proceeds smoothly, but you can, for purposes of knowing how to react non-violently, it's convenient to divide it into three phases.

And the first phase is what you might call, "The head phase," where people can be persuaded by reason. And that's the phase we're in as regarding much of the general public, which is confused. See nothing but advertising all day long and they don't know where to go. They could be reached by reason and passion and argumentation. And high school debate coaches know all about this.

But there comes a stage. Gandhi was very clear about this when reason just doesn't work anymore. And then you need satyagraha. And that we might call the heart region because he said, "Things of fundamental importance cannot be gained through appeals to reason alone. They cannot be gained through petition. You have to be able to move the heart also."

And I find it convenient to designate still a third stage where things have gone so far, you have been so dehumanized in the eyes of your opponents, the people you're trying to persuade, awoken, that you really have to lay down your life. You have to risk your life. It doesn't mean you have to die, but it does mean you have to be prepared to die. And that gives you a certain amount of power.

Dan Ellsberg and the Pentagon Papers

I'm fond of describing – A student will forgive me for repeating this ad nauseum, but one of my best friends, Dan Ellsberg, is a person who released the Pentagon Papers, and he was sitting there with those papers, which would show the country that the president was lying about the Vietnam War. He's sitting there with those papers and asking himself the question, "What will happen to me if I go public with these?" And when he asked that question, he conjured up all kinds of horrible things that would happen to him and he got paralyzed and he couldn't do it.

But one day, mostly under the gentle persuasion of Patricia Ellsberg, instead of putting the question that way, he said to himself, "What could I do if I were willing to go to jail?" And that immediately opened it up. He said, "Oh, I can do this. I can do that." And the next thing you knew, he was walking across the street with those 70,000 pages and released – putting them out in xeroxed copies to all the major newspapers.

So, what I'm saying is not that you want to die, but there's a great deal of power that comes from your willingness to die. And in terms of this administration, we're somewhere back here, I would say, on this. So, it needs direct opposition and concrete measures. Yeah. There's a seat right back there.

Iraq and the Escalation Curve

So, I don't think that we're in a state where we need to use violence. That's only in extreme last-minute physical emergencies. And it's interesting that Gandhi who invented this idea that it would be nonviolent to dispatch a lunatic with a sword who's rushing through the village. He invented this idea in 70 – he lived to be about 70, 80. Worked probably 60 years in the forefront of nonviolent action. Never had to invoke this principle. He never had to actually do it.

So, it's just there theoretically so that you know a point can come way up on the curve where you have to even use lethal force. But it's interesting to know about theoretically, but it doesn't really – it's not a model for us. We don't need to worry about it. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:07:40]

Michael: That's even past satyagraha. I'm saying sacrifice for this part out here. But even here, do note that this has nothing to do with that lunatic with the sword either. Because I'm not talking about killing somebody. I'm talking about being ready to die. Do you remember that famous line in the movie? When I say, "The movie," up to the end of January, it means Attenborough's Gandhi movie. What's going to change in February is that a friend of mine has done a major documentary on Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

And it's going to be screened somewhere in L.A. in February. I'm going to see if I can wheedle her with persuasion in – I won't – probably won't have to go on a hunger strike, but I like to get her to let us have the film up here some way. Anyway, in the movie, you'll remember in that famous scene in the September 11th, 1906, the Empire Theatre, Gandhi – what he actually said is not accurate in the movie, but it's true to type where he says, "I too am willing – this is a cause for which I too am willing to die, but there is no cause for which I am willing to kill."

So, that's a whole separate thing that's not even on this chart. Okay, so I got excited and nervous and went over to the chart. But what I should have said was, "No. This is not that kind of emergency for any of us, yet."

Now, on this – yeah? Question?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:09:15]

Michael: No. As I say, that would be off this chart. This would be such an extreme emergency that I have to use lethal force in order to protect life. And I've been putting this out there, there's plenty of lunatics in Berkeley. Any one of them could have taken me up on it and tried. You know, come into the class with a gun. But they never have. So, what I'm saying is it's very unlikely that that would ever happen.

Now, when people hear about that deranged lunatic exception, they say, "Well, that's what we're doing with war, right? The country is attacked suddenly. You go and defend it." But no, because you had to do a huge lot of preparation to get that defense ready. Now, if you had time to prepare, you have a choice to prepare violence or nonviolence. And Gandhi actually wanted India to be prepared to resist what they thought was an impending Japanese invasion by nonviolent means. We'll talk about exactly how that would work later on in the semester.

But it occurred to me that there's an interesting model here. We're never going to get through everything I wanted to say, but at the key point, I will stop, and we'll see the film.

Comparing the Conflicts of Algiers and India

If you compare two cases – we're comparing Algiers and India the same. There was very similar insurrections, but one of them used nonviolence and the other used nonviolence, roughly speaking.

The one that used nonviolence, very, very low rate of injury. And very, very good relationship with the previously colonial country – namely Britain. Whereas in Algiers, you had a drastic number of people killed. And the relations between Algerians and the French are not all that great, even to this day. And Algiers is not a democracy, which has something to do with the fact

that they chose violence as a means of liberating themselves from colonial rule or anything else. So, that was a good kind of comparison.

Now, I want to throw out another comparison here. When Gandhi was in Switzerland in 1931, he made public what he called his Thermopylae model. Thermopylae was a battle in the history of ancient Greece where a small force of Peloponnesian soldiers tried to prevent an enormous Persian army from coming through the pass at Thermopylae and invading Greece. They became great heroes. There's a poem of – I knew I shouldn't have started this. There's a two-line poem of Simonides which goes, [Greek]

“Oh friend, who passes by my gravestone here, go and report back to the Lacedaemonians that we lie here in obedience to their commands. Those are the Lakadaimonian soldiers who died at that pass. Okay, so that's our literary lapse for the week. We got that out of our system. Let's go back to the model.

Gandhi, he invokes this saying that if the Japanese were to invade India or if someone were to invade your country, what you can do is go up to the border, men women and children, and stand there and try physically to resist them. Then people would say, “But they'd get killed.” He said, “Yes, you get killed. But any army that killed unresisting men, women, and children,” he said, “would not be able to repeat the experiment.”

They'd be so revolted by their own behavior that they wouldn't be able to do that again. He would say this is drastic. This is costly. Can't help it. They're invading our country. This is a drastic emergency.

1940 - Polish Defense and 1991 - Moscow Coup Attempt

On the other hand, in commenting on the Polish defense in, I guess, 1940 when the Germans invaded Poland, the Polish army made a spirited attempt to defend the country.

And Gandhi was asked how he felt about that. And he said, “I'm willing to call this almost nonviolence.” Why? Because the Poles knew that they would be crushed to atoms. There was absolutely no match for the invading Wehrmacht. But they decided it was more honorable to go down fighting than just to give up their country. So, he called that almost nonviolence and he's calling a Thermopylae defense nonviolence. What do you think makes for the difference between the two cases?

This is kind of subtle. Yeah, Robbie?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:14:18]

Michael: I think in a way, they did not have the choice. Or to put it in another way, they didn't know they had that choice. If you don't know that nonviolence is a possibility, then basically it's not available for you and you've got to use the next best thing. And as we know, violence is better than cowardice. I must have said that about a dozen times last semester. And so, he had admiration, not just grudging admiration, but real admiration for what the Poles had done.

But if he had been able to get into that country, say a year before the German invasion and start talking about nonviolence, it would have been a very different story. Then you would have had what you had in Moscow in 1991 where they prevented the coup attempt through nonviolent

means. And the journalists all said, “Whoa, this is amazing. Where did this come from? We never heard of it. What lucky thing.”

Well, I have a friend, as you probably know, who was in Russia doing two nonviolence workshops a day, every day, all summer before that thing happened. So, it was not luck. It was training. But that’s the difference. And the Thermopylae case, he’s talking to people with enough advance warning before it happens, that they can train themselves to do this third stage.

Whereas in the Polish case, bang, it happened. And I remember a lot of people talking about France during WWII and saying, you know, did they do wrong to try to fight back against the Germans. And they’d say [French 00:15:54]. They were plunged into it. They had no opportunity to do anything else. Okay.

The Good War and Those Who Refuse to Fight It

Well, let me tell you what I was going to do. And then since we have all this equipment here, we have to do something else.

I wanted to go over those two and a quarter pages about the overthrow of Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez. And give you – to do that for two reasons. Fill in the background about what this era was like in this hemisphere. And also, to go over the details that we can get out of Patricia Parkman’s description of the event. So, what we’re going to do instead, because this is an hour video. It’s called, “[The Good War and Those Who Refuse to Fight it.](#)” It’s about WWII conscientious objectors in the U.S.

What we’re going to do is we’ll just see the video. And as you’re watching it, just make note of anything salient in your mind that you think is worthy of comment. Then what I’ll do is I’ll talk about the things to get out of the Patricia Parkman essay to give you an example of how to use reportage to get nonviolent information out of it. And then I’ll turn it over to you to say what did you notice in this movie.

The dynamics, any interesting comments. Okay, the point of the movie is that this was the most inspiring patriotic war that the country has ever fought. It is still a model for every war that the country fights – this country. It’s why President Bush Sr. when he launched the merciless bombing of Iraq in 91, he said – he went on the air and said, “The liberation of Kuwait has begun.”

Now, why did he do that? Because he wanted people to think that this was WWII, and we were liberating Europe from the Nazis. And people do think that because people think what is comfortable for them to think, I’m afraid. That’s a problem that we’re going to have to deal with a lot.

So, here you had the most engaging war that the country could possibly be fighting. It looked as if we were suddenly attacked by these two other countries. Don’t get me started on what actually was going on and what George Bush’s grandfather was doing with Hitler. That’ll have to be another seminar somewhere. And it takes me several hours to cool down after I say that story, so we’re not going to get into here.

But most people in the country thought that America was innocent and just being – was under attack. And yet, there were 6000 people who felt that they would rather go to jail than to fight,

even in that war. And that's what this film is about. Okay, so John, do you know how to get it started? Just push play? I think I can do that. Okay. This is the one? Okay..

Film Review

Michael: Thank you. So, I was saying that David Dillinger and a lot of these other people became parts of a loose movement. It never was an organization. But a movement called, "[Radical pacifism](#)." And it fed the anti-war movements in Korea, Vietnam, and sort of it's a little bit hard to see where it is right now. One thing that always strikes me when I see this movie, is Steve Carry saying at the beginning that you knew that there was this horrible menace. You knew that war was the wrong answer, but you did not have another answer.

This is the really tremendous importance of nonviolence, if we could get people to understand it, how it applies in every conceivable situation. That is the other answer. And it's, of course, it's an extremely noble thing to refuse to go along with the wrong answer. But unless you can come up with the right answer, it's really not going to turn the world around.

Okay,, so what I'll – what did you notice? What comments or what developments? Shannon?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:21:40]

Michael: Yes. That was David Dillinger. Yeah.

Student: And so, every [unintelligible 00:21:56]

Michael: Yeah. That's exactly how I reacted to that too. You know, here we have this idea that you have to be willing to lay down your life. Here's someone, David Dillinger, who is not in a position of – in a situation of immediate risk. And yet, mentally, he completely goes through the possibility of what if he died. And he comes – he comes out of it very much like what Dan Ellsberg did.

Okay,, if I'm willing to do it. Okay,, I'm willing to do it. Then what? And then his whole life is enriched, actually. And then he feels he's very much empowered. This is not to be confused with throwing your life away. And certainly not to be confused with, you know, taking it or anything like that. But as you say, with detachment, Shannon, if you stop clinging to your personal life, an amazing amount of power comes into your hands.

I'm not recommending it. I'm just saying if A, then B. Yeah? Sid?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:23:09]

Michael: This for me is really the most important point in the film. And there's kind of two stages to it. First, the government tries to punish them or show them that they're doing the wrong thing by congregating them in prison. And what you have is these 7000 men who are – hardly knew each other. In most cases, didn't know each other at all. They became a movement. And in two stages, they were able to – they were forced to work through their convictions and really think about it. It's not just a gut reaction, a knee-jerk reaction anymore. But why am I in here? You have to face that with all these other people.

And out of that crucible, Bill Sutherland uses a very good word there. Out of that crucible, they really became a movement. And now, what you're saying, Sid, and I completely agree with it, is

Okay,, even if you don't have a positive alternative. If you can say no to the wrong answer, a positive alternative will slowly develop out of that. And it's amazing how they see these opportunities coming up for them, the entire NIMH, you know, the National Institute of Mental Health, they've never funded me, but still, they're a pretty good outfit.

It's a part of American life now and it came out of this one decision of these few people insisting on doing something useful. Finally, they plugged them into these bedlams. And, you know, we grow up not having any idea what those places were like and what kind of a blot against humanity it was to have them in every state.

So, there's the NIMH, there's the radical pacifism movement, and then there's the desegregation of the federal prison system. Now, imagine how much more powerful it would have been if these people had planned that ahead of time. They had known that they could go forward towards these things rather than just away from. Well, I don't know, some of the best things that have ever been accomplished by nonviolence had been more-or-less by accident. Once you make the one right choice, everything else follows.

Yeah? Anything else?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:25:39]

Michael: Yeah. They still wanted to participate. They weren't anarchists in the sense that they were disavowing any connection with society. And this is – if we remember when we discussed the rules for civil disobedience, we said that it's – okay,, you decide that there's a regulation or a law that you're not going to obey. It goes against your conscience. But you simultaneously decide that you're going to put up with the penalty because you're not against the system. You're not saying, "I'm not part of this society." You're playing by the rules that seem right to you, but not the ones that seem wrong to you.

And if you don't do that, you never purify those rules. And then by contrast, look who we have that statement from [Coop]. Here we have people being injected with fatal viruses. And then not being told. And he said, "I felt helpless because," in fact, I wrote it down. "You're powerless when you're part of a big team." So, if the big team is playing in the wrong game, you have to decide you're not going to play along with it.

And in a way, you're being the most valuable team player for that whole society. Because if you don't do that, the system is just going to keep on gravitating towards more and more convenient and more and more destructive choices. Yeah.

Student: I thought it was interesting how sometimes, say that they were like using classicism in place of nonviolence. And how [unintelligible 00:27:38].

Michael: That's right. Yeah. The terms have got to be sorted out. That's why we have a rather large glossary going up on that website that I'll try and sort out this vocabulary. I actually think that's a very powerful thing. If we can decide what we mean by words like pacifism and nonviolence, conscientious objection, we'll be able to have the kinds of discussions that those guys were having in those charming camps.

Okay.. Think about this film a little bit more. And then we'll go over to talk about the Parkman pages and then talk – no. Yeah, that's right. That's what we'll do on Thursday. Insurrectionary movements come up – start next week.

[PACS164B Lecture 04](#)

Michael: Well, good morning everyone. This is like it's about time to start. I have a happy announcement to start us off with this morning. I think that I was able to add everyone who was on the waitlist and who was attending and who was here on Thursday. So, we should be okay.. I'm not sure that Telebears is very fast. You know, it doesn't – it's only a computer. So, it doesn't catch up on this kind of thing very quickly. But if you have been attending and you were here last time and you are on the waitlist, I think that you've been added. So, check with that and check with me afterwards if you have any questions about that.

Also, if you have a couple of spare hours a week and you want to do something nonviolent with those couple of spare hours, we're starting to develop a lot of projects at the Metta Center, and we need a lot of help over there. So, I guess for starters, if you just come and mention it to me after class and I'll see how many of you are interested in what we can do in having a long meeting with the staff today. It sounds very grand, but it's actually two people I'm taking out for lunch.

Just a few more announcements before we get started.

Science of Metta

I heard about a very interesting piece of scientific evidence on Tuesday. If you remember, there was a certain point in PACS164A where we sort of ran through the scientific evidence for the potential of the human being to be nonviolent and affect others. I heard about a very interesting finding which at first I didn't know what to do with, but when I thought about it later, I thought it is indeed very significant.

And the finding is this. They were studying Buddhist monks who were being asked to do what they call, "Metta practice." Metta being originally the Buddhist term for lovingkindness. So, what they're doing is they're generating compassionate feelings in themselves. I don't know exactly how they do this, but they bring up compassion. And while these monks are sitting there being compassionate, they are being – their brains are being scanned with this very sophisticated MRI technology to see what part of the brain would light up.

And it was very interesting. Now as I say, it took me a while to realize how significant this actually is. Surprisingly, the part of the brain that is activated when you're having compassionate thoughts towards persons or towards institutions. That's a lot harder. But say towards persons who need our compassion. The part of the brain that gets activated is the motor area of the brain, the part that would drive you into action.

So, I thought this – something very intriguing about that. And later, I realized what this probably actually means is that I'm going to use an expression now which I'm going to go back and modify in a little bit. We are hard-wired to act out of compassion. In other words, we are physiologically set up so that the more compassionate we feel, the more our brains are ready to drive us into action.

And that has, obviously, obvious survival benefits, not only for the group as a whole, but for the person or creature acting out of positive motivations. You see what happens when you act out of negative motivations, what's going on in Iraq right now.

So, I said – excuse me – I said we're hardwired to behave in – scientists, the more scientific scientists, hipper scientists today are not claiming that when there's a physical pathway, that is what determines our behavior. But rather, somehow, they use the term mediated. When you have compassion and you want to act out of that compassion, this is being mediated through brain structures and through circuitry that has been connected up in the brain.

So, we're not saying that this is physically caused, but we are saying that, you know, there are two basic objections that you'll meet with when you try to develop a nonviolent position with somebody. The first one they'll probably say is that it never would have worked against Hitler. By now, you should be able to deal with that issue. And the second one they'll say is that it's not human nature.

So, what we're getting now is just more and more and more evidence coming in from every conceivable angle that in fact nature and especially human nature are organized precisely for nonviolence. I mentioned the famous Dutch primatologist Frans de Waal last semester. He is sort of making off a lot on that research.

Okay,, now we're still going through the announcements. We haven't gotten to the course yet. Trivia quiz. Nonviolence trivia quiz of the week. I don't have any special T-shirt on today, so I've got to – I'm reduced to this sort of thing.

Caligula's Statue in the Temple

It turns out that yesterday in AD 41 was the day that the Roman emperor Caligula was assassinated. Now why is that significant? Do you remember how -I'm talking to the people who took PACS164A, or who read my book with attention, with the attention that it deserves.

Why is the career of Caligula and the way that it ended significant in the nonviolence story? Does anybody remember that? Not that he was a nonviolent person, right? He was like – he's like your quintessential bad emperor. Mike?

Student: Is he one who ordered his statue?

Michael: Right. Caligula is the one who ordered a statue of himself as Zeus to be put up where?

Student: In the temple?

Michael: In the temple in Jerusalem. Yeah. That's what's important. So, this was a classic example of a dictatorial person trampling on the sensibilities of people that he had no – you know, that he just didn't have any sensitivity to. If you remember my saying that Johan Galtung, after much research, came to the conclusion that the problem in the Middle East is that we want access to their oil reserves, and they want respect for their religion.

So, the clash of civilizations is actually a clash of egos. And it would be very, very easy to resolve it if we didn't have those egos and we had some respect for what they – what's important to them. But we don't have that. So, this is another – you know, this has been going on forever. And in AD 40, this is what happened. Caligula wanted a statue of himself put up in the temple in Jerusalem. The Jews came flocking into the city from every corner, especially of Galilee. Most of the big troublemakers came from Galilee. That's sort of the Berkley of ancient Palestine.

And they said, “You can’t do this.” And Caligula ordered the Syrian legate, who was in charge of military control of Jerusalem. His name was Petronius. He ordered him to put this down. And Petronius said, “We will kill you.” And the Jews just laid down and said, “Go ahead and kill us.” So, this is – what stage are we at here folks? Stage 3 right. It’s right here, if you look really carefully. Stage 3, once again, people en masse, this time not an individual, willing to lay down their life and it turns out that in this particular case, they did not have to lose their life.

Petronius didn’t know how to handle this. He had, incidentally, slaughtered lots of Jews who were resisting in the ordinary fashion. But this was something that he didn’t know how to cope with. Do you remember Bill Sutherland’s little story from Danville State Prison where the warden comes in and sits and he says, “You guys are driving me crazy. I don’t know how to handle nonviolent resistance.” Very, very important revelation.

So, anyway, Petronius sent a letter to – they didn’t have email yet. You have to remember that. He sent a – remember that. He sent a letter to Caligula saying maybe this isn’t such a good idea because we’d rather have these people out in the fields harvesting the crops so that we can exploit them rather than just have their blood running in the streets of Jerusalem. And Caligula immediately ordered Petronius to commit suicide. He posted that letter and he – Caligula was assassinated before the letter reached Petronius. So, that’s the whole story.

And the way it fits into the whole history thing – there are some seats on the other side if you want to go around the back. Yeah.

Uprisings and "The Good War and Those Who Refuse to Fight"

The way this fits in – yeah, there’s one here, but I didn’t want her to walk in front of the camera. Thanks, Joanna. The way this fits in is that in fact there were about seven uprisings in the ancient Jewish world. About five of them were sort of nonviolent. And of those, three were successful. And two became – two broke down. And I think three were successful, one broke down, and one was mooted by a change and the issue became irrelevant.

But it shows you that nonviolence has been around for a long time, even though there have not been courses in it until relatively recently. And that does make some sort of difference. Okay.. So, now what I’d like to do today is talk some more about the film that we just saw. And then finally get around to analyzing in some depth this very brief account we have of the 1944 insurrection in El Salvador. And the other things that it led to. And that’ll be a very good segue for us to next week’s topic.

Next week we really get into the heaviest kind of nonviolent uprising or activity, which is insurrection, which actually aims at overthrowing the government. Not by constitutional means like the impeachment campaign that’s going on, by whatever it takes. So, I just wanted to start us off by sharing with you that when this film was premiered, this documentary, *The Good War and Those Who Refuse to Fight it*. Bullfrog Films, for those of you who want to tell your folks about it back home.

When it premiered in Oakland it was very dramatic. I was invited to be on a panel discussing conscientious objection and nonviolence and the like. And I said my usual stuff, you know, yada-yada. Gandhi, Gandhi, Gandhi. My usual. And it went on. People had very interesting questions. And then these two older people got up – guys got up in the back of the room and said, “Aren’t you going to talk about us?”

And so, we said, “Well who are you gentlemen?” And they said, “We were in Camp 14 of the selective service camps.” They got the innovation of their life. There was not a dry eye on the house when that was over. And you could sort of see, you know, these guys that had made that sacrifice 60 years ago and finally it was – they were getting some due recognition for it. So, this was very, very emotional.

So, that’s part of the reason that I started showing this film. Let me review, as I recall them, some of the key points that came up that we were discussing last time, and we’ll go on from there. I think that in a way, what I’m about to mention is – and that we did talk about, is fundamental, absolutely fundamental. As you know, I believe that principled nonviolence, the kind that we’re talking about here, I was going to put PNV on the T-shirt, but that would kind of had messed it up visually. So, we just stuck with NV.

Principled nonviolence is the kind that begins from a spiritual struggle within the individual. And sometimes it’s best described as a struggle against negative drives. And we were putting side-by-side this very dramatic episode that David Dillinger described himself going through in that prison.

Prison is a fairly good place to go through spiritual conversions. It’s also a good place to waste your whole life without going through anything. I know, because I got a couple of people who have found my book in there, and I’m in correspondence with them. But there’s also this story of Ammon Hennessy. He was an anarchist in WWI.

And in prison, he was – they put him in this jail cell with nothing but the gospel. So, out of sheer boredom he started reading it. And he had this revelation that if he was going to be a true anarchist and really come out of the violent framework of society, he was going to have to love the warden, who was the person whom he most hated in the entire world at that moment. The warden had actually cheated him. Told him he was going to be sprung, and then said, “Ha, ha, we were just kidding you.” So, this guy was vicious and arbitrary, capricious, cruel, all these good boy scout virtues.

And Hennessy describes, he will never forget. He was walking back in forth in the cell and he just – he walked into the wall, it was such a revelation. He realized he had to overcome his hatred of that person, not just of mankind in general. So, similarly, David Dillinger comes to the realization that he’s not going to change his values. He’s not going to change his position. Therefore, he’s looking at a whole life of prison. He’s going to be in trouble his whole life, which basically he was. I’m sorry to say he passed away just a few years ago.

And he, I guess, asked himself this very deep question, are you willing to go through with this? Are you okay with it? And he said, “Yes.” And the minute he was okay with it and let go of it, some new capacity, some new powers came into his disposal.

So, it’s this kind of personal conversion that really lies at the heart of nonviolence. Though are we going to talk a fair amount about how you build it out, how you make a movement out of it, what’s being going on with them and so forth. But my belief is that without this kind of personal change, that there isn’t really anything there to work with. The rest is just, you know, tricks and structures.

And as Johan Galtung said to me one time – I love dropping names of famous people – so, there I was talking to Maria Shriver, and I said, “Could I borrow your husband’s motorcycle?”

As Johan Galtung said to me one time, “Unless you have some belief, some deep change, design inside yourself, your nonviolence is just a set of tricks. And guess what? The other side has better tricks.” So, eventually, you're going to lose on every level if you don't have – if you've got that, you can – it won't happen by itself, but you can figure out how to build that out into a movement and institutions, and into a new world order, which is nothing more nor less than what we're aiming at here.

Okay.. All right.

Competition vs Cooperation

And then let me – let me start us off with a question then. I thought it was way cool that they let them out to pitch softball when they had all been locked away in punishment camps. And even – it even says something significant. Can you see what – what is so special about baseball that – here you have these people who were condemned for basically betraying their allegiance to the country, you know, they're locked away in prison.

They're treated as criminals. But baseball is a different matter. Why? It's a slightly cynical question I'm asking here. What do you – let me put it this way, what do you think baseball and war have in common that you might weigh them one against the other?

Student: It's just a guess, it has the capacity to make heroes. There's camaraderie, there's the same one for another, and victory, and the strategic games.

Michael: Yes. Especially in all the things that you mentioned. Their camaraderie. What was the first thing you said, Mathias? Who remembers anymore? But the victory part, yeah. Zoe?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:17:49]

Michael: Power struggle, victory, maybe the single term that would embrace that would actually get warfare and sports on roughly the same page is competition. It's negative struggle. It's the belief that relationships are win/lose. And therefore, the way to work out the order in the world, which is supposed to be there, is by a big cockfight, pitting everybody against everybody else. And the person who wins, was the one who was destined to win.

And that's why, pardon my bitterness here, but when you're going into the presidential election of 2000 and just two weeks before the election, Senator McCain was ahead of the other guy – four letter name. And the other guy's team played a dirty trick where they made a nationwide advertising campaign saying that McCain had done something really quite reprehensible.

It was discovered after five days that this was a complete lie. No basis in truth. Guess what? It didn't matter. The point was that he knew enough dirty tricks to win. Not that whether, you know, the other person actually was this bad or was not this bad. So, this is – yeah. Let's take a moment now to turn off our cellphones.

So, mind you, a nonviolent person does not have to say, “I will never play baseball.” Baseball is not itself violent. But it can be approached in such a way that – I mean unless you get beamed with a hardball. That's pretty hard. But it can be approached in such a way where the key element is the competition. And then what you have is you just have this swinging back and forth between the symbolic competition, which is baseball, and outright competition, which is

shock and awe. Bombing people. But that also is not ultimately grounded in reality, but that's another topic.

Student: One thing that was interesting about the context of the film, was that the picture of one of the – released to play the game [unintelligible 00:20:14] unless all the others were. And so, that was like almost putting himself in a position of power.

Michael: That's right.

Student: Which is real interesting.

Michael: Yeah. Remember that. They wanted to just let this one pitched out so they could win their game and he said, "Oh, you want me out? Well then, let's bargain. I'm not leaving unless all my buddies leave." Yeah.

Draft Resistance

My brother – just wax a little bit personal here. The government, the U.S. government took an unhealthy interest in my brother in the 1970's. They wanted to send him to a South Asian country. He went to a North American country instead.

But my brother was a famous folksinger. Perhaps if any of you is from Canada, you've heard of [Eric Nagler](#). He's very famous up there. His brother has failed to make it in the U.S., but he at least made it Canada. And so, comes one Thanksgiving and Eric was part of a group called, "[The Beers Family](#)." And they were quintessentially American.

And so, [Pat Nixon](#) invited the Beers Family to play at the White House one Thanksgiving, not realizing that the lead guitarist of the Beers Family is languishing up in Canada because he's a conscientious objector. So, they wrote to him and said they'd let him come down to play at the White House and then go back to Canada. So, he writes to me – I'm his older brother and still don't have email. So, he wrote or phoned and said, "What should I do?" I said, "Agree to come down if they will let all the CO's who are up in Canada come down and visit their families for Thanksgiving and go back."

It was exactly the right thing to do. It did not turn out exactly that way. There was also some further very funny developments which we'll talk about at some point.

King of the Deer

But maybe this is a good opportunity for me to share with you one of my favorite Jataka stories. I think this is actually useful and we will have – we will be able to cover what we want to cover, even if I have this slight digression.

A Jataka story is a story about the Buddha in his earlier incarnations. And this particular story is called, "The King of the Deer." Any of you – any Buddhists in the class who are familiar with this story? It's a very good story if you have children or planning to have children, want to raise them non-violently. It's a good story to tell them.

Okay, it turns out there is a king who liked venison, deer meat. So, he organized these huge hunting expeditions, and he went out and slaughtered deer every time he felt like it. And it was getting to be un-ecological. And maybe the time was coming where they were an endangered

species. And so, they struck a deal with the king that if he would not hunt them in this cruel way, they would send one deer I think each day or something to the royal palace that he could use for his royal feast.

So, he said, "Okay, I can live with this." So, every day, one deer would – they draw lots, you know, and one deer would go. So, the King of the Deer is walking around his domains one day and there's a pregnant doe who is weeping. And the King of the Deer says to her, "What's the matter, my dear?" Sorry, I couldn't – [laughter] I couldn't resist that. We'll try to get from grade C up to sort of grade B+ level.

"But what's the matter?" And she said, "Today is my turn and it's not my life, but it's the life of my little fawns that I'm so upset about." And the King said, "Never fear. You stay here. I will go in your place." So, the King of the Deer goes and lays his head on the chopping block in the royal kitchen and the cook comes out and he says, "Whoa. I can't kill the King." Because it's a big tradition in India. You don't kill kings.

"I have a problem here." So, he goes back and eventually he has to go all the way up to the top and get the Maharaja to come down and talk to this king – the Deer King, who was lying there with his head on the block. And the human king says to the Deer King, "You know, we're both kings. We're in this together – Kingy, old boy. So, you know, I don't want to kill you. That wouldn't be right. I'll let you go. I'll be vegetarian today." And the Deer King doesn't get up.

And so, the human king says, "Maybe you didn't hear me? Translate this please into deer language. I won't – I don't want to kill you." And he said, "I'm not leaving here until you stop taking all of us. That you promise you will never kill another deer, otherwise I'm staying here on this block." And human king says, "Whoa. That's pretty heavy. To renounce venison the rest of my life? It's not a very kingly thing to do."

He says, "But I have no choice, really. I can't kill him, and he won't go away. So, I'm forced." He says, "Okay, okay. I won't kill you and eat deer anymore." And he still doesn't get up. And the king says, "Now what's your problem?" And he says, "I'm not leaving until you agree that you will never kill another animal." And the king agrees. And of course, that King of the Deer was the Buddha in an earlier incarnation. That's how the story ends.

Now, I'm not saying this actually happened, okay? Most of the other anecdotes and episodes we'll be talking about are historical in the normal sense. But it shows you with that story of the picture, and just through the way Gandhi drove his hardest bargains from in prison, it shows you that when they think they've got you under their control, you often have them under your control.

Examples of Nonviolent vs Violent Resistance

In the next film that we're going to see on Tuesday, where we'll talk about – which talks about four nonviolent insurrections that took place in the 70's and 80's.

One of the Philippine commentators, a priest, a bishop, I think. Talks about the power of vulnerability. I think that's a fairly good term for what we're hitting on here. Okay. Anything else? That was a good observation, Matt. Anything else come up for us in this film? Nick?

Student: I thought that the competition here talking about, you know, I kind of look at the bridge between nonviolent inmates and the violent inmates in the sense that the competition is sort of like – the violent inmates were the ones that asked for the nonviolence [unintelligible 00:27:26].

Michael: I think this is a very good point that Nick is raising, that the not nonviolent inmates in the prison and the staff, you know, the prison guards who were, I think, not unionized yet at that time. They wanted for the honor of that particular prison, for Danville, they wanted that guy out. And that maybe showed that they'd been affected. I think there's absolutely no doubt that – the way we hear it from the warden when he has that moment and he, you know, he tests his will against the prisoner, and he fails. He loses. And he collapses.

And he says, "I wish – I can't wait to be dealing with murderers again. I know how to deal with those guys." In the – sorry, I'm sort of rambling. But in the Ruhrkampf in 1920 – no, that's wrong. 24, I think it was. The French and the Belgians invaded the Ruhr which had been taken over by the French. And because – no, it hadn't been taken over by the French. But German government was supposed to take all of the coal wealth from that area and send it to the French. And at a certain point, they refused. They just did not have enough money to do that.

And the French decided to invade. And the Germans resisted non-violently. This is one of the famous spontaneous civil nonviolent resistance movements in Europe. Another one took place during the [Kapp Putsch](#), just before Hitler came to power. But it was a strikingly successful event, the French and the Belgians had to back down. And there were documents that were later recovered where one of these French generals was saying, "I wish they would turn violent. Why don't they start shooting? Then I could wipe them out immediately. I know exactly how to deal with them. But they're carrying on like this. I am helpless." He literally said that.

However, that wasn't your question. I just got carried away. I think in some – hang one second. The question was, were the not nonviolent prisoners affected by the witness of these nonviolent prisoners? My answer is absolutely without doubt they must have been. But you don't often get this documented. That's part of our problem. That's why I talk about this – these documents that they recovered from the French and why this sheriff's testimony. I keep saying sheriff – the warden's – I live out in the country – the warden's testimony is important, is it reveals the power vulnerability as perceived by the side of the would-be oppressors.

Now, what I'm saying is that happens millions of times more than we know. Just trust me on that one. Or don't. It's up to you. My claim is that this is an invisible effect, and we don't know how to monitor it. And it's not often recorded in writing. But when we say – remember we were talking about work versus work? Nonviolence will always do work. It will always be changing people on some level. And then you never know when that change is going to come to the surface, and you'll see what you created. Okay, good. Anything else from the film? Yeah? And your name is?

Student: Christine.

Michael: Christine?

Non-Participation and Cooperation

Student: Yeah. I was interested in the conscientious objectors and non-combatants.

Michael: Right.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:31:11]

Michael: Thank you Christine. You asked me that on – you're right, thanks. So, Christine's question is what about Lew Ayers? You know, who's one -- conscientious objection has different places you can draw the line. There's a famous story about conscientious objectors in WWI. The book is called, "We shall not..." something. That's not going to help you a whole lot. Let me get the exact author and the title for next time. But there were 12 conscientious objectors in New Zealand during WWI who refused to go to the front.

Tremendous pressure was put on them. And eventually two of them were brought to the frontlines in Europe to be, you know, on the British side. And one of them was an absolute refuser. He would not cooperate with anything. But they wanted him up there in the trenches. They didn't want him back in camp. So, they had to – they put wires on this poor guy and drag him across these duck boards and these mud fields until his clothing was worn away and his body is being lacerated. They did this to him every day.

Now, there's another CO in the camp who is a very similar case. And he writes the book, actually. And he decided that he would go up to the trenches and stand there without a weapon. So, that's where he drew his line. And these two guys argued. You know, you're not a real conscientious objector. So, it really does become problematic. Here we have this principle, okay, I will not participate. But in what form will my non-participation take?

And then you go even further down towards cooperation, and you get these medics. And it's really troublesome. And in fact, I don't have any answer for it. And that's rare. You know, let's enjoy this folks, because how often are going to come to a question that I won't be able to make up some kind of an answer.

But in one way – I mean don't forget Gandhi did this twice. You know, Gandhi was involved in military service four times. And two of those times he was an ambulance – he actually organized an ambulance corps. So, on the one hand, you're saying, "My job is to heal people. Not to hurt them. You're giving me opportunity to do this. I'll do it this way." But in another sense, you're sanitizing the war a little bit.

In a way, and I'm not saying which way is right. It's a real dilemma. But in a way, it would do more harm to the war system if there would be no medics and you leave the people there bleeding to death because the fact is, as we're seeing right now, in Iraq, there's a certain number where the pain gets intense enough where people say, "We don't want this anymore." It's a horrible issue. I don't really know what to say about it.

But I have noticed that if you look at the fictionalization of war projected into the future, you know, like Star Trek and things like that. In the real world, weapons have gotten bigger and bigger and bigger until, you know, a nuclear exchange would destroy everybody. But in their fantastical imaginations, it infuriates me because they make billions of dollars on this stuff, and I can hardly keep one non-profit going. In their imagination, weapons have shrunk down to like these little flashlights, go *chang, chang, chang*. What they're doing is sanitizing war so they can keep on fighting it.

So, that's, you know, nonviolence does simplify things tremendously and it solves a lot of problems, but there are still some gray areas. And I think what we have to decide about those gray areas is to leave it up to the individual's conscious. I think that's a very safe thing to do. You know, Gandhi said that if a person believes something to be right, for him, that thing is right

and proper. There's a kind of relativism. That if you do something that you believe to be right, you will eventually discover that it was actually wrong."

But if you start fudging, you start – like [Quentin Coop] saying, "Well, you're helpless when you're part of a big system", then you'll never discover experientially whether what you did was right or wrong. So, again, it's work versus work. You have the opportunity to convince or force everybody out of the army or let them discover on their own that killing is wrong. For purposes of long-term evolution, it's much better to go the other way.

So, that I think – I said I didn't have any answer for this, but it turns out I have one, actually. And I'm glad. I think in these gray areas, you just leave it up to the person to decide, honestly, what is the right thing to do. And even if isn't the right thing, they will find that out. Okay.

Anything else? I've got one or two more I'd like to share with you. Yeah, Mathias?

Cowardice, Resistance, and Dehumanization

Student: Well, I just can't understand a certain feeling of how difficult it is to resist. I mean [unintelligible 00:36:45] these people seem like we're portrayed as cowards. You know, not fighting for the good cause and whatever. That is so present [unintelligible 00:36:56]. The big picture is always drawn, you know, the mainstream, the strong, the masculine. And there's people who say – who are saying no. They're portrayed as the weak, the betrayers.

Michael: Yeah. I even heard when I was studying in Heidelberg, I overheard an argument in an office about some people that were not standing up to their responsibilities. And one person was saying to another, [German]. "These people are nothing but conscientious objectors." I wanted to – ugh.

So, what can you do about that? One thing you can do is what some of those guys did, prove that you're not a coward. You know, jump out of an airplane, have typhoid shot in your veins, starve yourself to death. Is this an ideal solution? No. I mean we would like nonviolence to be for ourselves as well as other people. Shannon?

Shannon: I think that people that want to be fighting for something, [unintelligible 00:38:06]

Michael: Oh, that's absolutely true. To be a conscientious objector, you are saying Mathias has to turn against this very easy downstream. Yeah. Your name again is?

Student: Marcella.

Michael: Marcella. That's right.

Student: I wanted to say about this idea of like what makes a man, you know. [unintelligible 00:38:50]

Michael: Now, now.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:38:52] the letter that this woman wrote. And how she's [unintelligible 00:38:57]

Michael: Bullfrog Films did a very good thing in putting that letter in there. And there's – the narration was very good. There's women saying, "If you can really be called men." Now, this is an issue on which a lot of work has been done probably starting in the 80's. And in a way, to get rid of this idea that in order to be a man you have to be violent, we would ultimately have to change the whole culture, which as you know, I have no problem with.

But maybe in a smaller way, we could approach it as an image of the meaning of the gender. And people have been working on that. There's a lot of literature and books on how we have genderized violence in this way and how to get out of it. Yeah, in the back?

Student: I just wanted to mention really quickly on that note there's a really good film called *Tough Guise*. G-U-I-S-E. And it's basically about how the media helps push this portrayal of genderized violence on young boys and men.

Michael: Yeah. And I think one of the things that we've been discovering in this work is that this is not so sweet for guys. It does not help them. It does not give them an easy ride to be told that if you trample on other people you'll be successful. It's not a very comfortable way to live. You're going against things that are in your nature. Zoe?

Student: Also, in terms of [unintelligible 00:41:14]

Michael: So, you're saying that the best way to deal with war non-violently is not when the thing has already broken out, but in the run-up, or way, way before. And of course, that's true. Then remember that came up also. That someone said to Asa Watkins, I think, "What would you do against Hitler?" And he said, "When?" You know, 1919, it would be a snap. You're down on the bottom of Nagler's curve. I've got all kinds of things that I could do. So, we should be thinking about the next one now before we get there.

But I think it's very important for us to be aware that nonviolence has an answer even if you have to parachute us in at the last minute. We're not helpless. We don't have to go back to violence. So, meantime, we're talking about two other things as well. And one is the courage that's required to go against the mainstream, especially – I don't know, it seems to me that this is a qualitatively different issue because there's some things that people feel so deeply about that they cannot accept you as a human being unless you go along with them.

And sexual behavior is often in this category. And whether or not you'll participate in the violence of the group is almost as deep. So, it's not just like, you know, I'm decided that I'm going to school with spikey hair, you know, purple or something like that. People will smile and they'll think, "There goes another crazy PACS professor." But nobody is going to be like – there won't be this deep rejection, a very deep revulsion and dehumanization.

But it has been the case since recorded history that participation in the group meant to carry out the warfare of the group. In ancient Sparta, for example, there was a disenfranchised group, you know, there's sort of the untouchables of the ancient Lakidomonian world. And they were so outside the pale that they were fair game. Helots, they were called. They were fair game. You could attack them with impunity.

Begin to train young men to be soldiers. They would take them out on raids where they would raid Helots and kill them. Things were tough in those days. And there was a myth that explained the origin of the Helots. The helots were tresantes – quiverers. They were the people who would run away in battle. And that's why they were – they were not human, see? So, you really – when

you're becoming – when you're a conscientious objector when your nation is under attack, you're going against something that's deep.

So, what are you going to do? Partly, you know, you go and let yourself be starved for scientific experiment and you prove that in fact this takes more courage, as you were just saying, Shannon, this takes more courage than what you're doing, to shoulder a rifle and fire at people. But what if you don't even have that opportunity? Amy, were you going to speak to that?

Student: Well, I was just going to [unintelligible 00:44:59]

Michael: No, it doesn't help them directly. You know, starving yourself doesn't – although it helps them indirectly because you're going to have to deal with all of these concentration camp victims. And so, science is studying them to see how to deal with them. I mean I thought that was very poor science, but I'm a literature professor. What do I know? Arby?

Arby: I was just going to say that because in my nutrition class we were talking about the same experiment. [unintelligible 00:45:36] When the war was over, and all these people were already starving. They came back [unintelligible 00:45:41].

Michael: Yeah. Okay. I mean I hate to be the wet blanket on all of this. I mean what Arby is saying is true. They were studying this in order to help these starvation victims. But at the same time, the allies were refusing to bomb the concentration camps. So, it's a very mixed – "There's no such thing as a good war. You can no more win a war than you can win an earthquake," as Margaret Mead said.

Quaker Influence in WWI and WWII

So, the picture is a lot more muddy than you think. And thus, you ask yourself your question, the question, are we dealing with violence or nonviolence? Then things become clearer. But here's what I was leading up to. There may come a time when you have no way to prove that you are indeed a man or whatever it is. And nobody will believe you. And if you're really committed to, you know, if your T-shirt says, "I ♥ PNV," you go ahead and do it anyway, you know.

Ultimately, you do not do nonviolence or a reference public. That's a term that sociologists use. We talked about it in connection with the Civil Rights Movement, that they started orchestrating demonstrations in such a way that the public would get the message. And you do that when you're dealing with large numbers and you're dealing with a movement. But when you're talking about person power and your ultimate humanity, I think we have to be prepared to face the eventuality that we may be in a situation where nobody will appreciate us and the only friend we'll have is our own conscious.

Personally, I think that if you're okay with that, eventually other things will come into line. Somehow, people pick up on that and begrudgingly respect you. There's lots of stories like that in the annals of nonviolence.

Okay, I think I had only one other thing I wanted to share on the film for this go around anyway. And that is the mention of Quaker relief work right after the war. There's a history there. In 1919 after the devastation of the war and the devastation of the influenza epidemic – epidemic is what I wanted to say. The starvation in Germany was absolutely appalling. It was absolutely inhumane. And there was only one group in the world that went in to give them some relief and that was the Quakers. This group that we studied the origin of last semester.

Now, one result of that – this is an extremely dramatic story which I don't think you'll see written anywhere. I heard it from a Quaker, as a matter-of-fact, so I know it's true. Quakers aren't allowed to lie. This guy had a friend who was actually doing relief work among Jews in Germany in the late 1930's after Hitler had come to power. And there was a particular prison where a large number of Jews were being held. And, you know, they were going to be shipped out to these camps.

And the Quakers, two or three of them, they went into this prison and said, "Give us these people and we will take care of – we'll get them out of Germany. They won't bother you." And so, they were granted an interview with the commander of this prison. When they went in there, they thought they were sunk because they had never seen such a cruel, cold, face as this person had. And he listened to them in stony silence for a long time and then dismissed them.

And then they were sent a message saying yes you can have the prisoners. At which point, they got on the phone and started calling around, you know, to the French, the English, the Americans. And guess what folks? Nobody would take them. So, they never did get them out. So, this story is very good because I think it shows you – like it's not a black and white thing going on out there. And it shows you that because the Quakers went in there in 1919 when nobody else would give them any relief, that the Germans remembered that, even in the Nazi era. And they allowed the Quakers come in and do relief work, even during WWII.

Now, just to add one little thing to that. We've been saying all along that – and in fact, Zoe, you said it here today, the way to overcome war is not to wait until it breaks out, obviously. However, the fact is that you can also do something about the next war with the conclusion of this one. The way we ended WWI led directly to WWII. The way we ended WWII led directly to the European Union. Okay, you may not think the EU is the greatest invention in the world, you know, I'd rather be dealing with my little currency rather than euros and things like that, but it's a step forward in some way.

I think, you know, not to get into the whole thing. I mean the courts and all this. It is a step forward. Anyway, what's incontrovertible, I think, is that the way you deal with post-conflict situations has very determining influence on the future. This is a means/ends thing. And in the last – I think since the truth and reconciliation experiment in South Africa, there's been a regular industry, if you will, or a field about post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation, and how to do that in a way that it defuses coming conflicts. The Treaty of Versailles being absolutely the classic way not to do it. And I think we're in a very early stage with this experimentation.

Insurrection in El Salvador

Okay, so I guess there's one other main point that we talked about last time that I'd like to reiterate a little bit, and that was that these people were mainly getting into their nonviolent posture in a negative way through refusal. And yet, despite that, because of the sincerity, the authenticity of their position, enormous goods came from in the area of constructive program.

Okay, so if it's not too much of a shift, we're now going to talk about our first example of an insurrectionary struggle. Actually, aimed at overthrowing a government and we have all of two pages of descriptions of this little event because I don't think we need to spend too much time on it. In these two pages of Patricia Parkman's introduction, you don't get the background. There is something significant about it. And that was the constitution of El Salvador at that time had a term limit for presidents of three terms.

And Martinez had just – his third term had just expired. And what he proposed to do was fix the constitution so that he could have a fourth term. And that's when the people said, "Yeah, *basta*." You know, enough of this. And they decided to resist. This is an important point for us to always have in mind. Partly, it's the paradox of repression that we're talking about. In order to keep people down,

you're going to have to push too hard at some point. And at that point, they will rebel, and it will get bad.

So, it's a paradox. You can never repress people indefinitely successfully. I thought that there was – that we were never going to reach that point in this country, but it looks like we are starting to rebound a little bit. But also, in a more general sense, that it seems to be almost inevitable that you will cross a boundary where even if you're not trying to escalate as Martinez was trying to do here, you will somehow at some point get to a boundary where the time is right for people to stand up and rebel.

Effervescence of the Crowd and Legitimacy

And at that point, you remember the three criteria. You have to have a just cause. You have to have the courage to overcome, to break through the mystique of the power that's holding you down. And then if you really want to proceed to a movement that will have an enduring impact, you need to overcome the confusion of the opponent with the opposition. In other words, the person is not the problem. If you can find it in your heart to forgive the opponents as people, while resisting their repression of you as a program, you should be able to sail through from that uprising – sometimes called the effervescence of the crowd. We'll talk about that more in a little bit – to a permanent resolution of the underlying issues.

So, this is what happened here. Martinez wants to amend the constitution in May of 1944. The people silently demanded his resignation. And in only a few days, pretty much one week, two months after the inauguration of his fourth term, he ends up stepping down. And the next point which I've already emphasized is that if you can make this magic happen in one regime, often it can spread to other regimes if the setting is right. And this is, of course, what happened in Eastern Europe in – well, the Eastern half of Europe in 1989, when the Soviet Union was weakened, you had this avalanche of liberation struggles. Which I think all started in the Nicoli [unintelligible 00:56:11]. We'll talk about that episode in a little bit.

So, this is why you often meet with extreme repression when you start a resistance movement. It's because the people in power know that their power depends on a kind of mystique of invincibility. And it depends on another very important quality which we owe the identification of this to Kenneth Boulding, and that is legitimacy.

As long as the regime is perceived as legitimate, it can do anything. If you can get that switched off, it can't do anything. So, how to do that is a big mystery. But one part of that mystery is very clear, and that is that violent resistance is not very effective at proving that the regime is illegitimate. Mathias?

Student: So, what I'm wondering, is that I don't think this government is – I mean it's –

Michael: You're talking about our government here?

Student: Yeah. Our government [unintelligible 00:57:20].

Michael: You're bringing up a very important point. It's the point that Gandhi was emphasizing when he talked about that line between the head and the heart. People – this is the funny thing about human beings. Of course, everyone in this class is an exception, okay? But your general run of humanity, they will only believe what they want to believe, what's convenient for them to believe.

So, nonviolence is not really about getting them to believe something so much as it is about getting them to want to believe something. You make it somehow – and there's two ways of going about

that. You want to show them that what they are clinging to is ugly, illegitimate, whatever you want to call it. And they'll be happier somewhere else. You have to do both.

Remember, the famous quotation from Toynbee, about the British in India, about Gandhi, "He made it impossible for us to go on ruling India, but he made it possible for us to leave without ranker and without humiliation." A nonviolent actor really has to do both. A violent actor doesn't. You know, life is very easy for those people in some stupid, unsatisfying way.

Power of Propaganda and Legitimacy

But yes, there's – we've now reached a point – and this line changes, so you can reach – you can change the degree to which people will disbelieve the truth, by propaganda. Propaganda, incidentally, was invented by the British in WWI. And now, we're getting a little bit far afield, but this is so fascinating and can't resist. Now, see, the problem is that the forces of reaction in this culture have a ready-made automatic propaganda machine worth \$50 billion a year. They don't have to spend a dime and it works 24/7, and they don't have to even pick up a finger. It's called advertising.

We can discuss this later on the semester, but I want – I don't want you to leave this course without being able to see point for point how some innocuous ad that's selling you something is actually selling you the whole paradigm which involves neo-conservatism and violence and all the rest of it. Yeah?

Student: Do you think it also – the paradigm also creates powerlessness, because I think that's [unintelligible 01:00:09]. But the fact that an individual is powerless, I guess.

Michael: That's a key part. And that's what, you know, advertising – it depends on you're believing that you're powerless and you have to buy their product to get what you want. You know, I happen to know of two absolutely excellent marketing people. And they have never come up with a campaign that said, you know, "The infinite spirit is within you. You're already happy. Just discover it. You don't need our product." You can see how ridiculous that it would be to tell the truth in that context.

So, it's true that all of that is going on. And that's why I said how this perception of legitimacy is mysterious. We don't know what does it. I think the only thing I think we can say with some security about it, is that nonviolence is very powerful at gaining legitimacy for an uprising, which in term means draining the legitimacy from a regime. And that's how paradox of repression episodes happen. And violence is very bad at this. That's about all we can say. But still, it is a fascinating thing to consider.

I don't think, you know, I think there's a lot of things about nonviolence that are like this that you cannot predict exactly when or what form your thing is going to work. That's where the faith element comes in. Faith that you're doing it right. That's all your responsible for.

Capacity of the Nonviolent Actor

Kind of reminds me. I'm not sure why if this anecdote about some person going to his spiritual director and saying, "You're always saying that we should work and yet you're telling us that everything depends on God. It doesn't make sense. If everything depends on God, we should pray, not work. And if nothing depends on God, we should work, not pray."

And he said, "Okay, work is though everything depending on you. And pray is though everything depended on God." That was his formula. Okay, so it's not relevant, but I just thought it was kind of neat to mention it at this point.

It's similar though to what I'm saying, which is that we have a certain capacity, which may seem to us to be limited, but it's actually crucial to commit ourselves to the means. Then, we let the ends more-or-less take care of themselves. That's how a nonviolent actor goes about addressing changing something. Whereas with the nonviolent – sorry, what the violent actor says is, "I've got to change that no matter what and it's got to look exactly like this, and it has to happen now."

So, what I'm saying is we can work on that marvelous paradigm shift where people begin to perceive that not only that this particular government is not legitimate, but that the whole style of governing is not legitimate in the way of carrying on international affairs is not legitimate. We've just got to work with that and assume that if we do our work well, it will happen. Not in my lifetime, at least in yours. I'm okay with that.

Costa Rica, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Honduras

Okay, so let's go on with this. As I've mentioned, there were two – you had an array of movements that come out of this. Costa Rica, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Honduras. And it gives you kind of a good laboratory because the Nicaraguan experiment was basically departed from the nonviolent path pretty early. The Costa Rican one, for some funny reason, went on to become even more nonviolent. And so, you have Costa Rica today is one of the very few countries in the world that has no army. And Nicaragua is the second poorest country in the western hemisphere right now.

And that's partly because of the 1979 revolution made them look like something that Ronald Reagan wanted to crush. So, I'm not saying it's entirely their fault. But I am saying that it is not a coincidence that the Nicaraguan model led to such a bad conclusion and the Costa Rican model led to such a good one. Anyway, two of these four uprisings were very successful. And they spread very quickly, and Patricia Parkman gives you some good examples of how the word got out and spread around.

Women of Honduras imitate the women of Cuscatlán who in this struggle has been the most heroic and self-denying. Two interesting things here. To what extent is this a movement that comes from particular groups? And she struggles with this issue throughout this whole little description in her whole book. In other words, the form that the uprising takes is that of a strike. Our immediate association with strike because of our Marxist background is a class struggle.

But this is not exactly a class struggle. This a struggle of the people as a whole against the government as a whole. In a larger sense, of course, in Central America and South America, you could say it is a class struggle because there's a union of the rich and the powerful on top and you have the poor people living in [unintelligible 01:06:15] and so forth on the bottom. But it is a different kind of struggle. And so, in a way, what matters is, that people can be self-denying to bring a certain kind of power into this struggle. And the real contrast is between the mentality of the dictator who is absolutely the most self-affirming kind of person. He says, "I'm the decider," and things like that. "You're my base. I'm the top of the pyramid." Not thinking of anyone in particular, of course.

But it's exact opposite of self-denial. So, this is a recrudescence of springing back up into life, of an ideology of self-denial. And this is, in one way, a universal human struggle that goes on and on throughout history. Grouping itself into one form and now into another. So, in that sense, it pretty much doesn't matter what class of society you come from. But when the thing gets rolling, it does matter that, indeed, women are brought into the struggle. That seems to be one of the really key elements. And the thing that – it almost always starts with students.

That's why I say we if get rid of students, we wouldn't have any of these problems. But you remember if you were in last semester, critical period in the South African struggle was 19 – early in 1913 when women and laborers were brought in. When that happened, the satyagraha became invincible. So, it partly does matter and partly doesn't. And my famous slogan, if you will – it's a little

bit too long for a T-shirt. But we'll figure out something, is it's not about – not so much about what kind of people we have in power, but what kind of power we have in people.

You can see both of those things playing themselves out here. The students of Nicaragua are with the democratic students of Central America. This is on the next page, “We shall sustain democracy in Central America, *cost what it may*.” Okay, why did I emphasize those lost four words? Let's just talk about that a little bit. Yeah, Zoe?

Student: You could link it up with karma yoga. That would be – that would be interesting. I was thinking of something a little more obvious than that. I think you're too smart for this kind of question. Sid?

Stage 3 of the Escalation Curve

Student: The [unintelligible 01:09:05]

Michael: Yes. They felt that they were at Stage 3 of the escalation curve. And whether they were or not, it gave them a great deal of power to be able to say that. I mean once you say this thing has got to be overcome no matter what. They can't really stop you anymore because they'll threaten you with stuff and you've already given it up. You know, it's like Gandhi pointing out in connection with civil disobedience, that the law doesn't really say you cannot X, Y, or Z. The law says if you do X, Y, or Z, we will take away [X, Y, or Z]. So, if you've already given those three up, the law is powerless in that instance in a particular setting.

So, that shows you that – we've identified two very important things about the spirit of this, that it was being galvanized by a sense of self-denial. And if you remember Gandhi's famous expression, and his marches and stuff and the whole struggle, in general, was [*Ayatnya*] or sacrifice. And really, the opposition is claiming that it is undergoing sacrifice also. It's kind of a duplicitous game that they're playing.

Okay, so they know that this is extreme. They are involving different elements of society, and they are appealing to the desire to sacrifice self which actually turns out to be – though you'd never get that impression from our culture, it turns out to be a very deep motivation for people. Once you've touched that, you can really go almost anywhere.

Just a couple sentences earlier than that, I want to point that on June 23, in Guatemala, students, teachers, and lawyers in Guatemala City initiated another massive shutdown consciously modeled on that of El Salvador. And again, in one week, July 1st, the president of Guatemala, Jorge Ubico resigned.

So, I'm interested here, keenly in the consciously modeled part because the single most detrimental factor in peace development worldwide has been the lack of a learning process. So, that every time you start a movement you have to reinvent the wheel and start it all over again.

And this is, perhaps, the most hopeful development in nonviolence over the last 20, 25 years. Of course, as you can see, it started earlier in terms of local regions. But now, gee, globalism could mean the globalization of nonviolence. So, that why not? So, that people in one corner of the world, would learn from what their brothers and sisters in another corner of the world did. And they could start at square three instead of square one. And they could reach a tipping point and we could actually live in England's green and pleasant land here or build Jerusalem or whatever it was that Blake said.

So, I did want to touch on one other thing, so let me just quickly point out it's useful to bear these technical terms in mind because then we can prove to our parents and other citizens of California that we've not wasted their tuition money. So, do remember the concept of *brazos caídos* 'arms dropped.' But again, there's something – there's an important principle behind it and that's this. That again, what we're talking about is not people creating an alternative. They haven't said anything about loving their opponents.

What they're talking about is withdrawal of cooperation of consent. So, we're talking about the most – trying to choose my words carefully here. It's not working. The most primitive form of nonviolence. Which is to say, "I will not go along with your X, Y, Z, what it is. You're killing things. You can't get my compliance with this. That's the bare beginning of nonviolence. We're going to look at episodes and movements where it was carried much further than that.

Okay. Do you have anything else that you would like to emphasize, highlight, or question in this little description? I think it's kind of been a good exercise on how to get information out of these things. If not, I'll spend the concluding few minutes on a rather poignant case of nonviolence. Okay?

Protest Power, and Change

On we go. For a finale today, I would like to share with you a resource and a movement. The resource is a book that you have in your list of resources, right after the syllabus in the reader. It's a kind of encyclopedia called, "Protest, Power, and change. An Encyclopedia of Nonviolent Action from Act up to Women's Suffrage."

And I was afraid of this – just a second. The movement that I wanted to share with you – okay, here we go – took place in January of 1948. So, we're still talking about this WWII era and non-war things that are going on in the world. And here's my surprise for today. This is the cookie for today. It took place in Iraq. Just imagine. So, let's talk about what happened briefly and talk about what the repercussions were, what that means for us here today?

This is called correctly by these authors of predominantly nonviolent movements. So, again, let's remember that this is very weak because it's in violation of Nagler's Law. Nagler's Law is the 11th Commandment, you know, you cannot violate it without losing lots of power. But you really can't expect to see nonviolence doing its stuff if you mix it up with a little bit of violence, just to make sure. So somehow, everything goes over to the violence when you do that.

But this is predominantly nonviolent movement. The situation was that there was a treaty in Iraq. The British, who basically created Iraq, made a treaty with that country that, guess what, gave them control over the oil reserves. Surprise, surprise. And they also put in a nice puppet ruler to make sure that everything would go along smoothly.

1948 came time for the renewal of the treaty and they, by this time, they hated Salih Jabr who was the head of a country that had been in there by the British. And the people decided they wouldn't have it and they – while he was in England ratifying the treaty, the streets of Baghdad were in utter turmoil, but a very different kind of turmoil from the streets of Baghdad today, need hardly say.

It's demonstrations and strikes, and it's going to lead to the resignation of the prime minister, Salih Jabr, and to the repudiation of the treaty. So, that from 1948 until the next round of colonialism in 1990, the Iraqi's actually had control to some degree over their own oil reserves. There were other issues. There were food shortages and basically Jabr was very unpopular by that time.

And I think this is actually kind of unfortunate because I think nonviolence works best when it focuses on one issue, and it's an issue of principle, and they stick to that issue. And you even carry out what's called – what is it called? Anyone remember from last semester?

No fresh issue. You stick to that until it's secured and then you go onto something else. So, the fact that they hated the guy is actually not a plus for us. It means that it was easier to overthrow him, but it means that the overthrow was not quite as much a victory for nonviolence as it was just a victory of the Iraqi people. He comes back to Baghdad and the demonstrations are so severe that he couldn't even land in the Iraqi airport. He had to land in a British military airport and travel up to Baghdad in disguise. [unintelligible 01:18:33]

And on January 26, he ordered the police to use machine guns to disburse the protest demonstration. Okay, let's do a little roleplay here. Imagine that you're average Joe reporter. You've never taken PACS164. Never heard of it. You're living in outer darkness in Northgate Hall here, learning to be a journalism student. And you're going to finish the story. So, Jabr uses machine guns to dispel the demonstrators, what would you say? He has more power than the people, right? So, what's going to be the outcome?

The people leave, yeah. They were disbursed. They saw those machine guns and they said – whatever, however you say this in Arabic, "I'm getting the hell out of here." But now let's suppose that you have taken PACS164, and you have a clue. And you're writing real news. Tell me what you think would happen? You can even tell me what it's called and where to find it on my website. Catherine?

Paradox of Repression

Paradox of repression, which predicts that what will happen?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:19:48]

Michael: Well, you know, that is a very – that's also a very good point. That once the police have been required to use live ammunition and kill people, they start losing their nerve. And there's even a case not in Iraq, but in Iran where it was very, very, very violent in the 79 revolution where one soldier was ordered to fire on the crowds and he refused, and they started giving him a hard time and he shot his commanding officer and then shot himself. It can be that extreme.

But what do you think would happen to the movement when this act of extreme violence is exerted against them? Zoe?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:20:36]

Michael: Okay, I guess what we're coming down to here is just one of two possibilities. We're either going to have a Sharpville episode where – oh, that's right, you weren't in PACS164A. When you use nonviolence against an unarmed demonstration, the people lose their nerve, and they resort to violence. But there's another possibility. What if they don't lose their nerve, what is going to happen? Well, let me just read you the sentence.

"Jabr ordered police to use machine guns to disburse protest demonstrations. In response to this threat, thousands of Iraqi's poured into the streets in protest." Exactly what we saw with Abdul Ghaffar Khan's Red Shirt Movement – I said movie because it is now a movie – from movement to movie – in the Northwest Frontier province.

What I am not saying is every time you use violence, there'll be a paradox of repression. And you use violence an oppressor. It doesn't always happen. Again, it's one of these things where it's a principle, but it may not – you cannot always predict exactly what the outcome will be.

But this was a very plausible outcome, given a nonviolent logic. And it's a completely impossible outcome given standard journalism school logic. Over the weekend, you want something to think about while you're reading all of this stuff on the other insurrectionary movements. Just think what if we knew about this in 1990? Just think what could be going on today in Iraq. I think it would be fun to spend a few minutes just visualizing what kind have happened. What, we could be living through now. Okay, folks. Have a great weekend. I'll see you.

Part 2 Insurrection and Freedom Struggles

[PACS164B Lecture 05](#)

Search for Common Ground

Michael: And I wanted to announce also that, you know, nonviolence intersects with this big industry called, “Conflict resolution.” The way I look at it, conflict resolution is a third of our escalation curve. Then we come in on the second and third. You know, we’re sort of like the Marines. But there are some excellent projects going on in dispute resolution which are not just aimed at domestic or social, but even international dispute resolution.

And of those outfits, the best that I know of is called, “The Search for Common Ground.” Which is based in Washington D.C. and was started by [John Marx](#) who actually was in government before he wised up. He may even have been in the CIA. I assume people in the CIA, they don’t tell you that they were in the CIA. And it’s just grown by leaps and bounds and it’s terrific because it deals with the most intractable conflicts. They spent several years in Jerusalem dealing with Arab Israeli things.

And they also, domestically, they have done Common Ground workshops on abortion which are very, very difficult. And they work is they start off by saying, “Okay, what do we have in common? However small it may be, and let’s build out from there.” And they’re just very, very good at it. They’ve started a soap opera in several countries. Like sub-Saharan countries. So, they’re dealing with this at the cultural level as well.

And they’re going to be in town on March 3. in the evening in Oakland. By the way, if anyone goes out that door, be very careful. It’s not a nonviolent door. They’re going to be in Oakland on March 3- at Preservation Park. Don’t know where that is, but it sounds like a good place to do it. And if you want further information, this is the association Alternative Dispute Resolution, something something dot net. John Marx will be there as the keynote speaker. And it’s very unusual he gets out to this area.

Oak Satyagraha

Okay, I guess we have a victory on our hands. I gather that the Oak Satyagraha was successful. That’s what I’m seeing. Yeah? It’s typical in that it was victorious. It was also typical in that it was an ecological struggle. We’re going to talk about quite a few of those when we get to that section of the course. And in most cases, it will be people fighting for their very lives and their livelihood is being snatched out from under them.

Here, it was just some super alert Berkeley students who recognized the value of an oak tree. Remember, we had a chancellor on this campus once who when we were preparing to cut down Faculty Glade, we gave him a lot of trouble. And finally, he said, “Don’t worry, I have been fully sensitized.” Like he was not sensitive. Fortunately, we didn’t have to sacrifice the faculty to save the glade. But if we had made that movie, it would have been Stage 3. And it’s also typical – no, I guess that’s what I wanted to say about that.

Insurrectionary Movements

So, we are now going to launch into our topic of insurrectionary movements which I define as movements which attempt to overthrow an established regime that they are in. And we saw this sputtering, a beginning of this in the 1940's in Central America. And then it's going to go on sputtering here and there. There'll be a rather dramatic episode in Pakistan which was never reported, which didn't get any international attention. And therefore, partly therefore, didn't succeed very well.

But then there's an explosion of movements in the 80's. Some of them connected with the sudden vacuum of power when the Soviet Union collapsed, but the Philippines was different. So, we're going to look at a film now in a couple of minutes which, first of all, it was sponsored by the [Marinou Order] which is important because it shows you one of the many connections that we're going to be seeing between religious – established religious entities and nonviolent insurrections. Nonviolent movements of one kind or another.

And Central America, South America, this has been particularly important. And it's also a film that was made by an Israeli by the name of Ilan Ziv who was a member of the Israeli Defense Force. So, again, it gives us an example of a soldier who saw combat, directly was affected by that. Turned around and is now trying to do something about it.

Work vs "Work"

Before we start the film, I wanted to go back to the Good War and Those Who Refused to Fight It because we did stop it before the end. And I forgot, there's actually some very important things happening at the end which are timely right now, where they talked about what all those people did after their CO experiences.

It's interesting that Bill Sutherland said – and I think you heard him say this, that you don't demand success right now in my lifetime. "You," as he put it, "it's not true that you must have success in my country in my lifetime. You plan something and you pursue it, and you take one step at a time." So, this is partly – this is our famous "work" versus work issue. You know, you don't necessarily have to see the thing succeed, quote/unquote right there in front of you.

But the fact is, that when you do something nonviolent, it'll have good results. Even staunching the flow of coffee lattes in classrooms. It's bound to have a good result for the people downstairs.

Mixed Success of Nonviolent Movements

Now George Hauser, whom you saw in the film, he and James Farmer started the Congress of Racial Equality Corps which is a very important institution – organization because it helped to launch the Freedom Rides. It was a key part of the Civil Rights Movement.

They actually founded CORE during WWII while they were going through the CO experience. George Hauser and James Farmer did that. Bill Sutherland and George Hauser devoted their lives to nonviolence in Africa and African liberation struggles. That's an extremely interesting part of the world that I really wish we had more time to discuss.

You will have a chapter on South Africa which was the big success story, the union of South Africa. In the Zunes Kurtz, and Asher book, that you will be reading soon, but also there were two African leaders who tried to put their liberation struggles on a nonviolent track. Nyerere and Nkrumah. And they both met within different success. Not that the nonviolence wasn't

successful against the opposition, they were not too successful in getting people on board with it.

So, in between South Africa and the Sahara, the experiences have been rather mixed. And I really wish we had more time to talk about it. One thing is certain, and that is that that whole thing was launched by Gandhi because African soldiers were part of the British Empire. They were drafted off their Cadbury plantations and brought up to fight in India. And Indians would say, "Why don't you win your own freedom first before you start winning it for the British?" And they caught fire with this and went back and launched that whole thing.

Not that they completely got it, how to do in non-violently, but at least they got the liberation part. Okay, but if I don't stop talking pretty soon we won't actually get onto this film. So, this is a documentary on the overthrow of Pinochet in Chile which was done by constitutional means after a popular movement. It's going to talk about the First Intifada which was the relatively nonviolent one. And I'll have a lot more to say about that. And you have a chapter on that.

And the big one, the famous one is the people power revolution in the Philippines which was completely successful. But I'm going to say it was completely successful but did not totally work. In our sense, work without quote marks. And I've revised a little bit my own version of what it takes to launch an insurrectionary movement that goes on and really changes things.

You need – it has to be a just cause and you'll see how a lot of these movements began. The stumbling block for the dictatorship was where they tried their hand at voter fraud. Apparently, in some countries people do not put up with voter fraud. I don't know why. It's a perfectly normal thing. It all seems weird to me. But some countries, they don't.

Then as this film will emphasize, you need the courage. And I'm going to add the vision to see through the new clothes that the emperor is wearing. You have to see that this is an illegitimate domination, and you have to have the courage to stand up to it. And it's really pretty amazing how quickly it often falls down when you do that. But then, if you want the thing to launch into a permanent positive change, I think you need two other things.

One, I've mentioned before, you need to have the attitude that the person isn't the problem. That you don't hate the dictator. You just want him to stop being a dictator. In any case, you're not going to obey him anymore. And if you really want it to develop into something permanent, you need our famous friend, constructive program.

So, have that kind of schema in the back of your mind. The film has its own scheme. And let's do the same thing that we did last time which is go through and pick out comments that people make. Special attention to, you know, what mental states they're going through when this is happening. And what are the elements that they identify as important, and what are the ones that we can maybe read between the lines.

Okay, John, you're on. Roll 'em or what you say.

[Movie]

Is everybody okay? There was a lot to chew on in that film. Guess maybe I'll start by telling you a little bit about one of the narrators, Gene Sharp. If you're not familiar with his name, he was an extremely important pioneer in nonviolence, especially nonviolence education. And he started that center at Harvard, Center for the Study of Nonviolence Sanctions in Conflict and Defense.

And collected a lot of material and a lot of documentation which we would not have if he had not done that.

So, we owe him a great debt. He's recently retired, and I think the institution called, "Nonviolence International," in Washington D.C. is taking his whole library and trying to take him on down there. That having been said, there is a difference between the kind of nonviolence that I'm trying to explore you with here, which sometimes called, "Principled nonviolence," and the kind that professor – he wasn't a professor, actually. Gene Sharp was about – which is sometimes called strategic nonviolence. And that somewhat came out in the film. Catherine?

Student: Yeah, I noticed when he was talking about [unintelligible 00:12:50.]

Michael: Yeah. What Catherine and I'm sure all the other A students were just jumping out of their chair wanting to point this out because we noticed this immediately. Gandhi who fasted – did major public fasts with political intent, probably about 12 times. And about ten of them were successful. And if you look around in his works, you'll see scattered here and there. And they were actually collected in a little booklet that there was special rules for this. You don't just – let's say, you know, sitting there in the oak trees and on the second day you say, "Okay, if you're still not giving us what we want, we're going to fast unto death up here."

It's a question partly of timing because laying down your life is your ultimate weapon. It's not something to be done lightly. And that was a problem with what Gene Sharp was suggesting. That it be done en mass right at the beginning. Or not at the beginning but, you know, way too early in the struggle. So, why don't we just run through that quickly.

Science and Strategy of Nonviolent Resistance

What are the rules for doing this right because that'll kind of show us that there's a science and a strategy to all of this? So, who'd like to start? Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:14:12]

Michael: Right. You have to be the right person for the job. And that means what exactly? It means two things, actually.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:14:24]

Michael: You have to – this is going to bring up the second point that he always made is that you can only fast against a lover, not against someone who doesn't care, basically, whether you live or die. Because you'll simply be wasting the effort. So, you have to be the right person in the sense that you have the trust, there's some kind of bond between you and the persons toward whom you're aiming the fast.

But you also have to be the right person for the job in a deeper sense, and that is in order for you to render up your life, you have to have it to give up. And most of us, our will to live is way, way under the surface and we have to access to it. And I had a friend, as a matter of fact, who was poisoned by Agent Orange in Vietnam and contracted a brain tumor. And he was dying.

And he – his wife and daughter were there, and he said, "You know, unplug me from this machine. I'm going to give up my life." So, they unplugged him and about six hours later he came bounding up and said, "Plug me back in." You know, you don't know how deep that will to

live is. In order to really do this, to really do a fast unto death in order to persuade an opponent you have to really, really be in charge of that desire, deep, deep in your consciousness to really make it work.

And this the best – I deal with best – dying for a cause is never my favorite mechanism. Mike?

Student: Were all of Gandhi's fasts unto death?

Michael: No. Some of them were – well, some – he did a lot of things that were just penitential fasts. They had no political significance, just something he felt he had to take on. He invented that in South Africa when some of the young people in the ashram misbehaved. Apparently, this is a universal phenomenon. Young people misbehave. And he said, "Well." He wanted to sort of punish them, but he felt that on principle, punishment was not appropriate in an ashram.

But he had to do something. So, he took it on himself. He fasted for a certain period. It was very effective. But in terms of political fasts, no, not all of them were fasts unto death. Some of them were – like there was a 21 day fast. But some of them were, I'm going to – if you don't come around, I'm checking out."

So, okay, we've talked about two of the five rules. Usually, I can remember four of them on any given occasion. What else have we got here? Yes?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:17:24]

Michael: Yeah. What Joanna is getting at is – my way of putting it is it has to be consistent with the whole movement. You can't be a terrorist and then find yourself in prison and say, "I'm not going to eat in here," and expect it to have the desired effect. And we talked about this very unfortunate episode with the Irish hunger strikers in Long Kesh Prison where, in fact, Margaret Thatcher was the wrong audience. They were the wrong people. It was not – there were a couple of other things they violated.

But the biggest one they violated was they had been going around bombing people and kneecapping them, and then they decided they were going fast. And it's inconsistent. The message in nonviolence always has to be very clear and consistent. This is part of Nagler's Law. Okay, so, that's three. Zoe?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:18:22]

Michael: It has to be a doable demand. You can't fast for somebody to do something unrealistic like there were two people in this country who fasted to get Premiere Khrushchev and President – whoever we had as president at that time – to end the arm's race. You know, that was a little unrealistic. You have like, you know, 700 million people who wanted the arms race to go on. You had two guys starving themselves in Washington D.C. That was unrealistic.

Okay, one other thing. Amy, did you have your hand up?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:18:56]

Michael: It has to be the last resort. Excellent. Okay, it shows you the collective mind is better than any individual. Yes. It has to be a last resort because it's your most powerful weapon. And

this is the frequent error – is to go to that right away because it's the most dramatic thing. You know about it. And you're impatient. You want to have an effect and so you jump right into that.

And partly, that was what was wrong with Gene Sharp making that suggestion at that point. Yeah, Robbie?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:19:28]

Michael: You know, we're talking about human beings and therefore all bets are off. I mean everything is a little bit unpredictable. Always. There's always going to be that swerve of the atom as Lucretius said. You cannot totally predict what's going to happen. You can't predict it on the subatomic level or on the personal level. But for it to have the most reliable opportunity to work, these five principles have to be followed. Catherine?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:19:59]

Michael: Yeah. I think what he was suggesting also would violate – so, it – actually, it violated everything. It's totally wrong all the way down. Yeah. They wouldn't exactly – they could be classified as lovers at that point. Although toward the end, after those four days in February, then they could definitely reach them.

Well, despite the darkness, I managed to scribble down a whole page of notes here. You guys also think this over. There's a lot that we can pick up on this film and we'll take off from here on Thursday.

[PACS164B Lecture 06](#)

Michael: I have to start on a slightly apologetic note this morning because I realized that I had this brilliant idea for reorganizing the syllabus slightly. And just went ahead and did it, forgetting that telepathy doesn't work anymore now that they have the Internet.

So, I slightly threw you a curve and badly messed up the Web cast people. So, what I'm going to do is send you all through CourseWeb or whatever means you employ a – we have a one-person satyagraha against CourseWeb going on – a new, a revised syllabus which will explain what we're doing with this section of the course, and I'll explain that to you verbally in a second.

And then also, we'll start to list the guest speakers because I'm going to – there's some really, really wonderful people who can contribute to what we're doing and I'm going to be inviting them aboard. I'll have information on when some of them will be pretty soon. So, as you can probably see, what I did was the original syllabus for this topic, insurrectionary movements spanned from the Central America events that took place during WWII. And then it came down to the Eastern European intifada or shaking off of Soviet communism in the late 80s.

But there have been some new revolutions since then and some new films. And so, what I did was I skipped the film, [A Force More Powerful](#). And I went immediately into the film that we were going to be doing in the third week which is "Where there is Hatred." So, that's why we saw that. And we are going to be talking about that film in about 10 or 20 minutes. But I want to know tell you a little bit.

In other words, what happens is we now can come down to 2000 AD with the same kind of documentation. But we didn't have time for all the films that have come out. So, I skipped that one. And we will get back to that film "Where There is Hatred" in just a bit. But I wanted to mention to you what happens in "A Force More Powerful" why it's an important PBS documentary. It was the first time, I believe the first time ever that a Western audience, which probably means any audience, was exposed to public filmic material which explicitly was about nonviolence.

Their frame is a little bit different from ours here. But the fact that they chose that title, *A Force More Powerful* instead of, you know, what happens when you do nothing? Or political activism for wimps or something like that. That's a huge step forward because – well, let me ask you by way of filling in the argument. We talked last time about one of the different approaches we would have from – different from what Gene Sharp was saying about these movement. What are maybe some of the other differences? When he defines nonviolence, did an antenna go up for you, perhaps? Some might say, "Tilt." Of course, you're way too young to know about pinball machines.

But something tell you that wait a second, this is not how Professor Nagler would define it. So, what's going on here? How am I going to pass this course? Notice anything else? Michael?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:04:02]

Nonviolent Means Leads to a Nonviolent End

Michael: He presented it as a strategy, of course. And in effect, that means two things that are different from our approach. Again, this is not a right or wrong thing. These are just different ways of framing the topic. You probably notice that he was concerned with one situation, namely overthrowing dictators.

Now, in his personal life, that's not where Gene Sharp stands. I remember him telling a story about how his dog offered satyagraha against him one day when he was driving him around Boston. Those of you who have taken PACS164A know that there is such a thing as canine satyagraha. So, it's not that he sees the world that way, but when he goes to define it, he chooses that rather narrow frame.

And something positive and something negative happens there. The positive thing is it attracts the attention of people who otherwise would be threatened. And the negative thing is that it attracts the attention of people who otherwise would have been threatened. Ha ha ha. What do I mean by this? I was working on the mostly student uprisings in Kosovo around 1990. And those people in Kosovo are Albanians who are trying to shake off the oppression of the Serbian regime, were having remarkable successes.

And they got support from the most unlikely people. People who I would consider politically conservative, extremely conservative. And I asked a friend of mine who had been over there, what's their interest in all of this? And they said, "Oh, they like freedom." So, there's this sort of interesting overlap where very conservative right-wing people over on the right coast – we're here on the left coast – and us, we both like freedom. It's just that whom we want it for can sometimes differ and how we define it can sometimes differ.

But I'm like a Quaker in the sense that I really have no objection cooperating with people where we can cooperate, provided it does not create confusion about what we stand for. So, the advantage of Gene Sharp's approach, that this is only about shaking off tyrants, is you can get a much wider network. A lot of people who are militaristically inclined, don't believe in the power of soul-force, but they don't like tyrants. Sometimes they're a little bit selective about which tyrants they like and which tyrants they don't like.

But, you know, it's an imperfect world. They don't like tyrants. And you can cooperate with them, get their money and so forth. The difficulty with that approach and that openness becomes difficult is that sometimes you have people attempting to use nonviolent strategies in causes that we would feel uncomfortable with.

I'll mention one in particular. You're probably well-aware that there's been a wave of electoral changes in Central America and South America, particularly South America. We have Bolivia – the Bolivian model, they're calling it.

And in Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador, and one other place that I'm forgetting. Maybe want to count Nicaragua. We'll see what happens with Daniel. But anyway, you had people who had been elected to office who are very populist. And one of them is this extremely troubling, difficult – you love him, and you hate him guy, Hugo Chavez in Venezuela who is very populist. He's done a lot for the poor in that country.

On the other hand, he knows absolutely nothing about nonviolence. He's trying to arm the population with handguns so they can keep out the American military when they attack Venezuela. So, I'm dying to get an hour conversation with that guy and I'm working very hard on

my Spanish to make it work. But we definitely – the forces in Venezuela that want him out are definitely reactionary.

And in some cases, the people who've been developing a bag of tricks called, "Nonviolent strategies," are helping these reactionary people to use nonviolent tactics to get rid of Chavez. Which is problematic for us on the – I keep saying, "Us," as though you all agree to believe with everything that I think. I don't know. Go ahead and wave your hands wildly if I'm overstepping it here.

But us, this microworld of principled nonviolence would have two problems with that. One is, that theoretically it does not work to use nonviolent means for ends which are not really just, any more than it works to use violent means for ends that are just. Okay? I now realize that Nagler's Law cuts both ways, which gets us one step closer to the Nobel Prize in social mathematics.

You can't mix in a little bit of violence with your nonviolence and expect it to be nonviolent. You can't use nonviolent means for a not so savory end and expect it to work. And the other thing is, it would just create a lot of confusion because you'd muddle up the clarity of the situation.

Cooperation with Good - Non-Cooperation with Evil

Okay. So, one problem or difference that we would have with this – what shall we call it? The Harvard School? I hope we get the – work this all out on the football field some day. One difference is they're talking only about one situation, namely overthrowing dictators. And the other difference is that in the end, when you really take them down to the Harvard Club and get them drunk and say, "Okay, what kind of thing is nonviolence?" They will define it negatively.

They will say – and you heard Gene Sharp say this. This is how you withdraw legitimacy. This is how you withdraw support. Okay, for us, me, and however many of you are provisionally going along with me. For us, if you don't get into the positive wavelength, you haven't really made the transition from the world we're trying to get out of, to the world we're trying to get into.

So, yes, there is a negative aspect to nonviolent power. Martin Luther King said, "You non-cooperate with evil, but you cooperate with good." And the real transition happens when you realize that good is realer than evil. And that cooperating with it is basic. It's more important than non-cooperating with evil. If you cooperate with good, the non-cooperation will tend to structure themselves in a way that's in your favor. Whereas if you go after evil, purely or simply, at very best, you'll have a time limited success.

Now, I was thinking of a line from Goethe the other day. It's good to think of lines from Goethe every now and then. And I'm sorry that Mathias isn't here. But in this play, which is about a good man's encounter with evil, he meets the devil which was pretty far out to do that way back in the 18th century. And asks him, "Who are you?" And the devil, Mephistopheles comes out with this famous line which has just been ringing in my ears the last couple of days.

[German] Amy? Not quite. Okay. You can get this far, right? Okay. He answers, "I am that spirit whichever denies." I am that spirit which ever denies. Nein means no. You probably knew that from WWII movies and stuff like this. So, [German] means to deny. [German] Thanks. Okay. So, I am slightly taking liberties with this. That spirit whichever says no or denies. And that's the devil speaking.

So, I use this to illustrate very dramatically that [German]. We are that spirit which always affirms. But of course, you have to find what you're affirming. It has to be an affirmative thing in itself. And then your relationship with No will come about.

Example of Denmark

Okay, so with all of these caveats the school of thought has been extremely helpful. And they created this documentary, which as I say, you have to hand it to them. It was the first time we got onto mainstream television with the idea of nonviolence. You had mainstream television about the Civil Rights Movement, but no attempt to explain what was causing it to happen.

And it's called, [A Force More Powerful](#) which is a terrific title, and for reasons that we've discussed. And I have usually been using their segment. They cover about eight different nonviolent uprisings. I usually use the segment on Denmark because we've so far talked about nonviolent insurrections happening in other parts of the world while the Second World War was going on. We talked about nonviolence manifesting itself as conscientious objection in this country.

But there's also the question, or the much more gray area from the nonviolence point-of-view that is, that what about nonviolent resistance to Hitler? Or what about, you know, resistance to Hitler? And there's an array of cases that you look at to try to get this information. One of the ones that they discussed was the resistance in Denmark. Okay, now the resistance in Denmark was relatively easy in one sense.

And that is that according to their own fantastic racial ideologies, Danes are higher than Germans in the great chain of being, right? Because they're taller and blonder. A friend of mine who is a German Jew was escaping through Denmark at the beginning of the war. And he was talking to a Danish person who said, "Watch out for that guy over there. He's German." And my friend Tom said, "How do you know?" And he said, "Well, he's small and dark."

So, there's this – you know, you could do anything to polls and as you go further down south, people get less and less human. But it was a little bit difficult for the Germans to say, you know, blonde hair and blue eyes, [German]. And so, that made the work of the Danes a little bit easier.

There's no question about that. But they mounted a resistance which was definitely mostly nonviolent in the form of withdrawals. Strikes, slowdowns. They would blow all the factory whistles at 11:00 AM and everyone would say, "We have to go home and tend our garden," and leave the work.

But the fact is, they also blew up factories when there was nobody in them. So, this gets us into the very gray area which is technically known today as property destruction. A factory that's being used for the German war effort, they wait until everybody goes home and they blow it up. Is that okay?

And I'm just leaving that for now as a question. But it's going to be a very real question for us here in this country. Is it okay to spill blood on draft files? Beat nose cones with a hammer and so forth?

And it has to be said that the Danish underground did have the awkward habit of occasionally assassinating collaborators. So, I think we're going from white to gray to black. That's not

nonviolent. You walk in on somebody and, you know, shoot them in their own apartment. I'm sorry, I'm willing to bend quite a bit. But this is not nonviolent.

But I would say the property destruction is kind of in-between. And then the really positive thing that they did – and there are only two countries in Europe that really did this to an extraordinary degree, was to rescue their Jewish population.

Example of Bulgaria and Niels Bohr

So, the other country by the way is Bulgaria. It's Bulgaria ended up with more Jews at the end of the war than at the beginning. It was the only country in Europe that had that record.

There was a remarkable event – campaign that took place in Southern France which I'll talk about in a minute. But the Danes and the Danish underground, which really had the ear and the heart of the people decided to not let the Germans take their Jews. And when things got hotter and hotter, they planned this incredible escape. It's very – I'm really – in a way, I'm sorry I'm not showing the film because it's extremely heartrending and very dramatic.

Interestingly enough, the night that – the night before the Germans had planned to round up all the Jews, their own naval attaché, a man by the name of Duckwitz, called the Danish underground and said, "If you want to save the Jews, you got to get them out of the country now." And 7000 people were huddled onto these boats, you know, fishing boats, whatever they had, and off across the North Atlantic to Sweden. Which was, of course, a neutral country.

I'm addressing the Swedish contingent over here. And they were then safe. Mostly safe. A particular German Jew, half-Jew whose name was Neils Bohr who was one of the fathers of quantum theory was one of those people who got rescued. And he pulled off his own little one-man satyagraha which you know about from reading my book, but I think really good stories are worth repeating.

When all of those Jews landed there, the king of Sweden was a little bit nervous about taking them in. He was not sure. They might lose their neutrality. And Neils Bohr went to him and said, "That's okay. If you don't take them in, I'm turning myself over to the gestapo." And they knew what he had and what that would mean. So, the king immediately said, "No, no. It's all right. We'll hold onto all of them." It was like a one – like the Deer King jataka. I'll sacrifice myself, no problem. And the king said, "No, no. Wait a minute. We can't have you do that." And they saved them all. So, that was an extremely dramatic episode.

Direct Resistance - Andre Trocme in Le Chambon

So, one of the questions we would look at is direct resistance. Was there any of the nonviolent kind? And in that category, you'd look at the Rosenstrasse Prison Demonstration and the other kind of event was rescue operations which took place here and there. I've just mentioned the Danish one.

The other one that I'd like to mention took place in the south of France in a little village, Le Chambon. Name of a river. This was an area in the south of France which had been settled by Huguenots. And Huguenots, in other words are protestants who – and a lot of Dutch – sorry, a lot of French Huguenots emigrated to Holland. That's why you have so many French names among Dutch people. That's one of the reasons. The other reason is they're nice names, so go ahead and use them.

But this was, in other words, a community which was itself not a mainstream community. And had experienced persecution. So, there was a pastor – and this is a name that I'd like you to remember. André Trocmé. And he represents something that's typical in modern nonviolence. And that is a key individual who has some training and is able to mobilize people.

So, in the Rosenstrasse Prison Demonstration, this was absolutely absent. As far as I know, nobody involved in that episode, which you could – incredibly important for you guys to know about, incidentally. Because you know perfectly well. You're sitting there in the Free Speech Café. Somebody will come over and say, "Oh, that's an interesting book. What are you studying?" You say nonviolence. The next thing that person is going to say – if you'd only get a nickel every time they did this, we'd be able to fund the whole PACS program, they will say it, "It would not have worked against Hitler."

And then you will say, "Have you read Nagler's book?" Or another way to approach it was, "Rosenstrasse." And they say, "Was?" And then you tell them the story of how these 5-6000 women rescued their husbands from the jaws of the gestapo. It was an incredible event, and we should all know about it. But in that event, it was completely grassroots. Nobody – there were no leaders. There's been a film about Rosenstrasse. I have not seen this film because from the reviews, it looked like they screwed it up terribly and I'd be very disappointed. We don't want me to be disappointed, so I don't go and see it.

But they may have changed it in the film because that's what films do. But the fact is that they're just – this is just people calling, housewives calling housewives and they all mustered out and refused to go home. And in three days, the gestapo caved in and gave back all their men. But At Le Chombon, there was somebody.

Trocmé was a minister, a Protestant minister and he had also worked with the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Or in his case, the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

So, he had been exposed to the ideas of Gandhi and the theories of nonviolence. And when the Vichy government was set up, I don't know how much of this history you are familiar with, but the north of France was directly occupied by the German administration militarily. The south of France had a puppet government, which was called the Vichy regime. But it was essentially a fascist regime speaking French instead of a fascist regime speaking German.

And when the regime was set up and they started to put out orders, Trocmé and his wife, Magda, they called the whole congregation together and said, "How do you want to respond?" And they said, "We don't want to go along with it." And so, they begin to organize themselves as a refugee network. And they probably rescued somewhere between six maybe – the top end, about 10,000 refugees during the war. Mostly Jewish refugees.

And this has been written about in a book called, *Lest Innocent Blood be Shed*. And I'm sure you have that on your resource list and so forth. There's a quote from the Jewish bible somewhere. And the author of that is Phillip Hallie. And this is definitely raw material for writing a paper on. It's extremely good example of how to do nonviolence with limited resources for a specific goal under the worst situation imaginable. You're under Nazi occupation.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:24:44]

Michael: Yeah. And Alex, you notice I didn't mention that movie. This was a documentary, wasn't it?

Student: [Unintelligible].

Michael: Maybe it's one that I didn't see. Oh, a French movie. I see. Well, maybe you could find out the title of it anyway. Le Chombon, probably. Yeah. But there was a film called – I'm not going to remember. It's the story by somebody who was born in Le Chombon to a Jewish family, and they eventually got him out of there. But I didn't like that film because it was all about, you know, where were you Christians? You should have been rescuing us and all of this bitterness and stuff. I don't know. It's not my style.

Trocme - Universe Bends Towards Justice

A couple of quick stories. From that movie though, and then I would like to go back to the film that we've just seen in two stages. One of the stories is Trocmé himself had to go to Paris for some reason. Which, of course, it was dangerous. They went to the railway station [French] or whichever one it was to go back. And he's traveling with his 12-year-old son. And unfortunately, there is a roundup. And everybody is being held. Papers are being looked at. Now Trocmé at the beginning of the war – this will be very interesting for us.

At the beginning of the occupation, he took a strange sort of vow, which is, "I will never lie. I don't care what they do. Whatever they – whoever captures me, whatever they ask me, I'm going to tell them the truth." So, if he had been caught in this roundup, it would have been pretty bad because they would have said, "What's your name?" "André Trocmé." "What's your profession?" "Minister." "What do you do?" "I rescue Jews." I don't think that would have bounced very high.

So, you can't run that up the tricolor and expect people to salute it. So, he was caught and put in a railroad car being held for questioning. Meanwhile, his son, who was 12-years-old is outside the station waiting for his father. When his father didn't show up, the little boy comes in looking for him. And he walks past this car and looks up in the window and he sees his father.

And of course, he goes into shock not knowing that the German guard is watching him. And when the guard sees the shock in the boy's face, he relents and lets Trocmé out, thus saving him. Because as I say, if he had been questioned, he would have been shot. Absolutely. No question about it.

So, this is some of the strange ways that nonviolence has. You make these weird sacrifices and these vows and take these risks, sometimes, you know, don't come back and tell me about it if it doesn't work, Okay? I'm not telling you to do it. I'm just saying that sometimes when you do do it, there's a strange force that comes into play and helps you.

And on another occasion, the same principle was invoked. Trocmé André and his brother Daniel were arrested along with a bunch of people who were communists. And it was mainly French police, so they weren't as hard-nosed as the German police on the French. And they said, "Okay, you guys, if you just sign this oath saying that you're not a communist, we'll let you go." Okay, so the 20 people who were communists, they signed the oath saying, "We are not communists." They came to the Trocmé brothers, and they said, "We're not going to sign. We don't do that. No loyalty oaths here." Next thing you know, you're going to have it at UC Berkeley if you're not careful.

Now what do you think resulted? You'll never guess. It's kind of shocking actually. The Trocmé's were released, and all the other people were shot, right? Because the police knew perfectly well

that they were communists. And they shot them because they were cowards. And they did not shoot the Trocmés because they admired their courage. So, that's strange, but true.

It also turned out after the war that the major who was in charge of this district knew perfectly well what the Trocmés and all those people were doing. But as he said, "This has nothing to do with violence and it is not something that violence can overcome." And he turned the other way at the risk of his life. So, the universe bends towards justice is one of phrases that we use in this movement. And it is strange how nonviolence sometimes works and sometimes protects its devotees.

Okay, so what's going to happen now, over the weekend I'm going to email you the revised syllabus and the chapters that I want you to read from the [Wink book](#). But do be reading the [Zunes, Kurtz, and Asher](#) chapters. Try and maybe get through all three sets by next week. So, it'd be just one jump ahead. We'll have useful material that way. And the stuff in the reader, which is pretty straight forward, especially Michael True's essay on the – his journalism on the Tiananmen massacre.

Okay, so now any questions before I charge ahead? Okay, if I leave [Guta] on the board there, it's probably a good thing for these public health people or whoever gets into this classroom.

Framing and Categorizing Movements

So, as I said, we're going to go at this two ways. First, I'd like to start with you setting up a framework and a set of categories into which you can put events and observations because by the time the semester is over, we will have discussed maybe somewhere between 30 and 50 episodes. Some of being very long campaigns, some of them being like a short campaign, like Rosenstrasse. Some of being a momentary interaction. Some of them being both.

You know, the People's Power Revolution was a fairly long campaign with a nonviolent moment embedded in it. And they kept referring to that EDSA rebellion. So, in order to keep all of these things straight and understand them, we're going to be able to think about them in some categories. So, I'm going to go over that with you. Start putting some categories on the board and start putting our observations from the films into those categories.

Now, the way we're approaching the key episodes that we're dealing with in the insurrectionary chapter of our course is we're going to be reading historical overviews of them, so you get sort of the political blow-by-blow of what happened from the historical point-of-view. But the films will take us into the consciousness of the participants to some extent, which is an extremely valuable complement. If this were a political science course, which I have been told by political scientists, it is not. And they don't want me in their building, thank you.

If it were, I would say that personal experience part is secondary. But for us, because we're person power people – sounds funny, but that's sort of what we are. Each of us is a person power person, let's put it that way. The individual experience is critical and helps to determine the other aspects of the event. Okay?

So, in terms of categories, I'm going to start us off with one. And that is the situation by which I mean, you know, what's the problem and what are the strengths and the strains in that situation? That terminology, "Strengths and strains," comes from a book that Kenneth Boulding wrote in 1972. He's one of our two great heroes of peace research. That book was called [Stable Peace](#). It was written in Texas, which I think is kind of cute.

And he has a chapter in there called, “Strengths and Strains.” And he describes very well how you have certain advantages and certain disadvantages in every situation. If you know what they are, play from your strengths and avoid the weaknesses. You’re obviously just going to do better.

And we're going to look at our three – let’s see – categories will go this way. Let’s take the three that are in that film, just for starters, the intifada, the Chilean plebiscite and the people’s power rebellion in the Philippines, Okay?

Now, the intifada and the Chilean situation were the same situation that they were both dictatorships. Well, hang on. Wait. This is wrong. Sorry. Hang on.

These two were both dictatorships. This was a different kind of thing. And I'm not sure right off the top what difference it makes. But in these two cases, the – okay, I'm going to borrow a term now from military and cowboy ideology. In these later two cases, the bad guys were both the same ethnic group as the population at large. The intifada, the occupation was different because these are closely related people in terms of DNA, but they've had very different historical experiences. And that probably is the worst formula for a disaster.

You know, the Armenians and the Turks had a lot in common. And so, when they came apart, it was horrible. Similarly, Cambodia. Similarly, Rwanda, where they pretended that they were from different races. And so, here, these are people who are close but recognizably different. And one people is oppressing the other.

So, this is a slightly different situation. Now, let me just start us off by mentioning another category. And we'll start plugging them in. Who are the players? And here, we could talk both about organizations and people. And I’m not saying we need to, you know, fill this out completely for right now, but let’s just get ourselves started so we're thinking in those terms.

The First Intifada

In the case of the intifada – and incidentally, don’t forget this is Intifada 1 we're talking about. The late 80s, the first intifada. You're going to read a chapter or two about it – or you've already done in Zunes, Kurtz, and Asher. And I’m going to tell you more about it because that’s a lot of fun to do.

And you've seen a little bit about it in the film. But so, here talking about both in terms of organizations and people who are the players. Just put in anybody. Anybody or anything. Alex?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:37:03]

Michael: Okay. Yeah. They're committees. Committees is nobody’s favourite thing. But they’re at least a lot better than governments who are doing nothing. You also had – the film wasn’t clear too about this, but you had some leading individuals like Jonathan Kuttub. I had a long-distance phone conversation with him once before Skype was invented. So, that was a lot of money. I think the Classics Department ended up paying for it though. But Kuttub is a lawyer and a very well educated guy. Speaks English very well, as you heard.

And so, he is, you know, an inspirational person for the uprising. And when his best friend and the reason that I called him that time – sorry – is a guy named Mubarak Awad who was a Palestinian born in the occupied territories. His father was killed in 1946 in what they call,

“Elnakba,” the catastrophe – that uprising that followed the U.N. decision to give about 70% of Palestine to the Jews, to Israel.

His father was killed. Nobody knows who killed him. They didn’t even have a place to bury him. Mubarak is not Muslim, but even Christians like to bury their dead in recognizable places set aside for that purpose. They had to bury him in the front yard of their house. He distinctly remembers and you can get him talking about this any time. He’s often addressed this course. And I have our standing invitation for him to do that.

He remembers his mother saying to him, and his brothers, all the time, “Whatever you do, don’t hate. Whatever you do. I’m not telling you don’t go out and fight. I’m telling you, don’t let hatred eat into your soul.” They’re very serious Mennonites.

And okay, I could say a lot about almost any of this stuff. But let’s go on a little bit to sort of start filling this out. Who are some of the key people or players in Chile?

I mean on the nonviolent side. There were, of course – we all know who the big player was on the dictatorship side. But we won’t say anything bad about him because he has just passed on. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:40:04]

Michael: I’m just going to put down Father Jose for here. And you remember Professor Arriaga. He was a key person. But actually, I don’t know that he actually played much of a role except to get himself interviewed by the movie, which is kind of neat. But I don’t know what else he did. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:40:34]

Michael: Yeah. So, okay, for media we had Eduardo Torino. Good.

Student: I thought the film left out one of the main actors. [Unintelligible 00:40:49]

Michael: That’s interesting. What role did Lagos play?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:40:57] A filmmaker. You know, like a couple weeks before [Unintelligible 00:41:02]

Michael: Let’s get back to that in a minute. But okay, here’s an important person who was the chancellor of the main university in Santiago, I would assume. And was the first public person to come out on television and accuse Pinochet. And that’s extremely important for Phase 1 of Gene Sharp’s four-part phases, which is to overcome fear. Yeah. So – mm-hmm?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:42:21]

Michael: So, he was the key figure. Lagos sounds to me, from what you’re saying, Matt, that he was a key figure in that he kind of stepped out. He came out of the closet of fear and survived. And once he did that with his public reputation, it changed things dramatically. Galvanized people’s courage.

Toward the end of the semester, we're going to have a look at a DVD called, "The Nonviolent Moment." I blush because it stars me, actually.

But it consists of film clips from feature films in which nonviolent moments happen. And the first one is an extremely dramatic episode that took place in Rangoon. Probably 1987, I would guess, where there was a huge public demonstration. And the Buddhist opposition leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, was going to address a rally. It's portrayed very dramatically, and I will show it to you.

And this rifle squad blocks her way, and they say, "Stop or we'll shoot." And she manages to walk right through them. And they didn't shoot her. Part of the reason was, undoubtedly, that she was a woman. Undoubtedly, that she was courageous and didn't hate them. But also, part of it was that she was Aung San Suu Kyi. Her father was the general Aung San, who had fought the British for the Japanese. And then for the Japanese for the British. And got both of them out of Burma, and then was assassinated about 16 months later.

But she was such an icon that if they had shot her, they would have felt like they were shooting the whole country. So, it sounds to me that Lagos had a little bit of that charisma going for him. Good. By the way, there's lots of things that that documentary did not have in it. So, you know, we'll be plugging them in.

The Situation in the Philippines

Okay, now Philippines, I hope you'll be able to see down here. But who were some of the main players there? Yeah. People and/or organizations. If you've done any of the reading at the – if you've gone down to the third chapter for the reading, you'll see that there was – I always forget exactly how to spell it. [Unintelligible 00:45:09] A big resistance organization that got founded.

But do you remember a non-Philippine woman was interviewed very briefly? She was an important person. I'm going to write her name up here, even though [inaudible 00:45:29]. And that was Hildegard Goss-Mayr. And see, I'm trying to take people who represent certain things. And what she represents, again, in an even more dramatic form than Mubarak or André Trocmé is – what should we call these people?

We could call them tipping point people or spark plug people, or I think maybe we'll just call them helpful outsiders. These are people who – this is a very interesting balance that we've been slowly learning about over the last 20 years. The balance between having something be purely indigenous on the one hand, like the Rosenstrasse Prison Demonstration.

Nobody even knows about it, much less goes there and helps out, versus the kind of – on the other extreme, the kind of intervention where you think you're going to go in and do it for somebody. Like, oh, you're having a problem with a dictator, well, we'll bomb your country until he gives up and then you'll be free. Which, for some reason, doesn't work. But I'll leave that up for you to write essays on in the final.

And in between, you have this very interesting balance where on the one hand you really need outside support in two ways. One is often you don't know anything about nonviolence, and you need somebody to come in and tell you what the hell it is and how to use it.

And this is exactly what Hildegard Goss-Mayr was able to do. Very, very well-trained person. She herself was a German woman married to an Alsatian French man named Goss. And she

has written extensively on nonviolence. She wrote a book called [German]. *When Enemies Become Friends* and a lot of other books.

She worked in the Philippines for years which the film didn't tell you anything about. I think this is kind of an interesting omission. Because the fact is, if she hadn't been there, I'm not sure this thing would have worked. Because she had that marvelous balance to say, "Okay, here's what I know, and I can share with you. But here's how you are going to have to do it." Recognizing the fact that in every culture without exception, there are certain ways of crafting conflict resolutions.

Pitfalls of Peace Imperialism

I hope I don't lose my train of thought because I liked it. But I can't help telling you this little story that I just read yesterday, about a village somewhere in Africa where people had to walk practically all day to get water. So, it takes practically the whole day to reach the river. Practically the whole next day to get back. So, a development agency came in and said, "This is terrible. This is undeveloped. We're going to go back to Europe and raise money and come here and dig wells and give people pumps."

So, they did, and they were – they were intermediate technology pumps. This is not like you needed computers to run these pumps, right? Like this. And so, they brought in all these pumps. It was great. It took, you know, ten minutes to get the water for your family. So, this development agency came back a year later to see how it's going? How do you like the pumps? [Gasp] They saw to their horror that the elders of village had destroyed the pumps by stoning them.

They had the whole village stand around and – it's like what we do to television sets on the Berkeley campus. They did it to their pumps. "Why did you do this? You know, we took so much trouble?" They said, "You know, within a few months of putting in those pumps, this village started falling apart." "Why?" "Because the walk down to get the water, families did it together and they talked to their neighbours. Soon as we had the pumps, we said, "Okay, the hell with you. We don't need to talk to our kids anymore. We don't need to talk to our neighbours anymore. The whole fabric of the village fell apart."

This illustrates the danger of trying to parachute in and teach people things which makes sense in your culture but blow up their culture. In fact, we even have a name for this kind of mistake nowadays. It's called, "Peace imperialism." I've got peace and you don't. I'm going to give it to you, and you will – and I will be your benefactor. Now, some people, when they encounter peace imperialism, they get so upset that they say, "Don't go anywhere. Let everybody do it themselves."

Just in terms of knowing what to do, this is not a good idea. We need each other.

Peace Imperialism vs TPNI

Now, there's another reason why we need each other. I will never forget this. I was at a meeting in Santa Cruz, the second best campus of the entire UC system. And my grandson is going there. It's a really neat place. A meeting on – the first intifada was still going on. Mubarak Awad was there. And we asked him, "Okay, you know, we do peace team training and all this. Do you want us to come?"

And he said, "Yes. I want you to be there, but don't tell us what to do. Just be there." And we said, "Why?" He said, "Look, we are willing to die, but we don't want to die alone. We don't want to die and not have the world know what we have done." So, in terms of a very important thing called solidarity, human companionship, whatever you want to call it, it's very important in ways that we don't know how to quantify or even talk about very much. It's very important that these movements not be left in isolation.

And you'll see. Steve Zunes who has studied them pretty extensively has been able to show that if you have a non-violent uprising and nobody pays any attention, it's very unlikely to succeed.

If you pay the wrong kind of attention, here's my guess, it'll probably succeed for the wrong reason, and it won't develop into anything permanent. The right kind of attention is I'm coming in here with special expertise as a third-party. And I can help you mobilize your nonviolent resources. And I'm here willing to risk my life with you. Two extremely important elements of third-party presence.

So, Hildegard Goss-Mayr who was anyhow, an extremely important person in the world of modern nonviolence. I want you to know about her. I'd like to bring her here, but she's a little bit on the elderly side at this point. She comes in primarily with that first capacity of being able to teach, you know, teach nonviolence. Okay?

Category of Strategies - Civilian Based Defense

So, players. Now, let me ask you, what other kinds of categories do you think we might set up that would help us compare and contrast these events, campaigns, episodes, whatever they are? What else might we look at? Amy?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:53:38]

Michael: Okay, yeah. Strategies. And of course, for our purposes, you know, how nonviolent are they? And if so, what flavor? That kind of question. Let's just throw one strategy each up here. What's one thing that they did in the intifada? Okay. This way. Two things. Because you're going to mention one, Nick, and then it's another one that I can't resist. Go ahead. Civilian-based defence. Did they do that in the intifada? Interesting. How would you define civilian-based defence for the moment?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:54:31]

Michael: Okay. Nick, I like this. I especially like it when people come up with things I hadn't thought of. Of course, I was going to say that. Civilian-based defense is based on, I guess, a couple of principles. It's a non-territorial defense. So, you don't do what they call in the military – I think they call it, "Shallow interdiction," where you don't even let them get close, but you do deep interdiction. Not really. Because military deep interdiction means you let them come in and then you fight them. I think that's – I don't know anything about military strategy. Let's forget I even said that.

The point is you don't try to keep them physically out of your country. And in nonviolence, we perk up our ears and say, "Hey, I like this," because Gandhi had very big ears, as you know. He was always perking them up. "I like this because preventing people from crossing that line is

sort of symbolic.” And we don’t want to do symbolic struggles. So, we let them come in, but we don’t let them overtake our institutions. That’s the important part.

And then here’s where [Unintelligible 00:55:59] was a very important principle. It makes this work well. You are against the occupation and against everything that these people tell you as occupiers. But you’re not against them as people. Boy, I think the level of hatred on the part of most Palestinians was so great that this might be a little marginal in terms of the particular category.

I’m not talking about the ones that strap on bombs and, you know, go to a café in Tel Aviv, but there was not a whole lot of fraternization. In fact, this is one of the key problems with the intifada all along is that there’s so little contact between Palestinians and Jews. Even between Jews in Israel and Arabs in Israel. It’s like they’re in two different worlds. They don’t talk to each other. That’s why institutions that try to bridge that gap are very helpful, up to a point. And if you’ve seen a film called, “Promises.” Yeah, Okay. So, CBD was one thing.

Strategy of Chickens

Now, I’m going to mention another nonviolent technique called, “Chickens.” Remember, they had – a lot of homes had chickens and rabbits in the basement because there were lots of times when they couldn’t go shopping. Well, this may seem like a simple survival strategy and undoubtedly, for some people, it was.

But the fact is, that the first intifada was remarkable because whether they wanted to or not, they were almost compelled to create an alternative society. The schools – remember, they were doing illegal clandestine schools. They had these networks set up where people would get milk and bring it into the villages. Babysitting stuff took place so that if your parents were arrested, you were not left on your own devices. Neighbours would take you in.

And that reached such a point, as Mubarak once told this class some years ago, “Every woman became every child’s mother.” Now, think of what a wonderful thing this is. It’s unfortunate that it took an occupation to make it happen. But the fact is, that they were responding to the occupation with constructive means, which meant that they would be in an advanced position if the occupation ever were to be shaken off. This is kind of a tragedy.

At this point, I’m going to bring up something in the film and revise it to my own satisfaction. And that is the schema. Remember, Step 1 – overcome fear. I’m totally okay with that. I hate fear, as a matter of fact. I fear hate, and I hate fear. Second, can anybody help me with the second and third? You form networks, I think. You know, community. Community empowerment is the second. And the third was you bring about the defection of the military and the uniformed authorities. Is that it? Okay. Got that.

Good for me. I’ve only seen this film about six times. And number four, for him, was basically you build the alternative society that you want. I forget what he was calling it, but you build the next order.

Now, the Gandhian position was very clear on this. He said, “If you think that you’re going to overthrow an authority and then build a better world, you are dreaming. This is never going to happen.” He was very, very strong on this point. You’ve got to build the world that you want first.

In fact, it goes along with our negative/positive principle, you know, if the occupation isn't – or whatever is oppressing you is a negative, you want to overcome it with positives. You will not get very far saying get off our backs, leave us alone. It's much better to stand up than have them fall off your back automatically. And of course, you can give them a little push if they don't. Sid?

Student: I thought it was interesting how [unintelligible 01:00:30].

Michael: What Sid is saying is exactly right. I think the film brought this out without knowing what to call it. Poor people. They haven't taken PACS164, so what can you expect? But they did this marvelous overthrow and then didn't know where to go with it. And it's in a heartbeat, it goes back to the same old, same old. If anything, in some ways, it's even worse. You have the commercialization of the EDSA intersection. And the poverty gets worse. You have people in the 70s on Smoky Mountain. And now they're there in droves.

So, this is why when we were talking about it last year we decided Step 4 should be Step 1. In fact, that was the question on the midterm, hint-hint. "Step 4 should be Step 1," what does that mean? Explain why. It's very interesting, but I think the Philippine case proves what Gandhi was saying more clearly than any other. Because you could not have asked for a better revolution. In terms of nonviolence, there was almost no violence. There was like 99% in compliance with Nagler's Law. It "worked," quote/unquote. Succeeded completely. Got them out of there. And then nothing.

And unfortunately, when you create a power vacuum, the kinds of people who rush into that power vacuum tend to be kinds of people who like power. Because they've just been hanging around, waiting for their opportunity. So, it is not typically the case that the new regime is headed up by schoolteachers, idealists, artists, things like that. It's these people in the woodwork who've always, you know, just were waiting for their opportunity to get their hands on the levers of power.

So, you don't let that vacuum be – you don't let that vacuum happen. That's overall, this is the most important strategy for an insurrectionary overthrow. Okay. Terrific.

Strategies in Chile

Strategies in Chile, just one or two so we can sort of get the idea.

[Spanish] which I think means, "What did the people do?" Sid?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:03:23]

Michael: I think they did that very well. They were given 15 minutes of television. Now, one of the reactions they could have had was, "You're giving us 15 minutes and you're keeping 23 hours and 45 minutes for yourself? That's unfair. Hell no, we won't take it. Down with television." That would have been one reaction. Instead, they went on and had Professor or Chancellor Lagos make very good use of it. They showed happy people.

Incidentally, this is a very important little strategy which the old left, that I used to belong to never caught onto. As we were totally grim. We were not going to crack a smile until the revolution was over. And you see hundreds of photographs. You go take a look in the Free Speech Café. I'm in one of those pictures, I'm sure, somewhere. I haven't found myself. I go in

there drinking latte after latte looking for myself up on the wall. But somewhere you'll see us all, you know.

When we get to the next documentary about the Otpor Rebellion, you'll see how they made very creative uses of happiness. It's a funny thing. Happiness – I'm in favor of happiness. Don't get me wrong. So, they made use of the media. They made use, more generally, they made use of the resources that they have, without trying to [Unintelligible 01:04:55]. And of course, they did other things, simply to show up was disobedient at that point. So, they did a lot of disobedience.

Ultimately, they had a constitutional mechanism. And so, they were able to use it. And they did, to very good effect. That's great. You don't want to go to jail, be martyred, all this stuff if you can help it. You know, if can vote the new millennium in, I'm in favor of it. Because it won't work anymore more you have this [diebold] machines. They'll just vote it out again. But, you know, if you had a regime where there was no voter fraud, that would be great. Matt?

Student: And in Chile, they also had a similar kind of underground network. I don't know –

Michael: Yeah. Oh, Okay.

Student: A lot of it was church-based. There were a lot of group meetings, like in the basements of churches and [Unintelligible 01:05:52] church played a big role. Kind of like the [Unintelligible 01:05:56].

Michael: Yeah. Very good point. There was, in the culture of the times, this whole concept called liberation theology, which in Chiapas will become defined as preferential option for the poor. There was a period when after Vatican II, the church was taking a stand for the people. Unfortunately, they [Latin]. That's not happening anywhere near that degree right now. I remember having a talk with this Irish Catholic priest up in our town, Tomales, California. I don't know if you've ever heard of Tomales. Sign outside Tomales says, "Population 500." I think they're counting the cows and the sheep to get up to 500.

But anyway, there's a Catholic priest there. He was a great guy, and I was having a talk with him. And he said, "I think the church has lost its prophetic voice." And it was around this issue of not standing up for the terrible poverty that was taking place throughout South and Central America.

Strategy in the Philippines

So, time and time again, in the Philippines, even more pronounced. Hildegard Goss-Mayr herself got in there as a Catholic person and a Catholic-based community. And in the Landless Workers Movement which we're going to be to discussing later on in Brazil, the church was extremely important and extremely helpful in two ways, I guess. One, the church had a structure. You didn't have to invent affinity groups because you had them. They were called, "Parishes."

So, it had places you could go to and communities and structures of organization in place. That's huge. Because usually, you're starting up from the grassroots. You've got nothing. Secondly, what was the other thing that the church had, which was even more important, of course? Remember that shot of this monk, this friar, whoever he was, walking towards the soldiers during EDSA Rebellion. What did he have? The nuns handing out the loaves of bread and soldiers.

This is an obvious question, probably too obvious for you. Think dumb. There's something here extremely simple. Nagler couldn't possibly be asking us this. What is it that the church brings?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:08:20]

Okay, I know what you're getting at, Amy. I'm not sure I would put it that way. Nick?

Student: I think that [unintelligible 01:08:29].

Michael: Legitimacy. A huge – you know, the big L. They had moral authority. And sometimes that's very important. I remember seeing a cartoon, probably in the New Yorker many years ago – many years ago. Richard Nixon was still president. And it's these two guys drinking in a bar. And one of them says to the other, "Nixon's no fool. If the people wanted moral leadership, he would give it to them."

But usually, people actually do want it, or you can at least use it to buttress legitimacy. Of course, there are occasions, situations when this is exactly the wrong way to go. I'm thinking now of the Spanish Civil War where the people hated the church more than they hated the government. And they spent a lot of time disinterring monks and nuns and humiliating them, which they should have been using fighting Franco, in my private opinion.

But anyway, it's not to say that the church, ipso facto has moral authority, but it can have. And in the Philippines it definitely did. And in Chile, it was also partly there to be used. Okay. Strategies in the Philippines. Remember the first one that the – [Alon Ziv] was always asking questions about do you think this is really going to work? What good is this going to do? Remember? Jogging. Very important revolutionary tactic.

And I'm running a little short here, but two comments about that. Remember that very nice young lady who spoke English well? She was asked what good is jogging going to do? Remember what she said? Yeah, Zoe?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:10:35]

Michael: Yeah. Okay. So, jogging for peace falls under the category that Nagler identifies as symbolic action because it's not like Marcos is standing there in the road and you're running him over. You're not doing anything concrete against the regime. But symbolic episodes of this kind have a preliminary use which is in solidarity. You come out and identify yourself. Say, "Okay, we're all here. We'll willing to stand up and be identified." So, it was a tiny bit of risk involved in there because they can be a lot worse. I mean as we all know, there have been demonstrations that have been mown down.

But that wasn't going to happen in the Philippines. And mainly, whether you get mowed down or not is the point of here we are altogether. We're wearing yellow T-shirts. And from this we can then go onto organized more concrete steps. My complaint with the contemporary peace movement in this country is that it's stuck in Step 1. That's my big complaint with them, not with you. So, we don't need to go into that any further here.

Now, if you remember, there was another person who was asked, "Why are you jogging?" He was an older man. They asked him first. He had a bit more of an accent. Do you remember what he said?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:12:06]

Michael: Yes. I really love this guy. He said, “Ha, ha, ha. This is Philippine style.” And then they asked him, “Is this all that you guys –” “No, we have other things, but we're not going to tell you.” Which raises another point also. But the Philippines style point, don't let it just flip by. It's extremely important. You may also have noticed that professor [Ariaga] in Chile, he said, “We think this is the real Chile.”

Invoking the Nonviolent Traditions

Similarly, a friend of mine whose name I can't pronounce – he's Polish – was in the solidarity uprising. And it was not fun. People were being very seriously beaten up, disappeared into prisons. And they were asked, “Why don't you fight back with weapons?” He said, “Because we are Polish.” There's something very interesting that these people are getting at here.

Historically, the Poles had one military uprising after another. Go down through the first period of time when there's an entity that you can call Poland. It included Lithuania and a couple of other places. They're against the Swedes, boo. Against the Russians. Against all these occupiers. They had risen up. Every other generation lost a vast swath of their male population in these military uprisings.

And yet, the first time you have a Polish uprising, [Unintelligible 01:13:42] actually is his name, said this, “We did it because we were Poles.” Isn't that interesting? Here, you've been doing nothing but using violence for 500 years. You get to use nonviolence once and you say, “This is who we are.” Now, my point in all of this is as Gandhi said, “Just as violence is the law of the brute,” you know, we had one bobcat on our property, and two weeks later we had no more quail because the young quail had disappeared inside the bobcat and adults had high-tailed it off to somebody else's property.

So, that's how nature works. I mean I'm not – nothing wrong with that, if you're a bobcat or mountain lion. But he said, “Just as violence is the law of the brute, nonviolence is the law of the human species. These people, I think, are partially discovering that through their national identity. “This is Philippine's style. We're very proud of it.” “This is Polish. We're very proud of it.” “This is how Chile is supposed to be. We're very proud of it.”

And I'm making a big fuss about this – well, this is the kind of thing that I always make a big fuss about. But also, I think because it's a very important source of power – source of power. Do you remember that line from Shakespeare's King Lear? Where Edward says, “I never yet was valiant where I was not honest.” If you cannot be integral with yourself and be who you think you are, live up to your image of who you are, you lose power.

If you can get hold of that – I mean this is what the word yoga actually means, integrating all the elements of yourself, being completely honest. You get so much power that nobody can really stand up to that. Okay. So, couldn't resist.

Category of Players

I want to draw attention to another one, another category and we can continue this next time. Institutions that grow out of this.

You had the base communities in both the Philippines and Chilean case. And something very interesting in the Philippines. Okay, if we talk about players in the Philippines, we would have to point that that uprising was not two-sided. It's not good guys against bad guys. Only in cowboy movies and in military logic does the world take these two very simple polar forms.

In the real world, there's always more than two players. And Johan Galtung has said it's usually around 15 or 17 different actors in any conflict that he's been involved with. But in the Philippines, you saw this very clear triangulation between the government or Hmong -- the government, the armed guerrillas, and nonviolent uprising -- the people power uprising.

And there can be a very uncomfortable relationship between the nonviolent uprising and the armed uprising. Can be very uncomfortable. I went through this myself a little bit in the Free Speech Movement and I had to say, it is yucky. People who are -- you think they're on the same page with you, but they're coming from a different universe, and they ended up on the same page. But it can be really, really awkward.

And so, you had these villages -- I know a young woman who lived in a village where about half of the village had been wiped out. And of that half, half had been wiped out by the Philippines army and half had been wiped out by the communist guerrillas. So, they're going back and forth, and it's the people who always get it. It's the same thing all over Central America. Kill the peasants and then you know you're doing the right thing.

And so, what did they do? They formed a peace community which is an extremely hopeful kind of thing. And it's playing a very important role in Columbia and other parts of Central America where you just draw a line and you say, "Inside this community, there is no violence. I don't care who you are. Nobody can bring guns in here." And when we talk about Columbia, I hope we'll get to talk about that. We'll talk about a famous one called, "[Spanish]."

But you can see how important this could be because if they get the guerrillas to lay down their arms or if they get the government out of power and -- this is the nucleus of the new society.

[Unintelligible 01:18:49]

Michael: Did you mean Richmond? Yeah. We might have some people actually coming in here setting up their tents and telling us how those communities work. These are a little bit more intense because they're actually in a hub of armed violence and killings from both sides. The violence is a little more complicated in Richmond. It's not any less worse, but it's more complicated.

So, yeah. In fact, there are about -- there's no more time. But there are about 54 of these communities in Columbia alone. So, okay, this is a good example of how we can start analyzing this stuff. Next time, let's start with your notes from that documentary and then go onto the second and third section from the --

[PACS164B Lecture 07](#)

Michael: You got those two CourseWeb announcements from me that detail some of these things. The most urgent and time pressing, and in a way most interesting one is a student or organized Stop the War Campaign which we'll have two students here, I think. And they're taking tomorrow night, Wednesday, the 7th at 6:30 PM in 105 Northgate. So, that's right here. This part of campus.

The organization is called, "World Can't Wait." I think you've maybe heard of that. And it looks like, as Berkeley students, we might want to feel a little bit chagrined about this because this is the kind of stuff that's supposed to be starting here and they got the jump on us down there in Santa Barbara. But rather than get competitive about it, let's just jump on and bandwagon. So, that's tomorrow night, Wednesday February 7th, 6:30 PM in 105 Northgate, which is a very nice room.

I sent you so many announcements. I hope you got them. And let me suggest that if you are auditing or for some reason you're not getting CourseWeb announcements, please send me your email. And I can add it to the CC list and make sure that you get some of these things, okay? And Michael, could I speak to you just for a second right after class? Okay.

So, of all the people who are coming to speak here, I wanted to say in general, you – I gave you this list of the four speakers who are lined up and we probably will have more of them. A very fortunate thing seems to be happening such that they'll be coming here right after being out there in the field. Like when David Hartsough, for example, want him to talk about Nonviolent Peaceforce, their main project – our main project. I'm actually part of that organization – is in Sri Lanka right now.

And he, David, is going to Sri Lanka next week and he'll be there for two weeks before he comes back and talks to us. So, these are people who come in right off the front lines. And in that connection, the end of the month, I think Wednesday February 28th, there's going to be a presentation by two people who are participating in one of the most intense – I don't know exactly what word to use here, but this is a situation where the rubber is really meeting the road.

Because the Israeli government wants to build this famous separation wall of theirs right through this town. It's going to destroy this little village called Belén. And people have been non-violently blocking that construction day after day after day for more than a year. I think it's like 18 months, maybe 2 years. And two people, a man and a woman, one from Belén and one from Hebron, which is – if there's any place more violent than Belén, it's Hebron.

They're actually going to be here on campus Wednesday the 28th. I asked them if they could come to our class, and they can't. I threatened to go on a hunger strike. They said they didn't care. I'm only kidding about that part. But they did say that what they would

like to do is get together with us before the talk. So, the talk is at 7:00. We could have some kind of reception with them at 5:00.

So, in principle, just so I can get back to them, how many of you would be interested in getting together with these people? Say, some kind of reception at 5 o'clock on Wednesday February 28.? Okay. Why am I not surprised? Okay. Great. I'll pass that on. Very good.

Nonviolent Intervention vs Peace Imperialism

Well, just to recap a little bit what we were doing last time, we had just started discussing a very interesting point, which is intervention, how to do it, what are the problems to avoid and how do those problems intersect with basic nonviolent principles. And I want to back up a step on that. Remember, we were talking about peace imperialism being one extreme, where you go in and say, "Okay, keep people can't control yourselves, but we have peace. Here it is."

And you ignore all of their indigenous traditions, and they're advantages and disadvantages. That's very much underappreciated. And there are cases on record of interventions that were attempted and ended up being more harm than good. And one of them was in the Balkans, as a matter-of-fact, during the breakup of Yugoslavia. The other extreme is to ignore them. And then they basically don't thrive. They collapse.

And you have things like the uprisings in Pakistan in 1972, they got no support from the international community. They went nowhere.

Now, this is one of those places where PACS164B is a little different from PACS164A, right? Because PACS164A, we talk about the theory and everything is squeaky clean in PACS164A. PACS164A, you never tell a lie – except the professor. He lies all the time.

And you rely totally on person power, and you're not even interested in numbers. So, 1942, Gandhi wants to still have satyagraha, but he doesn't want to embarrass the British. Remember the principle of non-embarrassment. They're slightly preoccupied fighting WWII. They get very excited about that sort of thing. And so, there's no point in carrying on a satyagraha with them. But on the other hand, he doesn't want to lose the momentum. He appoints one person to be a satyagrahi.

So, gosh, that was very interesting, but I'm sort of forgetting the connection – why was I talking about this? You've got to shut down the cameras for a couple – now, I'm only kidding.

Yeah. The principle of non-embarrassment connects up with the question of appropriate intervention.

Swadeshi

The other principle that comes up in this connection which I'm surprised I forgot to mention on Thursday is a very important Gandhian principle called, "Swadeshi." And does somebody want to define for us very quickly what Swadeshi means. Yeah, Zoe?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:06:57]

Michael: Yeah. Very good. So, you should solve problems that are closer to you before you go on and try to intervene in problems that are at a distance. And this has even a psychological interpretation where you should try to overcome your own difficulties and work with your own strengths before you reach out to other people.

Now, before it's sometimes not to be taken too literally, but there is a balance that we have to strike between strict swadeshi and what the French call, [French] or the right to intervene in cases when human rights violations reach a certain level, all humanity is involved.

So, if we stand around while stuff is going on in Darfur or Rwanda or the Balkans and have nothing to do with it, that is from a Gandhian perspective an act of cowardice which is basically the most extreme form of violence. So, there's actually an imperative. I'm not using the term moral, but there's an imperative to intervene in some cases. But what does that do to the concept of swadeshi where the people on the ground are supposed to be doing this themselves?

So, again, hang on one second Zoe. Again, we see that the ideal, you never tell a lie. You only need one person. You never intervene. Do it all yourself. That's, you know, sort of the Euclidean ideal that we're striving for. But in the real world, there are compromises that we have to make to continue. So, Zoe, what was your question?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:08:43]

Intervention and Interposition

Michael: Okay, this came up in the context of third-party intervention. And the words to intervene is [French] in French and [French] is intervention. And some French internationalists coined this concept, [French] which means – sorry – which means, "The right to intervene." So, we're going to have to get back to this when we talk about globalization and globalism because it's the whole idea that's involved here is the breakup of the nation state entity with its absolute sovereignty.

So, again, the idea is if you have something going on like Rwanda, just take an obvious extreme case, people are being massacred. And because you are a human being, you cannot stand beside and say, "This doesn't involve me." Right? A failure of justice anywhere is – "Injustice anywhere is a damage of justice everywhere," as Martin Luther King said.

So, you want to intervene. So, let's say the Hutu [Unintelligible 00:10:04] militia stands there and says, "This is our country. You have no right to invade us." But this principle said that you actually cannot prevent a third party from intervening just because of

national sovereignty if your own national sovereignty has broken down to the point where you cannot protect the basic life of people in your state. So, it's an extremely interesting principle which they're trying to get passed.

I happen to know that there's a large group working on this internationally, where they're trying to create what they're calling a non-ignorable consensus that when state control breaks down too badly, there is – you cannot ask other people not to come in and fix it. Yeah.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:10:57]

Michael: [French] means the right of intervention. Yeah.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:11:03]

Michael: Yeah. Okay. All right. Well, I came in here this morning feeling the way I usually feel in the 13th week of the semester, which is, “Oh, how are we going to get all of this covered?” And now, matters have gotten even worse. But that's all right. As long as they're interesting, okay? So, we were talking about this very delicate, sometimes balance where you have to go in and provide, at the very least, some kind of solidarity and witnessing, and possibly even direct intervention going on up the scale to reaching the point that we call, “Interposition,” where you stand between two armies and say, “We're not going to let you do this.”

Example of the EDSA Rebellion

And you have seen in a funny way an example of this, although it wasn't international. Remember, where have you seen third-part nonviolent interposition happening in a very dramatic way? I'll give you a hint. It was in the documentary that we just saw [Unintelligible 00:12:12]. Sid? Right.

That was the famous EDSA Rebellion. EDSA, being the acronym of a street intersection in Manila. It's extremely interesting because you had two sections of the armed forces. One which had defected and one which was loyal to quote, “president,” unquote Marcos. And they were about to have at one another. And people just – men, women, and children with a lot of religious, prominently. People baking bread and handing out coffee and stuff.

They got in-between those two forces. So, Marcos is sending soldiers against these people in this camp. Camp Baker? I forget what the name of the camp was. And the people prevented them from doing that. And that's why you had that very dramatic interchange where somebody on the street asks someone up in armored troop carrier what's happening. And he said, “My commander will tell you.”

I'm not sure you heard all this because the soundtrack was not too great. The commander leans down, and they say, “What's happening.” And he says, “The war is over.” And so, when you hear the, “The war is over,” what's your next question? You come from a win/lose culture. Naturally, you're going to say, “Who won?” And he said,

“The Philippine people.” So, that gives us the whole concept of people power being above this factioning into forces.

In many of the events that we'll be looking at, there's like an iconic story which is perhaps a helpful way to remember and encapsulate the meaning of the event. And the iconic story for EDSA was when a fighter pilot was sent out to bomb the intersection where the people were assembling. And you read about 90% of this story is Zunes, Kurtz and Asher, this pilot goes there, and he levels off.

It shows you why being able to see your enemy, your victims at least in a bomb site is better than sitting in front of a computer terminal and pushing buttons, which is why the military wants to go more and more to computer terminals. But here's this pilot. He levels out to, I don't know, fire his rockets or whatever he's going to fire. And he looks down and he sees the EDSA intersection. And of course, being Filipino, he's a devout Christian. And he sees it's like this huge cross made up of people.

And he said, “I went into such a state of shock that I could feel that helmet moving back on my head from the hair standing up on the back of his neck.” He turned the plane around and landed it and turned himself over to the revolutionary forces. So, that is a very good example of the power of nonviolence. And from my point-of-view, it's a very good example of correct use of symbols.

Use of Symbolism in Movements

In some ways, I'm the least popular person in the entire nonviolent movement, and that's because I really don't believe in symbols and symbolic action. And we can talk more about, you know, my reasons for this. Put me on sodium ambithol or something and get me to really divulge. I was beaten up by a symbol when I was in high school or something like that. Whatever my problem is.

But to be a little bit more serious, it has to do with the fact that the strength of nonviolence comes from it's contact with reality, not from symbols. Anyway, this was a very powerful symbol. But why – some of you may have heard me say this and some of you maybe can guess, why does it not bother me? Why – here we have Nagler who's this famous symbol Nazi who hates symbolism, why is it that he likes this particular episode? Yeah? Alex?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:16:26]

Michael: Yes. It was a concrete act with symbolic resonance rather than a symbolic act with no concrete backing. And what proves it in this case was they did not know that they were in the shape of a cross. It was not like who the people who do these calendars, they're called, “The Bare Truth,” or something like that where they have people in rather unusual state of dress laying down and spelling out peace and things like this.

These people did not know. They were not consciously aware that they were – go for the reality and the symbol will take care of itself. It doesn't mean you pay absolutely no attention to symbols. But it's better not to get hung up on them. Okay, so that was where we were at last time. And I kind of expanded on that a little bit.

"Why Nations Go to War"

Before I get back into our readings and some of these episodes there were a few things that I noticed over the weekend that I wanted to share with you. I wanted to share with you is a euphemism. Whenever something bothers me, I have no way to get it off my chest. I use you people. I hope you don't mind. It's a very valuable service you're providing.

But one thing that struck me was there seems to be a debate going on in congress right now – it's not the only debate – a central debate. It's about how many more troops to give President Bush. How big of a surge are we going to have. I was forcibly reminded of a book by a very – a really brilliant political scientist by the name of Stoessinger something like that – who wrote a book called *Why People Go to War*. And he looked at the Japanese decision to – [Unintelligible 00:18:23]. Thank you Carrie. John Stoessinger

It is a brilliant book, don't you agree? And he talks about why the – how the Japanese decided to attack Pearl Harbor. They had a cabinet meeting. And even though there was an emperor, he had a cabinet and they met. And at this cabinet meeting, the non-war faction said, "We have been bogged down in China for three and a half years. How do you expect us to conquer the United States?"

They were furious. The meeting was adjourned. The meeting was reconvened about a month later. And the agenda for the new meeting was, "Should we do it on December 7. or December 21.?" Or something like that. So, this is a funny way that people manipulate their own consciousness when they've made a bad decision which they cannot justify. Instead of saying, "Okay, we made a bad decision. Let's just go along with it," or something honest like that, they get buried in the details and they cannot back up again and see the big picture and really face what they've considered.

So, I know that you've heard me say several times that I have certain disagreements with the way political science is taught as a discipline. But here's a case where if everybody in the country would read *Why Nations Go to War* by John Stoessinger, we would maybe be much better off in congress right now.

Nonviolence is Cooperation for Peace not for Human Shields

One more thing that I want to share with you. And thank you very much. This is very therapeutic for me. In Gaza you're having an incipient third-party interposition movement being talked about. That's because these two factions, Hamas and Fatah are at one another's throats. And obviously, the Palestinians are very unhappy with this

because their whole thing has been that they're united against the occupation and now they're fighting one another. It's clearly the obvious way to lose.

So, it has been proposed that ordinary citizens should surround Abu Mazen's house and, you know, Fatah offices and things like that, so that fighters from the other side can't attack them. I have no problem with this. But I do have a problem with the terminology because these people are being referred to as human shields. And first of all, again, thank you for just letting me vent here for a while.

First of all, I think this term is dehumanizing and I don't like it to start with. A human being is not a shield. You know, a shield is supposed to protect a human being, not the other way around. Second of all, and more concretely, the reason why I really dislike this term is that it's used toward different groups of people which from the nonviolent point-of-view are as different as black and white.

And that, again, confuses our whole project here. Here we are, we're coming here twice a week, trying to catch up with the reading. And I know it's very difficult. I'm going to be thinking about how to help you out there. Working so hard to get this message clear and journalists out there are using the term, "Human shields," for people like citizens of Gaza who may end up doing this. Maybe they're doing it right now and people who are forced at gunpoint to interpose themselves in front of an armed unit.

This is a practice which has been carried on here and there. You know, when armies get desperate, they grab hold of children or women or something like that. You know, professors, somebody that's really helpless and vulnerable. And they put them out in front and force them to be there. And say, "If you shoot, ha-ha, you're going to have to shoot these people."

So, now do you see why I'm saying that these two things, though they seem similar, are polar opposites, and it's a very bad idea to confuse, overlook the distinction. Can anybody help me out here? Why was I so upset about this? Catherine?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:22:42]

Michael: Voluntarily. Yeah.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:22:52]

Michael: Yes. So, from the point-of-view of the world, as they say, people who don't take PACS164. Unfortunately, still in the majority. The important thing is behavior. And because you're standing there in-between two people – camps of people who have guns, you're doing the same thing. Whereas from our point-of-view, the important thing is volition. And a word that's more frequently used – intention.

Real third-party nonviolent interveners are saying, "We're not for this side or that side. We're for peace. We are here representing that higher order unity which you people are obscuring with your polar factionalism." Whereas human shields are just, you know, human beings being used as objects against their will.

So, I'm sort of getting into contest mode. I've had the idea recently that we should have a world flag and a contest to come up with a better term than nonviolence. Maybe you should get involved in that, Jenna. Carrie, you do the flag. Jenna, you do the word. And maybe we should have a contest to think of a term.

It would first of all be less dehumanizing. And second of all, which would show us the difference between people who volunteer for peace and people who are forced to act as targets in war.

But at the very least, you can see why there isn't a whole lot of understanding about nonviolence out there, it's because people don't even have a vocabulary to describe it in. Okay? Yes? Sashi?

Sashi: [Unintelligible 00:24:41]

Michael: Actually, you know, that's a good – I don't actually think that the wrong kind of human shields where people are forced to do it has actually happened in the Mid-East. It's happened elsewhere. I can't think of an example offhand. But there were several conflicts recently which civilians were forced. Or, you know, it gets to be a kind of a blurry line. Sometimes we have people, you know – like – oh, I remember. In Iraq the Iraqi army – or in – here's the example I was really trying to think of.

Lebanon. Where you had Hezbollah, which is very similar to Hamas in a way because they do civil service for people who have no infrastructure. But then they also use violence against the external aggressor. So, you had Hezbollah going and setting up bases in apartment houses. So, in order for the Israelis to take them out, they had to blow up that apartment house, you know? Kill 300 people. Which unfortunately, they actually went and did it. So, that's complicating stuff. But I don't think it's actually happening yet in either case in either definition in Gaza.

All right. Well, time is hemorrhaging. I got to get onto some of the things we've been studying. As I told you in my second and more frantic CourseWeb announcement, I do want to talk a little bit about Section 2 in Zunes, Kurtz, and Asher before we go onto the Europe part.

And again, what I'm doing here is a little bit arbitrary in the sense that I'm talking about only the insurrectionary movements. There are some movements which start out as anti-militarist reforms or some kind of other less ambitious reform. And they discover that this isn't going to go away unless we overthrow the whole regime.

And you can argue that the example, the big paradigm that we always think of, the Freedom Struggle in India, the biggest and best of everything in our field, that that was like that. That Gandhi started out asking for the rights of Indian workers in South Africa. And eventually, he got to Quit India. He said, "Get out of here. We have to bring down the whole regime."

And it'd be very interesting to know. I would actually give up something that I treasure, not necessarily money, but something more affordable, to know when it dawned on

Gandhi that he was really going against the British raj, not to mention Western civilization and colonialism and all of that stuff. It would be interesting to know.

Analysis - 1978, Iranian Revolution

So, my distinction here is a little bit arbitrary, but for the time being, for simplicity's sake, we're sticking with uprisings that aim at overthrows of regimes.

And I wanted to say a little bit about the Iranian Revolution in 1978. It's interesting that both Iran and Chile are attempts to overthrow regimes which our country had put in power. In the case of Iran, it was 1953. British and American and Israeli intelligence cooperated the overthrow of Mohammad Mossadegh who was a very popular leader, and put the Shah in power, who actually was not a shah. I mean if you did the DNA, I'm sure you could prove that he was not a descendant of Syrus the Great or whatever he claimed to be.

But he was just the strongman and he set up, again, with the cooperation of Israeli intelligence. Almost makes you think there might be a law of karma in the universe considering how grave a danger to Israel Iran is now. But with the help of Mossad, they set up the [Savak] and they carried out this horrendous repressive regime.

Now, there is a mention in the description of this by Zunes, Kurtz, and Asher of the fact that in many cases, soldiers who were sent out to fire on these crowds defected. So, it's like on and field people realize what they're doing. You remember in the film about EDSA? They're going to come out here and they're going to see their sisters, their brothers, their relatives are on the other side. They won't shoot.

So, this is a phenomenon which you can employ if you know about it. You can sometimes manipulate to get people to see the humanity of their intended victims. This actually had a powerful effect up to a point in both the Prague Spring uprising of 1968 and the Tiananmen uprising which became a massacre in, I guess, it was 84. And that is you had soldiers who would come in and people would fraternize with them.

Of course, nowadays, you'd have to also sororize with them because there'd be some lady soldiers. And say, "You know, what are you doing here? We're revolutionists just like you." Once you make that human contact, they can't really bring themselves to kill you anymore. And what they did in both these cases in Prague and later in China was to send in special units who were from such a distant part of the country that they didn't even have a common language of the people who were in the uprising.

But none of that is directly relevant in Iran. But what is relevant is that soldiers would be ordered to, you know, take out, take control of the squares. They would go there, and they'd see these people who are just Iranians like them, and they would defect.

Now, what they don't – what Zunes, Kurtz, and Asher don't go on to tell you, partly because it's not very well-documented. So, I have to tell you this right up front this is a little bit anecdotal. I have been spending decades trying to track it down and I can't quit

get to – something that a journalist would say, “Okay, this is news. I’m going to trot over Northgate Hall and publish this.” But even if it didn’t happen, it’s a good myth. A good myth is something that never happened but is always true. I didn’t make up that definition, by the way. So, even if it didn’t happen, but I think at least two of thirds of it did happen, then it at least shows us something about the inner dynamics of nonviolence. It could happen.

So, the next step that I want to take is that in one case – and this is pretty well documented. One of these soldiers, when he saw what he was doing and he saw that he had no other way out of it, he shot his commander officer. This is known in Vietnam as fragging. Very serious business. There’s recently been a film about it called, *Sir, no Sir* about the defection of American troops in Vietnam which was millions of times greater than we were given to understand. Somehow, this is even before they embedded the journalists in the military.

As I’ve said, they were in bed with the military before they got embedded in the military. [Laughter] Okay, not a good joke. Okay. Move on from here.

So, this soldier shot his commanding officer and then turned his rifle on himself. That much is pretty documented. The anecdotal part, I don’t have terribly good evidence for, is about what happened in the lead-up to that episode. It was a demonstration. There were thousands and thousands of people in the square, in Tehran.

And by having a rally in the square, those people were undertaking a terrific risk because the shah did not stop at sending helicopters over the square and machinegunning people. They knew very well that they might be killed. So, we’re in Stage 3. Way up on the curve.

And this particular demonstration was being addressed by mullahs, by Islamic priests. And it was a mullah who was up there speaking. And this squad, company leader or whatever it was ordered him shot, and they shot him. So, they shot this priest right in front of all of these people. It’s like, you know, the assassination of Romero. And here’s the shocker, after this man fell, another mullah stepped up to the microphone and said, “Where my brother has fallen, I will carry on.”

He stood there looking at those soldiers and launched back into the talk. And guess what? He was shot. And he fell and guess what? A third mullah stood up and said in the same language, “Where my brother has fallen, I will go on.” At that point, a shot rang out, and that’s when the soldier had killed his commanding officer. And then he killed himself and then the troops disbursed. So, that was a rather heavy story for only 10:15 in the morning. I hope you all, you know, fully able to roll with this.

Rehumanizing in Stage 3 of the Escalation Curve

But now do you remember, perchance, some of you who were with us last semester, do you remember something that Gandhi said in connection with the other type of nonviolence and use against armed conflict? Namely, civilian based defense. Where he

was describing in Switzerland what he called the Thermopylae operation or something like that.

Where let's say what they were worried about that at that time was a Japanese invasion, okay? And he wanted to come up with an alternative for the British plan which was very predictable. You know, stay there and fight until the last soldier. Actually, the British plan was to get out of India immediately the minute the Japanese invaded, but nobody knew that at that time. I think it's very interesting. Nobody knew it.

But they were challenging Gandhi and saying, "What would you do? You're a nonviolent person. You don't even do ambulance corps anymore. How would you defend your country?" With the implication being if you can't come up with a plan, nonviolence is no good and we have to have armies and so forth.

Which of course, is totally illogical because they didn't know they were up on the curve and - okay. Everybody is very ignorant. We know this. We don't hate them. We don't despise them. We pity them. Anyway, here you are. Gandhi had to come up with a plan. And he said, "Men, women and children walk to the border and stand there." And they said, "But, but, but the Japanese will massacre them."

And then what did he say? Do you remember, Amy?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:36:18]

Michael: That's right. His exact language was, "In any army which advanced over the dead bodies of unarmed men, women, and children, would find itself unable to repeat the experiment." So, this episode in Tehran is a good example of that. Yes, you can stand there, and you can kill innocent non-resisting people if you've been dehumanized enough. But where I want to go with this is to say that nobody, practically nobody can be dehumanized completely.

There's no way to totally irradicate that spark of human empathy within every human being. So, if it's been buried very deeply, you'll have to suffer a lot to awaken it. If it's only been slightly buried, you don't have to suffer as much. Depends when you start and so on. Arby?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:37:18]

Michael: Oh, it was very close to the end. Once he started massacring hoards of innocent people, it was getting close to the end. Even though the then president of the U.S. who was, you know, not the war president. He was the prayer breakfast president, Jimmy Carter, said the shah of the Iran is our best friend in the Middle East. He said that. Yeah, Matt?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:37:47]

Michael: Yeah. It's true. It's just a matter of degree, I think, Matt. And it's also the way they've been massacring. I would have to say that in the case of some of those people

in those tribal conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa who have been brought in as soldiers when they were like 14-year-old kids, boys and girls, that's probably the deepest grade of dehumanization that we've got to deal with. It's very, very deep.

An armed – I'm standing here and saying my belief. I've got no way to prove it. My belief is that there'd be a way to reach even those people. There would be a way, but the cost would be horrendous, of course. So, this is why in the course of making someone into a soldier, you have to dehumanize that person. And you forget that this is exactly the way violence always operates.

You sacrifice the future for the present. So, now you have these people coming back, 550,000 GIs are coming back at some point, dead or alive from Iraq. They have been deeply, severely traumatized. Who wants to summarize what the plan is of, say, the Veterans Administration or any other unit of the American military or American civilian entities to rehumanize them so they can be good, civilized people when they're released?

What do we have stacked up? How much money are we willing to spend for this? You got it. Nada. Zip. Nyenta. So, that's violence for you. Sorry, I'm losing it here. I'm getting out of control.

But what we were saying, I guess, Matt, is that the belief that I'm unwilling to relinquish is that it would be possible, whether they've been like somewhat dehumanized, like our soldiers in Iraq right now. And incidentally, there's a good documentary about that too. It's called, *Ground Truth* by Patricia Foulkrod. Very good. I mean good in the sense that it's true and right on. Not good in the sense that it's inspiring, uplifting or tells you anything about nonviolence.

But even when people have been systematically dehumanized, which has been going on since the Mau Mau insurrections in Kenya. You force people to do things that just completely dehumanize them so they can – you can use their dehumanization against somebody else, not realizing that you've paid a human cost and it's going to rebound on you.

I would say, and I have no way to prove it, but there's no such thing as eradicating that spark of human empathy and compassion in a person. And there are many very interesting anecdotes of how it can be reawakened in people. In fact, in Burundi, in Rwanda, in other places right now, they're trying out very, very interesting post-conflict mechanisms to get people who utterly cannot trust each other anymore.

Because, you know, they were next door neighbors and the next thing you know, they were slaughtering. They get them back together so they can reach out to one another. Now, I'll be participating in something like that in Bosnia and Herzegovina sometime in September where the dehumanization maybe wasn't quite so bad, and a lot of time has gone by.

Okay. So, I know I shouldn't have had that chai before I came here. I'm just completely – can't stop myself. Anybody have any questions before I – stop me before I lecture again. Anyone have any questions? Yeah, Arby?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:42:00]

Morality vs Strategy

Michael: Where should the blame go? Well, you know, I have a good way to get out of that question. And I think I'm going to use it. And that is that, you know, PNV people, you know, principled nonviolence folks, we don't spend a lot of time blaming because it's not really a moral issue with us. In fact, in your reader – thank you for reminding me. Remember, you paid good money for it. Might as well use it.

There is an article by Jack Duvall and Peter Ackerman on the color revolutions in Eastern Europe. Excellent article. We're going to talk about it next week. But at one point you will see that he says that nonviolence is not a moral issue. It is simply strategic. This is an interesting debate that's going on in the field. You know, all seven of us have been talking about it for weeks.

Really, it's a debate that isn't going on in the field. I keep emailing these people and saying, "Shouldn't we be talking about this?" And they either say, "No," or they talk about something else. And they have all the money. So, it's not going to happen. Anyway, the point is this, the strategic nonviolent camp at the moment is setting up a polarity between moral and practical which is where they talk about strategies.

So, in order to be practical, you don't want to be moral is what they're saying. And therefore, they don't want to talk to us because they characterize us as coming on with some kind of moral framework. Whereas for us – and you can document this very well from Gandhi, Emanuel Kant, I don't know, characters from Star Trek have been to say things like this.

In reality, there is no difference between what is moral and what is pragmatically effective. That's why the work versus work thing becomes so important. Because strategically you might gain something in the short run, but you'll end up paying much more in the long run, so how practical is that? Did you want – yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:44:46]

Michael: This is a very, very good point which I'm embarrassed to say it never occurred to me before now. But the split in Western Civ, that starts somewhere in the high renaissance between religion and science has given us these hopeless dichotomies. And that split never happened in India. If you read, for example, there's an Indian text on linguistics which I've spent a lot of time studying for reasons that are not particularly pertinent here.

But I was very struck by the fact that the first line of this – it's in verse. It's a poem on linguistics. So, you might think it's a very scientific document that's going to talk about

phonemics and where the tongue articulates with the hard palate and stuff. But the first line actually is [Unintelligible 00:46:06] See? Which means – see? It means, “The supreme reality is without beginning and without end. And it is this reality alone that is the essence of all linguistic sound.”

So, can you imagine getting up in front of, let’s say, the American Linguistics Association and starting off with some kind of an invocation of the supreme reality? I think you’d probably lose your license of whatever kind you have. And I think that’s a very, very pertinent observation because in India, science and religion were not two distinct things. That problem never came up for Gandhi.

So, what we’re really talking about is not morality versus pragmatism, but the underlying invisible forces that determine in the long run what will really be practical. John?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:47:09]

Michael: See, here’s the difficulty. If you start from practical strategies with this shallow notion of what’s practical, eventually, you lose the means, ends, contiguity. And you say, “Okay, we got to go for – forget about the quality of the means. We’ll use anything necessary to get to that.” Yeah. Start from this – what I consider a mistake, and you will get to this mistake. Okay? Anything else?

Analysis - Missing Principled Elements

I wanted to say one more thing and sort of a general overview sort of thing about the Iranian uprising and then we’ll move onto some of the others. Anything else? Okay. Good. That’s too bad. It was such a nice, clean blackboard. In discussing the Iranian revolution, in the book, they make a very interesting rather somber point. And that is, in a way, this was even worse than what we’ve already seen about the Philippine uprising, namely in Philippine uprising, People Power Uprising, you had a really successful overthrow, installation of what should have been a perfectly decent government.

And the next thing you know, it’s sliding back into the same old economic disaster or worse for the poor people. Well, in Iran, it was even worse than that because you went immediately from a successful nonviolent revolution to a brutally repressive regime. The Ayatollah simply replaced one kind of fanatical ideology with another. And there was immediate tip over there.

This is, you know, if you want to go back further in history, you could say – well, I was going to talk about the Russian revolution but that was never nonviolent in any way, shape, or form.

But here, you had the Ayatollah from Paris. And this is – darn, it, this is another complicated problem. It’s when you have people in the diaspora telling you what to do. It’s like you may have noticed in the descriptions of the First Intifada that one of the things that the Palestinians on the ground had to do was distance themselves from the

PLO because the PLO was off there in Morocco. It was maybe some of them were still hanging on in Lebanon.

But they had been out of the country for 25 years. They didn't know what was going on. And it's very easy to sit there in Paris and say, "Sacrifice yourselves." Not quite the same thing as being there. Anyway, here he is calling on these people to make the supreme sacrifice and never resort to weapons.

So, from our point-of-view that looks like an extremely Stage 3 emergency nonviolent uprising. Sorry it go so bad, but there's nasty countries out there doing nasty things. We can't help it. So, it looks like a perfectly – I was going to say perfectly reasonable. That would – that sort of doesn't fit. It looks like the right call given these horrible circumstances. The almost immediate defection from nonviolence, the minute it succeeds tells us two things.

It tells us that it could not have been that nonviolent under the surface when you really look at what was going on and what it was based on. And then you begin to realize that a lot of this, you know, never fire back and let yourself be killed was partly tying into Islamic ideology and not into more balanced concepts of self-sacrifice.

So, it couldn't have been nonviolent. If it were, we would have had a better result from it. Secondly, it shows us – and I've made this point in a little booklet called *Steps of Nonviolence* which I really would like people to buy because I'm trying to get it off the shelves so we can use [Hope or Terror](#) instead. So that Carrie and I can become rich and famous.

What it shows us is that the moment of victory can be extremely dangerous for nonviolent movements. If you remember Gandhi's famous quip, when things started falling apart for him and people were not nonviolent anymore, they're just grabbing for power, he said, "Well, you know, I was on the train to Rishikesh, and they got off in Delhi." Rishikesh being a place where all the sages have meditated from times immemorial and Delhi being the government.

You know, so it looks like you're on the same train, but some people get off at a much earlier stop. And incidentally, that happened here in the Free Speech Movement. There was some people who were in it for a complete nonviolent spiritual revolution. Never mind who was in it for that reason. And there was some people because they were in it because they hated the administration of the University of California Berkeley and wanted to make them feel bad.

So, up to a point, you're doing exactly the same thing. And then suddenly, there's this very awkward split. And this happened in Germany in the 80's. A great deal when the Green's party was trying to assert itself, you had this split between the fundies and the [rayallas]. It's been a bane of the peace movement all along.

Obstructive vs Constructive Program

Now, another thing we could use to characterize this is to say that the Iranian revolution was a superb example of obstructive program. Given their horrific circumstances, given the fact that they had no time to do the training. You know, they could not ask for David Hartsough to come over there and give them nonviolence workshops. First of all, he would not have been let into the country. Second of all, there was no time.

They're plunged into it. They did obstructive program. Given their circumstances, they did it terrific. We're going to stand here. Go ahead and shoot us. And they shoot until they reach the point where they cannot repeat the experiment and then you win.

But what was missing? Well, first of all, what I've already mentioned, the deep cultivation of nonviolence was not really there. It could not have been. But what was missing was constructive program.

And at the end or by the end of the semester, we'll be talking about several movements that we will see have terrific constructive program and no obstructive program.

And one of those movements is the largest social movement possibly in the world today. The movement of landless workers in Brazil. 50,000 families have been given land. Like a million and a half people belong to this movement. They're translating my book into Portuguese. I mean it's just sweet from so many points of view. But I'm going to show you a clip from a film, a documentary made about them called *Strong Roots*.

It'll show when these people are attacked by the police, by the paramilitaries, by the thugs who have been hired by the people who own the *latafundias* and have been seriously attacked, they don't know what to do. They throw rocks at them. I think weak violence is probably worse than strong violence. Or certainly worse than nonviolence. So, we'll discuss all of this in greater detail, but I just wanted to say as a way of comparing movements, you could look at this is a great trajectory where we have OP without CP, and we have CP without OP.

This is going on in the world. The result of this is that by today a thousand workers, landless people have been killed by these paramilitaries and police and so forth. And I maintain if they had – if they knew how to deal with conflict, probably maybe ten people would have been killed. Something like that. Then it would have stopped. Just to pick some numbers out of thin air here.

So, wouldn't it be wonderful – and this is where all of this leads – wouldn't this be wonderful if we had a movement that combined CP and OP. It had constructive program and had obstructive program. And knew when to use which. You had some strategic leadership.

I venture to say – I know I'm venturing to say a lot here today. It must have been partly that chai latte that I had. I venture to say that a movement like that would be just about unbeatable under any circumstances. That's my claim. You can hold me to that.

Now, we did have one which was darn close. And that was the First Intifada. We were talking about that a bit last time. Remember, you had these chickens in the cages. You

don't have to remember constructive program and the intifada. That's a nice image. Chickens – don't show it to the people in PETA. Poor caged chickens. They have a problem with this, but I don't want to go there right now.

Clandestine schools on up to the point where, quote, "Every woman becomes every child's mother." You have a real fusion of the society. There was very little assassination of collaborators at that point in time. And you had people inventing their entire infrastructure. Excellent swadeshi. Very good constructive program.

On the other hand – and we haven't had a chance to talk about this in detail – they had very good obstructive program also. They knew how to do it. They had the courage and so forth.

Throwing Stones

If you want an iconic story here too, this story comes from my friend Mubarak Awad who set up an office in Ramallah called, "The Center for – Study – a Palestinian Nonviolence." Something like that. And his notion was that he was just going to have a library there. And if people wanted to learn about nonviolence, they would come and they would read Gene Sharp or somebody like that. He didn't know about Nagler yet. Read Gene Sharp. Maybe discuss a few things over coffee. And then they would go out and do it.

So, he launched – I'll tell you several stories, actually, if you will indulge me. He launched this movement with a big meeting. He called a meeting. He printed posters in Hebrew, Arabic, and English saying we're going to talk about nonviolent resistance to the occupation.

Fully anticipating two things. Nobody would come and he'd get arrested. Instead, what happened was 300 people crammed into this little space that he had, and he was not arrested. So, he starts this thing and he's been up and running for a few weeks, when a farmer comes in and says, "I need nonviolence. Give me [le-oof] which is the Arabic word they were using for nonviolence at that point. It's as bad as the English word, so I'm not terribly happy with it. But that's what he said.

So, Mubarak said, "Oh, okay. Here, sit down here. Here's the books. Start reading them." And he said, "No, I want nonviolence. They're stealing my land now. We've got to get out there and stop them." And Mubarak said, "Ah, ah, ah. I'm a psychologist. I don't know how to do this." But there you go. You know, you're launched.

So, he got together a group of Palestinians and Israelis. Said, "Okay, we have three rules here. We're going to work together. We're going to eat together." Which is a very big deal in the Middle East. You sit down and eat together, you're practically blood relations. And no throwing stones. Okay?

This is – you remember in the film, this reference to throwing stones being a part of the intifada. I want to discuss that with you for just a second later. So, this, they went out

and did. And it was a successful event. They actually forced the settlers to give back the land – this farmer’s land and nothing was really launched.

Now, at a latter point – this is my third story – there was a kid. He was a part of what they call in the Middle East – he was one of the Shabab. The Shabab are youth from about 16 to 22. They’re notoriously difficult to control. They’re not easy to control in U.S. either, but at least in the U.S. they don’t throw stones. They just do drive-by shootings and things like that.

Anyway, what’s happening over and over again and the people from Belén, will probably mention this. It happens over and over. You have a demonstration. It’s very peaceful. Very nonviolent. Then uh-oh, here come the Shabab. They come riding over the hill. They start throwing stones at the Israeli’s who are sitting there in heavy armor, you know, face masks and everything. And they immediately shoot back with rubber bullets and tear gas and that’s the end of the demonstration.

You know, one of my students was on one of these demonstrations and he was running away, and he forgot his mantrum it was so scary. Anyway, this kid is out there at a street corner and there’s a regular IDF patrol going by in a jeep. And he throws a stone at the jeep. He hits an IDF soldier.

And by the way, in the course of this whole uprising, then and now, one IDF soldier has actually lost an eye because of a stone. So, it’s not like we’re talking about only purely symbolic violence here. And the soldier who did not lose his eye, jumps out of the jeep, chases this kid, catches him, beats him up very badly, and they go on about their business.

What happens the next morning? Anybody want to guess? I’ll give you a hint. It’s like the story of the demonstration in Tehran. Here’s our same kid. Limping up to the street corner, there goes the jeep. He lobs a stone. Probably doesn’t hit the soldier this time. Again, the soldier jumps out of the jeep, again he chases him up the street. Of course, he catches him. It’s a lot easier now, beats him up again. Okay?

Morning number three, anybody want to guess what happened? Okay, here’s our kid. Hunkering over to the street corner. The jeep comes. He lobs the stone, ineffectually. The soldier gets out. He starts to run. Okay, now – now for an A, what happens this time?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:03:25]

Michael: He didn’t stop running. Actually, the soldier – but to that’s close. You’re on the right track. It’s like A-. The soldier caught him and gave him a big hug. At which point the kid marched into Mubarak’s office and said, “What’s going on here? Why did he hug me? This is infuriating. He was supposed to beat me up.” You got to love these kids. And Mubarak said, “He hugged you because he’s human.”

And you reached a point where he was not able to repeat the experiment. So, that’s an iconic story for this confrontation. Let’s do this. Let’s talk about why this might not be an

ideal example of the kind of marriage that I'm talking about between obstructive and constructive.

Let's talk about the question of the stones. And then finally, let's get back to at least two things in the film, the documentary that I wanted to outline, Okay? So, here's this intifada which in one important sense, it has both obstructive and constructive. They have curfews. They're not smoking Israeli cigarettes. This is like a form of boycott. It's also a form of indigenous health care. They've got schools. Milk delivery. Everything. CP. They've got pretty darn good OP.

The First Intifada results in – although you can't totally see the connections, it undoubtedly results in Oslo in the peace process which is eventually going to be sabotaged and not get anywhere and you're back to the same old, same old. In fact, I have a very dear friend. His former student who is Israeli and never in her life did she imagine that she would not end up living in Israel. But she's back there right now visiting her family.

And she's telling us for the first time she thinks she cannot live in that country. That's how bad things are. So, one of two things is going to happen here. Either we're going to prove that nonviolence doesn't work. Nagler doesn't know what he's talking about. This whole thing is bunk. Or we're going to say, "Yeah, this was – it had both. But we're still somewhat short of the ideal combination." I sure hope it's going to be the latter.

What might have been less than perfect in this combination here? What might have been a missing ingredient? This is a subtle point. This is not like a dumb question that I asked you last week. Yeah, Michael?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:06:29]

Michael: Okay, so let me rephrase what you're saying in my own terms. I get to do that. The obstructive program wasn't perfect because you had the stones issue. So, let's talk about that for a minute.

Here comes this, you know, jeep full of IDF soldiers. They've got armor on. The U.S. government is paying \$3 million a day to keep them supplied. And you're just a kid. You've got nothing but a stone. So, you throw the stone. What does that mean? There is an argument that this is not violence and there's an argument that it is.

Student: [Unintelligible 01:07:17]

Michael: So, you're answering both, I think those answers are both correct. And that leads us nowhere, basically. But it's an interesting dilemma. It is one level the intention of throwing the stone is not so much to injure as to show that you are not afraid. You call it defiance, and that's exactly the right term for it.

So, to the extent that you're not doing it order to hurt, though I guarantee you most of the Shabab would be real happy if they could take out an Israeli with one of these things. But let's say that part of them is doing it not to hurt, but to show you can't

frighten us and this isn't your land just because you come by here in a jeep. As far as that goes, it's courage. And as far as that goes, it's darn close to nonviolence.

On the other hand – yeah, Catherine?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:08:26]

Michael: This is the problem. If they had more weapons, there's no guarantee that they wouldn't use them. It would be one thing if they were marched up to the street corner, threw down their Kalashnikov. And here's the ideal solution. Step out in the street in front of the jeep and say, "Go ahead, hit me." That would be ideal. This is the real world, however. So, they probably would have used weapons if they had them.

And that eviscerates the nonviolence a little bit. Mathias and then Amy?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:09:01]

Michael: Yes. That's right. We want to get back to – I want to be sure we have time to discuss that. Yeah. I like rage, actually. Amy?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:09:15]

Michael: Yeah. You know, I never have thought of this connection before. But [Unintelligible 01:09:29]. It's this Arabic – this Muslim festival. I think I've got the right festival – correct me if I'm wrong. It's in Mecca. You go past this pillar which represents [Iblis 01:09:47], the devil, and you throw stones at it.

And throughout antiquity, stones – I mean since antiquity, stone throwing has been used as a way of punishing people who are so polluted that you cannot touch them. So, stoning – you know this from the Old Testament. Stoning means ridding yourself of an abomination. So, what do we learn from this? We learn once again, phew, Nagler was exactly correct. That using symbols to the extent that this is symbolic of my defiance, right? Using symbols is tricky because the symbols have different interpretations.

Okay, so let's see. I think to come back to our main track here, that Michael was starting us off on, the obstructive program was somewhat flawed. We're not saying these people were not courageous. We are saying they were not under complete control. There was no Gandhi there to say, "What? You're throwing stones? The movement is over." Right? There's no Chari Chara happening here.

It's like in Seattle. You have these little, small block of anarchists. They ruined it for everybody. So, that's slightly flawed. I would say the constructive program was flawed slightly by the fact that they were just doing it to stay alive. They had no awareness that, "Hey, we can build our own culture and it can be beautiful and it can be like heaven here. It can be utopia." They had no such of concept. They just wanted eggs.

And, you know, who's blaming them? You know, they had to stay alive. I'm not saying they did the wrong thing. But if you look at the constructive program and the movement

of landless workers, they said, “We’re going to start with a completely clean slate. We’re going to have a new kind of education, a new kind of politics. A new kind of economy. We’re going to go in for organics because we’re part of the 21st century.” It’s just beautiful what they were doing.

Okay, so I hope you are all convinced that nonviolence still works. And we can show that even though they had OP and CP which is probably absolutely essential, they didn’t have somebody coordinating it, looking at the whole thing and saying, “Here’s when we use this one. Here’s when we use that one. And here’s why.” Okay? Alex?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:12:24]

Analysis - Importance of Nonviolent Discipline

Michael: Again, this is a very important point. I have it underlined here in red ink on my notes which I haven’t gotten to yet. But there’s a concept that we take from Central America and South America which may even have – may even have touched on last semester. [Spanish] which means, you know, unwavering firmness. It means once you decide that something has got to be stopped, you know, this must be fought, and that you’re going to use the right means to fight it. That you’re just going to keep on doing it until you can’t go anymore.

And very often, it is the case – boy, are we running out of time. Very often it is the case that people who are doing something nonviolent feel that they should not be injured because they’re doing the right thing. And heck, I mean if this is a perfect world, like if we were God and we organized the world, the people who did nonviolence would not get hurt.

But unfortunately, that’s not in our job description. So, what is going to happen when a movement meets with unexpected resistance? Two different unfortunate results can ensue from that. You can have this climactic breakdown. And the classic example of that is the Sharpeville Massacre, as it’s called, in South Africa. I think it’s 1962. I’m very, very bad on dates.

But an unarmed demonstration was fired upon by the police. And something like 56 or 60 people were killed. And at that point, the ANC, African National Congress which had been going full tilt in favor of nonviolence went right back to violence. They said – and you will have statements by Mandela saying that we wanted to be nonviolent in South Africa, but it didn’t work because the opposition was too powerful.

So, that’s why the first essay in your reader last semester was nonviolence in the case of the extremely ruthless opponent. Do you have it in there again this semester? Anyway. So, that’s a climactic breakdown of discipline. But the thing that happens more frequently is wearing down through time.

Attrition. Just attrition. You get sick and tired. “Look, we’ve been doing this for X number of years. We haven’t gotten anywhere. We’re hemorrhaging for money. We’re losing

blood. We're losing everything. We can't go on with this. It doesn't work. We go back to violence. So, that's what happened in the case of the intifada. At least for a lot of people.

But look at the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre in India, 1916. 400 people were killed. 432 people. And they didn't stop for a second. There was just practically nobody who said, "Oh, we didn't realize that we were actually going to get hurt." I don't mean to sound sarcastic about this. I mean who can blame these people? Here they are, you know, it looks like if you go on with this you're going to get killed. I'm not going to sit in judgment on anyone and say they shouldn't have stopped.

But all I'm saying is if they don't stop, the results are eventually going to be extremely positive. So, the intifada was a bit betrayed by forces on the international arena. Not mentioning any countries, but I think you can guess which ones I'm hinting at.

And it was worn down by attrition. And these are reasons why the good result was not as permanent as we might have wished. Okay, we have two more minutes according to my little timepiece here. And I wanted to pick out two things from the documentary, both in connection with the Chilean movement. One of them is important. The other one is super important.

The important one is – do you remember our friend picking up the phone and saying, "This was a clandestine movement." Well, again, this clashes with some of the squeaky clean theory that we learned in A which is devotion to truth means that you never tell a lie. You're always out in public. And we have cases of people actually doing this, contrary to expectations.

We have Daniel Trocmé that we learned about on Tuesday, I think, last week, where he said, "Okay, I don't care that the Nazis are in charge here. I will never tell a lie. As a Christian, I simply can't do that. Somehow, the guy managed to survive, miraculously. And there are other examples too, of the incredible protective power that this strangely brings with it.

But no one in the movement, neither the strategic folks nor the principle folks like me are going to say the minute you start a movement you've got to telegraph the FBI and give them the names of all the people who came to the meeting and say, "Here's where we're going to be next Tuesday," and stuff like that. This is the real world.

And I want to discuss that with you a little bit next time. And I'll bring up – you remind me, Mathias. There's a case of a German Catholic priest from southern Germany who has a very interesting argument about this. So, just remind me about him.

The super important thing is this, this woman who lost her son in Santiago in Chile. She says – and I wish we could hear the Spanish here. Maybe you could help us, because I would really like to know exactly what words she used. So, Palo and Nubia, get together and figure out what she said. She said, "I was not angry. I was enraged." Right? "And because of that rage, I felt I had to act." [Furia]. You almost hear the [furiaso]. [Spanish] or something like that. But [Furiaso]. Okay.

This is – might just seem like a little play on words. You're saying, “Oh, there's Nagler. He's a comparative literature scholar. There he goes again.” But actually, I think that this is critical. So, let's talk about that a little bit next time.

[PACS164B Lecture 08](#)

Michael: Good morning everyone. Jenna, could I see you for a second right after class? Just you're not in trouble. I just want to – I need about six hours to get through the material I want to share with you this morning. I thought of maybe drinking more caffeine and talking faster, but that would be against my religion. So, we're just going to try and catch the high points and fill in as best we can.

I don't know how many of you are familiar with this magazine called, *Greater Good*. There's an institute in this building – now, in Tollman Hall, called "Center for Peace and Human Wellbeing." And they produce this magazine called *Greater Good*. And they had an interview with Phillip Gourevitch who is talking about genocides and talking about the agonizing moral dilemma that people go through when something like Darfur is cooking up.

In some cases, these are things that could have been fixed very easily. In the case of one of the worst, Rwanda, all it would have taken would have been for the U.S. to fly an airplane over the country and jam Radio Libre De Mille Collines, this Hutu radio station which was inflaming the whole country. All you'd have to do is, you know, about 25 cents worth of aluminum foil could have jammed that. But they didn't do it. So, we have this terrible dilemma. Are we going to intervene and get our helicopter shot down once again? Or are we going to pretend nothing is happening?

And of course, this is where nonviolence weighs in with a real alternative. At one point in his interview, Gourevitch said, "So, we have to confront the limits of our ability to marry our moral sense of pure common humanity to the amoral instruments of politics and force." Because he's unaware that you could marry your moral sense of pure common humanity to moral instruments of spiritual politics and persuasion. He doesn't know that.

I'm not sharing this with you to put him down, but to give us a sense of how important the work is that we're doing here. If people like that knew that there was an alternative, this world could change very quickly.

Difference Between Anger and Rage

So, last time we were discussing some insights that were shared with one of the women in the Chilean referendum movement. And I guess the question I'd like us to start off with is what is the difference between anger and rage? And for the time – I hope nobody is experiencing either of them right now. But for the time being I'm going to ask the A students not to chime in because we touched on part of this.

I'm elaborating it, but we touched on part of this when we talked about the key episode that starts the whole nonviolent cycle going. Kicks the wheel over. Namely, when Gandhi is thrown off the train in Maritzburg which Richard Attenborough very wisely made into the opening scene of his movie. Almost opening scene.

So, you guys just, you know, be patient. Repeat your mantrum for a couple minutes and lets just ask the other folks before I call on you. What is the difference?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:03:38]

Michael: Very good. So, you have anger is emotional and rage is a drive in the sense that – sorry. Michael, that isn't working very well. Here, use my umbrella. Remember to give it back to me though. Is a drive. We assume that the word she used for rage is [Furia]. Is that what she probably said? [Furia]? What do you think she might have used for anger? I suppose that doesn't matter all that much. Yeah. But it does show that these are common human experiences. That we experience these things as different and it's not just a quantitative difference as Arby was pointing out.

And then as I was thinking about this I suddenly remembered that a graduate student of mine in classics did a dissertation on two Homeric words for anger. And in fact, it showed exactly this configuration. The two words were kholos and kotos. Or – and kholos [\[link to spelling\]](#) this is where we get the word choleric. Nice archaic word, you English majors. Jenna, choleric comes from kholos. And it's a mood. You know, it comes and goes. The emphasis here is on the subjective transitory experience of the individual, not on the social impact.

Whereas kotos is more longstanding. It's more durable. But also, it seems to be qualitatively on another plane of reality. For example, in the Greek world, ancient Greek world, the gods have kotos. Human beings tend to have kholos. And when the gods have kotos, watch out because that's going to make a difference in the world. Okay, so that's one thing. And I think it's a very useful start.

So, incidentally, A people, now you can tell us what it was. There's something else, I think, needs to be said. And you can chime in now. What makes a crucial difference between anger and rage? I was sitting in this lecture last night that Amy is going to tell us a little bit about on Tuesday. And I was thinking to myself, "I'm hearing nothing but kholos. This is all [Unintelligible 00:06:32]. I'm not hearing any [Furia]." Nothing is going to be done from all of this anger that I was hearing from these young people, which you could totally understand. I mean if you're going to get angry anybody, they picked the right people and the right issues to get angry about.

But you reach a point where you want to do something about it and then we'll go back to that a little bit more on Tuesday. Okay, but what is the other difference now? You might remember what I theorized made the difference between a person just being ticked off. You can substitute any other words that you wish. Because he was thrown off a train which has happened a million times. And unfortunately, is going to go on happening.

And someone who was so challenged and turned inside out by the experience, that he changed modern civilization. And what was it, if you remember, that I proposed probably made the difference? Yeah, Michael?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:07:37]

Michael: Yeah. Excellent. That's the real thing. I mean this is also real. It's all real. But that's the thing I was getting at here. In anger, you take it personally. And you give it personally. You take it – this is being – how could they do this to me? And you dish it out at the persons who did it to you. And that's exactly what I was hearing last night, even though the people and the speakers in this group weren't themselves victimized. They were enraged about the victimization of others. And they wanted to get at the individuals who were doing it.

Okay, so now this is going to be a little bit difficult, a little bit harder. But what's the object in the case of rage? If you're not taking it personally, what do you do? Alex?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:08:35]

Michael: It's aimed at the system. Right. You're looking for systematic change. And it is going to galvanize energies out of you. In fact, you notice that the very next thing – this is the second stage here. The very next thing that that woman said was – after she said, “I wasn't angry. I felt a rage,” the very next thing she said was, “And when you feel a rage like that, you have to do something about it.”

So, this is more likely to express itself in action. And it's much, much more likely to express itself in positive action. That is action which is going to make a positive difference. You may have to say, you know, down with this system. It may look deconstructive. I'm using a scholarly word to avoid facing a moral problem here. You're deconstructing something that's harmful. In fact, let me interrupt myself here for a second, because you're used to this by now.

We were – remember we were talking last time about – oh, that's right, Mathias isn't here. We were talking last time about concealment. And we were saying that one of those people in Santiago was saying this was a clandestine movement. It had to be because you stick your head out, it'd be cut off right away.

And so, we got onto the whole question of truth and lying and stuff like that in nonviolence. And in in PACS164A we just rule it out. No lying. No untruth. We're just all going to be to squeaky clean here. Of course, we'll never get elected. But we might get saved.

But now we grow up and this is PACS164B and we're in the real world and we have to realize if you, say, get an idea that you want to – let's say, overthrow the United States government by force. And you rush out in a plaza, say, you know, “I'm going to do this.” Buy yourself some weapons and stuff. You'll just be taken out immediately. Practically, it doesn't make any sense.

So, what they often say, “They,” being in this case, the people who promote as strategic nonviolence. We're going to talk about them in particular next week. If I ever get through this week. And what they say is, “Wait until you have enough strength to go public.” Don't go public when you're just an isolated individual with a weird and offensive project here or there. So, that, on the practical level. That's how it works.

Power of Truth in Anger and Rage

But I'm concerned to try to bring the practical and the ethical or, you know, the theory and model inline. And there's an interesting comment that was made by a German Catholic priest who resisted Hitler throughout WWII in the sense that he was arranging rescues for people. The kinds of people that Hitler wanted killed.

And he was asked at the end of war, “Okay, this wonderful stuff that you did, don't get me wrong. But look, you're a Catholic priest and you're not supposed to lie.” I guess that's true of Catholic priests.” And here you were telling the Gestapo you weren't hiding people when you had four or five people up in your closet. What do you have to say about that?”

And he said something very interesting and I'm kind of drawn to it. It sounds like it might be a copout, but it might also be useful for us. He said, “Look, the whole system was a lie.” So, to just go out and speak within this system, even if you said something that was factually correct, it would not be the truth. Because the people that he was speaking to, their heads were screwed

on so backwards that you had to give a little bit backwards talk to get a hold of them and screw it back on straight.

So, where the whole regime is a lie, sometimes you know, just going, playing along with that regime and hiding people. Not, you know, giving people up is not the best idea. Having said that – I'm not sure I can repeat what I just said, so I hope you got it down.

But having said that, to take another extreme, there is this incident which I mentioned in my book and which I mentioned last semester of this attack on a village in Gujarat where there was enraged mob, more or less supported by the government which is "Hindu." Hindu in the sectarian sense, not in the spiritual sense. Going up to these huts where women were hiding their Muslim neighbors under their alter in the house and saying to the women, "We think you're hiding a Muslim in there."

And in ever single case – this was going on in ten villages. The woman, who is standing there against this enraged mob of gas canisters and everything. They said, "Yes, I am." And then the mob said, "Well, we want him out of there." And they said – the woman said, "First kill me, then you may enter." And in ever single case, those men turned around and went away.

So, there is a tremendous amount of power in truth. You know, this is the core of integrative power. But at the same time when – there may be occasions when the whole system is so out of whack that to tell something that's factually correct is not really the truth. Don't tell any philosophy professors in Moses Hall that I said this is because they may not let me get away with it.

But it's like Gandhi was once asked – well, he once said, "You must always tell the truth, but never an unkind one." In other words, kindness itself is a kind of truth which is deeper and more important than factuality. Okay, now there was some direct tie-in here to – I stopped and interrupted myself. I knew that was dangerous. I don't see exactly what the tie-in is at the moment.

But there's another emotional or whatever we want to call it, psychic, spiritual factor that this same women mentioned. I think it was she who said – it wasn't anger. It was rage. Rage drives you into action against the system. And then what happens? Suddenly, she discovers [Unintelligible 00:15:24].

Student: [Unintelligible 00:15:26]

Michael: Well, certainly, it will do that. But I'm just focusing still on what's going on inside the person, inside this one person. She made this comment. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:15:39]

Michael: No more fear. Right. And now you might say that there's a kind of non-fear that has to come in, even in the very beginning. It doesn't make that much – it's not going to make that much difference. But the fact is that when you look at what people have done in nonviolent actions and the courage that has sometimes been displayed by absolutely ordinary people is mind-boggling.

And you look at it and you say, "My God, I could never do that." But you're just a person like them and you could get swept up in the same kind of situation. I'm thinking of Andy Young, for

example, who was beaten unconscious when they were trying to walk up a street somewhere. I think it was Alabama. I'm not sure. He was literally beaten unconscious. And the minute he came to he said, "Let's go. Where are they?" And he went back into this group and went right back and confronted the same people who had just beat him..

You heard them breaking bottles, so you knew what they were going to do with that. I can't imagine how he had the courage to do that. Or to be more honest, I can't imagine myself doing that. And at the last minute, the sheriff came in and got in-between them, performed a third-party – not really nonviolent intervention and said, "Let him go." And off they went.

But I think this is a clue that once you are engaged in action you feel a lot less fear. And I have a quote from a friend of mine in my book saying that. She was down in Nicaragua during the Contra era. And, you know, we asked her, "Weren't you afraid?" She said, "When I was sitting here in Marin County, drinking lattes, I was terrified. But once I got down there and started working, I wasn't afraid anymore. I felt like I was doing what I was supposed to do."

By the way, this really is just a brief interruption. But speaking of drinking lattes, Arby and I were sharing one in the Free Speech Movement Café a moment ago. I think I saw my picture. I think I found myself. So, we'll have an outing. We'll go there with a yellow backlight and circle me. Okay, I knew all those lattes would finally work.

Okay, so I want to say just one more thing about the psychological dynamics of what's going on within person power, when a person becomes a nonviolent actor. And that is when you're faced with anger and it's getting deeper, one way to think about it is it can deepen to hatred. But it's still – it's just taking – it's just quantitatively different, right?

You're still taking it personally, but you're intensifying that personal grudge. Both subjectively and objectively. You hate the person. And that can last for a long time. So, you can deepen anger so that it lasts for centuries by making it into hatred. But the rage thing is this other pathway that we're talking about.

And having said this about anger, we might go back – I don't know have time to do it right now. We might go back and think about what happens to fear and what happens to greed. Those are the big three that are, when converted, become the dynamic mode of energy for nonviolence. Do you have a question, Marissa? Okay.

SERPAJ and EDSA

All right, so now as I said last time, I am fully sympathetic with those of you who are having trouble getting through the reading. And I think what I'd like to do now is go over it myself. And there is a lot, incidentally. I noticed that.

And I thought maybe if I pick out some things of significance in the reading, you know, help give you a sense of how to do the reading, so it's not just another – one more paragraph with more names and facts and things like that.

There was an important organization that got cited several times in the course of describing the Chile insurrection. So, this is something I'd like you to know about. And that is SERPAJ. It stands for *Servicio Paz y Justicia*. Did I get that right, Sam? Yeah? Pretty good? Yeah. And it's important because it's a long-standing organization which is not always the case in the

progressive movement or whatever we want to call it. Things tend to come and go. We have to reinvent the wheel.

So, maybe one of the biggest problems in peace development, long-term, for the last 50 years has been lax of continuity. So, the fact that you have an organization like FOR in Europe and North America and you have an organization like SERPAJ in Latin America. And those organizations can hang on and not just lurch from crisis to crisis. But build up some repertoires, identify people and do trainings and so on and so forth. It's extremely helpful when a problem comes up.

So, the other – it's not just the time dimension for [SERPAJ](#) But also the fact that they operate all over Latin America. One of the people who started it was actually tortured in Argentina. So, it's – it's got a lot of this kind of energy behind it.

Okay, so to talk about the EDSA rebellion for a second – and then the rest of what I'm going to say will go page by page in the blue book, okay? A couple of things I wanted to cite from the movie and the readings that you've done. The whole thing came to a climax in February of 1986 and that climax lasted only four days.

So, you have a problem which, in a way, goes back to 1902 when a certain large North American country – I'm not going to name any countries because I don't want anyone to take this personally. But it fought a war with Spain. And then took over the Philippines. It's a very anguishing personal issue for me because my grandfather was actually part of that expedition. They crushed an indigenous rebellion by the Moro people. I think it was in the area of Mindanao.

And one of the results of this that, of course, the documentary didn't talk about is that the Philippines are experiencing really heavy violence, dissention, to this day. In fact, it's more complicated than the film even made out. Because the film, you had the government, the people with their nonviolent uprising and the guerrillas in the mountains. But there's also horrible stuff going on in the south between Muslims and Christians. And then there's stuff between indigenous people and more citified people. All this is going on.

And it's the second field of operation that Nonviolent Peaceforce is going to go into. The first one was Sri Lanka. You'll hear about that from David Hartsough because he'll be coming back from three weeks in Sri Lanka in a little while. But the next cases that they're working on are Mindanao and Northern Uganda.

But anyway, this problem had been going on, you know, probably in a sense, from times immemorial. But in this particular political form, at least since the beginning of the 20th century. So, this is almost 100 years. And it was over in four days. This doesn't mean that the nonviolent uprising was only four days long.

Because you know that there were these Catholic-based communities. Hildegard Goss-Mayr was in there. I want to say another thing about her in just a second. But we have a name for these climaxes. And it's useful to have names for things where you're trying to describe a field, and nobody is quite sure what it is. And this phenomenon is called – I'm sure you A people are very familiar with it. Nonviolent moment. It's also the name of a DVD that you're going to be seeing later on the semester starring some friends of yours.

Analysis of the EDSA Rebellion

But the concept here is that you have – okay, let's think in terms of two forces that are in opposition. The people and the state in this case. And they're jockeying and they're constantly reconfiguring their power structure, their power relationship. It's like a conversation, as I've often pointed out. It's like shifting back and forth.

And what you hope will happen is that will come to a real head-to-head confrontation where they're strength and your strength will be very clear and just pitted directly against one another. And you want that to happen because you believe, having had PACS164, that nonviolent power is going to prevail in these situations.

The reason it doesn't is that there's some unclarity there. Some of the legitimacy that should have been on our side is going to the other side or something like that. So, you actually try sometimes consciously to jockey things so that you're going to have a confrontation on favorable terms to yourself. And that's exactly what happened in the EDSA uprising. Like most of them, it was partly planned and partly unplanned. You really have to be ready to take advantage of opportunities when they come up.

But the nonviolent moment is useful for us because it shows very clearly what those two forces were. Who was on which side and what they actually had going for them? Okay? So, now a couple of other things while we're thinking about the Philippines. Toward the end of the documentary there was this bishop up in the hills in the mountains who said that what they were trying to do was turn their powerlessness into a kind of strength.

And okay, we would put that a little differently because we – I keep including you in my mental world – but just wait. Put up with this until the final exam. Then you can believe whatever you want. But right now, we're all on the same page. We believe that nonviolence is, in fact, a realer power than violence. But in reality violence is a negation of nonviolence. Not the other way around.

However, most people in the world we live in are absolutely not aware of nonviolence as Mr. [Unintelligible 00:27:10] gives us to understand. So, in fact, in practice, what you often are doing is – I hate to use the word exploiting, but there it goes. You're exploiting vulnerability. You're like – you're letting your vulnerability challenge the awareness, the human awareness of your opponent.

And if you're not vulnerable. If you have weapons or you're threatening or something like that, that's simply won't happen. It'll be two examples of the same kind of power. And then it'll just be a question of degree. If they've got more of it, you'll lose. But what, through this route of using, acknowledging your apparent vulnerability, your powerlessness as an appeal, you're invoking an entirely different kind of power. Okay.

One more thing I wanted to say and the EDSA and then I'll get into the book. And that is we talked about the importance of Hildegard Goss-Mayr as a skillfully done intervention where you have something that these people need. And so, you're not going to be such an ideologue that you're going to say, "Oh, you know, I come from Western Europe. I speak an Indo-European language, so I'm going to downgrade myself and I can't teach an indigenous person anything. That's, I think, an extreme, and an error.

The other extreme is peace imperialism where you say, you know, these people are off-white in their skin color. Therefore, they don't know anything, so we got to go in and fix them. That's also very undesirable and very ineffective. Counterproductive. But you go in and say, "I have some

stuff that might help you. Let's see how we can get it together." List the capacities that you have, and I will help you develop them. Because I have had the leisure to study nonviolence my whole life. And you've been on Mount Smoky trying to get a pair of busted old [Spanish] out of there so you can sell them in the market and maybe get one meal for your kid. So, that's what we were mainly talking about in her connection.

But there's another point to be made. And that is that sometimes your intervener – and she was a good example of this – can provide a connection to the international community.

The Great Chain of Nonviolence

And this brings us to another wonderful concept that was formulated by Johan Galtung. He's a great wordsmith, Johan Galtung is. We really owe him a lot of this vocabulary.

He calls this, "The great chain of nonviolence." And we're going to see some examples of this in the reading. So, of course, he's thinking about the great chain of being which is, you know, medieval theological concept. Because he's playing off of that. But let's think for a minute about Martin Luther King Jr. There he is, you know, the people that he's working for are like domestic servants or, you know, laborers, things like that. There's not a way in the world that they could talk to the president of the United States. That's how the world is going, right?

I mean I can remember when – like when I wanted to start Peace and Conflict Studies. I called the chancellor and I said, "Hey, Mike." No, I didn't really say that. But, you know, we were pretty chummy. I said, "I got an idea. I want to talk to you about it." He said, "Okay, come to the Faculty Club. Let's have some beer and talk about that." That seemed to be the essentials for having conversation with the chancellor was you had to knock back about three beers before the conversation got serious.

Well, okay, in the present instance, that conversation went nowhere. You know, I got a little tipsy, but otherwise I go nothing out of this. But the fact is, I could talk to him. And now that's just about impossible. A line – an ordinary line professor, I cannot call the chancellor, even though I can pronounce his name pretty well – and say, you know, "Let's go to the club and knock back a few Heinekens. I've got a scheme to talk to you about." No. I don't think so.

So, there's a question, a problem of access. And we're going to see – you've already seen, I guess, in some of the readings, that very successful nonviolent movements come from above and below. And that happened in the Eastern Europe in the – so, former soviet bloc a lot. But how is that communication going to be affected? Because an average housewife cannot talk to the powers that be.

But a friendship very often sprang up in the south between the domestic workers and the white women that they were working for. There's a certain bond of understanding that they had. We're both women trying to run this household. They often ended up friends. And that was very important. You're going to see a clip from a film called, *The Long Walk Home* which can show you the political result of that kind of friendship on the one-to-one level.

And if you were to see the whole film, *The Long Walk Home*, you'll see there's a moment when her domestic servant, played by Whoopie Goldberg, is harassed by the police. So, Whoopie Goldberg's employer gets on the phone and talks to the sheriff, like I used to talk to the chancellor. And they bring the policeman into the house, and he has to apologize to that woman.

So, although the oppressed people have no direct access to people on the top of the power hierarchy, they can have indirect access. And that can be stage by stage by stage until you get somebody like Martin Luther King Jr. who can actually walk into the Oval Office and sing a few choruses of *We Shall Overcome* and get some legislation passed.

So, on the international level, having someone like Hildegard Goss-Mayr in the Philippines was important for that also because she was able to alert the peace community in the whole global north that stuff like this was going on in the Philippines and get them some representation. Theoretically, if this had gone on, she could even have gotten through to the then president of the United States. I forget his name.

He's the one who – he was the screen actor. You know, the one with the chimpanzee? I keep forgetting his name. But he actually called Marcos at one point and said, "Don't fire on that crowd." So, that was very useful. He played a useful role there. Okay, so that's the concept I wanted to help you pull out of the reading.

Nonviolent Social Movements

And now let's go to the book. And I'm going to go right back to the Iranian Revolution for a bit. And let's see. I'm on Page 45, middle paragraph. Just if you can just jot down these numbers if you didn't bring a book with you. This is the book I'm talking about again. *Nonviolent Social Revolutions*. We might get one of the editors over here. He teaches in San Francisco. We have a collection and get BART fair together, he'll probably come over and talk to us.

The mobilization of the masses by clandestinely smuggled audio cassette tapes. Remember, this is the middle 70's. Audio cassette tapes are pretty high tech. It was pretty snazzy stuff. Think iPods, okay? Or whatever is coming next. I don't know. The mobilization of the masses by clandestinely smuggled audio cassette tapes led [Abolhas-san Sadegh](#), an official with the Ministry of National Guidance, to note that, "Tape cassettes are stronger than fighter planes."

This is nice because, again, nonviolence is a different kind of power. It doesn't need a whole lot of armor and metal around it. I remember one of the peace movements in Germany in the 80's. Somebody was – there was a big demonstration. There was a picture of a dinosaur on it. And the slogan was, "[German]" Which means, "Extinct. Too much armor. Too little brain." So, the kind of power that nonviolence likes to use is softer – softer power.

Costs a lot less. Hurts a lot less. But we shouldn't think that it's less strong for that. And this is where forces of repression are often vulnerable. Not always, but they can often be vulnerable because they don't realize the power of ideals and concepts. They think just bigger whips and bigger tanks and stuff like that. More Abu Ghraibs and Guantanamo's and everything will be fine. But as Gandhi said, "There's nothing as powerful as an idea whose time has come."

So, I said that sometimes a weakness of theirs, there are some regimes that are so clever that, in fact, they out-manuever the progressive forces with their manipulation of ideas. In fact, I think that's what's going on in our world today. And it's because we have this massive commercial culture that's working against us. But we'll talk about that repeatedly and at greater length under other circumstances.

But that's an important thing to note. That in Chile and in Iran and in Poland and other parts of the soviet bloc, the regime didn't realize that access to media could be that important. And then

they quickly lost legitimacy when people were able to, you know, work through all of their lies and propaganda and get some better ideas in people's heads.

Now, mostly, this uprising, the Iranian uprising – and I checked this out with my next-door neighbor, [Dariush Zahedi](#). It's very nice to work in international studies. You just got most of the world is right down that corridor there. So, Dariush said, that in fact, yes, this was almost entirely a nonviolent – non dash violent – he didn't say that, but I'm saying this – non-dash-violent uprising in the sense not that the people were trying to love the Shah, that would be very hard to do. But that they were not going to use the abusive injurious force in a movement.

However, as the chapter points out, there were a couple of episodes in which – and that's – hang on a second. Okay, sorry. I'm not finding it right away. But there were episodes. There were episodes of violence and very extreme violence. And this is a problem that has plagued us to the present day. The Nagler's Law issue.

Precaution of the Non-Violent Actors

And I think what I'll do in the interest of time is leave it with you as a question. And there are going to be three or four questions like this.

If you were inventing the peace movement today, how would you deal with the problem of unconverted participants who, though small in number, can be so tremendously damaging? For one of the early cases, the Ruhrkampf, the Battle for the Ruhr, almost entirely nonviolent, but a few people fired a few shots, threw these wooden shoes. There's sabotage. Sabot is a wooden shoe. And then the police were able to crack don immediately.

And the suspicion is that those were not protestors, but [Unintelligible 00:39:57] as they called it. People who were infiltrated – who infiltrated from the military and from the police to get them to throw stones. So, the problem is two-fold. We're going to – I'm going to try and take a few minutes at the end of this class today so you can hear from Arby. And on Tuesday, from Amy about how they've been facing this issue right now of people who are outraged about the right thing, don't get me wrong, but they don't know how to turn their anger away from bitterness – that's another useful word, by the way, that came up last semester in that documentary, *A Time for Justice*. Keep out the bitterness element which turns it into a personal vendetta.

So, how are we going to deal with people – and when the comes that we need numbers, how are we going to mobilize numbers and make sure that there won't be somebody or somebodies in the group that's blowing it. And then, of course, there's the question of outsiders coming in and doing that deliberately because they're a little smarter than us. They know that a little violence will mess us up completely.

In fact, another episode where that happened, most probably, was there was a student strike at Columbia University in the 70's. That strike went on for 24 hours. And there was – in those 24 hours there was one moment of, I guess, we can call in violence. There was disruption, you know, throwing stuff, cursing, stuff like that. So, you have 23 hours and 59 minutes of nonviolence and one minute of violence.

And the media coverage that night and all of New York major television channels, they allotted – they said, "We'll give it one minute." So, what do you think they did? Obviously, they took the one minute where there was the violence happening. And it later turned out that that wasn't even students. It was somebody who came in from the outside.

So, keep that question in your mind now. How are we going to deal with this? And – let's see. Yeah. Bottom of Page 45, "Once in power, the Islamic regime proved to abandon its nonviolent methodology, particularly in the period after its dramatic shift to the right in the spring of 1981." And my colleague, Professor Zahedi said that this was actually the Ayatollah's plan all along. And he had been lying to the people and getting them to lay down their lives and sacrifice, you know, it must be our blood, not theirs. All of that stuff. Just fully intending to be as repressive as the Shaw had been all along.

So, this is another question for us. How are we going to fix this recurrent problem that when a nonviolent – we're thinking now of insurrections, but it could apply to reformed movements also. When a nonviolent insurrection is successful, power goes to the head. And people tend to forget what gave them their success. "And they jump off the train," as Gandhi said. You know, we were heading for [Unintelligible 00:43:11]. They jumped off at Delhi.

And unfortunately, you just cycle back. All you end up doing in this case is reorganizing power. Not mobilizing a different kind of power. You remember my famous slogan which is going to – I'm sure is going to be a very successful bumper sticker some day. It's not about a different kind of people in power, it's about a different kind of power in people.

So, think about that also. These are questions that are quite real. I mean if we come up with answers to these questions, as you're going to hear very shortly, we can pump these answers directly into the peace movements. This is not just for you to write papers and amuse me on the final exam. This could be extremely useful, both of these questions.

Analysis - First Intifada

Okay, so now I'm turning my attention to the First Intifada again, which was, as we said, a success. It was similar to the problem that we were just talking about. A success which was not capitalized on. And what happened there? What happened was people carried out this uprising to the point where they got a seat at the negotiating table.

And then they decided, "Okay, we have won." And they went back to their same-old, same-old and let the negotiators take it forward from there. And unfortunately, they were – the negotiators were not very successful in Madrid in 1991 and almost none of the concessions that had been forced out of the Israelis by the nonviolent intifada stuck.

Here's a very sad example of the same thing. It's the Prague Spring uprising of 1968. It was brilliant. We're going to be talking about that in detail in just a bit. But again, it was kind of a nonviolent moment. It was just, you know, in a couple of weeks they had really brought the country to a standstill. They kept the Warsaw Pact armies at bay.

And then what happened was the Kremlin invited the leaders to Moscow for a discussion. A discussion, Russian style. By the time they came back to – even before they got back to Czechoslovakia, they got to the airport and found that one of their men had – who wasn't with them because the Russians were taking him to prison. And they sat there in the airport and said, "We're not going back without him."

And eventually, he had to be released. So, that was a good thing. That was using nonviolence correctly. You risk yourself to maintain solidarity with a threatened other. But the fact is, that they were jawboned into basically selling out the revolution. Not to put too fine a face on it, that's

what they had to do. So, here they get up in Wenceslas Square and they stand there. Dubcek himself was just shedding tears, copiously. And they said, "Here's how it's going to be."

And basically, it's at that point that the revolution lost it's [Unintelligible 00:46:35] and ultimately it was overcome. Yeah, Michael?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:46:42]

Michael: Well, I imagine they sat around a table and the soviets told them, you know, if you keep this up, this is what we're going to do. And they threatened them. And they cajoled them, and they jawboned them into accepting some kind of concessions. Which when you're in that environment, it seems like, okay, it's a good idea. But then when you go back and face your people, you realize what you've done. You've really sold it out.

So, if you guys can stand it, I want to leave that as an open question also. How – I mean maybe at the end of the semester we should design the ideal nonviolent insurrection. And, you know, blueprint it and sell it for whatever. Give the money to Metta or something like that. But it's an interesting question which is partly strategic and partly principled. That's why I think it's useful for us here.

How are we going to prevent this kind of thing from happening? Where a movement gets handed up the great chain of non-being and – sorry. The great chain of nonviolence and when it gets to the top, people think, "Okay, that's what we were after. We won." You go and relax. And it turns out those people are not in a position to carry forward with your ideas.

Okay. I want to draw your attention to two things that are on Page 47. Page 47, Paragraph 2. 47.2 is the way I do it real fast. The Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence documented this uprising. And that's the organization that was started by Mubarak Awad, someone I'm very proud to call my friend and who has often spoken in this class. And we talked about how he started that thing.

And many of the tactics of the intifada were not new, but they brought this form of struggle to new heights in terms of its scope and role as a calculated strategy of resistance. That's the end of Paragraph 2.

So, remember, some of you, when we were talking about Gandhi's tactics, that really it might be true to say, I'm not sure. I haven't actually thought this through. Maybe you can help me on this. But I think it might be true to say that not a single tactic that he did was new. They either came from the spiritual tradition, like fasting and stuff like that. Or they came from a kind of indigenous political canniness that was common in Indian villages.

And in fact, one scholar, Joan Bondurant who wrote one of the really early books about nonviolence. It was called [*Conquest of Violence*](#). She actually taught here for a while. If she was still teaching here I would be a lot less sassy when I talk about Barrows Hall. But, you know, there you go. Anyway, in her book she did a repertoire, a listing of where all these things came from that Gandhi used.

Constructive Program and Comparative Advantage of Nonviolent Movements

I mean you think khadi, okay, you know, homespun cotton. That's really Gandhian. But as a matter-of-fact, they were wearing khadi in the early years of the All Indian Congress, you know, somewhat before Gandhi was born. Okay?

So, these things are simmering in the population. And again, this is partly the role of an outsider to come in and say, "Look, you've got this, this, and this that you can use." But what makes them now new and effective is that they're pulled together by someone who was a strategic overview and can say, "Now, use this one. Now use that one." That's the great advantage. Someone who knows that you do constructive program whenever you can, and you do obstructive program when you must. And he knows how to pull them in and put in the appropriate form. That's what makes these things incredibly powerful.

Now on the bottom of the page next to last paragraph, Nafez Assaily who took over the center for Mubarak. And also, I can't resist saying this, also a friend of mine. I thank you for indulging me in these little things. As Nafez Assaily of the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence described the situation in 1989, he said – and he's talking about the Israelis, "In 1967 they defeated the armies of three countries in six days. But they have yet to defeat the intifada."

That's extremely useful for us because we're looking for ways of showing comparative advantage of nonviolent power versus violent power. Okay? You remember my quoting probably from Martin Luther King, that there were less people who were killed in ten years of the Civil Rights Movement in the south than were killed in six days of rioting in Detroit. That's one way of looking at it.

And we talked about the comparison between the Indian Freedom Struggle and the Algerian Freedom Struggle. Many, many, many more people were killed, and the outcome was horrendously wrong. But what – oh yeah, that's right. There is another very good example. The first major campaign that Gandhi did in India, which is Champaran when he came back. It was an issue that they had been struggling for for 100 years. And he got more done in three months than they've been able to do in 100 years my mobilizing nonviolence.

I'm telling you this partly because Amy and others have been coming and saying that they've been having these discussions with people and these people are always saying, "Nonviolence doesn't work in one form or another." And then you start telling them how it did work and it's a lot of fun. It doesn't always mean they're going to say, "Oh, I understand. Thank you." But it'll get in there somewhere. Yeah.

In the early days of Peace and Conflict Studies we were hearing a talk by a member of the military affairs program. I reach out. I mean I'll even hear from Stanford people if they want to talk here. And he was saying, "Well, as you know, in history, it's been wars all the way down, so nothing but wars."

And I said, "Oh, really? What about the [Unintelligible 00:53:45] culture and this new stuff that's been coming out from this woman in," – and I just started to show him that for 6000 years there was a culture called, "Old European," where there were no – they had basically no militarism. No sign of weapons in any of their burial sites. And no sign that there was any armed conflict, and they were perfectly happy for about 6000 years – until Indo-European types like you, like me, and some of you, started coming in from the Caucasus.

And the minute I started saying those things, he changed the subject. That's going to happen sometimes. You're not going to – it's not like you're going to get a lot of satisfaction out of this. But you will be changing things.

On Page 57 there's an observation by [Suad Ajami]. She said that women's increased activism during the intifada earned them the wrath of some of the extremist religious groups who tended to blame Palestinian defeats on the departure from tradition and religion.

Power of Vulnerability

Okay, three things I want to say about this. The power of vulnerability – and Gandhi said this a long time ago, that anybody can do nonviolence, but women are particularly good at it. I am not – I don't think of myself as either a sexist or anti-sexist, I guess. Sexist or a feminist in the essentialist sense. But for whatever reason, it seems to be the case that introducing women as a group into a movement – and we've studied this in 1913 in South Africa, it's more than just a quantitative difference.

It's just like you have the whole human race instead of half the human race involved. But you have a different kind of energy involved and a different kind of mentality. And there's a very nice book called *Maternal Thinking* by Hannah – somebody. I have a lot of Hannah's going through my head and I'm not coming up with the right one. It'll come back to me. But it's *Maternal Thinking*. Now that we've got google, you don't need to remember the author or the publisher or any of that stuff.

She's very good on exactly what that mentality is. But it also brings up point that – and I think this is really – this is fundamental. That when you decided to use nonviolence, you often find yourself fixing things that you didn't even set out to address. You didn't even maybe realize that they were a problem. Okay?

So, what's going on in this case? The women are joining the movement, why? Because most of the men are in jail. Because they're more easily picked off when there's a demonstration. And what they want is they want to liberate Palestine. But they don't realize that they're liberating it socially as well by bringing women into a more humane situation in that society.

I really, really like this point. I hope you're enjoying it also. I think that if once you make that one right decision and you might think this is just a question of means and it's only a strategic question of means, it won't have this effect. But once you gravitate towards this notion, this feeling this nonviolence is going to be the way you want to be as a human being – remember, it's Philippine's style. We do it because we're Polish. All that stuff.

Once you start doing that, you may or may not get what you're trying to get, but you're going to get some other stuff that you didn't even think about along the way. You may get what you're trying to get, but you will also tend to be working on – here, let's put it this way. Once you decide that you're going to use nonviolence, you'll find that you're working on many different manifestations of violence simultaneously. It's good to just be consciously aware of that.

The next thing I want to cite is just a little bit further on in that page. The Paragraph 3 says 57.3. I realize that this is a little bit tedious, but I'm hoping that it's going to help you go through the readings and pull out stuff like this.

The roots of the organization of the intifada can be traced directly to the creation and expansion of grassroots committees since the mid 1970s. And this is – we saw this with the base communities in the Philippines. And this also existed throughout Central America, throughout Latin America. And I'm going to kind of hint that this might be an answer to one of the problems that we were discussing. What happens when the leadership is untrustworthy, gets pulled off-base by treats and so forth, that I am not one who thinks that everything has to come from the grassroots and there should be no organizational structure at all. There should be no room for people with specific kinds of expertise.

I'm not saying that, but this was an extreme that people sometimes drifted into, particularly in Germany where they had – Germany and Spain where there had been rather serious problems with authoritarianism. People tended to go in the other direction. And so, we won't have no authority whatsoever. This is all going to come from [Unintelligible 01:00:02]. You know, democracy from the bottom.

So, while at the one hand I'm not saying we should go to that extreme. I think that for durability, it has almost always been the case. That small grassroots communities – we're talking about grassroots committees in Palestine, base communities throughout basically the Christian parts of the global south, really. And what would be the equivalent in our own dearly beloved student peace movement of today?

When you go out to – let's say somebody says, "Let's go up to Seattle and overthrow globalism." What do people do in terms of association? Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:00:58]

Constructive Program and International Support

Michael: Well, it could be within universities, or it could be not. But here's what I'm getting at. When you get there on the ground – okay, Seattle is a very dramatic case of this because – I'm not sure of the numbers, but it's something like 50,000 people turned up there. Now that's more people that are PACS majors on UC Berkeley. So, you know that not all of them were UC Berkeley PACS majors.

So, when you get there you have a few very charismatic individuals like [Medea Benjamin](#) from Global Exchange and others. But they don't want to take a role of leadership. So, what do people do? Who's going to tell 50,000 people who's going to go where and do what? What did they start?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:01:47]

Michael: Right. What kind of groups do you say? Affinity groups. Right. Exactly. That's our equivalent. So, that's our version of these micro-communities that have pulled together for a particular purpose in an emergency. But it turns out to be a very effective and very efficient way of organizing people without going into a hierarchical pyramid.

So, call it what you will. And, you know, in the base communities, which incidentally have now been imitated. And I don't think they'd be angry at me for saying that. They're being imitated by Buddhists. So, you have Buddhist-based communities. There are 4200 people taking part in something like – oh, I forget how many Buddhist-based communities now studying nonviolence.

Hopefully, buying my book. And actually, Metta is working with them. So, okay, that's very helpful in organization.

Now, we talked about the stone throwing and how it has two different ways of being interpreted. Either defiance or an actually attempt to hurt. And it's a gray area. Over time, overt demonstrations and stone-throwing confrontations gradually receded in the occupied territories. So, if you just read that one sentence you might think, "Uh oh. They're winding down." They don't have Shabab throwing stones and they don't have demonstrations. I mean the movement is disappearing.

But hang on. One more sentence now. This did not, however, signal an end to the uprising and restructuring within the Palestinian community preceded behind the scenes. What do we want to call that? What's my favourite term that I keep using [Latin] – over and over again? Starts with a C. Constructive program. Thank you, yeah. So, this was the beginning of constructive program for the Palestinian intifada.

Now on Page 59, Paragraph 3. The intifada proved to be a double-edged sword, strengthening and transforming the Palestinian community in the service of the national cause was, to some extent, outweighed by the degree of violence and repression to which Palestinians were subjected. As the intifada wore on, this population became increasingly weary and demoralized.

We talked about that a little bit on Tuesday. And here's a part that we didn't talk about on Tuesday. "Weary and demoralized and anxiously awaited some measure of hope from abroad." So, we're getting into a balance thing again, where there's a right way and a wrong way to bring in interventions from outside the community.

And we've been talking earlier on today about the right way, how bringing Hildegard Goss-Mayr came in there as a Catholic, so she could relate directly to one of the communities on the ground and all the wonderful stuff that she was able to bring in. And basically, in realistic terms it's almost impossible for an insurrection to survive without that kind of thing today.

Though we're working on different ways of getting the information out, but so far, movements that have been ignored have not succeeded. But on the other hand – yeah, Mathias?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:05:35]

Michael: Well, the First Intifada, not – here's why I'm hesitating. I'm hesitating because I don't know whether to call Mubarak Awad an outsider or not. He's born in Palestine, educated in the U.S. Goes back, you know, with a PhD in psychology from here. So, he's like a perfect example, really, where he's indigenous, but he has access to outside support.

But beyond Mubarak, I think in the First Intifada, no. And it's interesting that now this present intifada has much more outside support through groups like the International Solidarity Movement and so forth. However, darn it, they're not as committed to nonviolence as the First Intifada was. So, it's very frustrating.

You see a lot of these examples of people getting it partly right. You know, now I have this piece right, but that piece wrong. And that's why we really need some kind of strategic overview. So, with that qualification I would say basically, no. The Palestinian intifada not only didn't have international community support – well, wait a minute. Wait a minute. I'm sorry. By virtue of the fact that they were non-violent, they started to get a lot more appreciation and they started to

change the image of what they Islamic world is like in the international community. And that did lead to Madrid and the Oslo Accords. Yeah?

Support of the Media

Student: [Unintelligible 01:07:14]

Michael: Well, unfortunately, Mathias, most people have it in their mind as a violent uprising. And it's because of this extreme disservice that's provided by the media. Now just now in Memphis Tennessee, of all places. I mean I associate Memphis Tennessee with very good forms of music, but this – they had a conference on media reform which was attended by several thousands of people. And I think we're beginning to realize – see, when Allende was overthrown in 1973, there was a journalist in Chile by the name of Ariel Dorfman who asked himself, "What went wrong?"

He said, "Allende was doing all this wonderful stuff. He had nationalized this industry. Nationalized that industry. But he failed to nationalize one key industry." And that was communications. So, through that it was relatively easy to turn the population against him. Well, you know, they crushed the economy. Nixon's famous expression, "We're going to make the economy scream." It started there.

And then when they were weakened, pretty easy to turn them against Allende. And you saw the ecstatic cheering of the crowd for Pinochet because he had brought back a little bit of economy stability. So, we're starting to learn how critical this is. And I think that that might make a lot of difference. In fact, this is one of the main things that I'm working on, is you know, is mass media culture, and what we can possibly do about it. Because I think without fixing that, no solution is going to be very permanent.

Arby's Talk - Armenia

I would actually like to stop myself at this point, if this is okay with you Arby. Would you be willing to come up here and describe what you've been doing? This is going to take a certain amount of nonviolent courage on Arby's part. I got, incidentally, about 1/5 of the way into the material I wanted to cover. I hope you found it useful. Perhaps I'll turn my frustrations [Unintelligible 01:09:51].

Arby: Okay. I think I'm good to go. I'm Arby. I'm also a little congested right now, so bear with me. I'm part of the Armenian Students Association. And one of the major events we promote is the United Hands Across Cal. That's basically when we try to get everyone together to promote the end of violence and genocide today, and also to focus and the recognition of the Armenian genocide which occurred in 1915.

Michael: Can I just interject one thing? Hitler said when he started launching the genocide against the Jews. He said, "Who even talks about the Armenian genocide anymore?" So, that was one of his main excuses to do that.

Arby: Yeah. And that's one of the things we bring up. Like he said, "Like who today speaks of the annihilation of the Armenians?" So, it shows that if we don't recognize genocides of the past, it's just a cycle that's going to continue today. So, what I was trying to do, actually, was I wanted to get the Armenian community and the Turkish community to have some kind of – not a dialog, more of a peace together in Berkeley rather than continuing this animosity.

Because like we're talking about, violence is only going to beget more violence. So, I figure this would be one way to do it. But when I brought it up to the Armenian Student Association exec board that I'm a part of, it was met with a lot of opposition. Because like if I bring it up, the first thing that comes up is, "No." You know? "There's too much going on, you know. They won't believe it."

It's just – it was really bad. But like when I talked to them, I kind of convinced a little bit of them. It was just the thing I wanted to emphasize was how many questions are brought up from it. Like do I try to get the Turkish community involved in this – the U-HAC – the United Hands Across Cal. Is that the right event? How do I go about talking to the Turkish community? And how do I go about convincing the Armenian community that this is the way to go?

Because like we're saying if there's a couple people, let's say, in the Armenian community or the Turkish community who are really against this idea, that's going to stand out in whatever I'm trying to do, you know? Besides that, one idea we brought up was to try to get the early adopters involved rather than just trying to go all or nothing towards the Turkish community. And when I say early adopters, it's kind of like – like Turkish individuals who are ready to take the next step towards peace, you know?

And we don't have to do much in the realm of like convincing them that this is a really good idea, you know? And even a couple years, get the peace going. See how that works out. I think there's one thing –

Michael: Question.

Student: [Unintelligible 01:13:22]

Arby: It's on the same idea. I think with that, it's going to be – it's basically a dialog between Armenian and – people from the Armenian and Turkish community here in the Bay Area. And it's basically just so we could start talking again, you know? Because like especially – like from the people I've talked to that live in Turkey, there's – you're not allowed to talk about this issue, you know? So, I think that's really important, to get the dialog out. And that's about it, I think.

Michael: Okay, thank you, Arby.

[Applause]

Michael: When Arby and I were talking about this this morning, it brought up a number of points that I think are useful for us. One is this question of early adopters. If you ever read Malcolm Gladwell's book, the *Tipping Point*. You look out there and it's the monolithic world of like 140 million people watching this Super Bowl. And it looks like there isn't anybody out there who's going to listen to us.

And you can sometimes get very demoralized thinking about trying to persuade everybody at once. But you don't have to persuade everybody at once. It never works that way. You find people who are going to pick up the idea and they will have a better chance of persuading their own networks and people in their own community than you would. See, if Arby, as an Armenian, goes into the Turkish community and says, "Come onboard with me," there's a suspicion right away.

But if he gets a few Turkish individuals within their community carrying this ball for him, then that's great. So, it's a little bit like the great chain of nonviolence. Yeah?

Student: One more thing that you wanted me to bring up was how am I supposed to continue this nonviolent – or try to get this nonviolent movement going. [Unintelligible 01:15:47]

Michael: Yes. We came to a very difficult point. I think I remember this very well now Arby. I was about 1/3 of the way through my latte when this happened. There comes a point where you're faced with a choice of making a compromise so you can keep the entire Armenian community intact. Or going with the people who are onboard with you, regardless of whether they're Armenian, Turkish, or happened to live in International House or whatever.

And in this globalizing world of ours, this is becoming an increasingly interesting question. Whom do we really belong to? Who is our community? And I think we'll end up discovering that we belong to many intersecting communities. And it's a difficult choice to make, but it may just have to be the case that you're going to have to go forward without having the entire Armenian community at your disposal or on board with you.

Now, this brings up an organizational form that the Quakers developed, which was very handy. You're all familiar with the term consensus. But they – it was quite articulate, the way they, Quakers, developed it. You spend a lot of time trying to get everybody onboard with one issue. And you're able to identify three positions.

Okay, Arby, I think this is terrific. Now that you've opened my eyes, that is going to be not just for the Armenian community, but for the whole world. We're going to serve Armenians by serving others. I get it. Then there'll be a group that says, "I don't get it. But I don't see anything wrong with it. I'm not going to stop you." And then there's going to be a group that says, "You bring one Turk in here and I'm out of here."

And so, these positions are identified, recognizably. And the second is called, you know – first is the consensus and then there's the – I think it's I'm forgetting the terminology. It's something like abstention. I'm not going along with you, but I'm not going to block you. And then there's blocking.

So, as this thing is going on we're inventing new organizational forms, new methods of democracy that have only been around since the 17th century and so forth. Okay, well, that's our time for today. On Tuesday, we're coming interest the 21st century with a documentary called *Bringing Down a Dictator* on the overthrow of Slobodan Milosevic.

And again, I think that's kind of long, so try and get here early and I hope we'll have the other backdoor fixed by then. Okay, have a good weekend.

[PACS164B Lecture 09](#)

Michael: Good morning everybody. It's a little bit early to start. But we have about three-and-a-half hours of material to get through in the next hour and a half. So, I think I'm going to start with some announcements. To add to what Zoe has put on the board there about volunteering, on March 6 here at the Jesuit School of Theology, I'll be giving a half-hour talk on spirituality and nonviolence.

And I'd like to invite those of who have been interested in volunteering for Metta because what we're trying to do is start a speaker's bureau. So, I'd like – since this is right here, people can come and here me making a fool of myself in public instead of on the university campus. And see if that's something that you'd be interested in gradually taking a role in.

As it is February 13, I would like to point out that there's a very nonviolent thing that's being done with regard to the recent vote in congress. I think – no, not a vote in congress. I guess it was a budget appropriation by the president which was to cut off all funding for NPR and PBS which is something that this president does regularly.

And in response to that, there was a Valentine's Day ad that was taken out by One Media Group which took the attitude of inviting Mr. Taylor, the head of the FCC who had made this disastrous decision or carried it out on the part of his disastrous employers, that they wanted him back. They say, "Come home. Everything is forgiven. Rejoin the love. You know, we are your people."

It struck me that if they could keep up with that loving attitude to him when as the conflict escalates and they have to get tougher, if they can keep that attitude of love and invitation to him as a person while putting the screws on what he's doing, that would be how nonviolence does it. I'm going to be hoping rapidly from one thing to the next for the next few minutes, so fasten your seatbelts.

There's a website called Great Turning Times. It's based on the concept of the Great Turning, which is a phrase coined by Joanna Macy, a well-known American Buddhist teacher, to talk about the big paradigm shift that they're trying to bring about. I think that they're almost there with that term. It's pretty good. I'd like to see something more like The Great Awakening or something like that.

But anyway, in Great Turning Times this week or however often they refresh, there was a three-part categorization of what has to happen, which I think is very handy and basically true. We need campaigns and acts of protest to counter the destruction. You know, we need – we're basically talking about here to we need to be building positive alternatives and sustainable ways of living, which we've been constantly talking around, calling it constructive program.

And three, the part that we're going to get to later in the semester, we need a deep shift in values, thinking, and culture to support all this. That's going to show up as some of the tips on the Metta Center website.

Okay, now what I'd like to – what we're going to do today is after I'm finished with these wrap-ups, we're going to see a film on Otpor Rebellion in Serbia. And what I hope will happen is that

film will end right at the end of our class. So, you'll be taking notes as you've done before. And we can discuss it on Thursday.

But right now, I want to go back, believe it or not, into the Philippines chapter of Zunes, Kurtz, and Asher. So, again, if you don't have your book with you and I can see why you wouldn't. We had to have a special class in taking care of your back, a meditation class this morning because so many people are walking around with inordinately heavy backpacks. They've got laptops, lattes, everything in there. So, I'm not saying you should bring your book with you.

Stages of a Nonviolent Insurrection

So, if you didn't on pages 131 and following, there's a 4-part breakdown of the stages of a nonviolent insurrection. We've got several of these things going on. We've got 4-part ones, 3-part ones, 5-part ones. They're all good. They all have some truth to them.

I look forward to the day when we can all come out on the same page and have a manifesto that says, "This is how it is." But this is one good scheme that they use there. Cultural preparation. It's very helpful to do that first rather than discover you should have done it later. Organizational building, propaganda of the – sorry, this is 5-part, actually. Propaganda of the deed. Massive non-cooperation, and finally, parallel institutions.

This, I think, is where I came up with the theory, the slogan that Step 5 should be Step 1. You should be building parallel institutions from the very beginning for all the reasons we've discussed.

Language of Nonviolence

Another thing about the Philippines movement that – this will be found on the bottom of Page 139. As you know, one of the bigger problems that we face in building this culture, bringing about this paradigm shift is the language.

The term nonviolence is, quite frankly, a drag. I don't know if you use that expression anymore. It was pretty hot when I was hanging out with jazz musicians half a century ago. But whatever you say these days, nonviolence is not exactly inspiring. It's confusing because in reality violence is the negation of whatever it is that we're calling nonviolence and not the other way around in some ontological level.

So, the term is terrible. And one does tend to look around the world to see what else people have come up with. And for a while, I thought the best alternative was a German expression because they started off saying [German] which was not so great. And that's what you use in Dutch, I think. [German]. I think that's what I've heard. I may have pronounced it kind of crudely. Something like that.

Anyway, [German] means absence of power. So, I think it would be very difficult to find a word more confusing than nonviolence, but they found it. But they changed it. They changed it to [German] which became current in the '80s. And that means freedom from [German] which means either power or violence, actually. It's a negative kind of power, [German]. That's why I say [German].

But the best term of all was brought up in the Philippines and it, unfortunately, didn't stick. But I like to give it its due and that is Alay Dangkal. And it means to offer dignity. At last, a positive

term for the most positive thing in the universe. And an emphasis on dignity, which is a lot less confusing than the emphasis on love, given what most people think love is after they've seen 3000 commercial messages a day.

So, alay dangal, to offer dignity is probably – it's certainly, as I've come across, looking around Asia, Europe, wherever I could come across terms for nonviolence, it's the absolute best. There is this very delicate job that you're trying to do if you're a nonviolent actor and you're in a situation where somebody is doing something wrong, and you think it's the other guy. You have this very delicate job of awakening his or her conscience without plunging him or her into guilt.

Because – and we're going to be giving an example of that. Amy is going to help us out with something in about ten minutes. Because if you spark guilt in someone, what are they going to do? I'll just put that out to you. If you make me feel guilty about something that I've done, what will I probably very typically do? An ordinary person.

I'll deny it. I will make a counter-accusation. I'll try and put all the emphasis on you. I'll do everything I can to squirm out of that feeling of guilt, which is a very intolerable feeling for human beings. People have been – yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:09:16]

Michael: It perpetuates it because I'm not – Mathias is exactly correct. I'm going to have to prove that what I was doing was actually right. I'm going to prove it by doing it more. That's how you get to president – oh, okay. I almost made a political comment. We don't want to have that here.

But yeah. Here's an example. When I was a student in Germany – that's where I picked up my fabulous accent. No comments. I was having a discussion with some of my fellow students, and they were talking about the Hitler dictatorship and that era. And they said, "Well, one thing you have to admire is after everything collapsed around Stalingrad," it would be what, winter of 1944 or something like that. Maybe earlier.

When everything collapsed and the whole 6th Army was wiped out and the Germans were in full retreat, said, "You have to admire them for standing their ground and sticking it out and not giving up." And I said, "Yeah, there is a kind of courage there which one must admire, but at the same time, the minute they turned around and admitted defeated, they would have admitted that the whole purpose for their program was invalid. And it would have been kind of an emotional collapse. There would have been these terrible feelings of guilt. And you'll do anything to not have those feelings cave in on you."

So, what we do in nonviolence is we try to separate the awareness of harming from feelings of guilt. Just as we were talking last time about having anger escalating to rage instead of escalating to hatred, the difference being you don't take it personally. Similarly, in nonviolence, you try to get the person to see that his or her behavior was wrong, not that his or her behavior characterizes him or her.

So, you never say what Ronald Reagan said to Jimmy Carter when they were having that disastrous electoral debate. Every time Carter said something that Reagan felt he could trounce on, he said, "There you go again." In other words, this is you. You're harming. You're evil. Your bad action is you. I think we would have to disqualify Ronald Reagan from being a nonviolent activist for that very remark.

So, Alay Dangkal, to offer somebody dignity, the more you offer them dignity, the more you can resist their bad behavior. So, it was a terrific concept. They try to terrify you. You refuse to be terrified. Even in that, you're saying, you know, by affirming your own human dignity, you're resonating with theirs.

On Page 134 there'll be a couple of interesting things to note. I'm going to have to be really quick on this one. The top paragraph talks about appropriate technology, which was their version of attempting to build in some kind of constructive program. So, the movement could go on. If there had been more of this, it might have had a very different outcome.

And also, at the bottom paragraph, they talk about a particular type of strike called a [Tagalog]. There are 2000 languages in the world, and I don't know all of them so I can't tell what this actually means. But they talk about this as test runs for the kind of general strike that would eventually bring down the government. And that's the great advantage of a sustained campaign.

Remember, from 164A we talked about the Bardoli Satyagraha of 1928 as the test run on many different levels for the climatic Salt Satyagraha of 1930. Gandhi found that some of his followers could be leaders in the movement. He found that peasants were ready to stand up and organize themselves and act completely non-violently and that it would work. So, on many different levels, that was a test run. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:13:49]

Michael: Community working together. Terrific. Thank you very much. Yeah. With a little luck, we'll have a native speaker for every language that we come across here. And [Alay] means to offer and [Dangkal] is dignity? Okay. Next time you're writing home would you tell them to bring that term back? We need it. Thanks. Thank you very much for that.

Person Power

On Page 148 we may be having a start of an answer to – I have a funny feeling I've got the wrong page number here. Yeah, it was 145. 145 may be an answer to one of the questions we raised last time or a time before, which was how are you going to prevent disruptive elements like and Black Block up in Oregon who don't buy into your nonviolent scheme, how are you going to prevent them from coming along with your actions and completely teaching the character?

Because there's no law that says the person that organized the demonstration gets to control what goes on there. So, here's one example. The people who are experienced in strikes who are a thousand – thousands took to the streets to set up barricades and demonstrate called on their followers to take to the streets on February 26th – this must be 1986, we're getting close to the end. By contrast, Aquino encouraged her supporters to stay at home or in churches during the strike.

Aquino's insistence that people avoid such public protests must have come both from a concern over a possible outbreak of violence discrediting the movement, as well as the fear that leftist elements might seize the leadership of their resistance campaign. So, there are times when you have to call a stop and simply not be there so that what you're trying to do is not confused with what other people are doing.

Finally, one last pair of observations on Page 151. And Ramos, the general whom they were defending acknowledged that, “We have been successful not so much because of our military option, but because of people’s power.” And I think this comment of his is the phrase – is where the phrase people power came from.

However, at the bottom of the next paragraph you have a comment by a very important religious figure in the uprising, is Cardinal Jaime Sin. This guy got to be a cardinal with a last name like that, it really says something about the maturity of the Philippine people. Anyway, he said about the hundreds of thousands possibly, eventually 2 million people who showed up at the conclusion, the nonviolent moment which was the EDSA rebellion.

“It was amazing,” he said. I thought we invented that word, but apparently, it was around in the 80. “It was amazing.” And he goes on to say, “It was 2 million independent decisions. Each one said in his heart, ‘I will do this.’ And the went out.” Okay? So, now, for \$64,000 why am I so enthusiastic about this comment? Especially on a page where you’ve just been finished talking about people power. Yes, Catherine?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:17:49]

Michael: This is person power, yeah. And it shows you even people power – well, hmm. I was going to say that people power is always the sum of person power, but there are senses in which that can go wrong too because you’ve been reading in this book about the effervescence of the crowd. Where there’s a crowd phenomenon where kind of super-excitation happens. And it really does not do a whole lot of good.

But person power will multiply out into people power on occasions when you need it. And it is the basis. Without each person saying, I’m going to do this and making their individual commitment, it’s just a mob being swept along.

Commemoration of the Armenian Genocide

All right, one last thing then before we start the film. We have just barely enough time to do this. Every year the Pope gives a speech in Rome called *urbis et orbis* which means for the city and for the world.

And we’re having a little event here called, “Arby et Amy.” Okay. One bad joke per lecture I think is probably what we have to put up with. I hope you got the point of what Arby was sharing with us last time. Here’s an event that’s been taking place on campus traditionally which has been a commemoration of the Armenian genocide which, of course, deserves and needs it. But in conversations with me, he and I worked out this scheme of trying to morph it a little bit from just the commemoration by the one community to a reconciliation of the two communities. And that’s what we’ve been working on and that’s what lead to his having this very interesting struggle that he has to have – it’s the great chain of nonviolence all over again.

You have to start with the executive community of the Armenian community. Then the Armenian community at large. And then the Turkish community.

The Appeal for Redress - Iraq War

So, what I'd like Amy to tell us about is something that happened last week. Come on up, Amy. Whereas, you know, we had a presentation by a group which is trying to stop – I hope I don't have to disrobe here. Yeah. Go ahead.

Student: Okay. So, last Wednesday evening there was a presentation by a group called, "The World Can't Wait," which I don't know if any of you know very much about them. But they are very revolutionary and they're very controversial. And I was kind of hesitant as to whether I wanted to even go to this or not because I thought that they would just be kind of preaching about the need for, you know, a worker uprising and kind of a Maoist sort of revolution.

But I went because there was also an Iraq War veteran that was speaking there. And his name was Liam Madden. And his message was actually very useful, I think, for nonviolent activism. And it was a lot more mainstream than the revolutionaries. But he had started something called, "The Appeal for Redress." That's a way to prove through military law that the war in Iraq is illegal. And he's gotten 1300 people to sign onto this. So, it could possibly go somewhere and make a difference.

And he had some interesting messages that I thought kind of corresponded with some ideas in nonviolence. And one of them was the idea of "work" versus work. He talked about, you know, we need to protest against this war. And the idea that one protest may not make a big difference, but if we can develop a culture of protest, then that will make all the difference.

So, the need for persistence and dedication to social change. And he also talked a lot about the need for students to get involved. And it tied a lot with the idea of person power. He talked about the need to dispel this fear in students that I am not a leader. You know, what do I have to contribute? What makes me so special? And to quote him directly he said, "We live in a time that desperately needs leaders. And if you don't consider yourself a leader then you better make yourself one."

And I thought that was really powerful to me because I always have reservations about getting up and leading things.

Michael: You're doing fine.

Student: And lastly, he kind of touched on – so, the whole organization kind of touched on the law of progression a little bit because they talked about American society as a spectrum. With the people who really care about social change, who really protest the war in Iraq. They think it's an illegal war. They protest the idea of torture. All of that. And they want to do something active about it. And people who are happy with the status quo.

But in the middle there's this huge gap. And he said most of us are in this like shades of gray kind of zone. But when the people who really care start to act, then more and more people will drift over to that side of the spectrum. If we can convince them through, I think, nonviolence, that these are issues we should take action about, then eventually more people will get involved.

Michael: Thank you Amy. [Applause] Contribution to this class has been invaluable this morning. She bought my latte and now this. And I'm going to have more to say about the conversation that she had with these people. But I think it actually would fit better after the film. So, this is one of these films by Ackerman and Duvall. And it's about – we are now actually becoming – we're coming into 21. century in this course.

So, this is 164B, real-time. This is 2000, January. And I think the film kind of speaks for itself.
So, John?

[PACS164B Lecture 10](#)

Michael: Now that John has gotten your attention, this is going to be a very interesting event. These are two people who are actually involved in daily resistance against the building of the apartheid wall in Berlin. One of them a schoolteacher, another, a farmer from Berlin. And because that's not a day that we're having our class, they have agreed to have a special reception for us. If you remember, I mentioned that before. So, in the evening, probably, starting 5:00 or 5:30, we'll get together with them. Be able to ask questions, share strategic insights with them and so forth. Okay?

So, we have an interesting question to discuss today which is whether we should actually be here or not. Get to that in a second. I just wanted to share one announcement with you because it's on the Valentine's Day wavelength. And I'll just read it to you. This is coming from Columbia.

"Wives and girlfriends of gang members," Pereira? "Wives and girlfriends of gang members in Pereira say they will not have sex with them until they vow to give up violence. That is cruel. Oh, I thought you said cool. Cruel, yeah. Those of you who are familiar with ancient Greek literature, show of hands, please. There's a comedy by Aristophanes based on this very theme. Apparently, it worked very well. So, it might be one technique we'd want to consider in our nonviolent repertoire.

But before we go any further, a suggestion has been conveyed to me that as part of the show of support and solidarity for student strikes that are starting to pop up all over the country, really. This is – for as far the UC system is concerned, it started in Santa Barbara. You know, the group that was here last time.

And there's a small group in Sonoma State College which is the flagship of the state college system, that's having a campout on their campus. And we're going to have this rally at noon which doesn't affect us directly. But someone has suggested to me – huh?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:02:25]

Michael: It's at 11:00. Oh, I see. Still, we are not directly affected by that. But someone has passed on the suggestion to me that we not have class today or that we have it out on the lawn in solidarity with that event. So, I have my own feelings about that, which as you know, I will share with you very shortly. But I wanted us to think about this strategically.

You know, given some of the criteria that we're beginning to build now for a model to understand what is appropriate, what is effective nonviolent action, what are some of the parameters of the situation that we're in right now that might affect our decision whether we go out or stay? I mean having framed it that way, I want to say I am not going to take attendance today. That's a very dramatic move since as you know, I never take attendance in class anyway. No pain, no gain situation.

But suppose somebody came to you. I mean someone just did, namely me, and said, "You know, maybe we shouldn't be here today as a show of solidarity for the anti-war protests that are starting up." What are some of the considerations we might take into account to decide what would be the thing we want to do? Roberto?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:04:00]

Michael: So, Roberto said he likes the compromise solution that I inadvertently proposed. There's a couple of things wrong with it. One, is it'd be a disaster for the webcasting, right? Our technology isn't there yet to do all that with the camera -with a battery. And another thing, the last thing that you mentioned, doesn't that kind of render it a little bit vacuous in terms of a protest?

If the administration doesn't know that we're protesting by meeting outside on the lawn, what value does it have as a protest? And then the question would become – no, I won't even go there. I just want to hear from you first. Catherine?

Student: I don't know. It's [Unintelligible 00:05:04]

Michael: Yeah. There is – So Catherine is saying that it seems like that would be a symbolic rather than a concrete move in the sense that we have come to have some suspicions of?

Student: Yeah. No, I agree with that. I was going to say [Unintelligible 00:05:30].

Michael: Thank you for mentioning that. This is a course in nonviolence, in case you – it would be good to remember that when you're writing your paper. And I am going to hand out a thing about how to write papers. In fact, why don't I just hand it out right now?

But yeah, to put this in my own framework, I have come to feel that nonviolence actions should always be very clear. And we're going to discuss the borderline nature of a lot of the activities in the Otpor resistance pretty soon.

But to shut down a nonviolence class to punish a university, which isn't even paying for the class, which doesn't know that it exists, which wishes that it would go away, as a means of protesting against the war being declared by a policy elite in Washington. I think we've lost clarity by, you know, six or eight layers there. Mike?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:06:34]

Michael: Now, that is a very astute suggestion. And you may be aware that this was a critical moment in the anti-Vietnam protests. There was a small group of professors – what do you call a small group of professors? A gaggle of professors, I guess. Or whatever they were. At the University of Colorado Boulder, which is, you know, the second or third most liberal campus in the country.

And they got tired of shutting down their conflict resolution classes in order to protest the war. And someone came up with the idea at a meeting one day, "Why don't we have a teach-in instead of a teach-out? Instead of shutting down what they want us to do, why don't we do what we want to do?"

Now, you can see why this appeals to me immediately because that's a powerful example of constructive program that you do something positive instead of – or instead of not doing something negative, when the time comes to do the negative thing, you're in a better position to do that.

[Unintelligible 00:07:45]

Michael: Well, I think all of [Tahee]'s points were relevant. We're at the beginning of a process and it may be too big of a jump to shut down classes at this point. It would be different if the class really interfered with the rally and people wanted to go to the rally. And I should – I would love it, personally, if all of you people went straight to the rally and told them what we discussed here. That's partly what we're about.

Modeling Nonviolent Leadership

Let me bring up another issue that may not be as clear to you, but it is to me because of my personal experience. Okay, the Otpor Rebellion that we just saw this film about and that we're going to be talking about either here or on the lawn or in a café or something in a little while.

It started with students. And this is one thing that I have never tried to conceal that I think without student protest energy, nothing of value is going to happen in this country or anywhere else. That's where I stand on that. But at the same time, if you stack up the Free Speech Movement, that's where my personal experience comes in – oh, and incidentally, I wanted to share something very exciting with you on a little personal note.

I think I found my picture in the Free Speech Café. I was sitting there having a latte. I put my cup down and there I was – I think. So, I'm going to go in and circle myself and we can all pay homage. Okay. End distraction. Back to the point. Free Speech Movement, the uprising of the Otpor students in Belgrade in 1998. The uprising, eight years earlier of Kosovo Albanian students in Kosovo, at the University of Pristina. Many other examples that I could mention, started because of a repression at the university.

Now, the university is in bed with the war system in various ways, but to shut down the university because of, you know, what this policy elite of about 290 people that a friend of mine calls, "The world domination – global dominance group," who is really running the country. Because of what that group is doing in Washington to interfere with things at Berkeley, strikes me as inaccurate, to say the least.

And to say a little more, there is this tendency for people to protest and rebel against whoever is closest to them, not against the people causing the difficulty. And this can even be manipulated in our disfavor. If you think of the famous October or February, I guess it was, in 03, when the Gulf War – when the present war started in Iraq. People almost shut down San Francisco.

San Francisco is like the most anti-war city in the country, but they happen to live there, so they went out and blocked the traffic and so forth. Now, to put even a little more spin on this, if you will permit me, the perception of the university in the '60s was very different from the perception of university now. Such that shutting down the university in 1964, which we basically accomplished, had a very different social impact than it would have now. Unfortunately.

I think we have lost the value of universities on many levels. And this is a political level. And just to, again, bring this out with one iconic story, as a classics professor, I'm very much aware of the work of a brilliant philosopher, ancient Greek philosophy person by the name of Bruno Snell, who was a – he was at [Unintelligible 00:12:31], I believe.

And during WWII – during WWII, every morning, Bruno Snell would go to his office. He would walk up the steps to his, you know, Gothic building with all of these ironic columns. People will have gathered, waiting for him to do this. Every single morning, he walked up to the door of his building, he turned around and he said to the crowd, "Hitler is [German]." Now, those of you who

are – Amy, give us a – yes, thanks. Sorry, I had to make you use a three-letter word. Yeah. Hitler is a pig, in Germany, during WWII.

How did he get away with it? Because he was Bruno Snell. He was the greatest scholar of archaic Greek literature that Germany had. I can tell from the look of incomprehension that I'm getting from you that what I'm saying is true. You know, I could go out and say, "Don't – you don't dare arrest me. I'm a nonviolence scholar. I wrote [Search for a Nonviolent Future](#)." Nobody would have the vaguest what I'm talking about.

You know, it'd be like that joke that they say about there was a communist rally, a parade in New York one time and police broke it up and they're beating on this guy. And the guy says, "Hey, don't hit me. I'm an anti-communist." And the police say, "I don't care what kind of communist you are." Smack, smack. It'd be sort of like that.

So, I guess you can tell by now that I'm kind of inclining towards continuing our class for various reasons. But I'm perfectly happy to follow a consensus process here. If the majority of you feels that we have a consensus, that we should walk out, I will do that. If you want to meet on the lawn, if we have a consensus about that, I will do that. But personally, I think we're making our greatest contribution by just staying here and doing our thing.

I can see where a time might come where a huge show of force is needed. And again, to put it back in that frame, you know, right now you have a [Unintelligible 00:14:40] congress saying, "We're going to pass a non-binding resolution that we don't like your policy, but we support the troops. Don't get us wrong." There's one person in congress who said, "Cut off the funding. Stop this nonsense about nonbinding resolutions and all the rest of it."

And that, of course, is Dennis Kucinich. Which makes me doubly sorry that my bicycle was stolen, because I had a Kucinich sticker on my bicycle. But the congress will not cut off funding for the war unless there is a grassroots vigorous, well-aimed, strategically accurate, determined, student-led resistance. Yeah. I actually believe that's true. And I wouldn't dream of getting in the way of such a process.

But as you know, personally, I don't think the time has come yet where we can contribute to that process by not having our class. So, how do you people feel? I don't know how to exactly do this. Well, I suppose, let's just fall back on the old-fashioned corny method, have a show of hands. And I won't look at faces, just hands. So, I'll not hold it against you. How many feel that we should just continue as we were going anyway?

Okay. How many feel that we should do something different like go out on the lawn? Okay. You weren't here for all these arguments. That's perfectly understandable. Oh, I'm sorry, I wasn't supposed to look at who that was. Okay. Does anyone else have any other suggestion? Yeah? Do you have any?

Student: Yeah. I feel that eventually, like you said, that [Unintelligible 00:16:40]

Michael: We can do it in this classroom. And I think we could actually do it through the medium of looking at what the Otpor students did and see how we would fold in within that. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:17:06]

Michael: Yeah. We have a mole right here in this class. We have a political science major right here. He can actually get into Barrows Hall and get past the security barricade. So, yeah, let's think about doing this. That's very much in line with what I was about to suggest which is something that I always like to do, which is if there's an event that's basically aiming at the right thing, but which I can't participate in for one reason or another, I usually try to do something else.

At the very least, let's try to just rededicate ourselves to understand how real this is, how important it is, lives are at stake. And we get this right here, we can find a way to feed the insights and the intelligence that we're gathering into this process.

Expressing Anger with Discipline

So, having said that, this is a perfect segue. Today's class is going to seem fairly well-organized by standards of – which is not saying much. Amy gave us a presentation on this group that spoke on campus. And I think she was too modest to bring out one point which I want to emphasize. And that is, this group of people, these young people, were very angry.

You could feel it. Just walk into the room and see – argh. Pictures of people being tortured plastered all over the wall. So, they were very angry. So, up to this point, we have no problem with that, right? Because this is the energy that we – again, projecting my own views onto everybody. I guarantee you, I'll stop this after the final exam. But we, if we're in this principled nonviolent bag, we're not afraid of anger. We're not afraid of other people's anger, of course. And we're not afraid of our own because know something to do with it.

And in this connection, one of the best expressions of this is something that Martin Luther King said about the anger in the Civil Rights Movement. And you can imagine how extreme that anger was on both sides. He said, "We did not express anger and we did not repress it. We let it out under discipline for maximum effect." We let it out under discipline for maximum effect.

So, up to this point, the fact that this group is angry is not making us angry. But as we've been discussing, there's two very different directions you can go with that. The low road is where anger deepens into hatred and the high road is where anger is exalted into rage. And the key difference – thank you Michael – is whether you take it personally or not. And that again has two faces.

"I'm in this because it's an offense to me, how dare they? You know, I've seen 1500 advertisements already this week and they all told me how important I was. So, how could anyone dare be against me? And you are the problem." So, it's ad hominem, to use the phrase. A Latin expression meaning you're against the person, ad hominem.

So, when you depersonalize the anger, it starts climbing up into what we're calling rage or [Furia]. And you can use that to change the world. But if you just let it fester, it can get extreme without getting useful. Okay?

So, this group was, I think, about here in that process. They're heading down. And I felt very frustrated about it. And I wanted to say something about it, but I had to go off to another lecture. Little did I know that one of our most brilliant students who's in the back row and she – no names, please, actually went and talked to these people, and had a remarkable response from one of them.

Which was, if I'm paraphrasing this correctly, Amy, "Yeah, we are sort of interested in this nonviolent stuff. Tell us more about it. What is it about?" And interestingly enough – here's another interesting wrinkle – of the three people who were on the panel – four people who were on the panel, the one who showed most interest was the military person.

He started out his talk by saying, "17 days ago I was a Marine in Iraq. And now I'm here being – risking arrest, protesting against the war."

Remember Gandhi's famous discovery, "I can make a nonviolent person, a satyagrahi, out of a violent person. I cannot make a satyagrahi out of a coward." So, I think it's quite significant there was the military person who picked up on it, but it's also an example of the value of what we're doing here and why I'm reluctant to shut it down today.

Because I think this growing reaction – and I'm using that word advisedly, this growing reaction against the war needs direction very badly. And nobody goes around studying that stuff. So, this downturn that they were exhibiting showed all the characteristics that we would warn them to watch out for.

One is, it's very ad hominem. "I hate those people so much. I mean do I love those people? No, I mean if you're going to anybody, hate them." But you know that's not going to get us anywhere. Secondly, it was entirely negative. Like no positive alternative. All they were saying is have a culture of protest, which I think is correct. An individual protest will not get us anywhere. A culture of protest well might, but it won't get us over that hump into constructive program where it could really get somewhere.

And I think actually that this sort of thing, if I may say so, it was so 1970's. There were very few students there. And I felt sorry for them in a way, but I think that ultimately – and Gandhi said this, "A negative campaign will never get the kind of – have the kind of appeal that a positive campaign will have." You have to be positive, but not naïve. Not unrealistic. We'll galvanize energies and give people hope.

I almost said Barrack Obama, but I mean hope in a way that a negative campaign will not. See, I thought of a couple other things. So, in other words, it was all about protest and so forth. And, I guess, we can consider that as one. It was raw anger instead of anger expressed under discipline for maximum effect.

And it seems to me I had one other characteristic, or I said I just know that's wrong, and I know that anyone from PACS164 would be able to point this out to them. But I can't remember at the moment what it is.

Oh, yes I can. The analysis was entirely political. Period. End of quote. Now, I'm not saying there's no such thing as politics, there's no such thing as a political analysis. But the cause of this horror that's going on in Iraq – again, totally agree that it is a horror. The cause of it is capitalism. Get rid of the capitalist system and you'll get rid of all of these horrors.

Actually, I don't think that's true. I think human beings have a spiritual dimension, a political dimension, an outer dimension, a body – in most cases. And all of these things have to be taken into account. [Unintelligible 00:25:47] It'll have to be embraced and they all have to be structured in the right way.

So, those are the four things that we would look at be sharing with these people if we get a chance to carry further with this. And we well might. Okay.

Awakening an Opponent and Symbolic Action

All right, so, that was a very dramatic film that we saw on Tuesday. Thanks to John, we've got the equipment working correctly. I have several things that I want to make sure that we get covered. But I think I'd like to just turn it up over to you and ask you what did you notice? And perhaps, we should start filling in our boxes of categories. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:26:43]

Michael: Yeah. All of those points are very good. I mean the fact that they said to the police, "Look, we're not against you." So, it's not ad hominem. We're definitely in the right ballpark. But we also have [fermasa permanente] or however, you say that in Serbo-Croatian. You can't stop us. We will not allow you to stop us. This must be done.

And pointing out to the police that they are as much victims of the system as they are. That's super important. When Gandhi was in London for the farcical roundtable conference in 1931, knowing at once that it was going to be a farce, he decided to use his time by contacting certain elements in Britain. And among others, he asked to visit the Lancashire Clothing Mills, which is so Gandhi.

You know, I think some of you will remember this story that he was touring somewhere in Northern India and his people came to him and said, "Don't go any further down that road because there's a village down there. The village headman has sworn to kill you on sight." And Gandhi said, "Oh, really what's his name? Let's go there."

And they said, "No, no. You don't understand." And Gandhi said, "Oh yeah, I understand." So, he went up to the door of this man's hut and knocked on it. The guy opened the door. He was quite startled. And Gandhi said, "I'm here to help you fulfill your vow."

So, this person – taken somewhat by surprise. "Okay," reached out and started choking Gandhi and Gandhi, must have been repeating his mantrum like gangbusters, you know, did not try to physically defend himself. And after what must have seemed like a fairly long period of time to Gandhi, the fellow dropped his hands and fell at his feet. And he said, "This whole village is at your disposal."

So, I'm sorry. Why am I talking about this? Yes, thank you, thank you. It's very – I need several of you in the front row to do that. So, Gandhi gets to Britain, and he has brought about a cloth boycott which has put like 100,000 textile workers in Lancashire out of work. And he says, "I want to go there." And he went there. It took him like two hours to completely convince those people that some of – that you're as much victimized by this system as I am.

He said, "Don't even dream of bringing back the old cloth trade. It victimizes you and it victimizes us." And he said to them, "I want you to stop and think who is exploiting you." This is one of the reasons why I was so keen on having our protest when the time comes to be against the people against whom we really have something.

So, yeah, to be able to go to the police and say, "Look, you're a victim of this system." And you might remember when we discussed civilian-based defense, I said that the way that works is

when soldiers have come in, you say to them, “Look, you and I are on the same side. You should not be fighting against us.”

While we're on this topic of the function of the police, remember Mayor Ilić. I think that's his name. From the City of Čačak. And his dramatic convey down to Belgrade, was actually being watched by the entire nonviolence community, which is very easy to do because we all fit in one room with a six-inch television screen. We can see it very easily.

But it was – it bears some resemblance and perhaps some comparison to a famous event that took place in India. A people want to chime in here? Or anyone who's sneakily done some reading about the Freedom Struggle in India, the climax of it?

The Salt March, yeah. Because Gandhi could have gotten on a special train and been down to Dandi overnight. But instead, he decided to walk. So, he sets out with 70 people from his ashram. And by the time he gets down to the seashore, 12 days later, he has probably something like 70,000.

So, this is not dissimilar. It's a good example of – you know, I've been dissing symbol users all along, so let me say that I think this is an excellent example of the way to use symbols. That is, not to go for the symbol, but to go for the concrete reality. I have to get to Belgrade. That's where the government is. I'm going to turn these people out of that building. Or there's no salt here in the desert, in the Deccan Plateau. I've got to get down to the seashore to collect it.

So, you have that concrete act, which takes on symbolic proportions. And that's gold. That's pure gold. So, this convey was, you know, very closely watched by us. And as scrupulously ignored by the world's media. That's their job to ignore nonviolence until the world crumbles into dust, I suppose. Pardon my bitterness. I get this close to Northgate Hall, it starts creeping up on me.

But while we've got him up here, let me bring to your mind his famous little talk on the steps of the parliament building where he said, “Don't throw stones at the police. Don't through anything at the police...” What else did he say? Anybody remember that? Of course, it's unfair. I've seen the thing about ten times. Mathias?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:33:13]

Michael: They're coming over to our side. Right. Okay. So, don't throw stones because – followed by a strategic reason. And I thought this is neat. You might have heard me murmuring to myself over here. This is neat, I murmured. Because we can position this. Let's talk about it. How do you feel about this comment? Don't throw anything at the police. They're coming over to our side. Anybody see what's missing in this equation? Yeah? Oh, I'm sorry. No, you go ahead, Amy. John gets plenty of chances.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:33:59]

Michael: Yeah. If they don't, hit them with everything you've got, right. So, let's say that this the strategic nonviolence position. What would the PNV position be? John?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:34:19]

Michael: Period, end of quote. Right, right. No stones. Period. Or you might go on to say, “Don’t throw stones at the police because there’s that of God in every man,” or something like that from 164A. That depends whom you are speaking to.

And then, of course, I don’t know why I’m putting this up on top, but there’s the violence position, which is, you know, pelt away. And we’ve talked about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the fact that the kids, the Shabab, the testosterone-filled youth throw stones at IDF soldiers. And how ambiguous that is, because they’d like to you to think about it as an act of defiance. It partly has that character. But it also is injurious force.

So, it has a violent character and there you go, you know. You don’t know what to say. Okay, great. So, that was a good start. What else? Yes, Catherine?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:35:27]

No Nonviolent Coercion

Michael: I’m glad that the concept of nonviolence coercion seemed weird to you. This is one of several schemas that we have in the Zunes, Kurtz, and Asher book. One is a five-part schema that we talked about in connection with the Philippines. And this is another one which talks about, you know, I’m sorry, I’m going to forget what the other elements are, but the final one is nonviolent coercion. And that means you have brought so much pressure on the opponent that he or she has really no rational – no practical choice but to go along with you regardless of whether he or she believes what you’re doing.

And we have said that this is not principled nonviolence. Principled nonviolence works always by persuasion, not coercion. That’s one of our main criteria here. And it’s one of the things where – coercion. I’m sorry, this is getting a little sloppy. But you could actually bracket force and coercion together as part of violence. And persuasion as part of nonviolence. You’d be justified in doing that. So, nonviolent coercion really does look like a contradiction in terms.

It’s sort of like military intelligence, or business ethics or something like that. So, that was another clue, if anywhere needed, that the Otpor Rebellion, for all it’s brilliance and success and beauty and other good things that we’re going to be discussing. It was strategic nonviolence. Now, again, my own position here, I have absolutely nothing against strategic nonviolence. Given the choice between violence and strategic nonviolence, I’ll go SNV every day of the week.

But the one objection that I do have is to think that strategic nonviolence is nonviolence. Because then when it doesn’t work, you’re finished. You go back to nonviolence. That’s kind of a travesty of nonviolence. To say that, you know, you learn a few strategies out of a book written by a guy at Harvard. And you carry them out in your work, and it works, that’s nonviolence.

Other things, yes?

[Unintelligible 00:38:20]

Michael: They use bulldozers. Now, that is really interesting. What are we going to say about bulldozers? In principle, bulldozers are not instruments of persuasion, right? They are instruments of coercion. So, it would, in theory, tend to line up with violence. It’s definitely not

persuasive. But remember the leader of the student Otpor group in Belgrade. I forget his name. He's a real – the cute guy who got elected to parliament.

Remember him saying this is the year. This is the year that Serbia has to be once again in favor of life. So, which we're going to be talking about. But what I want to talk about right now is the timing issue. So, now if you hear this is the year and you've taken PACS164A, immediately you think, "Oh my gosh. Swaraj in one year." This is what Gandhi said. He comes back to India, and he has a few successful things. Five of them actually.

And he says, "Okay, we're going to have swaraj in one year." This is 1919. And of course, it didn't happen until 1947. Why – who – say more about that. Why is that sort of okay? John or anybody? Alex?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:40:11]

Michael: I like that a lot, even though I didn't come up with that idea. I think it's pretty good. That yeah, you are enjoying swaraj. The minute you say you can't coerce me anymore. What are you going to do? Put me in jail? Go ahead. I don't care. So, you have experienced swaraj and that also touches on another element that we have to discuss.

And that is the visioning element. Having a vivid imagination of what you're going for, how to use that, how not to use it. I hope we're going to get to discuss that. But also, what Gandhi said was actually slightly different than we will have swaraj, freedom in one year. He said, "If you give me your complete cooperation, we will have swaraj in one year." And they didn't. He said, "I guess you didn't give me your complete cooperation," which was perfectly true.

Effects of Coercion

But now remember we discussed the ouster of Augusto Pinochet in Chile. And we said that he was not persuaded to leave office because he had been filled with love for the Chilean people. He was booted out. And I was not willing to say that this was the wrong thing to do because there are times when you have to do the best that you can, because the consequences of not doing so will be worse.

For example, in the previous semester, we talked about the Central High in Alabama being integrated by somewhat forcible, somewhat forcible means. The 101st Airborne comes trooping into class with all their boots and grenades and rifles and radios and stuff. They forced that school to be integrated. And we discussed that at some length. And we said that this was not the ideal way to do it, but the ideal way to do it would have taken so long that maybe this opportunity would have slipped away.

So, okay, here they are. You did very well to raise that point, I think. But here they are, they're on their way into Belgrade. There's a limit to the amount of time and attention the average person who has to work for a living can put into an uprising. You have to realize that if you are – that's one of the reasons that we don't succeed – that we succeed so little.

We are not professional resisters. You know, if we go out every single day, who's going to take care of the cat? And things like that. So, for these pragmatic reasons and because you have people's passions focused on this now, and because you know perfectly well that if Milosevic, President Milosevic stays around, he's going to use his power and influence and military might

to consolidate his hold. They really did have to act if they wanted to get him out of office. And they really had to be prepared to bulldoze trucks out of their way.

So, I don't know exactly where we're coming out with this. I guess what I would say is they had come and asked me, if I was sitting, drumming the table, "God, I hope they come and ask me." They didn't, of course. But if they would come and ask me, I would not have argued against that in the moment. But I would have said, "Here's why this is not the ideal way to do it. I hope you don't have to use them. And let's repair better the next time, so we can walk into Belgrade, and nobody can stop us, and we don't have to use coercion at all.

But let's face it. That would have taken years and years. Look, you had this – the cute guy. I keep forgetting his name. He said, "We had no idea somebody had written a book about this." They were starting from zero. Okay, this is excellent. Other observations? Yeah, Sam?

Movement Organization

Student: It started with students. [Unintelligible 00:44:44]

Michael: And realistically, I think, given the way most industrial societies are set up, that this is how a lot of these uprisings have to happen, for various reasons. And students have the idealism. I mean why do you think I come here. I could be out writing a great American novel or being a failed bluegrass musician. There's any number of careers I could have failed at.

But I don't think we need to elaborate on it, but students have a unique position and a unique energy and everything of value has started with them. But then it also has to move beyond them. And we will see some exceptions to this when we talk about the uprisings that are going on in non-industrial sectors or non-industrial countries.

And it was namely when we talk about things going on in the Philippines, in India, and Africa. It will not necessarily be students. In Nigeria, its village wives going down and shutting down oil companies and things like that. But for this kind of society, it's going to have to start with students. But it can't stop there.

I think this, perhaps, was one of the mistakes – and I hope you've read that article by Michael True carefully that's in our reader. One of the mistakes of the Tiananmen uprising was there wasn't enough of an outreach to other parts of community. In fact, I was hoping against hope that those students would leave the square and go back to their campuses, factories, villages, and start building for democratic reforms.

But in staying in the square, they made two mistakes. They failed to get out beyond their own circle. And the big mistake, the one that I'm constantly harping on. I hope you'll not get disgusted with this. But it was a symbol. The square was a symbol of the possession of China and that was not exactly the right symbol. Not to mention, the goddess of liberty statue which looked like it was westernizing and so forth.

Joanna, did you have your hand up?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:47:10]

Michael: Good point. In case you didn't hear it, they made a very interesting comment about leadership. There were people who had a leadership position and, you know, especially if they

were cute, they got to be on the camera all the time. But they said – did you remember what they said about leadership? Yeah, Mathias?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:47:44]

Michael: That's for sure. Yeah. They decentralized it. They also used another phrase. Catherine?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:47:51]

Michael: Let me get back to that in a second. But they used the term layers of leadership. So, they had – it's not like it wasn't structured, and it's not like – it was not exactly like affinity groups. Well, wait a minute. I take that back. I've never been in an affinity group, so I possibly don't know what I'm talking about here.

I think affinity groups have representatives that meet at a higher level and there is kind of a tree and there are kind of layers. But anyway, Catherine was raising the strategic value of not having a single identifiable leader. I'll tell you one kind of anguishing example of how damaging it can be to not have that precaution in El Salvador.

Some people came into a village and said, "We'd like you to elect leaders. We're going to have new democracy here in this country and we need democratic leaders." So, the villagers very enthusiastically elected these leaders. And it turned out that those people were paramilitary. So, they came back the next day, and they killed everybody who had been elected as leaders.

So, you know, there's – strategically, you stick your head off – you stick your head up, it might get cut off. So, there is that strategic reason.

Replace the System vs Reforming

However, I also think that there is a deeper reason, and that is if you're doing principled nonviolence, you're really aiming not reforming the system, but replacing it. And you want to replace it with a system in which human beings and human will are paramount and they are not subject to manipulation.

And for that, you do have to develop a more – a different kind of community organizing. And so, this might have been – these layers of leadership might have been the germ of alternative institutions which is the most important part of constructive program. Maybe it's the most important. Certainly, an important part. Very good.

So, this is working very well. Sam, did you have – okay. Yes? Your name is? Christine.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:50:20]

Michael: I also think that that's important and I think that the role of humor throughout this whole thing was important. And that's why you actually have people today who – that's formed an organization called, "Clowns without borders." And they will actually do things like they'll go to checkpoints where you have these very grim-faced guards who are stopping people from getting through. And the people are very upset, and the guards are very upset.

And then a clown will come along dressed in a clown costume and you're, "Hi, Bobo the clown," and just changes the whole thing. You know, there are maybe some limits to how far you can go with this, but – yeah, Mathias?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:51:35]

Michael: That's where Patch Adams is involved, yeah. Yes, yes. They do humanitarian work as well. Yeah. And humor has – is a therapeutic reality. There's no question about it. But we're talking about using it to break up the conflict dynamic. And to keep – I guess we haven't really quite totally talked about this here, but in a conflict, the opponent is telling you, "You are subordinate. We are separate."

And as long as you go along with that, either by saying, "I'm afraid of you or I'm angry at you," you're in his framework. But if you do something completely off the wall, completely unexpected, completely inappropriate – as it may seem, you're breaking up that mentality and you're doing that by yourself. You can also have third-parties do that. So, the role of humor and keeping people from getting tense, thus keeping them from getting burned out. Most importantly, not going along with the threat power.

Yeah. Mathias and then Amy.

Coal Miners Strike and Paradox of Repression

Student: [Unintelligible 00:52:50]

Michael: Right. So, the coal miners went on strike. Last semester we discussed this critical moment in 1913 where Gandhi's movement up to that point had mostly involved free Indians, not laborers. And suddenly, due to an atrocity committed by the other side, suddenly women were involved. And then suddenly, there was – the women went to Newcastle to talk about – to talk to the miners. The next thing you know, you had 6000 miners out on strike. So, that brought labor into it.

Remember, when we read that introductory section to Parkman's book on El Salvador and the other three uprisings in Central America, she tried to distinguish very carefully between a labor strike and a civic strike, which can include labor. So, that's what this consisted of. It was a civic strike. It was a strike against the regime. It was insurrectionary, but it brought it labor, which is a powerful element, especially, you know, what do they say, two-thirds of their electricity is coming out of that one mine.

Incidentally, a very similar thing had happened a little bit before in Kosovo where there is a mine up in the north. And the miners went out on strike for very similar reasons. Amy?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:54:29]

Michael: Okay, I bet it does matter, actually. But okay. Marissa?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:54:35]

Michael: Yeah. But then what about all that repression? Someone want to use a technical term here? Amuse and – yeah. Yes. When you use too much repression you're going to get into the paradox of repression.

So, this is a very interesting three-step dynamic. I don't think we ever quite put it together in this form. You have a dominating regime. As long as it's perceived as legitimate, it can get away with using a lot of repression. Though there is the point at which if it uses too much repression it will lose its legitimacy.

But what you're saying here, Marissa, is that it lost its legitimacy first and then it had to escalate the repression a lot in order to get back to the status quo and it was impossible. [Gatav yay]. He's finished, you know. It's all over. Yeah.

Analysis - Otpor

Now, if we have time and we actually, you know, do our who are the players, what's the situation and so forth, we'll see that somewhat taking away from our point is the fact that people were getting sick and tired of Slobodan Milosevic. The economy was faltering. They had ten-year-old shoes. More than that, I would say, Serbia was acutely embarrassed by its treatment of the Kosovars, the ethnic Albanians.

We haven't had a chance to talk about that. But there's a very passionate movement and I was personally quite involved in it. And this, again, started with students at the University of Pristina. They went out every single day at noon. There were 20,000 of them, joined by other people. 20,000 people striking in Pristina, Gračanica and other cities of the Kosovar region.

They withstood brutal repression. Water canons, the whole thing. Just like we saw in the other movie. And they started to succeed. The Belgrade regime – I mean to back up for just a second. In the 1970s, there was a constitution for Yugoslavia which gave Kosovo some independence. Not independence, but autonomy.

And one of the things that they allowed them to do was teach classes in the Albanian language. Then Milosevic started taking that away. And incidentally, I saw a documentary based on this and I saw a speech by Milosevic with subtitles. And I have to tell you, he was one mean blankety blank. He was a very vicious, cold, angry, hate-filled person at that point. Or rather, perhaps we should say, "His Buddha nature was completely covered over by anger, hatred."

If there ever was a leader who betrayed his responsibility and instigated hatred as a tool for his own political power, it was Milosevic. I mean you came away shattered by what you saw. Anyway, he started pulling back the 1970s constitution. And the students struck. And eventually, they won the right to go back into the University of Pristina and to teach in the Albanian language.

So, they were on a roll. What happened? Tragically enough, there was a subgroup called the, "KELA," which was armed militants. And they showed up at a funeral in Gračanica with masks and AK-47s or whatever they are and said, you know, "We've got to win back our freedom." And at that point, oh this is so infuriating. At that point, there's a huge amount of press coverage for the guy with the mask and the gun. There had been nothing for the 20,000 people withstanding oppression.

A friend of mine who went over there said he had never seen such courage in 30 years of witnessing nonviolent insurrections all over the world. That's how strong it was.

I'm sorry people. I need one of those reminders again. What were we talking about when I launched into this thing about Kosovo? Yeah, yeah, yeah. Thank you, Alex. That's good. Keep track of all the people who get us back on course here. This is very useful. Yeah.

So, what I was saying was if we stack it up and say, "Let's look at the situation, what are the strengths, what are the weaknesses?" The fact is that people were fed up with Milosevic. Especially they were ashamed at the brutality of what they had done to the Kosovars. They were, first of all, there was this whole breakup of former Yugoslavia.

They started using – shipping people into concentration camps with cattle cars again. And Europeans were saying, "There's a part of Europe that is not Europe." You know, they were demonizing them and dehumanizing them. That hurts a lot. And there were people saying – I read statements by Serbs who said, "I don't know what we did wrong. We had ten years under Milosevic and now NATO." You know, referring to the bombing campaign.

So, the fact that Milosevic wasn't popular, and it was time for him to leave already, kind of weakens our case a little bit. But let's face it, he never would have left power without nonviolent uprising. And let's not forget that you had 11 weeks, 78 days of NATO bombing costing \$3 billion versus four days of student uprising, costing \$25 million.

You had I don't know how many people were killed in that NATO bombing. It was a horrendous setback. The iconic picture is of a bridge in – I don't remember what city, actually. But it was a famous bridge because it was destroyed by Nazi bombardment in WWII. And the Yugoslavs felt they had come back to life when they rebuilt that bridge, only to have NATO bomb it back down. Yeah?

[Unintelligible 01:01:26]

Michael: Mostar. That's right. Thank you. It's a famous bridge that was in Mostar. There's also – you might be thinking of a different bridge. There's lots of bridges in Yugoslavia. The Mostar bridge is famous because there's a Croatian side and a Serb side. And the two peoples were able to mingle on this bridge. And it was deliberately blown up by the Yugoslavs themselves. So, that's another tragic symbolic bridge story.

But anyway, I remember Arundhati Roy here on this campus in Northgate Hall, so let's hear it from Northgate Hall, finally. Saying that she had read – because she's very – she's not unlike a lot of Indians. For her, animals are just about as important as people in terms of suffering and stuff. She said, "The bombing was so horrendous that the tiger in the Belgrade Zoo went insane and started gnawing itself." Just to show you horrific that was.

And what did it accomplish? Exactly the opposite of what they set out to do. And this has been documented in case after case after case. That bombing civilians from the air is such a repugnant horrendous thing to do that it rallies forces around the very dictators that you're trying to unseat. So, doing remember that because the numbers are helpful here. You can explain to people what the power of nonviolence is by just stacking up the simple comparative chart.

I mean \$25 million sounds like a lot of money to somebody like me who doesn't even get paid for what he does. But \$25 million probably, we run through that in five minutes in Iraq. I'm just making a rough guess.

Apparently, the figures that we read about the costs of the Iraq invasion are grotesquely understated. And I've read things that are as high as \$2.6 trillion. Trillion with a T dollars. That's what that has cost us. To accomplish something which they could have done for practically nothing, because as we know, there was a very successful popular nonviolent uprising in Iraq in 1948. We could have built on that, and we would have everything we want. They would have everything they want.

Okay. So, let's – anything else before I – yes?

[Unintelligible 01:04:06]

Michael: Okay, I'm really glad you picked up on that. So, they get into the building and the next thing you know, one of the offices is on fire. They've trashed – there's broken windows. And obviously, they ask them about this. Is this nonviolence? And obviously, he hasn't taken this course. And he says that it's child's play. Now, if we were sitting with him in a coffee shop somewhere in Belgrade and said, "Look, this is off the record, but I want to tell you something," what would we tell him?

Nagler's Law, we would tell him. He would say, "[Unintelligible 01:04:59] What?" That's Russian. It's close as I can come to Serbo-Croatian at this point. So, you'd explain, Nagler's Law states that there's something qualitative rather than quantitative about violence. And that introducing a little violence powerfully eviscerates nonviolence.

So, if you were that cute guy and you had been asked that question, what would you have said, knowing full well that you're soon going to be serving in the Serbian parliament? Anybody? Michael?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:05:45]

Michael: Well, okay. Denounce – that might be a little bit too strong. I would say – what I would do, if you were to ask me, is I would say, "I'm sorry. We didn't have perfect control. That part of it slipped out." But then I might go on to say, "Michael Nagler said on television that, you know, most real events are not perfect."

He gave – he sort of excused it and said it's okay because comparatively, it was nothing. And I don't think that argument actually applies. But I think the argument that does apply is, you know, hey, we had to do it when we did it. And it wasn't perfect. And we're going to try to do better next time. If anyone tries to do better next time, I think, you know, they get a very, very wide margin for mistakes. So, that's what I would have said.

What else? I think the timing is good here. I think I'm going to – whoops, I'm going to need about ten minutes, probably, to touch on my stuff that hasn't come up yet. Most of it has. Yeah, John?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:07:10]

Michael: Okay, this is John's point. I think it ties in with something you said earlier, Christine. I'm not sure. But it's interesting. My own reaction to that, the first – and of course, they pull that out as the motto for the film, that we succeeded because we love life. And the first six or eight times I saw this film, I was, "Yes! Love life! La heim. Gung ho. This is great. I'm totally in favor of this." But this last time around, I caught another phrase which I didn't like as much.

And it was where he said, “We love life, and they don’t.” That made me extremely nervous. Anybody want to talk about that? Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:08:10]

Michael: Yeah. What John is saying is that – well, let’s say two separate animals here. One that loves life, one that does not. And remember what the Buddha said. The Buddha said a lot, actually. In this particular case, what I’m invoking is he said, “All creatures love life. All people, all creatures shun harm. Therefore, do not kill or cause to kill.” [Na huntay, na hunya tay]. This is an important little statement.

Do not kill. Do not cause to kill. Because it shows that the Buddha was perfectly aware of what we call today structural violence. Do not kill directly. Do not help other people to kill. Do not even buy products which help other people kill. Do not help that in any way. Okay. But it’s the first part of this statement that’s particularly relevant for us here.

And that is that all creatures love life. And it struck me, now if I fall back on my own terminology, that to some degree, what the Otpor students were doing was dehumanizing the opposition. Because if you deny that a person loves life, you are dehumanizing them. And it’s also part of saying which this Otpor students disproved, that they will listen only to force.

You are blissfully too young, I hope, to have gone through the kind of education, quote/unquote that I went through. But looking back on my education, there was some things that really infuriated me about it. There’s the whole physics thing, but we won’t get into that here. But what I was taught about geography was, first of all, what I was taught about any given country in the world was what product do we get out of that country.

Like Bolivia equals tin. You know, we’d march in and take a little test and say, “Bolivia.” We’d put tin. Very good Michael. Go home, tell your parents. There’s no Bolivians, you know. That’s why today you have Eva Morales [Unintelligible 01:10:34] and a real indigenous government there.

But the thing that I think actually did more damage was countries who would be described as life is cheap in blank – fill in the blank of that country. So, that persisted until the Korean War when the Chinese invaded in masses, mass infantry invasions, knowing full well that they lose a lot of people. People who had been educated in my era would be go around saying, “See, I told you. They don’t love life.”

And I’ve come to feel that this is the most dehumanizing thing that you can believe about another person, that they don’t have the same love of life inside them as you do. It’s also going to make it very hard to find where they can be reached non-violently. Because it is exactly that that you’re going to be appealing to as a nonviolent actor. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:11:33]

Michael: Very good point. What they were doing was reorganizing the superiority, inferiority rather than abolishing it. Yeah. So, you have people, like Konstantinović saying Serbia is going to be for all the ethnics, ethnicities in Serbia. And that was actually – it may sound like just a casual remark, but that was a very dramatic, possibly dangerous thing to say in that era.

But the reality of it was to get all of that out of your own psyche is not that easy. And the temptation to demonize or dehumanize the other is something we really, really have to be careful about. So, okay, it's clear. You know, let it be clear. We're not blaming these people. They were kids. They knew nothing. All they had was a couple of books by Gene Sharp. And they did brilliantly, given what they had to go on. But here's how we would like to see it go further.

Okay. The aftermath of the uprising, partly very good. Partly not so good. The not so good part I'll do first. Zoran Đinđić, the opposition leader, he had been the mayor of Belgrade. Charismatic. He looked a lot more charismatic than Konstantinović to me. The two of them were sort of rivals. But as a matter of fact, Đinđić, on March 13th of 2003 was assassinated by an element within what had formally been the police command of Milošević.

And this was a devastating blow to the Serbs. They felt like they had left all of that behind them and they were finally going forward. And you still had these people in there who had not gone through any conversion, had not gone through any persuasion. And they regarded Đinđić as a traitor to Serbia. Serbian Nationalism cutting both ways. Extremely tricky thing there. And they just shot him with a high-powered rifle on his way to work one day.

Similarly, I think – on the level – in terms of democracy, in terms of the economy, Serbia has bounce back. But not all that much. Mainly because there wasn't a whole lot of constructive program in the movement. It was an insurrectionary movement, pure and simple.

One other little element I want to mention and then I'll have just enough time, I think, for my – the going to the positive side of the sequel. There was a something that flashed on the scene for about 15 seconds. It probably meant nothing to you, but you may have heard me jumping up and down and clapping my hands and getting very excited. Well, compatible with professorial dignity, of course. You understand that.

But that was the scene where – now the camera is panning along this crowd that's outside the building, the part of the building. And you see an old guy sitting on the sidewalk with a funny instrument, things like this," singing. [Singing]

And who was that man? Well, anybody know the history of this region? He was a guslar. Now, that's enlightening, isn't it? A guslar is a person who plays the gusle, which was that instrument that he was playing.

And the point is that these people were the conservators and the continuators of a deep folk-based epic tradition that I happen to know about, A, because I'm a failed folk singer, in the first place. I already told you that. But B, because I was, at one point, a partly successful classicist and I was studying Homer.

And Homer turns out to have composed his poems orally, so we were desperately looking around for people who sang songs orally without using writing. And we discovered this incredibly tradition in Yugoslavia. And during the occupation, during the Nazi occupation the partisans up in the mountains, which is where Marshall Tito became so popular – he was a resistance hero.

They would find themselves up there in the caves with nothing, you know. No water, no food. But somebody had a gusle. And they would take it out and they would start singing these old

songs about how, you know, what are some of these characters? I used to remember the name. Not [Unintelligible 01:16:57] I'll have them back for you next week.

All these characters because what's going on here is that people are digging deep into their ethnic tradition and using music to inspire themselves with pride and courage, which of course, can cut the wrong way. But I thought it was just a very important little vignette that this guy shows up on the sidewalk in the year 2000 playing his gusle. And we're going to see later on other examples of how important music can be. Now, I won't exaggerate it, but it can be important.

Two quick things then. This uprising was probably – it's the only case that I know of, political scientific might be able to help me out with some more examples. It's the only case that I know of where the U.S. carried out an intervention on the side of a nonviolent uprising. There are something like 257 military interventions that we've racked up in the course of our nation's history. That number actually might be slightly lower than it should be now.

But as far as know, this is the only time that we intervened on the side of nonviolence. The motives for our doing that are unclear – to me, at least. People murmur something about an oil pipeline coming from the Caspian, going in through Belgrade. And Milosevic had to be so anti-Western to keep his people rallied behind him. It didn't look like he'd allow us to do that. I don't know about any of that stuff. It's perfectly plausible.

But whether they had good intentions or not, the fact that several elements, including the United States Institute of Peace, which I'd like to talk about later on when we have a little more time. When they are with educational materials and a little bit of money, help them to produce these bumper stickers that said, "You're finished. Kill yourself Slobo." I think that's what you were referring to, John. It's not exactly nonviolent towards the opponent.

But the fact that they went in there and did that, bought them computers, helped with the organizing and brought in the nonviolent information from the Center for Nonviolent Sanctions. Then that succeeded. The same people went on to package what those kids had done and offered them to other uprisings.

And I had done some high-level intense research on this, namely, I looked it up in Wikipedia. Otpor members were instrumental in inspiring and providing hands-on training to other civic youth organizations in Eastern Europe and elsewhere, including Kmara in the Republic of Georgia, which leads to the downfall of Eduard Shervardnadze, Pora in the Ukraine. I suspect Pora is the Ukrainian form of Otpor. Zubr in Belarus. MJAFT! in Albania. Oborona in Russia, which was against Putin. That one obviously didn't succeed. Kelkel in Kyrgyzstan which brings down Ascar Akayev. Bolga in Uzbekistan. And the Pulse of Freedom in Lebanon. [From the "Legacy" Section of [Otpor](#).]

Now, these young people were not able to do that on their own. But the people who brought us the film created an organization called, "The Council for Active Nonviolence – for Nonviolent Actions and Strategies." Something like that. And actually, sent them around to these countries.

And of course, these young people had incredible prestige because they had succeeded in their revolution and so they knew how to do it. And this is probably a qualitative difference in world history that you now have an actually systematic attempt to teach people who want to have an insurrection how to do it non-violently.

Okay, now we have our own little nonviolent event that's happening so I'm not going to hold you anymore. Let's move onto the next section for next week. Thanks, thanks.

Part 3 Anti-Militarism and Related Struggles

PACS164B Lecture 11

NAFTA and Costa Rica

Michael: I hope you had a good weekend. If you could maybe turn that off, John, so I can see everybody. They can already see me well enough. Couple of quick announcements. Tomorrow, there's a lecture by Susanne Woodward from City University of New York. The lecture is called, "Is Democracy Possible in the Balkans?" And it's about the Kosovo Serbia Montenegro difficulties there.

And that'll be 4:00 PM in Room 270 Stephens. That's tomorrow. And then Thursday, there's a musical evening benefiting an important peace institution of our own in the Middle East called [Neve Shalom Wahat al Salam] Which means in both Hebrew and Arabic, "Oasis of Peace." This is basically a high school where they insist on having half Arab kids and half Israeli kids every year. And then these children grow up and it's kind of leavening the discourse over there.

So, those are those two announcements. We're not going to be able to hear from our Tika contingent or the ladies from Costa Rica. But in a sense, it's a good thing. That's because they're so busy here, seeing so many people. And that's good news because there's a terrific struggle shaping up in Costa Rica.

We're going to be discussing the issue head-on in the next section of the course which is the whole question of globalism. But the issue for them is that NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement, which both liberal and conservative policy makers feel would be a wonderful thing. And everybody who actually experiences on the ground knows that it's going to be a disaster.

And every Central American country has been jawboned into signing onto this thing except Costa Rica. And now they're leaning on Costa Rica pretty heavily. President of Costa Rica, Oscar Reyes, Nobel Prize winner, came on shortly after the Costa Rica revolution where they got rid of the army. One of the seven Nobel Peace Prize winners who's supporting Nonviolent Peaceforce. All of these good things, but he was president for quite a while, then was retired. And then came back and got elected again.

And part of his platform was that they should accept NAFTA. So, there's a big indigenous grassroots movement working against that. So, I won't need your services today, Sam or Nubia for translation. But what we're going to do instead is move now into the next unit. We've been talking about specifically insurrectionary struggles. And I wanted to follow up just very slightly with the Serbo-Croatian area and the film that we saw, [*Bringing Down a Dictator*](#).

The people at the Center for – International Center for Nonviolence Conflict, ICNC, who come to this with a great advantage having a multi-millionaire supporter. This is an

important educational institution now. And they are hooked up with Steve York and they made all of the – they made all the films that were part of the “*Force More Powerful*” series. And that was a very big breakthrough because this was the first time a nonviolent film series was shown on public television in the U.S. Highly entertaining.

Then they spent three years – hi Marcela – developing this DVD which is the world’s first nonviolent strategy video game. I’ve tried to play it, but A, I’m too old. And B, it seems to be a very complicated game. The hope for this was not that they would make millions of dollars and appear on Netflix and YouTube and all of these things.

The actual reason for producing this game was that when you have an insurrection that gets started and you have people who don’t know how to run it, which is fairly typical, there they are. You know, plug in your parameters and we’ll give you the strategy, or at least help you to derive a strategy.

I don’t know that that has happened yet, but if and when it does, it’ll be the first time that nonviolent insurrection succeeded that was based on a video game. Why not? I mean videogames are based on reality, why shouldn’t reality be based on videogames?

And they also produced a player’s guide for Version 1.0. And if any of you guys are interested, you can, you know, take this out. Give them some feedback. Be part of the beta testing and just flip through this and see how they’ve done it. It’ll be based on the Balkans and Eastern Europe and those kinds of conditions.

And they didn’t say anything in there about third-party nonviolent intervention. I told them that and they said, “You’re absolutely right.” But it was too late. They also produced this CD. Lots of show and tell today. They produced this CD which is just basically a list of resources on nonviolent conflict. And Freedom House, which is not – what shall we say? I’m trying to think of a delicate way to put this. They’re not flaming radicals, Freedom House. Get it?

They produced this very thorough political science type surveys of nonviolent versus violent transitions to democracy. And they give you tons and tons of data here. And they’re able to demonstrate at least one very important thing. I’m looking for some other really spectacular charts. Yeah, so you can see how quantitative this really is. This is science. Now, here from me you just get these anecdotes which are very good for converting your roommate. But this is science.

One important thing that they were able to show is that where nonviolence played a predominant role in the transition to democracy, the democracy was much more stable and didn’t get kicked back as quickly. Unfortunately, if you read some of the journalistic accounts that have now become part of recent history, on that event that you saw the film about, they will say things like, “A mob descended on Belgrade.”

So, absolutely no consciousness that there was training, that people knew that they were coming up to a nonviolent moment. You saw that scene in the apartment house with – at that final pep talk. This is your protest. This is what we’ve been waiting for. This is the nonviolent moment. They go up and do it. They went out and did it perfectly.

There were practically no injuries. You know, they call it child's play. But anyway, practically, no injuries. Spectacularly successful nonviolent uprising based on almost a year of training. And all of the journalists can say is, "It was a mob."

However, we are going to change all of that. I've been trying for a long time to arrange for fellowships at the school of journalism for PACS graduates. So, if you know somebody who has a lot of millions of dollars, send them our way. You can do that anyway, anytime. No need to be apologetic about it. This is all going to change in September. And why? Because in September the Serbo-Croatian translation of "*Search for a Nonviolent Future*" will be published. I don't even know what the title is going to be. I should find that out.

And I'm going to go over there and do a five-city tour and really get this thing launched. I'm going to put up a lot of free copies. I don't know how I feel about that – in the hands of students and then just selling the rest of it. Good. So, watch for a very different 2007 or 2008, anyway. Okay, any questions that have been hanging around at this point before we actually start the next section? Sam?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:09:04]

Michael: I don't know. I think I can – I'm going to try to see them later this afternoon and I will find out. Yeah. They were at Global Exchange yesterday. That's an important institution in San Francisco we'll talk about at some point. They're basically up here trying to get some advice and support how to do it. San Francisco, Berkeley is where you come for that kind of advice.

Which really is too bad because I was hoping to dramatically improve my Spanish by the end of the day. I'll have to do it another way. Okay, so the difference between insurrectionary movements per se and the kinds of reform, sub-insurrectionary movements that we'll be concentrating on is not very great. As I've said before, it was just a convenient way to organize the course.

And you'll see the issue that the campaign that I want to focus on today actually came out in sync with the syllabus, that's to be appreciated and enjoyed, is the Larzac Satyagraha. And you'll see how it rapidly fanned out into basically every issue that we're facing today.

But I wanted to bring your attention to a couple of things in the reader before I start talking about Larzac. I know you may not have it with you, but on Page 67, there starts this section from James Tracy's book, *Direct Action* which is about radical pacifism. Now, should that be a topic that interests you, and perhaps you want to write your paper on, there's also a very nice book by a fellow named Scott Bennett.

Let's get this down here. It's called, "[Radical Pacifism](#)." And the subtitle is, "The War Resisters League and Gandhian Nonviolence in America, 1915 to 1963." Syracuse University Press. There was a very substantial nonviolence component in the Peace and Conflict Studies Program at Syracuse long before there was one at Berkeley, actually. I'm embarrassed to admit.

So, I wanted to just outline a couple of things that Taylor points out – Tracy, I mean, points out. “In the 1940s,” he starts off, “a small but dauntless movement, whose adherents termed themselves ‘radical pacifists,’ emerged out of the conscientious objector population of WWII.” Okay, so that’s a population that you’re very familiar with from the film, *The Good War and Those Who Refuse to Fight It*.

And we saw how the government inadvertently planted the seeds for a lot of radical nonviolent action that really swept through the country for 30, 40 years. Despite its small size, the movement made an enormous impact on post-war American dissent.

So, post-war American dissent is going to range from the Symbionese Liberation Army and Patricia Hearst and, you know, bombing police cars and stuff like that. All the way over to strictly nonviolent operations.

And this radical pacifism led to the Congress of Racial Equality without which there would not have been the Freedom Rides and really no Civil Rights Movement. The War Resistor’s League, WRL, which has been holding up the torch for pacifism, specifically. That is anti-war, militancy in Europe and America. Ever since then, it’s one of the longest-running peace organizations that’s in existence, probably second only to the International Fellowship of Reconciliation which also got started then.

And CNVA, the Committee for Non-Violent Action. We get a lot of demonstrations and protests and civil disobedience actions at nuclear power plants. And was on-hand to help sparkplug the anti-Vietnam movement. Okay, these groups would stamp post-war American dissent with certain characteristics.

I picked this introduction here because this is like the most succinct way of describing what that movement was all about. And here are the characteristics. A tactical commitment to direct action. A tactical commitment, as opposed to a deeply theoretical commitment to direct action. An agenda that posited race and militarism instead of labor as the central social issues in the United States.

So, my parent’s generation, the 20s and the 30s is characterized by a framework in which it’s class struggle. It’s the poor working stiffs against what they called in Italy, [Italian]. Capitalists, you know, capitalism. The folk music that I grew up on, I played in Greenwich Village. If you twist my arm, maybe I’ll bring my guitar here one day. Probably not.

It was all, you know, Pete Seagar and all. And Woody Guthrie and all those heroes. Which was derailed by Bob Dylan into a rather different kind of protest and consciousness. We didn’t actually like Bob Dylan. We thought he would never get anywhere. And guess what? We never got anywhere, and he became Bob Dylan. Well, what can you do?

Symbolic Action

But clearly, that era of the 20s and 30s was all dominated by the frame – I'm using the term the way George Lakoff would use it – the frame of communism and socialism versus capitalism. Although you had people like John Kenneth Galbraith saying the difference that in capitalism man exploits man. And in communism, it's exactly the other way around. In other words, it reorganizes who's doing the domination and the exploitation, but the system is still based on domination and exploitation.

So, the first attempt to change the frame, racism becomes much more important. Racism and – to a lesser extent, unfortunately, I think, militarism. Racism also turned out to be, in a way, a red herring in the same sense. This is my own personal opinion and a highly controversial one at that. But I do believe that while racism is definitely an evil just as economic exploitation is definitely an evil, it doesn't work out very well as the sole issue that you want to focus on.

So, carrying on with the characteristics, an experimental protest style that emphasized media-savvy symbolic confrontation with oppressive institutions. Now that's true. They were symbolic. They were designed to attract media attention. And I think for that reason, they were, again, somewhat problematic.

So, we're getting better than the HayMarket Riots and things that anarchists did. WWI era and on up to the '30s. But still, we haven't really assimilated our Gandhi and understood that symbolic action – again, my highly unpopular opinion, symbolic action is best done when you don't go after the symbol, but you go after something concrete. And it has symbolic resonance.

Gandhi, 1931, comes to Britain with two goats because he's not drinking cow's milk because it's a protest against Holland, I assume. I don't know. But because of the way cows were treated in India, he refused to drink cow's milk which is almost like going on a perpetual fast. For Hindus not to drink milk, a very striking, symbolic thing. But it was a real concrete thing to protect real, honest to gosh cows. He has to get goat's milk. And how is he going to get goat's milk? Well, they don't have a lot of goat's milk on board ship or – we're going to talk about sheep's milk in a bit today, but this is goat's milk.

So, he has to bring these two goats with him. Well, the result was he's followed by crowds of reporters everywhere. There are incredible photo ops to see this funny little man wearing his minus-fours, as he called it, and you know, no hair. Practically no teeth, followed by two goats and thousands of adoring admirers.

Okay, carrying on.

Characteristics and History

Yet, other characteristics of that kind of seminal era leading up to the one we're going to be focusing on. An ethos that privilege action over analysis, which again, I think was something that we borrowed from Marxism and was really an exaggeration. It ended up being such an exaggeration that people refused to study nonviolence as though studying it would contaminate you.

The result of that, in turn, was A – people really shy on inspiration because if you don't read about Gandhi and King and stuff, you know, what are you going to read? God forbid the newspaper. Saints preserve us. And secondly, not only did they not have a strategy, they didn't know they didn't have a strategy. And they were opposed to having one.

Now, there's another characteristic that goes along with this that isn't mentioned in this list. I think it's not mentioned in this list – no, it is. Okay. So, I'll save it until we get there. Now, of course, Marx had said, "The point is not to understand problems after all, but to change them." And he came from an environment where left-brain stuff was overemphasized, and people weren't taking action. So, the reaction sets in, and we have right-brain folks getting out there, getting in the face of the police and stuff like that, but not thinking for a minute about what they were doing.

It extolled nonviolent individual resistance, that's true. Especially when it involved, "Putting one's body on the line." It's considered a very dramatic thing to do. And an organizational structure that was non-hierarchical, decentralized, and oriented towards consensus decision-making. So, this is all just this paragraph in the lead-in to Tracy's study.

Now, I think what he says about decentralization is actually an understatement. In fact, there was the same kind of aversion to leadership, to authority that there was towards theory. And I'm happy to say that today, I think we're getting over that. Although, that group that came and spoke to us a couple of weeks ago, which Amy so very correctly and usefully went up to chat with at the end, they represent to my mind a kind of holdover of this old style.

So, this is why in PACS164A I spent a fair amount of time – in fact, I think I repeated it several times, going over with you some of the elements of Gandhi's leadership style. Because it was neither "I am the leader. You follow me no matter what," nor, "Oh, there is no leader. We're all just doing this together." He had a balance in there. And if you remember, when there was an intense conflict and people needed to act very efficiently, he said, "I am your general and I expect you to obey my orders implicitly."

Now does that sound to you like a nonviolent activist? "But" he said, "If you don't like me being your general, just say so. I'm happy to go up to the Himalayas and find a nice cave, a couple of goats, and just, you know, try to realize God and never mind all of this political stuff."

So, that's the difference. Not that the person shunned authority, but he did not cling to authority for his own personal use. He didn't abuse it. And I think we're starting to discover that now. It's interesting how sometimes even a single word can help when you're groping from some kind of concept. Because you have people in my generation totally rejecting leadership. And you look at some of the statements by the incumbent president of the United States, you can see why you might want to reject it.

He actually said, as you know, from seeing all of Michael Moore's movies, he actually said, "This would be a lot easier if this place were a dictatorship and I were the dictator." So, clearly, you don't want to go in that direction. But you eventually discover that just going in the opposite direction leaves you leaderless. And that's not too good either.

So, people in the 80s – late 80s are starting to grope for a concept that we kind of make this acceptable. And they came up with the word mentorship, which, "Okay, whatever, you know." It's a reasonable word. So, finally, there's a role again for people who are over 30. I mean myself was one of those who were going around saying, "Don't trust anybody over 30." And then on January 20th, 1967, I said, "Whoops." Let's rethink this.

So, I was very happy that the word mentor could come back in, and one could use one's accumulated experience without being a fathead and, you know, trying to take over people's lives and dominate them. Okay, well that was just by way of giving us a sort of historical background and run up to the movements we're going to be looking at now.

Anti-Militarism

And we're going to start with anti-militarism because that is probably the closest single issue to insurrection. Why do I say that? Because I think that in the minds – the conservative minds of most conservative people, whether they realize it or not, militarism and the wellbeing of their country, militarism and patriotism are so fused that whether you're republican or democrat, you can't disentangle it. I'm speaking about the American situation. I think it's a little bit better in Europe.

But this goes back thousands of years. And there even is a theory about the unsolved assassination of Martin Luther King that people tried to mess with him. You know, the FBI was harassing him and things like that while he was mostly about racism. Which is one of the reasons that I say, "I bet racism isn't the key issue." I have other reasons for saying that too.

So, okay, so they tried to plant bugs in his hotel rooms and things like that. And they made life uncomfortable for him. They were not happy with him when he went north and started to talk about poverty. They weren't happy with him. But after April 67 when he comes out against the Vietnam War and starts to say that he's going to organize a march on the Pentagon, he died.

And there is one theory that states that that hit was ordered when they felt that he was going against militarism, when he was going to interfere with the nation's ability to carry out the war in Vietnam. That's a horrible theory in every sense of the word. It's pure speculation. But I bring it up here only to say that I think there is a plausibility to it. And that is that if you're against militarism in some, you know, form, that looks serious, you are perceived to be being against the state. Not a happy comment on what we think the state is, but what some people think the state is.

So, we turn our attention now – John, are you almost ready with that? Yeah. You may have to move or else. Yeah. Robby?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:26:56]

Michael: Well, I think it is a – it exists everywhere. And after all, in the Middle East, it would be a little bit different because the dedication is not to the nation-state but to some overarching entity. I think it's a matter of degree. It's different in different places. For example, I was staying in a [ponciana 00:27:30] in Florence. This was many years ago. I'm sorry John. I got you all started.

And then, you know, I found myself talking with a senora who was running the place. We were very good friends. She loved my daughter. She didn't know I was Jewish. So, it turned out that everybody in the family had a completely different political position. And she was an unreconstructed Il Duce fascist. This made conversation, aside from the fact that my Italian wasn't all that great, it made conversations a little bit difficult.

But so, at one time I said, you know, "[Parkay]? Why are you still in favor of Il Duce?" And she said, "I just wanted what was good for Italy." You know, more violence, more militarism, more dehumanization, more exclusion will be good for the state." And if you – don't ask me how or why. What really is going on, I think, is good for my ego. My ego is the state. Therefore, this will be good for the state.

But if you remember, when we were talking about scapegoating in 164A and I talked about the Roman institution of gladiatorial combat, there's a Roman philosopher who was asked, "Do you think gladiatorial combats are good for the state?" And he said, "Oh yes, they're very good." It's good to bring all of your violence to bear on one helpless individual or group." Good, in the short term.

So, yeah, I think it can happen anywhere, but it's become a disease in the United States. And it's just, you know, it's like 100 years out of date. That's the problem. The very astute thinker, Richard Barnett, said that the tragedy of America is to have perfected the art of killing in the very century when it went out of fashion. Not that it went out of fashion in the sense that people don't do it. God knows they're doing it all the more. But in the sense that somewhere most people are beginning to realize this is not working. And if they had even a glimmer that there was an alternative, we could get out of this.

Okay, let's take a look at a few pictures because for the rest of the time, I'll just be yacking here, and I want you to see these guys. If you could – Akhmed, can you? Oh, the lights are over there. Yeah. Thanks. Thank you, Ashley. Yeah.

Leaders of the Larzac Movement

This is a picture of John's computer with our hero here in a very – this is characteristically how he appeared at the end of his life. Oh, our hero. I haven't told you that we have a hero today.

His name is Lanza del Vasto. And when we're finished with the pictures, I'll give you more of the biographical information. Interestingly enough, he was born in 1901, the

same year that André Trocmé was born in France. And we'll get back to that. This rather less distinguished-looking individual is Jean-Marie Muller who was a very well-known and very, very good, I think, nonviolence theorist. He wrote a book called, "*Vous Avez Dit Pacifisme* - You said, Pacifism?" And he's a really good Gandhian.

And this is a man named Bollardiere who played an important role in anti-globalism struggles later. He was also an author. This is a very typical look at our man, Lanza del Vasto. I met him – because you knew I was going to say that, right? I met him in San Francisco, probably about 1978. This is the homespun from sheep's wool made in his community. And he looks kind of like a sage. I think he was trying to give that impression. He sort of deserved it.

Okay, so now we have to shut this down. Yeah. So, this – let me get you the exact year here and then I'll start from the beginning and reconstruct the whole story so you can see where we're at. Ah, okay. [French] Just give me a minute here. Yeah.

Intro to the Larzac Movement

This is a campaign that went on from 1957 to 1963. It was an action against torture in Algeria. We've come across some very, very strange customs that barbaric people have all over the world. We ran across two nations where people didn't like voter fraud. I think that's extremely strange. And here now we have people who have some kind of objection to torture. If I were back in New York I'd say, "You got some kind of problem with that?"

But this was one of many issues that they were protesting. I guess that's about the best we can do for focus, probably. It's a very small picture. Yeah. But what they did was they chained themselves in a ring around an obelisk in Paris. And they unfurled this banner saying, "[French] We're also suspects." Because Algerians were being arrested just on the basis of their being Algerian and held and interrogated. In the meantime, in the Casbah in Algiers, guerrillas were being picked up and tortured.

I don't know if any of you have seen that very, very disturbing, very compelling documentary called, "The Battle of Algiers." It's a very, very moving thing. It was quite a shock for Western Europe because they had had this ideology that there was this aberrant nation that sprung up in the middle of Europe and it practiced torture and that was not a European thing to do. And the good nations were all victims, like France and England. And within ten years, France was practicing torture in Algeria. And within 20 more years, a certain nation is practicing it in Guantanamo and sending people around the world for extraordinary renditions.

So, this was very puzzling to people who maintained the traditional view of violence and nonviolence. Namely, that the ends and the means are completely separable. And if you used violence to overcome Hitler, then you would just go back to being a good guy. But Gandhi had said – this was one of the most disturbing and challenging things that he said. He was asked to predict whether the allies would win in WWII. And he said, "They

are going to win, but in order to do so, they will have to be more brutal than Hitler because they have chosen to use his methods.”

So, from the logic of nonviolence, this was all perfectly predictable. But, you know, there you go again. Nobody asks us. A mob descended on Belgrade. Yada-yada. Off we go.

So, this is prior to the issue that we're going to be talking about. It shows that these people – and I'll tell you more in a bit who these people are. And I think we had one more? Yeah. Two more, actually. Yeah. This is another picture of Lanza del Vasto. It's quite unusual that he's wearing a sports coat. He almost never did that, but I guess they wanted his picture for a book jacket. He was a pretty successful writer.

One of his books – should be somewhere on this messy desk of mine. Yeah. “Warriors of Peace.” There's this picture. Okay, now then to just orient ourselves geographically, we'll show the last one. [French]. Yeah. This is – as you know, France is divided into 82 [French] or departments. It's done by one of the many things that we have to be grateful to Louie Napoleon for. In fact, it's the only one that I can think of. And this is the Dordogne, this region here. The Pyrenees start here. And interestingly enough, Haute-Loire is right here. And that's where Le Chambon had unfolded during WWII.

And that's why I say it's kind of an interesting coincidence. André Trocmé, who's going to be the leader here, was born in 1901. Lanza del Vasto is going to be the leader who was born in 1901 in Italy. Of partly Italian and partly noble – partly Italian, partly Austrian, but both nobility families. Well, okay. I think this kind of sets the scene. Now let's get on with the story. Thank you. Sorry about that.

There. Okay. So, I chose this event. And here, we're having a slight change of pace here. I'm not going to do this with a movie or anything. And I haven't given you much to read about it. I just thought I would try to walk you through it. But that means that when we come to something interesting, let's stop and discuss it as opposed to, you know, noting it down and having to talk about it later on. All of this is contingent on our chalk supply which is sort of like – oh, okay. Thank you. Oh, very good, Joanna. Thank you. You must be a science major. Good. Okay.

Lanza del Vasto and Gandhi

So, his full name if you're interested is Giuseppe Giovanni – sorry. Lanza del Vasto. Okay. And his dates are 1901 to 1981. He died at 80. André Trocmé died at 70 in 1971. And he's often referred to as Gandhi's first disciple in the West. In 1936, he was studying art and he was pretty good at it, but he began to feel that something was missing.

You know, another famous art student – failed art student from that era is Adolf Hitler. Here's another one of these funny little coincidences. Anyway, he decided to go to the land of wisdom. So, in late 1936, like Michael Shuck, he took himself to India. Others also. In order, partly, to meet Gandhi because he was the one person who knew how to get rid of violence. And he spent a lot of time with Gandhi in 1937. And Gandhi will

actually bestow on him the name, Shantidas which is mostly how he is known subsequently. And Shantidas means Servant of Peace. Shanti – peace. Das – servant.

And after spending a good bit of time he takes a pilgrimage to the Holy River of Ganga – the Ganges. And he has something of a vision. Sort of like Constantine at the Milvian Bridge. And this vision is, “Go back and build.”

So, he decided to go to southern France, probably because it was felt to be a very hospitable area. Southern France was, I would say, the San Francisco of Europe. Let’s put it that way. [French] Everybody was welcome there. And he went to set up a community with Gandhi’s assistance. And he does that in 1948. And this community is basically a flop. It doesn’t work.

I should say that – this community was called, “The Community of the Ark.” [French]. And it didn’t last very long. So, these are the key dates. 1937 with Gandhi. 1948, first attempt to start a community. Which leads to a [Shek total] complete flop. In 57 to 63, he is involved in the torture Algerian issue. I’ll just put down here Algiers. One of the last gasps of old-fashioned colonialism in North Africa by European powers.

We have a much more sophisticated form of colonialism today. That’s part of our problem. Incidentally – I’m sort of interrupting myself. You’re used to that by now. In that film, there’s a very stunning episode where the general who’s in charge of the operations in Algiers, General Massoud, a historical figure. He’s being challenged by these journalists who come down from Paris and say, “We understand you’re practicing torture here.”

And he says, “Look, you guys, you sent me here to do a particular kind of job. I’m here to do a job. [French]. You have to accept all the consequences for what you did. You cannot send me out here and say, you know, ‘Defeat this country, but be nice.’ Once you send me out here to do it, I’m going to do it anyway that I can, and you are going to bear the full responsibility for the methods that I use.”

So, you can see why del Vasto, who is a very serious Catholic. This is one of the reasons that there isn’t a whole lot of connection between Trocmé, who’s only a few – maybe 4-500 kilometers away. And del Vasto – Trocmé’s community is protestant. Of course, that was part of the thing. It was a Huguenot department.

But he’s a very serious Catholic and he, in fact, said later on, “I went to Gandhi in order to become a better Christian.” Which was very smart. It shows you he had a modern understanding of what religions are.

Lanza del Vasto, the Catholic Church, and Anti-Militarism

Then in 1958 France announces that it’s doing the first atomic bomb. And they carried out protest actions. And this will be quite significant for the development of anti-militarism in Europe because throughout the 70s and the 80s it’s going to really reach a very dramatic climax around questions of the basing of middle range. What do they call

them? Strategic nuclear missiles in Europe. In fact, it was a very important organization in Holland. [E-cafal] The International Church Union in Holland which started these anti-nuclear protests in the early 80s. Partly after consultations with Daniel Ellsberg. So, it just shows you, once again, how people can seed each other with key ideas at the key moment. Get it into the right institution. In this case, the churches, and it can take off.

Okay, then in 1963, wrapping up the Algerian things, he undertakes a fast in Rome to demand that the Vatican Council condemn weapons of mass destruction in the acknowledgement of nonviolence. I think I translated that correctly. But anyway, nonviolence has got to be accepted by the council and they've got to come out against mass destructive weapons.

You might say that this was another [ashek], another failure. But in fact, in 1983, the American Catholic bishops joined by French Catholic bishops and the German Catholic bishops, all issued a statement called, "God's Challenge and Our Response." Saying that nuclear weapons could not be justified under just war teaching as it has come down to us from Ambrose Augustine and all the rest of them.

For one thing, proportional means are absurd if you're dropping an atomic on people. And so, therefore they were willing to accept it as a temporary measure while an actual policy could be developed. Of course, that's the problem. Once you've got a nice temporary umbrella, you go to sleep, and there's no policy and it's the same-old, same old.

But then we come down to 1972. So, this is the fast in Rome and there'll be several such. And here's where the story I particularly want to focus on begins. And that's what I'm calling the Larzac Satyagraha.

Just to give you an idea of what other things the Community of the Ark went on to do – this will last nine years, by the way. 1972 to 1981. 76 to 79, there were more anti-nuclear actions. 1983 – by this time, del Vasto is gone and there's a fast in Rome to renew the demand, get out the condemnation of nuclear weapons. And that's exactly the year when the Catholic bishops did come out with a statement saying that, "Well, okay, they're, okay for the time being."

In 1987, the same community – I'm going to say a little more about the community in a bit. The community got involved in an indigenous struggle. Namely, the [Kanakh] people who were not there – not on their geographical turf at all. So, this is – here we see, you know, just picking up all the threads of all the great – all the dimensions of the great anti-globalism struggle. They find themselves going from one to the next.

In 1990, they again tried to stop nuclear weapons. In 1991, they carried out a fast in Paris on the occasion of the Gulf War and they had an inter-religious prayer ceremony there in Paris, which has become one of the fairly characteristic events or happening that will take place at nonviolent uprisings these days.

And 1992 to 1995, various actions for peace in former Yugoslavia. And 1995, they joined with a very important Catholic radical organization called Pax Cristi to have

another inter-religious prayer service at UNESCO on the anniversary of – 50th anniversary of Hiroshima. And I'm afraid that's where my information ends. I don't know what they have been doing for the last ten years. But I do think the community is still in existence.

So, this community was started in 1963. [French] They bought 1200 acres in an area called, “[La Balenub],” which is in the Rhone Valley. In other words, it's an area that is famous for beavers and – what would that be? That wouldn't be Chardonnay, [Unintelligible 00:49:04]. What kind of wine would they be making over there? It's red, anyway. And it's darn good, but I can't remember what kind of it is.

Larzac and the Nonviolent Communities

Now, I have to go back a little bit to give the background for what's going to happen next. In an area that was not far from their community, way back in 1903, the government had set aside 3000 hectares. I think Hectares a little bit larger than acres. No, there's a little bit smaller actually. This is like 2. – no, no. No, no. I'm sorry. I take it back. I go back to my first guess. They were way bigger than acres. 2.4 acres per hectare.

So, 3000 hectares is about 10,000 acres that been set aside in 1903 for a military training field, okay? [Unintelligible 00:50:03] So, okay, that's going on. But in the January of 1971, the government announces that it's going to – sorry, sorry. October of 1970, the government announces that it's going to expand this thing from 3000 to 17,000 hectares. So, this is a huge land grab on the part of the government in 1970, when militarism is really not all that popular on the people.

And this would have put at risk – hold onto your seats now, this is going to be very serious – 325 tons of Roquefort cheese every year. So, that means we would be completely dependent on Holland for our cheese, which would be okay with me. I think their stuff is pretty good. Until California, of course, will come along and try to get into the act.

But seriously, there were 575 people who would have their livelihood just taken right out from under them. This whole area is sheep grazing and is sheep's milk being made into Roquefort. This has been going on for centuries. So, there were some protests. As is natural and expectable, but in response to the protests, in January of the following year, the government digs in and says, “Okay, you don't like 17,000, try 20. We're going to expand this and take away more land.”

And it's finally at this point early in 1972 that they called upon Lanza del Vasto who had – and he was a Gandhian disciple. And so, you see once again a very familiar pattern. And kind of a very successful one, where the leader does not invent the issue. It's like Martin Luther King coming and sort of putting his stamp of approval on the lunch counter sit-ins that were started by four students from the University of Greensboro, North Carolina.

It's actually pretty common that the issue comes up on the ground and the leader comes in to help organize it, inspire people, frame it, teach how to go about it. So, in this he's kind of a classic example of a third-party expert coming in because he, you know, basically he's almost indistinguishable from a Frenchman at this point.

I think in southern France they probably would have accepted him. Once you get up around Paris, you have to be Parisian for about three generations before you'll be regarded as a French person. But I think in the south, it's a little bit different. And so, he's basically French, but he's bringing – deliberately bringing Gandhi into play. And he feels that this community which he has set up in 63 is going to be an extremely important part of this.

And all of those of you who had PACS164A will not be the slightest bit surprised. You'll be delighted, but not surprised because this is a discovery that Gandhi made already in South Africa. 1904, 1910, he starts his first two communities in South Africa, later to be called ashrams when he goes to India. And we've discussed at length why they're so important.

The basic reason that I'd like to leave you with here is from the 70s onward, it's becoming slowly clear that for some reason big institutions aren't working. Corporate bookstores, corporate coffee, corporate health care, corporate universities. You now have this wonderful thing. "Oh, boy, the university just got half a billion dollars to study alternative energy. That's terrific until you discover that alternative energy means nuclear, genetically modified, all these things. Yes, this is going to be called, "The UC Satyagraha," is shaping up here.

But anyway, so the point that I'm making is – and I don't know why this is the case, but I think I do know why. For some funny reason, the big institutions which are hierarchical, top down, based on domination. And ones in which the human individual doesn't count for much. They're not working anymore. Because they know these big institutions, you have a department called, "Human resources," right? We've all heard about that. And very casual, "I work in HR. I'm an HR person."

Now, if Emanuel Kant were to come back here, you know, if we had a huge copy of the [Unintelligible 00:55:10]. And we waved a candle over it, and he would be invoked, I would ask him, "How do you feel about human resources?" He would be furious. Anyway, as furious as he could get. And he would say, "That a human being should never be treated as a means to an end. A human being is an end in himself."

We would even go onto say a human being is an end in herself. So, the reduction of the human being to a functionary in a non-human entity has its limits. And if you go about it the wrong way, it just will not work anymore. So, therefore, whole new forms of living and being together, new communities that are not dependent on nation states, which you can live close to nature and things like that, are critical nuclei from which the new world that I hope you end up living in is going to come.

So, he defined his community as a voluntary association of converted persons. You know, in his case, that meant converted to the basic principles of the Christian faith.

Community of the Ark and Farmers of Larzac

And here is the charter of the Ark. Following Gandhi and Lanza del Vasto, the members of the Ark have made the choice of nonviolence which is rooted in – what do we call it? Inner work. [French]. Will work on oneself. Naglerian “Person power.”

And on a spiritual – let’s see – [French] means research, but it also means pursuit. Spiritual pursuits – yeah. They choose – there are four basic things. To service and sharing. To open themselves to service and sharing. To live simply. To respect all life. And to act for justice and peace by nonviolent means.

So, we have two very important pluses in our situation here. We have an astute individual who’s been with Gandhi, who’s rather charismatic. He was a cool guy to meet, actually. Sitting there with his sheep’s wool, rough hewn thing in San Francisco and his big white beard. He was cool. I really liked him.

And you have his expertise, but it’s a sort of gentle expertise, which is politically okay. It’s PC. And you have a community where people have been practicing the future. And the means by which the future is going to be built. So, these are two huge pluses.

And the minute he enters on the scene, people who have been holding back in their protest because something in them says that, you know, getting down your old hunting rifle and going against the French army is neither strategic nor principled. And they’re hesitating. They don’t know how to join the movement. The minute it becomes nonviolent under his direction, the ranks swell. You have a lot more people.

In March of 1972, 109 farmers who had been threatened with an imminent expulsion got together. And 103 out of the 109 – which is better numbers than Gandhi ever got, I think, but who’s counting? 103 out of 109 swore that they will never sell or alienate their land, okay? So, probably, you’re dealing with a mix of motives here that are, you know, partly excellent, partly self-less, partly, you know, looking to the big picture, and partly just sticking up for oneself because farmers do not like to lose their land.

They are – they feel that their land is part of them, and they can’t just get up and truck somewhere else. It has particularly agonizingly true in many parts of the less-developed world. But it’s even true in West Marin County, where I live. It’s a highly developed area. My criterion is they have lattes. And yet, when one of the supervisors wanted to take some land and put it in – actually, it was ridiculous because they wanted to put it into agriculture in perpetuity. Take it away from the ownership of the farmers.

The farmers got all upset and said, “Who’s going to feed you if you take away the land from the farmers?” Well, the fact is, they hadn’t produced an ounce of food in about 47 years. They just didn’t want to lose their land. And another issue was the provincialism,

your southern French person who's a very, very warm, accommodating, friendly person is also very suspicious of foreigners.

And these were the days of NATO. And a lot of these French farmers down there were saying, "I will die before one Englishman sets foot on my soil." So, they're kind of fighting from our perspective. But I do think we have a mix of these personal motives and the bigger picture and understanding that they are somewhat connected.

And they formed an organization for the campaign which was a very good idea. Lanza del Vasto went on with these 103 farmers, starts to introduce concepts of nonviolent action in a very systematic way.

Days of Joy and Farmer's Protest in Paris

In April of 1972, April 2nd and 3rd, they declared an action and invited people to come and join them. And it turned into what they call, "Days of Joy." [French]. See, the French would be pretty good at something like this. And thousands of people came from all over France.

A lot of them were sort of a new phenomenon now. Nonviolence tourism. You've heard of ecotourism. This is satyagraha tourism, where people come to sort of see what's going on and get a flavor for it. And the headquarters in the community sends out lots and lots of posters and collects signatures. And for the next few months, there's just waves of resistance spreading throughout the country.

Now, the first major demonstration or action occurs on July 14th. [French] Why July 14th? Yes, it's of course, French Independence Day. And what they did was march to Rodez, which is the capital city of the department and the bishopric. 20,000 people are on this march. And a whole bunch of tractors. People, tractors, and sheep are going to become the key players for the next phase of the satyagraha.

And it prompted the prefecture of the department to begin an inquiry into what he's calling, "Public use of the land." Public use meaning being taken over by the military. And in October, they do their first public appeal by way of what you saw referred to as nonviolence of the deed. Five farmers and 60 sheep drove to the Eiffel Tower and the farmers started to pasture their sheep on the grass around the Eiffel Tower. I actually remember seeing pictures of this in the newspapers.

The police arrived and ordered the sheep to get into paddy wagons. The sheep, being sheep, [Unintelligible 01:04:05]. They did not obey. And this leads to two hours of discussion. You can just imagine the amount of press coverage. You hear the gendarmes trying to round up the sheep. They only obey the farmers and their own dogs. It was a terrific ploy. I mean it was one of these staged symbolic actions that we've been reading about which was very, very successful.

So, after two hours of discussion and much press coverage the farmers were escorted to the outskirts of the city. And one thing that stays in everybody's mind and is going to

be very important and you will immediately understand why, is the discipline. Even the sheep would only obey the lead sheep.

But more seriously, it was non-disruptive, not impolite. It was very well-disciplined, planned, and carried out. And this immediately conveys a message to the people that we are not talking about Danny the Red running through the streets of Paris digging up the stones from cobblestones from the street and throwing them through the windows of the police station, right?

Now, I don't know. You know, maybe you have no objection to this sort of thing. I don't know where I stand on it. But for the average French, [French], you know, every French person dispelled chaos and disruption. And what these farmers were doing was very, very different. And there's a big tilt as a result of this demonstration to give them favor in the eyes of the public.

Nonetheless, despite all this, at the end of that year, 72, the prefecture that is the regional government, decides that they can take the land after all. The military can take the land. And given your sense of dynamics of what's going on here, what do you think will be the result? Catherine? No.

Law of Progression and Paradox of Repression

So, you sort of see what I'm leading up to? You have the people – are doing their thing very well step by step, you know. They're building it up step by step. They're staying on track. So, the law of – that's right, the law of progression is probably happening. The police and the government start to feel pressured. So, they overreact. What's going to happen? Paradox of repression is clearly – if they would ever ask us, which they never do. Hello, are you out there?

Never ask us. This is totally predictable. And it's exactly what happened. So, you – the imagination is all on the side of the protesters. And so, what's now actually going on is that even though it was the government that started it with their atrocity, you know, we're going to hugely expand this military base, run you people off. No more Roquefort cheese for the good people of San Francisco.

They started it and defined the issue, but what you'll see is that the protesters under Lanza del Vasto's direction are taking the initiative. So, they're being proactive and crafting the way that the government is going to have to confront them. And that means that they're setting the government up for a paradox of repression dynamic.

Next year, in January, after careful preparation and many, many, many road signs and placards, 26 tractors head for Paris. This is a convey. The police surrounded the tractors during the night of the 11th of January at [Unintelligible 01:08:12] where Joan of Arc crowned the Dauphin, the king of France. And so, what did the farmers decide to do? The tractors were immobilized. They decided, "We will walk the rest of the way." It's very – this is [Fermasa permanente]. This is very nonviolent response.

I've gone on record as saying that if you launch some kind of nonviolent action, you want to either carry it to a win/win confrontation where if they repress you and stop you, they will be the worse for it because they will look bad in the eyes of the referenced publics.

Or you want to make sure you can carry this thing onto the end. Because if you start something and they stop you, you're going to lose momentum and you're going to display an apparent weakness in nonviolence.

Dedication and Timing

It's harsh to say that, but I am thinking particularly of a – there was a besieged city in Kosovo in the mid – in the early 90s. And people in there were starving. The city was called Drenica. And people from Pristina and elsewhere, the women, decided to bake bread and take it to Drenica.

So, this is – they had everything going for them. You know, it was women. They're your best nonviolent warriors. It's bread, which is very concrete, but also symbolic. They're taking it to starving people. So, you'd have to be pretty inhumane to stop them. Everything is going for them. But on the road to Drenica, they encountered a line of police and they turned around and walked back.

Now, there were some people who were talking to us at that time. We said, "You know, you shouldn't have turned back." And they said, "Well, you don't know what those Serb policemen are like." And then our attitude was, "Then you shouldn't have gone." Much better not to do it than to try and see if the opponent will cave in. And if he or she doesn't, then you go back.

I realize this is very harsh to say that. You know, here I am sitting here in this comfortable community surrounded by lattes. And I'm telling people they should go get their beat in. But I'm not exactly saying that. I'm just saying, you know, wait until you're really, really ready to do this before you do it. If you're not ready, I bet you can find something else that you are ready for until you build up the courage and the strength and the wisdom to do the all or nothing thing. So, the timing of this is very important.

So, that's why I think it's just super that they get off their tractors and proceed walking to Paris. And it's like the Salt March down to the sea. And it's like that famous sequence in Viva Zapata. I don't know if you all saw that movie. See, in my day, there was like maybe five movies a year that you'd really consider seeing. So, you saw all the good ones. And if Marlon Brando was in them, you definitely saw all of them.

And Viva Zapata was a tremendous movie. There was a scene in there where they arrest him and they're taking him down to, I guess, the capital of the state. And peasants start coming out of the forest to join him. By the time he gets down there, they turn around to untie him and there's, you know, tens of thousands of people as far as the eye can see.

So, this march on Paris in January of 73 starts taking on that character. And then another thing happens. And again, this is a point where I'm going to pause and give you a significant look. And you're going to shoot your hands up and compete for telling us why this is important and what the technical term is called.

Okay. Here's my – here's your clue. Tick, tick, tick.

APAL and Constructive Program

They founded the APAL or League for the Development of Larzac. That would be [French]. I don't know exactly what it stands for in French. And they decide that they're not just a protest movement, but if you look at the educational system in the district, the government has been neglecting it. The schools are not very good. They're going to build schools. They're going to build all kinds of handicraft leagues and things like that. Okay. Start waving your hands wildly. Yes, Zoe?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:12:47]

Michael: Yes, yes. So, I hope you don't feel I'm treating you like a little bit like a puppet, but in your responses to "*Bringing Down a Dictator*," I thought that was very, very good. I really like the way you're catching on to seeing the basic principles in the individual activities.

So, here you suddenly have something which the government would have no purchase on. They can't go in there and say, "You cannot have a league that builds schools. I don't want you having meetings and things like that." They cannot touch it. It's non-confrontational. But the fact is, you and I know, that they're building up much greater strengths for the next protest, if they have to have one.

So, I'm not going to be able to quite finish this, but that's okay. We'll carry on next time.

Civil Disobedience

In April of 73, more than 50 farmers returned their [French], their military service papers. You know, every red-blooded French male is issued these service papers which start the process of your induction into the military. And here they actually take their papers and hand them in.

So, what's the new element here? This is a little bit subtler than my constructive program thing, but I think you ought to spot it. I will give you a hint. Yeah, John?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:14:26]

Michael: This is civil disobedience. Right. It's not against the law to get into your tractor and drive to Paris. It's a pain in the butt. It slows down the traffic. But there's no law that says you can't drive on the public road with your tractor. There's no law that says you cannot pasture your sheep at the [Unintelligible 01:14:43]. But there is a law that says you cannot hand back your papers. This is very much like the [Hamal 01:14:52] in South

Africa when they burned their passes. And you remember in the movie, someone saying those passes are government property. You can't destroy them.

And one – it's on this occasion where one of these French farmers says, "No English soldier here on my land." More seriously he said, "This is what I fought for in WWII. This freedom that you're now taking away from me."

So, I'll stop here for – let me go a little bit further. In August – again, we're still in 1973, there's a mass demonstration in Larzac. And it is participated in by farmers, of course, and students, and intellectuals. And I would imagine that some of the students were intellectuals. And some of the intellectuals may still have been students. But this is significant for what reason?

I don't know that I quite have a technical term for this one. Maybe we should come up with one. Marcella?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:16:09]

Michael: Right. You're going to different sectors. Right. Which is where the traditional left kind of failed in the 30s because they stood up for worker's rights. And there was this whole new class of [French]. You know, upper bourgeoisie echelons who were not factory workers. These are the people who would go onto found Hewlett Packard and things like that.

And so, the kind of appeal and the kind of issues that the laborers were striking for were restricted to their community. But here, they're starting to touch on a chord which is bringing in other elements of the civilization. It's much more important than just more people. It means that there must be some basic issue involved. These people are not just struggling for their own rights, for their own advantages.

And you remember the moment when that happens in Gandhi's career? Remember that from PACS164A? And again, it's not unlike this thing, that in the sense that they didn't plan for it, they didn't go into the universities and say, "We got to have students." Just had a broader appeal. Alex, do you remember?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:17:24]

Michael: That's right. And then the women shortly got the laborers involved who had not been involved before. So, it's going in the opposite direction now. Which is kind of interesting, that you have the indigenous people and the farmers who spread their resistance to other sectors of the society. Okay, well, I'm going to stop here in terms of going through the story. But let me just give you a preview. Okay, a preview of coming attractions. Because I go to movies, and I know that you're supposed to do this.

Larzac Review

The reason that I have chosen this satyagraha is partly because it's typicality in the way that it picked one issue which may have seemed pretty local. But eventually, ended up

going to the heart of the big struggle. Call it globalism or whatever we call it. It was typical in that regard. Typical in that it started with a local indigenous affected group.

Maybe not so typical, unfortunately, we wish this would be happening more, but it does happen some in that it had an expert who came from the outside to play a very critical role. And that you had a community already built to do this. Those things were not typical.

One other – I can't leave you hanging here in suspense. They won. In 1981 the army had to back down. So, that's where we're going to next time. And then we'll talk about some of the other reform movements that you have in your reader.

Akhmed, could I see you for just a second?

[PACS164B Lecture 12](#)

Michael: Good morning everyone. I am not entirely sure what's going to happen today. Except I think that it will undoubtedly be wonderful. As you know, we're – probably around 10:00 or 10:30 or something like that, we'll have a visitor or more than one from these very exciting events that are going on in Costa Rica. And I won't say much about it until that time because they can give the background, and everything better than I can.

And what I'm going to try to do, left to my own devices, is wrap up the story of the [Larzac campaign](#). And then go onto consider some of the other anti-militarism campaigns that took place elsewhere in Europe, especially looking at a couple of chapters in nonviolent social movements. So, that's my plan. If you have other plans, let me know. But let's get back to our story.

We were approximately – oh, I actually have a couple of announcements also. There's – tonight at 7:00 PM there's a concert benefiting [Neve Shalom/Wahat Al-Salam](#) which is at bi-racial high school – one of the longest, the oldest of its type. This is an interesting kind of nonviolence institution that we haven't, I think, touched on yet. But communities where you try to bring together especially young people from rival communities, see if they can resolve their conflicts.

We even do that here at Berkeley. We have a course in Peace and Conflict Studies where, for example, we bring Indian and Pakistani students in – could do this with Armenians and Turks, who knows? And use the neutral turf of the university as a place where they can resolve their conflict with one another and then go back home and use those techniques on the ground, so to speak. So, that's the idea.

And there was a [Camaldolese](#) priest, I think, named [Bruno Hussar](#) who in the 50s decided that he had to leave France and go to Palestine and set up this school where they would have exactly half Israeli and Palestinian kids. And now, there's about eight or ten experiments like that that are going on in the Holy Land. They are – I think our sense is now that they are a very good step, but they are not enough because you get these children together. They have a wonderful time. They form these friendships very easily. And then you send them back out into the apartheid situation that they came from, and it doesn't hold up.

And there's a very heartrending documentary film called, "[Promises](#)," which is based on that. But in itself, the experiment is terrific. And the earliest one, probably the most successful, is Neve Shalom/Wahat Al-Salom which means, "Oasis of Peace." And there's a musical event taking place here in Berkeley benefiting that tonight. And then I wanted to remind you that next Wednesday, we're having the two speakers from Belén which is probably the active hotspot for direct nonviolent resistance against Israeli plans. And we're going to have a special reception for them that evening for us. Okay?

And then there's a talk called, "Sacred hospitality between religions." And I'll just put this out. This is – Carrie? I think this is kind of a pretty graphic. So, enjoy and possibly even go to the talk.

Larzac - Escalating to Fasting

Okay, so we're going to get back to Larzac and I've chosen it because – well, because I met [Shantidas](#), so it gives me kind of a personal connection. But also, because it is an unusual example of a sustained campaign that succeeded and was seminal for a whole movement that swept through Europe. And particularly Germany and the decade after, the anti-nuclear movement, which took on a slightly different character because the people of Larzac were opposed to French Nuclearization.

But a new element was added later on in Europe when the Americans wanted to base their missiles on Europe because, you know, the old idea, "Let's you and him fight." Slightly easier to destroy Russia from European soil than from American soil for technical reasons. Starting with the Dutch and rapidly and vehemently joined by the Germans, there was a feeling that we don't want these things on our soil, and it was a typically mixed motive thing.

It was partly anti-violence, and we just don't want these weapons. We don't want to help you be so violent. A certain degree of that. But certainly, also there's a feeling among Germans in particular that hey, you know, it's 1985 now. WWII is over now. And we're not just here for you to kick around. I remember one German journalist talking about being at the UN and having the East German minister get up speaking in fluent Russian, and then the West German minister get up speaking in fluent English. And they're losing their whole culture. And they just didn't want to be a patsy for the Americans.

I mean are we blaming them? No. But we're saying that in itself, this was different from saying that I'm opposed to violence. I don't think it works. Anyway, it got very big, and it did prevent the deployment of some missiles. And all of that came from Larzac. Other things came from Larzac also. And in other ways too, it kind of helps because it seems to represent every major issue that we think is important in the development of nonviolence since Gandhi and King. And we did a very good job last time talking – spotting these things as they came along. So, let's just continue.

I was down to November of 1978 and two things happen almost simultaneously. There is a foot march to Paris, constantly going up to Paris from Larzac plateau in the Dordogne. And that was the march of 710 kilometers which is, you know, not a joke. It's a little bit longer than Gandhi's March to the Sea. And people knew how to do that by then. And at the same time, there was a judicial order issued that people had to vacate the land that they had designated to take over for the expansion of the military base.

So, there's an expansion – an escalation, I guess, is the word I'm looking for – escalation on both sides. In response to this, 13 men and women get together in the Cathedral of Rodez. I should be putting some of these words on the board, I guess. I think it's feminine. Amy, is it La Dordogne or Le Dordogne? Okay. And that's the region that we're talking about. And of course – that's the department. And the commune is Larzac. And one of the capital cities in the area is Rodez. And it has a cathedral there. And so, 13 men and women gathered to go to do a fast in the cathedral.

At this point, fasting and demonstrations spread rapidly. And that's one of the things that you really want to happen, but it's so very difficult to predict and control. And it spread into 100 departments. We had people doing sympathy fasts and demonstrations and so forth.

Satyagraha Fasting

So, by the way, Alex and Amy have just done some wonderful contributions to the Metta website. I want to reinforce that as a useful resource for us, but what makes the connection in my mind now is this question of the fast. We discussed it a lot last semester. It's considered the most powerful technique in the arsenal, if you want to call it that, of nonviolent – the nonviolence repertoire. The most powerful thing that you can do is lay down your life.

And one way to do that with enough time that the opponent can respond, is by fasting. You know, it's not like dowsing yourself with gasoline and by the time they know about it, it's all over and you just made this statement, whatever kind of statement that is. And that's something we can also discuss.

But for fasting, it was a technique that Gandhi used often, probably about 12 or 13 really major fasts that he went on. And in the course of his career, he developed a regular [set of guidelines](#) for doing it. And so, the question before us is did these people do the right thing? Was it the right guidelines? So, did they follow the rules of the game? And again, we're trying not to be judgemental. We're trying to be analytical because – A – who are we to sit on judgment on people who are, you know, losing their livelihoods and risking their life to protect it? We're not sitting in judgment on anybody.

Anyway, our judgment on 'judgment' is that it's not acceptable. But we want to be analytical. The other reason we want to be analytical rather than judgmental is when you're writing your papers, this will be a very important modality to keep in mind. Okay, so Catherine, you want to start us off?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:10:36]

Michael: Okay, that's a very good question too. Are we talking about the 13 original fasters there in Rodez which is the sort of the spiritual capital of the movement at this point and where it intersects with the public, or the other people who joined them? I guess we're talking about the whole enchilada. Michael?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:10:58]

Michael: I don't think it was a fast unto death, but it probably was – it also certain was not a time limited fast. They weren't saying, "We're going to fast for 10 days." I mean they were probably saying, "We're going to fast until you rescind that order." Not specified, you know, dot dot, where it will lead to.

And in one case there was a person recently, I think it's in Oaxaca where there's been some very, very interesting uprisings. And I haven't dragged them in here yet because they're not entirely nonviolent. And I don't know a whole lot about them, actually, but it's an extremely interesting thing going on in that city. And there's a guy there that fasted for 71 days. So, that's a lot of beans and tortillas to go without. John?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:11:58]

Michael: Interesting issue John is raising here. Again, it's one that I hadn't considered, but I'm not proud. Yeah, inherently, for fasting to work well, it should not depend on numbers. There are times when groups have to do it, like [Guantanamo](#). Like [Long Kesh Prison](#), which we talked about last semester in the Irish uprising. We mostly decided that that was not according to the rules of the game.

Rules of Fasting

But inherently, it's – a human being has to make this decision for him or herself. I mean the one thing you absolutely cannot do is coerce other people into fasting, right? That would completely backfire. So, it's a deeply personal commitment that has to be made.

And that leads us to the first criterion, I suppose, which in the famous [list of five](#), the one I'm putting first right now is that you have to be the right person to do it. And that means two things. It has a strategic interpretation, and it has a principled interpretation. I'll give you the strategic one because, you know, sort of the throw-away anyway. And then we'll talk about the deeper meaning of, you know, risking your life and doing it in a way that works.

And okay, just let me bracket that for a second. When I say that it works, it means that it's persuasive and it awakens the conscience of the opponent, okay? If it doesn't work, it means one of two things. The opponent doesn't budge, but the opponent budes, gives you what he or she wants, but with a resentment. Okay? So, [that's coercive](#).

So, in order for it to work, the person doing it has to be the right person, and that means two things. It has to be a person who has visibility, some clout. You know, you hear that some Joe Blow is fasting somewhere, and everybody says, "Oh, well, that's too bad." Or now this is somewhat tongue in cheek, but you may remember that final very, very dramatic scene from the [Attenborough movie](#) where Gandhi is fasting and [Sardar Patel](#) comes in. Patel is a little bit overweight, and Gandhi says to him kind of facetiously, "You should join me in this fast. It would do you some good." And Patel says, "When I fast, they let me die. When you fast, they stop rioting." Arby?

Student: Is it necessary for the person to, like, originally be a visible figure? [Unintelligible 00:15:01].

Michael: Anyway, the issue is very clear. Is the strategic issue – the strategic issue is do you stand a chance of reaching your opponent? And you have to be a person that has some authority and some status in order to do this. But Arby is raising another very interesting point. If you don't have respect, if you don't have status, if you're not considered fully human by your opponent, that doesn't mean that nonviolence is ruled out. I mean you can gain these things by being nonviolent. My favourite example of that is when Jimmy Carter became president. The first thing he did was he brought [Rosa Parks](#) up from the south to be fated in the White House.

And he said, "If it weren't for you, I would not be president because you brought dignity to the south." I mean being a northerner, I didn't even realize they lacked dignity. But they felt that very keenly. And by having been the venue of a conspicuous nonviolent courageous movement, it raised the prestige of the southern region throughout the United States. And of the United States, throughout the world for that reason. We've reversed all of that now. Don't worry.

Okay, but now does anyone remember me talking about the deeper – especially if we are talking about a serious fast where you're risking your life or willing to lay it down, what being the right person really means. This is one comment I had to add to your essay, Alex. I'm not sure you saw this or not. I hope you don't mind. Does anyone want to venture a thought about that? Let me, while you're thinking, let me share with you a story and if I've already told you this, I apologize in advance, but that's how it goes.

I'm pretty sure I did tell you about it actually not long ago. A friend of mine who was in Vietnam, he was polluted by Agent Orange and contracted a brain tumor and was being kept alive on life support. His wife, and his daughter, visiting him everyday. And at one point he says, "Okay, this is enough. I don't want this anymore. Unplug me." So, they unplugged him from his life support. And guess what? About five, six hours later he comes roaring back saying, "Plug me back in!"

So, what am I getting at here? John?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:17:55]

Michael: It has a lot to do with the fact that Gandhi had a little voice from God telling him to do this. But suppose you don't believe in God – God-forbid. Or you don't believe in God as an external speaker, how could we interpret this, Joanna?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:18:17]

Michael: Yes. That's what I was getting at. Did you want to add something?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:18:25]

Michael: You're strong enough to overcome or have some actual control over your will to live, which is a very thing difficult to reach, you know? You have lots of people – well, here's another story, just to drive the point home. That's what teachers do, they drive home points. There was a British retired military person who was living in a spiritual community in South India where one of the greatest sages of modern times was the saint there, [Ramana Maharshi](#). And this man, Colonel Osborne, was riding his bicycle on the top of [Arunachala](#) which is a pretty high little mountain for [Tamil Nadu](#).

And he started back for the Ashram, so he's heading his bike down the hill. And as he's shooting downhill on his bicycle in a very good mood, he felt sort of blissed out. And I mean after all, you're living with the greatest saint in India. There's a lot of things to feel go about. He has a sweet little daughter and all the rest of it. And up comes the 2 o'clock bus, chugging, trudging up the hill about – I don't know, 30 or so miles an hour, maybe.

Osborne – so the idea dawned on him, "I'm in such a good mood. All I have to do is on the handlebars – I can end it here and I don't have to be unhappy ever again." But he didn't, for some funny reason that he was not in touch with at that moment. And he got back to the Ashram and asked the guru did he do the right thing? And he said, "You certainly did the right thing not to kill yourself because on the surface of your mind, you were blissed out. But as soon as the body started to really be pulled away, you would have panicked, and you would have been really desperately sorry that you had made that stupid move."

So, I'm emphasizing the seriousness of being able to voluntarily put your life on the line at such a deep level that it's a meaningful choice. And you are not at some point in the process going to say, "I give up. Bring me some granola. This is all over." So, that's the first criterion. Let's just run through all five of them and we'll see how we feel about these fasters. Though, to be sure, we don't know a heck a lot about them. Yeah, Andrea?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:20:59]

Michael: Yeah, very possibly. The second criterion is similar to the first. And that is not only do you have to be the right person to do the fast, the reference public against whom the fast is directed has to be well-chosen also. And using Gandhi's famous term, you can only fast against a lover. That means somebody who cares whether you live or die so that they can be reached by this. And while we're at it, it's perfectly possible that that criterion wasn't met here because it's hard to gauge the attitude of the government and the military at this point.

Okay, Number 3, Joanna?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:21:46]

Michael: Okay. Oh, I mean this could be Number 3 or Number 5. It doesn't really matter. Remember, I'm a humanities person. I can't handle numbers larger than four anyway. But it has to be the last resort. Because it is so liable to misinterpretation because it can exert a lot of power on the opponent. And in all things concerning nonviolence, you never want to go faster and harder than you have to.

You always want to give the opponent the maximum choice to get it. To wake up and say, "Oh, now I understand." And that way, you've got a real persuasion and that's permanent. And in fact, if I had a little checklist of three or four things that I would tell the peace movement, which I do, actually. It's called my website. One of the things I would constantly tell them is the timing. Don't go faster than you need to because then you're implying that the opponent will not listen instead of giving them the maximum opportunity to listen, okay?

So, it has to be the last resort and we'll go back systematically and consider whether we think it was or not, fourth criterion for now. Okay, hold on a second Catherine.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:23:14]

Michael: It has to be a doable demand, yeah. I mean it has to be realistic. I always talk about these two people who fasted in Washington D.C. to get Gorbachev and Eisenhower to stop the arms race. You know, that's just not realistic. You got millions and millions of people, billions and billions of dollars who are all – this very intense momentum to do this thing. You can't just expect them to snap out of it.

And okay, we got one more. This is going very well. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:23:44]

Michael: Yes. It has to be consistent with the movement. So, you think of those Irish hunger strikers in Long Kesh. Here they were out, you know, dynamiting probably Catholic churches and kneecapping people and doing all of this rather not nonviolent stuff. And then when they had no other recourse, suddenly they're going on a hunger strike. Well, you just can't expect that to be very impressive.

Okay, let's start with the last mentioned criterion. Does it look to you like this was consistent with the rest of the movement? I'm seeing nods of approval. I guess the camera is not picking them up, but yes, they're all nodding in approval. I think this is a no-brainer, this one is. Because this is one of the most uncontaminated – in accordance with Nagler's Law – uncontaminated nonviolent campaigns that we're ever going to be considering this whole semester.

There is, as far as I can remember, having read a fair number of accounts of the Larzac campaign, in the whole 9 1/2 years, I'm not aware of even a single episode of violence by any definition, except maybe of course, what goes on in the heart. I mean we're not saying that people didn't have any resentment or stuff like that. But in terms of behaviour, there are no Molotov cocktails we need to worry about as we did with the Intifada.

There is no ambiguous stone throwing where we have to decide whether this is defiance or an attempt to harm. None of that went on, thanks to our hero, our leader [Lanza del Vasto](#). Okay, so that criterion, I think we're really in good shape.

Let's go back to the beginning. Do you think it was the right people? Sort of a trick question in a way because how the hell would we know? I mean we would really have to know those people and know something about them. I mean this whole theory that nonviolence is possible at a deep sustained level is predicated on the fact that ordinary people are capable of rising to incredible heights. And we know that when challenged people can do that.

Again, my iconic anecdote in this regard is the woman in San Francisco, her son or little young, 4 or 5-year-old son is playing outside. Suddenly, she hears a huge noise outside. She runs out. A car has tipped over. Her son is pinned under the car. And everybody is running around panicking. They didn't have 911 yet. What are we going to do? Get a crowbar? Call a tow truck. All these big strong men are running around like chickens without their heads, wondering what to do.

The mother ran over to the car and grabs hold of the bumper and picks the damn thing up by one end so the men can get her son out from under it. Then lets the car drop – and probably collapsed at that point. But if you had asked that woman, "Can you pick up a Ford Falcon?" she would say, "No, are you crazy? I can't even pick up a Ritrovo Citroen or a little Fiat or maybe a skateboard, but that's about it." But you know, when put to it, as Shakespeare says, "We can do incredible things."

So, I think I'll just have to leave that one a question mark. It may have been among them, people who by that time were so committed that they felt that this was a question of do or die. And they could carry that down to a deep level in their consciousness and they may have been right. It gets more dubious as the circle spreads out to the wider and wider people. Okay, that's two criteria. We've already heard from Joanna that she doesn't think that the regime was a lover. Wasn't that you who said that? No? Okay.

We're all one anyway. We're all going to get one big grade at the end of the semester once I decide what it is. But yeah, probably not 100% okay on the lover criterion either. How about timing, last resort? From what we know of the situation. Michael?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:28:20]

Michael: Pretty good I would say. Given the fact that the judiciary had just ordered people off the land. And that was in response to a big demonstration. So, what does that tell us in terms of the famous escalation curve, anyway? Remember, intensity of conflict versus time. We have this famous curve. I mean famous to me. And we divide it into stages. This stage is characterized by what? Anybody remember? This, everybody should have seen because it's on Page 108 of my book. Alex?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:29:06]

Michael: Appeals to reason still works. So, you do conflict resolution here. That's a C for conflict resolution. And they had just had how many kilometers? 710 kilometer march with thousands of people. This was not the first time they had done that. And the regime responds by saying, "Okay. We'll make it worse." So, obviously, we're not in the zone anymore. We have to be doing satyagraha. The question is, which is going to mean in this case civil disobedience, the question is, "Are we here yet?" which means you have to be willing to risk your life.

And that is, I think I would agree, Michael, this probably was pretty good, but not – it's not 100% certain. I think if people were very, very clever and had really good leadership, I bet they could have figured out other things that they might have done and reserved the fast until really, really last minute. Catherine?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:30:12]

Michael: That's very interesting. How to compare this dynamic, how to correlate this dynamic that we're talking about here and the timing of everything with the [paradox of repression](#) dynamic. That's an interesting question. I guess what you're suggesting is that you want to do something like that in such a setting that it will evoke the paradox of repression and not that they will ignore you. That would be an interesting test, if you had done the timing right, they would try to crack down or back down. It's a win/win situation for you and for the opponent, eventually.

I think we've done four out of five or have we done all five? I think we've done all five. Yeah. No? Doable. Is the demand doable? Obviously, yeah. All they're asking him to do is rescind a silly order that they just put in. So, yeah.

Assessment of Fasting of Larzac

Now, I guess, you know, if we wanted to really give them a weighted average or something, we would say, "They got 3.5 out of 5 rules." And by modern criteria, I think that's pretty darn good. By and large, I think most fasts are ill-advised, that have happened since Gandhi and King. But occasionally, not. But for certain, it is that if people really knew how the dynamic worked and how to use it, they could make it much more effective. So, okay, very good. This is very helpful. The farmers at this point sent a delegation on to Paris to speak to the president of the republic. Le Président de la République, [Giscard d'Estaing](#) who refused to receive them.

But when they arrived in Paris, 50,000 people turned out to greet them. So, this was the kind of high point of the solidarity and support from the general population. Meanwhile, they did – actually, given that the obstructive program was at an impasse, they did exactly the right thing which was to go and do more CP and they started building hospitals, but where did they build them? Can you guess? Andrea? On their land. They built it on land that was condemned. So, you have a perfect blend – or synergism of constructive and obstructive work.

Because now, look, if they want to come in and clear you off the land, they have to wreck a hospital to do that. That's not going to make them look too, too good. So, that was a very smart move. I think we can give them a five out of five on that one. And at that point they began long negotiations with the minister of defence.

So, maybe we could – talking about that fast again, maybe what we should say is this, in so far as the fast helped put them in a better bargaining position with the minister of defence, the timing was perfect. If the fast was intended to solve the question by itself, it was premature because they had some bargaining yet to do.

And sometimes, you know, we err in assuming that the opponent will not physically sit down and listen to us, and this is a very big mistake. I remember during the Free Cuba days, the Free Cuba committee, this is bound up with some terribly dark stories in the history of this country and I don't want to go into the whole thing, but there was this group that was planning to assassinate the president of the United States, not because they had anything particular against him, but so that they could have their day in court. And the [Fair Play for Cuba Committee](#) could address the public because the media were ignoring them.

And needless to say, I am not in favor of this technique. It doesn't come under any allowable exception for nonviolence. But more to the point, one of the people who was part of this plot to go and kill the president so he could talk to his congressman said, "Hmm, maybe I could just go and talk to my congressman." So, he went and said, "I'd like to talk to the congressman." And they said, "Sure, come in." So, that was a much, much cheaper way of getting there.

So, okay, we're in negotiations and that's very good.

Resistance to Military Service for International Attention

But at the same time a thousand farmers decide to hand in their military papers, the famous [papier militaire](#) which were sung about in many French ballads. And here's a very clever move I want you to comment on. They decided to hand them to the UN, and they did. Intéressant n'est-ce pas? So, what are we talking about here given that there's no [European Union](#) yet? Maastricht is just a small city in the south of Holland where people go to college. What is the significance of this move in various levels?

This is going to lead, I think, to a very interesting discussion, but only if it leads to some discussion. Michael?

Student: Involves a third party.

Michael: Yeah, it expands the circle. Involves a third party, and what a third party. You know, they didn't – okay, [Peace Brigades International](#) doesn't exist yet either. That's just a few years down the road, but it's not like they handed them into the French office of the Red Cross or like the War Resistor's League. What they did – well, why am I making such a fuss about the fact that it's the UN? What's going on here? Not being Europeans, it may be a little hard for us to grasp this.

See, what I'm getting at here is that they didn't just go beyond the two parties to a third party, which they certainly did, they went above the nation state. You know, the argument on the part of the government is this is – I almost said, [French]. Certainly not that. This is eminent domain. This is about the fact that the national government trumps individual needs. And they're saying the national government is not the highest law on the planet either.

And so, this is a tremendous enlargement of the frame. So, it was an extremely clever move that I think probably Lanza del Vasto did. And it gets us to another question within the whole movement. Maybe I'll put that off a little bit until we hit it again. And incidentally, there wasn't – here's another neat thing. It wasn't their first idea. They wanted to hand it in to the defense minister and he refused to accept them. So, they said, "Okay, we'll give them to the UN. So, this is example number 942 of an oppressive regime doing something to make things worse for the resistor, only to find that it backfires.

I guess maybe our very first example we ever considered in this whole sequence was when in 1909 Gandhi wrote [Hind Swaraj](#) in Gujarati and the British Raj refused to allow it to be published. So, he said, “Okay, I’ll publish it in English,” where it was read by millions more people. And now it’s still a world classic to this day. And if you’re doing your thing right and you’re doing – you’re bringing in the law of progression. Everything is building nicely for you, a lot of these things will probably happen. Yeah, Arby?

Student: Do you think that like kind of – like the significance of giving it to the U.N. would be that maybe the resisters [unintelligible 00:38:52]

Michael: Okay, Arby’s question is, “Do I think that the handing of the documents up to the U.N. was because the farmers felt that the thing could not be solved within the country. I don’t think so because it was perfectly possible for the government to just back down and say, “Okay, this isn’t such a great idea.” Mind you, governments don’t like to do that, you know. They lose face, whatever that is.

But you remember one of the earliest in history – example – probably that we considered ever was the attempt to put a statue of Caligula in the Jewish temple in Jerusalem in around 36, I think. And there’s this huge uprising and the local guard of the Syrian Army who’s in charge of the area, he sends a letter to Caligula saying, “Maybe we should back down. This isn’t such a good idea right now.” Caligula immediately ordered him to commit suicide. Thus, getting himself assassinated. And our story ends relatively happily. Except it would be much nicer if Caligula had a vision of Jesus in the middle of the night and got converted and said – I’m doing the wrong thing.

Anyway, I’m sorry. Back to our subject, no, I don’t think – ah, good morning Jennifer. Just let me answer one question. I don’t think that was the issue. And this will – no, you can come in. But just let me finish my sentence. You know how I am. Hello, Maria. Bienvenidas. I think the issue was not that they felt that the government could not solve the problem for them, but that they felt the issue was much bigger than the French government and the French forums.

And that’s what we’re going to talk about next time.

Guest Speakers from Costa Rica - CAFTA

But now, please join me in welcoming our heroines. Please come up. [Applause].

Bienvenidas.

Michael: So, please – yes, why don’t – because I’d like to – I love hearing that stuff, you know. This, I think, many of you know Jennifer Kuiper who’s the Executive Director of Metta. And it’s she who’s arranged this wonderful meeting for us.

[Spanish]

Translator: We’re here to speak on account of the humble work. And we’re available to answer any questions you guys have.

[Spanish]

Translator: I'm officially representing the government of Costa Rica and the Ministry of Justice. A lawyer in the Ministry of Justice.

[Spanish]

Translator: Officially, I can speak of certain things that I feel.

[Spanish]

Translator: Currently, there's a nationwide discussion on [CAFTA](#).

[Spanish]

Translator: Because we're a country characterized by extremes. We're very small. Rich. We're very vehement when we speak. We have a lot of – currently, the people in the government post, want to pass CAFTA. But the people don't agree. We've been informed that since it's a law –

Student: Which has to be approved at the congress or national assembly level.
[Unintelligible 00:45:39]

Translator: So, the current president has not passed –

Student: He's retired the treaty from the assembly.

[Spanish]

Translator: So, that means that – that doesn't mean that they're not going to address the situation, but for right now, what the people want, it's better not to address it. I can give a brief account of pre-1948 which is what Jennifer had asked for us to speak about. There's certain things, certain questions. [So, maybe Maurice, you can help me out.] That there's the same sentiments from 1948 as today. There's a similarities. But back in 1948 there was violence. There was a revolution – armed revolution. In which resulted in deaths and this opportunity.

So many people today are very interested in not – to not have violence. So, that's why they're interested in nonviolence. So, that the same things won't occur again. So, to use all the methods of dialog and tolerance and love to solve the conflict that's occurring today.

[Applause]

Translator: I'm very happy to be here as well. Thank you very much for having me. I don't work with the government. [Laughter] But we're very close friends. I think that at this very special moment in time as well, it's a time of revolution. And revolution – one's mind and heart. The weapons are different. The heart and the mind. People may die from lack of information, from terrorism. I'd like to briefly touch on the problem of terrorism. And [unintelligible 00:50:40] and World Trade Center. I was there dancing the last seventh of September. And when this took place I decided that I wouldn't be part of the echo of terrorism.

There was a kind of terrorism which wanted me to be afraid. I decided I didn't want to be afraid. I didn't want to repeat information to scare people further. I want to put forth my love and my peace to not respond to that shout of terrorism which is designed to scare people. And it's a very subtle way in which we all actually help out in order for [unintelligible 00:52:00]. It impacts

us. And when we talk about it with other people, we're in a way, being part to the terrorism. Let's be careful of that.

At this time in Costa Rica the revolution is the streets. And at the same time, citizens that we may work in the government part time are still people and citizens. And we go to the streets and protest with songs, with banners, colorful banners, with poetry. In the city and in all the outskirts of town and all parts of the country.

The government of the United States has spent a lot of money to promote CAFTA. And we don't have the money to counter that, but we have the power. That's One Revolution.

[Applause]

Personally, [I'll take your hand at this time.] I work with a World Without Armies for a conference in April. The conference is called, "A conference for the abolition of armies of women in Central America before 2020."

And for this, the proposition of a world without armies is to go taking the army from the military to civilian. That is a consultation which we are trying to do with the women of Central America. We'll be speaking about education, peace education, creative resolution of conflicts, and demilitarization. These are propositions, the fact that we are all women is very important. At first, when I was invited I said, [Laughter] "Ah, no I like men too much. I want to include them." But later I understood that there's an intimacy in something quite special when just women are united.

Delicate women. Strong when it comes to defending our sons and our grandchildren. And that's a bit of what I brought to share with you, as much as I could stand here and speak on that.

[Applause]

[Unintelligible 00:56:35]

Michael: Is there a role being played by the [University of Peace](#) in helping you to strategize, helping you to organize?

Guest: Not at this moment. I used to be a director for University for Peace a long time ago. More than ten years ago. Now we are very close friends. I'm working with [00:57:04]. I used to work with him [00:57:07] and his wife, [00:57:10] She's the president of our congress at this time. We work together. But not officially the University for Peace. It is complex.

[Unintelligible 00:57:24] [Laughter]

Student: Can you – I'm sure of people here are familiar with CAFTA and the fact that Costa Rica is the last country to sign and what is at risk right now and why the people are protesting. Maybe you can say a little bit about this for background?

Translator: The problem starts with the name, "Free Trade Agreement." It's not trade. It imposes genetically modified materials. It imposes or has restrictions on the free use of fishing waters. And to make the story short, I'll use an analogy. There's a big problem in interpreting the agreement. For example, her and I get married. And I offer to take her out on a trip once a month. And she thinks, "Europe, Paris."

And I just take her around the block. That's a big problem. [Laughter] I'm going to think that I'm married and I'm not. So, the problem is, is that Costa Rica has a lot at stake and the United States is not quite as engaged as Costa Rica is. The treaty is 3000 pages in very small lettering, very fine print. And few people have read it.

There's a book on the Internet in Spanish, not yet translated perhaps. [[101 razones para oponerse](#)

[al Tratado de Libre Comercio entre Centroamérica y Estados Unidos](#)] 101 Reasons to not accept the CAFTA or TLC as it's known in Spanish. By [Henry Mora](#). With the [National University of Costa Rica](#). That's an incredible resource to find out what's going on. In fact, the examples we have of other countries which have signed agreements such as Mexico and Chile is horrible.

At the same time, it's also not right that all of the countries in Central America and the Dominican Republic are treated equally. Considering each country has a different history, different economy, and we think we don't want to sign the Free Trade Agreement. Would you like to add something? Better not.

Michael: So, you have discussed two issues here at least. One is CAFTA and the other is the bigger question of demilitarization. And I think everyone here senses what the connection is. But can you say a little bit about what is the relationship? Did you start just focusing on CAFTA and then go on to include the wider questions of [World Without Armies](#)?

Translator: The point of connection between the two, CAFTA and demilitarization, is that the agreement makes it possible or opens the possibility up for the building of weapons in Costa Rica. Or parts for weapons. At the same time, the possibility for a Central American-wide army to combat drug traffic which is not entirely true.

Michael: Does everybody here know that Costa Rica since the revolution in 1948 does not have their army? It's one of the very few countries that does not have an army and does not have a security arrangement with any other state. So, they're desperately trying to hold onto that. It's like the situation in Japan with Article 9 of their constitution dating back [unintelligible 01:03:12]

Translator: And also, Panama is engaged in a similar process as well. It no longer has an army as well.

Translator: Since 1948 with the revolution the Second Republic was created. And one of the most important elements of the Second Republic is the socialization of benefits. That's how we have social security.

Michael: Which includes our relatives in other parts of Central America and [Spanish 01:05:24].

Translator: The people are – our Central American neighbours living in Costa Rica which number up to a million.

Student: If you come and have something – you broke your leg or something, you need hospital or something – you get it. It doesn't matter if you're visiting or you're [unintelligible 01:05:42]

Translator: That's a universal word. Public education. And other benefits for the public. And the long journey from 1948 to today, we've lost that of what we wanted to build together. We have

privatization in all aspects. Schools, universities. We have approximately 60,000 private police. Because of the perception of insecurity that the public has, they support the private services. All of the wider – [unintelligible 01:07:34] closed windows and closed doors. And we've become solitary people. Isolated.

And so, we're losing all those benefits that we've created over the years. For that reason, the state institutions are concerned about the levels of violence. And each one is taking action to prevent violence, to promote a culture of peace, for the benefit of the victims. Because the promotion and prevention is a job we all need to partake in.

That is why from my office, which is called the General Director for the Promotion of Peace, we're trying to call attention to the people so that each of us builds in our internal self, the peace. So that way together, create social peace.

[Applause]

Translator: The social gains which we gained with the revolution in 1948 with the abolition of the army is the use of natural resources. We have an institute which manages water provision. With the objective of serving the entire country. Not to make money. We cover 92% coverage of telecommunications to communicate, not to make money. And those are two points which we are strongly trying to oppose in the treaty [unintelligible 01:11:14].

Michael: [Spanish] Up to this point, the methods that you've been using, have they been mostly educational or are you also looking to do protesting, strikes, and things like that?

Translator: Very good protests. And meetings in all communities with all different [unintelligible 01:11:53]. Students, indigenous people, mothers, and also those divisions closely related to government. There's a strong campaign throughout the country to disseminate information to let people know what it is that we're trying to do. Still, television, radio, are completely bought by people supporting CAFTA and are people who are experts. Still, each one of us speak with the heart, from the heart, to each community.

So, we are using both fronts, information, education, and then also protest. Although, the coverage that is available in the media outlets is saying that, you know, four or five cats showed up to a demonstration. We do have another colleague with us who is a representative of alternative media which is helping us disseminate our information.

Michael: And they have a feminist rating.

Translator: And the 'witches' mail,' which is the Internet. And it's a strong network because when there is a call to action, everyone is there. At first, with much competence, I would go with my daughter, sons, with my grandchildren. Because then, with a little more fear because we felt that there was a force of repression. And some possibility of a disturbance or violence, not from our part. We hope that's not the case.

In our country we have two more situations which is our president, a wonderful individual in the face of the international public, but very much questioned internally.

Michael: [Spanish] How can we help?

Translator: Being part of the 'witches' mail,' the internet. Even if you're a man. I love men.
[Laughter]

[PACS164B Lecture 13](#)

Michael: I'd like to make a few announcements before we start. One is that the two people who are coming here from Bil'in and Hebron will be here tomorrow night at 145, Dwinelle at 7:00 PM. These are probably the best opportunities we'll have all semester to talk to people who are doing very active nonviolence in an extremely tense situation. But unfortunately, they won't be able to have that special meeting with us that we were planning. There might be something available at Bolt Hall at noon tomorrow, but I haven't gotten any details about it yet. If I do, I will just send out a course web announcement to everybody.

Also, I want to say we got a very long, very moving email this morning from someone in Somalia who's been watching the webcasts of this course, so [Hi Cee 00:00:51], I hope you're watching this one. Just gives me a very good feeling that what we're doing here is going out, being used all over the world in very violent situations. I think we should feel very good about that.

I found out yesterday – this is my fifth straight day of teaching nonviolence classes all over the state – that there's an interesting project going on in Germany this summer for those of you who are interested, speak a little German – we see you, Amy. I will leave these folders right here.

So, what I would like to try to do today is – Ta-da! Believe it or not – wrap up the discussion of Larzac which has been going on for almost as long as the campaign did. There are a couple of interesting issues that it will flag for us and try to do all of that in short order and move quickly to the question of Antimilitarist Organizations. We've been talking about movements and uprisings and demonstrations and things of that kind, and we're going to talk today about institution building, sort of a new mode for us. I mean, we've talked about the fact that there are institutions that do various kinds of helpful work, but we're going to get into a major institution, which, in my humble opinion – and you know I am very humble and very opinionated – in my humble opinion, could, if done right, in course of time, actually be that alternative that we're looking for to the war system.

The Larzac Climax

But let me postpone that and get back to Larzac. I left you in suspense. The conclusion – the movement was coming to a climax. The farmers had handed over – this is 1978 – handed in a thousand military papers, refusing conscription, and they handed them in to the UN, which was a major, sort of, escalation. And then, in 1980, farmers met with people from Plogloff – and I'm sorry, I forgot to check where that is. I think it was a German city. I'll double-check that – where people were resisting a nuclear plant. One hundred thousand people assembled there.

So, for those of you who took the first semester, your antennae are going up and saying, "We may have a problem here." Imagine if the people who were sitting under the oak trees, right here on our campus, were to win, get major concessions from the

university, bring the administration to its knees – I don't think that's going to happen. But let's say they did that, and at that moment, they decided, "Okay. Now that we're on a roll, you know, we've got, we're in a position of advantage. We want to talk to you about student fees. We want to see a 50% reduction in student fees across the board by next year, or we go back to the trees." Okay, what would that be called, and what would be the issues that are raised by this? Zoe.

No Fresh Issue and Anti-Militarism

Student: Bringing in another issue and then –

Michael: Yeah.

Student: Having it be a fresh issue.

Michael: Yeah. It's called, "[No fresh issue](#)." And it's sort of a principle that just applies in general to gentlemanly ways of adjusting differences and having conflicts. That is, when you're in a position of advantage, you are, you do not want to press an issue that you haven't even been discussing. And why is this important? Why is this not just a polite, strategic maneuver? What's at stake here? Matt?

Student: Because if you try to add on so many things to a movement, the original thing that you were going for could fail too.

Michael: Yeah. I mean, what you're saying is true – that if you keep on changing and adding, you could lose focus on the original issue, and it could fail. But I would still consider that kind of strategic. I'm looking for a theoretical reason why this is a bad thing to do. After all, your cause is just – their cause is unjust. Why shouldn't you ram home everything by means of – Shanna.

Student: It changes the discussion to a power struggle?

Michael: Right. It changes the model – or the frame, I guess, is the word we would use today – it reframes the whole interaction as a power struggle, instead of as a discussion among equals. So, it's like you're escalating. You're moving from stage one to stage two.

Okay. So that's the background now for our question. And the question is, when the farmers moved – remember the original issue was that land was going to be taken over by the military to expand a military base, farmers are going to be run off, no more Roquefort cheese in Berkeley – that was the original issue. Now, they're expressing solidarity with people in another country who are working on another issue, namely, anti-nuclearism. And there was, incidentally, a big deal. There were 100,000 people who gathered at that assembly. And to let you in on a little more that's going to happen, this is going to build out into an entire anti-globalist, anti – yeah, anti-globalist movement very soon.

So, we know that there's such a thing as, quote, "No fresh issue," that you want to observe, or you change the dialog. Here is my question, "Do you think these guys were violating 'No fresh issue?'" Because, you know, there are – it's a rather specific

framework. And it doesn't mean that once you've got an issue, you cling to that issue for the rest of time – because that way, you know, we'd have people saving whales over here and people being against nuclear plants over there. No connections would ever be built. So, we have to develop a sense of whether this particular action, and more generally, when an action violates the “No fresh issue” requirement and when it doesn't. So, Marcella, you looked like you didn't think it was a fresh issue. Why?

Student: Well, I mean, the – okay. So, it's a nuclear power plant?

Michael: Yeah. Well, I don't actually know whether it was a nuclear power plant or a nuclear missile installation. That would be an interesting thing to know, yeah.

Student: Because if it's a nuclear missile installation, the issue is militarization.

Michael: Yeah.

Student: And that is an escalation of militarization in any country.

Michael: Okay.

Student: And so, it wouldn't be a fresh issue, because the farmers are talking about the escalation of militarism in their country.

Michael: Yeah.

Student: And going to, in solidarity with people who are basically saying the same thing.

Michael: Yeah. So, I agree with you, as you probably suspected from the beginning. And what is happening here is not dredging up a fresh issue that wasn't on the table, but rather getting down to the underlying issue and realizing what connections it has.

So, I think if the students come down out of the oak trees and let's say, just to completely fantasize here, let's say that the chancellor is forced to kneel in the mud outside the oak trees all night long. And we get to talk to him in the morning – I'm not even in favor of this, much less am I predicting it. Then we talk to him in the morning, and we start talking about student fees and stuff – that really would be a fresh issue because you've got a position of advantage, which was really not clearly the case yet with the farmers in Larzac. And it really is kind of unrelated – unless you want to say that all evil is evil, and all good is good. You know, that's probably true, in a sense, but not in a useful sense – it would be blurring the distinction. So, that's the two things – that the issue is unconnected and that you would be using the leverage of advantage to press home something you hadn't considered before. Okay?

But in this case, neither of those applies. I think what's happening is, you push, you say, “Okay. We don't want this camp in our backyard.” The next thing you discover is the whole French government was behind putting that camp in your backyard, and so you're really getting down to the bedrock of the issue. And that's going to take one step further now, very soon.

Success and Analysis of Larzac

Let me just wrap up quickly what actually happened. In July and September of that year, 1980, they concentrated on constructive program. That is, they went and did repairs and improvements on farms in Larzac, on the Larzac plateau. And then, some months later, on the fifth of June 1981, President François Mitterrand was elected, and as you know, he was a socialist. I don't know what a socialist is, anymore, in modern Europe – but he was a socialist, whatever that is. And he had made a campaign promise, which was, “Dès l'instant, from the moment when I am president of this country, I am going to withdraw the military base in Larzac.” And *Le Monde*, which is sort of the New York Times of France – much better writing, less advertising, but still, somewhat the same problems – they announced that President Mitterrand would fulfill his campaign promise to revoke the expansion, and the campaign came to a successful conclusion. Leading to the question of whether, in fact, the campaign helped to get Mitterrand elected, which I think it probably did, but it would be hard to know exactly to what extent.

So, that was the campaign. It was nine years. It “worked,” quote, unquote, beautifully. It followed the Law of Suffering. It followed the Law of Progression. I think we've just decided that it did not violate “No fresh Issue,” and if we decided it, then it probably is the truth. And it became really big by keeping the focus on a single issue, which had deeper and deeper repercussions. So, not only did it “work,” quote, unquote, but it also worked in the sense that it did good work going on into the future. For one thing – I don't know how many of you know the name of [José Bové](#). He's a – does anybody know who this person is?

Student: Isn't he, like, the Farmers' Union leader?

Michael: He is a farmer, and he's a southern French sheep farmer. So, he comes right from this community, and yeah, he was involved in labor unions, but he's famous for something else. Yes, Sashi.

Student: He was against the GMOs.

Michael: He's against the GMOs – yeah, good – genetically modified organisms. Well, he's not against the organisms – he's against the idea of genetically modifying them. And he's also famous for – yeah.

Student: Didn't he lead some protests as well?

Michael: He led some protests – Ashley is absolutely correct. And in one of those protests, he decided to torch a McDonald's that was being built in southern France. So, this is now, this is getting us into a grey area – is property destruction part of nonviolence? We discussed it last semester and came to the conclusion that it's not all that sweet because it's not very persuasive – it's coercive. You know, what you want to do is wait until whoever has the McDonald's franchise sees the light and understands that they should turn it into a free clinic instead. But you're taking away their option, their choice, if you burn down their establishment. You're only going to make them angrier. And that's – we've seen that happen right here on this campus in the case of the destruction of laboratory equipment because, by PETA, animal groups like that. So, whether Monsieur Bové is completely nonviolent or not is – it's in the lap of the gods to discuss that one – but he is a very key player in anti-globalism as we know and love it

today. And he got his start in that movement, and he got his encouragement from that movement.

Another very important little item that you should not – I mean, the item is little, but the importance is great. The Larzac campaign introduced the word nonviolence into French vocabulary. They had practically not discussed it before. I'm not saying that in every café on Rue Dulong were people saying, "La non-violence, eh? N'est-ce pas?" But at least it introduced the term into the discourse. And think what an incredible difference that could make. As the philosopher Nietzsche said, "Die richtigen originale sind die namensgeber." "The real original types are the ones who coin words for things – name givers, nomenclaturists." That sometimes is not true, but sometimes it's true because how can you talk about something if you don't know what to call it? Or how can you talk about it sensibly if you're calling it by the wrong word, like "free trade?"

So, that's two very important things, and then in August of 2003, there was a tremendous meeting – 8th, 9th and 10th of August in Larzac – so, it's now about 20 years since the Larzac peasants, 103 of them, stood forward and refused to accept the extension of the camp. They led to more than 50,000 of them, permanent members and so forth. This rolled over – I'm reading you an announcement about that meeting, that celebratory meeting – "Not only to commemorate in nostalgia this anniversary, but to carry out a vital struggle against the marchandisation," the commercialization, mercantilization, turning every – what do we call it when we turn something into – commoditization, isn't that – commodification. Thank you – Merci, Marcella. "But to carry forward this vital combat against the commodification of the planet." So – Amy?

Student: What year was this?

Michael: This was 2003, August. So, this campaign had a very big continuation into the future. So, it "worked," quote, unquote, and it worked, no quotes, and it pretty much went from start to finish without, as far as I know, a single act of even property destruction, unless you call eating some of the grass around the Mar of the Eiffel Tower by sheep property destruction, but you know, somehow that one doesn't bother me. So, this was one of the direct communications, or transmissions, of Gandhism into our modern world.

Last semester, we discussed how intense was the transmission from the freedom struggle in India to the civil rights movement. Here you see it going into areas where Gandhi did not explicitly commit himself. He didn't say, "I'm against globalism." For a very simple reason – they didn't have the word yet. They didn't know that that was what was happening.

Third-Party Nonviolent Intervention

Now, with your permission to – because David's going to be here any moment – I want to start talking about an institution that's being built, and we've already discussed a general framework, where we said that Third-Party Nonviolent Intervention – David, come on up – and civilian based defense are the two basic forms of using nonviolence against militarism today.

David: Hi.

Michael: It's good to be up here on the platform – it's the first time I'm taller than you. Where's your car?

David: Down below.

Michael: Okay. Amy? Give me – you take your breath for a couple minutes, David, and give me a little introduction when you're ready to go.

Okay. So, as I see it, this operation – Third-Party Nonviolent Intervention – itself has two basic sources. One is in human rights work, where human rights people have decided that they can intervene in a country where human rights are being violated to a certain level. You know, we're not going to invade Canada because their parking restrictions are too severe. But there comes a point where you feel that human dignity has been violated, and all human beings are involved in this. And so, you have what the French call, "Le droit de gérance," or the right, or actual obligation, to involve yourself, to intervene. So, that's something that's come up slowly in human rights work. And you'll still see a lot of human rights rhetoric in the Third-Party Nonviolent Intervention Movement.

And the other thing that fed into the stream is Gandhi's invention of the Shanti Sena, or the Army of Peace. Now, his original conception was that you would have people living in a community, who may or may not be from the district, and in times of peace they would furnish good offices to the community, just so they'd be there. You know, we've discussed the way Hamas and Hezbollah and other groups that have an armed agenda – they do a lot of alternative institution building and social service work that the regime isn't doing. So, in their case, it's very much a mixture of good and bad.

Our guys, Shanti Senics, would be very much nonviolent, and so, they would be there in the community, they would get the trust of the community, and when ethnic tensions flared up – as, unfortunately, has been the story repeatedly in India since Gandhi's time – they would interpose themselves in various ways, including – well, I'll kind of let David say exactly what nonviolent interveners do today. But as fasting is to protest, interposition is to nonviolent intervention – in other words, as a last resort. If all else has failed and open conflict is happening, you will actually interpose yourself between the two parties.

Now, that may seem like a very dangerous thing to do, and we're not saying it's not a dangerous thing to do, but at the same time, you know, crossing the street is a dangerous thing to do. Not doing anything about violence is an extremely dangerous thing to do. And the fact of the matter is that the track record of people doing this has actually been rather good. With the exception of three people in the Middle East recently – and arguably, they were doing something slightly different – basically, no one has been killed doing Third-Party Nonviolent Intervention.

Example of TPNI with ROTC and Interposition

I was on this campus in the 1970s where there was a big protest against the ROTC – I get nostalgic sometimes, thinking about the old days. In those days, the ROTC was still called the ROTC. After years of work, we got them to change their name – it was a tremendous progress, just like the School of the Americas, watch. Anyway, they were in a little building called Callahan Hall. And one day, a group of very angry students descended on Callahan Hall. They're picking up rocks – they were going to stone Callahan Hall. It was not a good idea because inside of Callahan Hall there were these racks of rifles. I had seen them when I went in to put up a poster about my nonviolence course – that was a lot of fun, but we'll talk about that some other time. But in there, racks and racks of rifles, and all these, you know, military affair students had been trained how to use them.

So, you have all this heavy equipment inside the building and all this stones and anger coming down, and suddenly, a little group which existed for one month, I think, called Berkeley Students for Peace – they showed up. I don't know how – in those days they didn't have cell phones or anything – I don't know how they knew to be there. But they showed up, and they just stood in between these two groups and said, "If you throw stones, you'll hit us." So, the people with the stones lost heart, and they went back because they didn't want to hit their fellow students – they wanted to hit ROTC people, who were also their fellow students – that's the logic of violence. But in this little miniature episode, you see what nonviolent intervention can do at this extreme verge of interposition.

So, in 1980, on Grindstone Island in Canada, a group formed itself, called [Peace Brigades International](#), that decided to take volunteers, give them some training, and do this kind of work wherever there are conflicts all over the world. They had some spectacular successes! It's unbelievable what a small group of people can do when they show up, voluntarily risking their lives for the sake of peace, not for one party or against the other – that's the magic formula here. Peace Brigades International, a venerable and very honored institution, has more or less specialized in what they call "Protective Accompaniment," which puts them back in the human rights area. That means, if a person is under death threat, they can call PBI, or their organization can call PBI, send people into the country, and they will accompany that person 24/7 – go to work with them, go home with them. And it can be spectacularly successful.

In Guatemala, in the early '80s, when the only human rights organization was being selectively assassinated, PBI went in with five or six people to accompany the leaders. And the minute they arrived on the scene, those assassinations stopped. That group was able to continue working, and to use one of their terms, PBI talks about creating a space for peace. They don't get involved – they don't get involved in policy. They just create the space, so the people on the ground can have a discussion rather than a power struggle.

But in 1999 – David, correct me if I'm wrong – you went to The Hague Conference for Peace in The Hague – duh! Sorry, ain't got it. Stupid joke. And there, you were heard giving a passionate, fiery speech – which I hope you're going to do here again today, seems to be about the only kind you do – by a man named Mel Duncan, [[Hear Mel Duncan's story here](#)] who had had this notion independently of taking this concept and

building it into a [worldwide force](#). And between 1999 and the present it's absolutely incredible what these guys, and a number of others, and about 90 global organizations who've joined them, have been able to accomplish. So, I would like David to tell us about the group and to report on his recent trip to Sri Lanka, which was our pilot project, where conflict is extremely intense, as you know, and where we've been for just about three years?

David: Three-and-a-half years.

Michael: Just three-and-a-half years now? Okay. Good. So, [David Hartsough](#).

[Applause]

David Hartsough -- Beginning in Nonviolence

David: Well, glad to be here, and you're certainly lucky to be in a class on nonviolence with Professor Nagler. I mean, I wish every young person in the world had a chance to take a class in nonviolence. We might have a much less war-like world. I'd like to just share with you a little bit about my own background and what we're trying to do with the Nonviolent Peaceforce and then have time for your questions and discussion.

My father had the good sense to take my brother and me to Montgomery, Alabama, during the [Montgomery Bus Boycott](#), back in 1956. I was just fifteen years old at the time. And I'm sure you know from your reading, the Montgomery Bus Boycott was kind of the beginning of the re-activation of the civil rights movement in this country. And when we went there, tens of thousands of people were walking every day to work, you know, rather than ride the buses in an apartheid system. And several of the churches had been bombed. [Martin Luther King](#)'s home had been shot at. I visited one cross where all that was left was the pews were in splinters and there was a piece of the cross up in the front. And these people were saying, "Rather than hate these folks that are doing this to us, we're going to try to love them. But we're not going to compromise with full human dignity." And so, they kept walking to work, rather than riding in the segregated buses. And this, as a fifteen-year-old young person, had a great impact on me. Gee whiz! There is a different way to struggle than, you know, this age-old method of war and violence.

Well, partly inspired by that experience in Montgomery, I went to [Howard University](#), which is a black university in Washington, D.C. And in 1960, when students in the South began challenging segregation at the lunch counters. Essentially, everything was segregated at that time – lunch counters, movie theaters, bathrooms, drinking fountains, motels, etc. Even African UN diplomats driving from New York to Washington could not eat along the highway in Maryland, could not sleep in motels, etc.

And so, when the sit-ins began in the south, some of us at Howard University thought, "Gee whiz! What's happening around here?" And while things were integrated in Washington, D.C., in Maryland and Virginia, everything was segregated.

Lunch Counter Sit-ins

So, we started going up to Maryland every weekend – my black friends and me – going to a drug store or a restaurant, and they would close it down and arrest us, and we would spend the weekend singing freedom songs in prison. And on Monday morning, they would release us, and we'd go back to our classes until the next Saturday morning, when we'd do the same.

Well, the state of Virginia had passed a law saying anybody that sat-in in Virginia would get a year in prison and a thousand dollar fine. And we thought we had better things to do with our lives than going to prison for a year and try to scrape together a thousand dollars, which was a lot – a lot – of money in those days. So, we kept going to Maryland, rather than to challenge this. Well, the American Nazi Party was down in Virginia and threatening to kill anybody that challenged their segregation laws.

And in June, after our final examinations, we finally decided, "Somebody's got to challenge this law." And twelve of us went through additional nonviolence training – how do you actually respond nonviolently in the face of, you know, horrendous violence – and we went to a Peoples Drug Store, in Arlington, which is essentially just across the river from Washington, D.C., but it was as if it was in Mississippi in terms of the mindset. And within a couple minutes, the lunch counter had been closed, and we could hear sirens coming from every direction, and we thought, "Here goes our year in prison." But the lunch counter owner did not want to arrest us because of bad publicity. But he also wasn't going to serve us any food.

So, we stayed there at the lunch counter, on the stools, for two days, waiting for something to eat. And obviously, we got increasingly hungry. But it was the most difficult two days of my life – not because of the hunger, but because of what we had to face. American Nazi Party did come in with their swastikas, saying, "Is we or is we ain't equals?" you know, with pictures of apes. People put lit cigarettes down our shirts. People spat at us. People punched us in the stomach so hard that we would fall on the floor, and then they'd, you know, proceed to kick us.

And finally, toward the end of the second day, I was meditating on the Sermon on the Mount, on loving your enemies, and a guy came up from behind me and said, "You nigger-lover!" And I turned around and looked at him, and he had the most terrible look of hatred in his eyes, and in his hand was a switchblade, and he says, "If you don't get out of this store in two seconds, I'm going to stab this through your heart!" And then I had two seconds to decide, "Do I really believe in nonviolence or is that a nice thing to talk about in Sunday school and in a nonviolence class?" And we'd had a lot of practice, and I just looked him in the eyes, and I said, "Well, friend, do what you believe is right. But I'll still try to love you." And his jaw began to drop, and his hand that was like this began to fall, and he left the store.

And that was kind of a powerful experience in terms of the power of nonviolence. But then we did something even more difficult. This had been on the front page of the Northern Virginia paper, and 500 people were gathered outside with rocks and stones and said, "Let's kill these folks, these troublemakers." Because we were disturbing the peace. I mean, there'd been peace there before anybody challenging segregation – peace. Everybody stayed in their place. And we wrote a statement, in which we appealed to the religious and community and political leaders of Arlington, Virginia to

use their influence to get the eating facilities open to everybody. But we said, “If nothing changes in a week, we’re going to be back.” And that’s what was very, very difficult – “In one week, we’ll be back.” And some friendly media people got us out alive, I’m happy to say. And when we crossed the bridge into Washington, D.C., it was like, you know, we’re entering freedom land.

And literally, we shook in our shoes for six days – “Do we have the courage to go back and do this again?” And on the sixth day, we got a phone call, and the eating facilities had been opened in Arlington. And what that, what I learned, was twelve students with some courage had been able to make some change that could have happened 100, 200 years earlier. And somehow, we had touched the hearts and consciences of the political, religious, community leaders, business leaders of that city to do what they could have done, you know, a hundred years earlier.

Disturber of War

So, anyway, that was kind of the lifelong, the beginning of my lifelong career in trying to experiment with the power of nonviolence, or, as our government would say, “Be a troublemaker,” you know, “A disturber of the peace.” Or, “A disturber of the war,” as I prefer to say.

Well, I’ve been involved in helping build nonviolent movements ever since. During the Vietnam War, we were actually putting our bodies in front of ships that were carrying bombs to Vietnam – we called it the People’s Blockade. We were in small canoes and small sailboats. We were threatened with twenty years in prison, but we said, “You know, if this ship, with all its bombs and munitions, reaches its destination, that’s going to be much worse than us getting twenty years in prison in terms of what – these are our brothers and sisters that are going to die.”

And on the day that the first ship that we blocked was lifting up anchor and heading out to sea, and we were paddling madly to try to stay right in front of that ship, seven of the sailors, way up high on the ship, jumped into the ocean and began swimming toward our little peace flotilla. And which was on nationwide television and New York Times, and our courage had given them some courage. Their courage helped encourage others in the military to begin doing what they really believed, deep down – that this was an immoral, illegal, stupid war – and to begin to resist that war. And if you’ve seen, “[Sir! No Sir!](#)” you know, the United States couldn’t fight anymore because the soldiers wouldn’t fight. They wouldn’t shoot.

Nuremberg Actions

I worked on the nonviolent campaign against nuclear power, here in California, against Livermore Nuclear Weapons Labs, which is developing, you know, a whole new generation of nuclear weapons. [Nuremberg Actions](#), where we did a campaign, right here at Concord Naval Weapons Station, which, where the United States has been shipping bombs and munitions all over the world, ever since the second World War. In the ‘80s, when we discovered that they were sending bombs and munitions to kill our brothers and sisters in Nicaragua and Guatemala, El Salvador, we began blocking

those trains, which were carrying those bombs. And we called them Nuremberg Actions because we weren't breaking any law, from our point of view, we were upholding international law, which says, "Individuals have a responsibility to disobey orders which are crimes against humanity and crimes against war." And to be silent is to be complicit in those crimes, so we couldn't remain silent when right here in our backyard, we were shipping bombs that were going to kill children, women, old people.

So, that campaign continued for years. I got my arm broken, my friend Brian Wilson was run over, had a big hole in his head, and got his legs cut off. But we were really saying, "This is a world in which we're all brothers and sisters." As Brian said to the commander in the base, "Our lives are not worth more than the people of Central America, and their lives are not worth less." That's a very radical idea because in America, we like to think we're more important than anybody else. They give us their oil, and they give us their fruit, and all our manufactured goods. And you know, they have the privilege of serving us as Americans because we're more important. And we're not the only nation like that. But so, to really say we're all brothers and sisters and have a responsibility for one another is pretty radical.

Peace Conference in the Hague - Kosovo

Well, as Michael said, in 1999, a gathering of 9,000 peace activists came together in The Hague in the Netherlands to look at "how can we put an end to war?" Which is even a bigger challenge than how to stop segregation at lunch counters. And as you know, at the beginning of the last century, about 10 or 15% of the people who were killed in wars were civilians. By the end of the last century, it was more like 90 to 95% – this is UN figures – are civilians, are people that don't have guns, that have nothing to do with, "Do I hate those people?" or "Are those my enemies?" You know, they're just common human beings who've gotten caught up, and they get killed. And that's the way, that's the normal way that we're using to try to resolve conflict in this world, is wars where 90% of the people that die are going to be innocent civilians. And our government, as you know, keeps saying, "Well, wars are the only way to really secure our country. And we're going to be men, you know, we're not going to put up with second-class military stuff."

So, here we were, 9,000 people looking at, "How do we put an end to war?" and unfortunately, at that very moment in Kosovo, where there was ethnic cleansing going on against the ethnic Albanians, President Clinton went on worldwide television and radio and said, "In the face of this ethnic cleansing, we have two choices – we can look the other way and pretend it's not happening, or we can go in and start bombing." And I had been in Kosovo for three years, you know, before that, and I had witnessed and worked with people that were trying to build a nonviolent movement and said, "We need to use much more active nonviolent resistance to change this Milosevic dictatorship. But we need international people to be present here. David, can you find the people to come and be present with us?" And I spoke, and I talked, and I went on radio and television saying, "Kosovo is an explosion waiting to happen. They want to build a nonviolent movement but need international presence. Can you come?" And everybody said, "Where's Kosovo?" because had there'd not been a war, and nobody even had

heard of it. And others said, “Oh, it sounds very important, but you know, I’m very busy. You know, I’m going to school, I have a job, family, you know,” etc.

And so, we didn’t go. And it exploded and lots of violence, and then our president said, “There’s two choices – you can do nothing, or you can go in and start bombing.” And many of us that were at The Hague realized, or we felt, that neither of those alternatives were acceptable. It’s not acceptable to just look the other way and do nothing, and it’s not acceptable to go in and start bombing people to show them that killing is wrong. And so – and we knew there was a third alternative, and we’d seen it working with Peace Brigades International and Witness for Peace and these kind of groups. But the world didn’t know that there was a third alternative. So, we committed ourselves to building a global nonviolent peace force of hundreds, and eventually, we hoped, thousands of trained nonviolent peacemakers that could go into conflict areas and be that third alternative. And that third alternative is helping provide the political space where local peacemakers and human rights workers can do their work without so much threat of being killed or disappeared.

And so, starting in 1999, we have been meeting with and working with people all over the world that are doing peacemaking in their own communities and countries and are working together to try to help build this third alternative – a way to, really, both give moral support to local peacemakers, who often feel very isolated and alone in a very repressive and dangerous situation, but also to make it politically safer for them to continue their work by just being eyes and conscience of the world. It’s not, “We need to go in, and we will create peace for these poor people that, you know, are fighting each other.” It’s, “We will help make the political space, the safety, where they can, you know, create that peace.”

Nonviolent Peaceforce

So, we now have 94 organizations, peacemaking organizations, from all over the world that are working together to create the Nonviolent Peaceforce. In 2002, we had our founding conference in India. We have eight Nobel Peace laureates who have endorsed this, over 300 key religious, political leaders from around the world. Check out our website, which is just www.nonviolentpeaceforce, and here’s some flyers, which you might want to pass around. And if anyone would like to – do you have a pen? Oh, here it is. If anyone would like to be on our mailing list, just sign your name and at least an email, and we will get you updates about what the Nonviolent Peaceforce is doing.

I spent two years traveling all around the world talking with these, you know, peacemaking groups, human rights organizations, to see, to ask several questions. One is, “Do you think that a nonviolent peace force could help make a contribution to creating the peace and justice in your country?” And almost everybody said, “Yes, this could be very helpful.” And then the second question I asked is, “Would you be – would you like to help work, to help make this possible.” And you know, many, many of these people said, “Yes.” And as I say, we have ninety-four organizations.

Well, some of the things that we heard from people around the world that should be qualities of this nonviolent peace force. One was the importance of early intervention –

don't wait until after it explodes into violent conflict. The other is the importance of supporting nonviolent movements before they explode into violence – as we should have done in Kosovo, and we passed up that opportunity. The importance of being truly international and representing nobody's national interests. And so, we have, in the Nonviolent Peaceforce, about half those ninety-four organizations are from the global south – Africa, Asia, Latin America – and half are from the global north. So, we're not kind of "Northern Do-gooders" trying to do something for our southern brothers and sisters or vice-versa. We're really representing the people of the world.

And these are a little bit outdated now, but these are some photographs of our first teams in Sri Lanka, which, you can see just by looking at this, there are, the faces are people from all over the world. We want to be mainstream. We want to go far beyond the traditional peace movement. My own belief is that there are, at least 95% of the people in the world believe in nonviolent resolution of conflict over violence and war. And we need to recruit many of those people into this movement, both as nonviolent peacekeepers, peacemakers themselves, but in supporting this financially, etc.

We go only at the invitation of local groups, or primarily at the invitation of local groups. We don't say, "Oh, there's a conflict. I think we should go and help create the peace." There are – we go when a local group says, "We are working to try to create peace in this area. We need your support," which is a little less imperialistic. We want to recruit skilled people and make this professional. You know, we're not just, kind of, do-gooders wanting to go and put our finger in a dyke somewhere to try to create the peace. We want people who've been trained and have had some experience doing peacemaking in their own communities, in their own countries, that can be a part of the Nonviolent Peaceforce. We are paying people who volunteer to be a part of the Nonviolent Peaceforce. Nobody's going to get rich, but the world pays soldiers to be willing to kill and die, and we think that morally we have a responsibility to help financially support people that are willing to risk their lives to help make nonviolence and peaceful solution of conflict real.

Michael: There's also the point that people from the global south wouldn't really be able to volunteer if they didn't get some compensation.

David: Right. And we want to get people from all classes and all parts of the world. In many parts of the world, you know, a 25-year-old person helps support the whole family. So, this is a way of doing that, or paying college loans, and you know, that kind of stuff. We want to be nonpartisan, but with a commitment to justice. We're not coming in to say, "This side is good, and that side is bad." But we are committed to justice. You know, long-term peace cannot happen, you know, when there's a terribly unjust situation.

Well, and this – I'll pass this around also. Some of you may have seen this, but it's called, "What the World Wants." And this is actually a couple years old, so it's a bit out of date, but each of these squares represents one billion dollars. And if you look at this whole page, this is what the world spends on the military every year – it's now even much more than this. But way down here at the bottom is how much – this amount of money would stop deforestation all over the world, this amount of money would eliminate nuclear weapons from everywhere in the world, this would increase energy

efficiency, rid the world of homelessness, of poverty, of, you know, hunger, and all the diseases. For a very small amount – percentage – of what we're spending on the military, we could rid the world of all these problems. And wouldn't we be a whole lot safer and more secure if that's what we're doing with our money? Well, often we don't even think about that stuff. Our government says, "Pay your taxes," and fifty percent of them go to, you know, missiles and bombs and our fighting the war in Iraq, etc.

Well, now, I've just last Thursday night, I came back from Sri Lanka. And the Nonviolent Peaceforce has been asked to come many places around the world, but we have limited amount of money, so far. Our budget is probably less than a couple toilets in the Pentagon. But you know, what the Pentagon is doing is much more important than what we're doing, according to our government and many other governments. So, at our founding conference, we had to decide among the various choices,

Nonviolent Peaceforce in Sri Lanka

"Where can we – where should we do our first pilot project?" And we decided on Sri Lanka – partly, at that time, there'd been an 18-year civil war, and the two sides had said, "We're willing to have a ceasefire." So, the major contenders had said, "War's not working. Let's try something else." And we had people that invited us to say, "Can you come and help really move our country toward peace?"

Well, unfortunately, in the meantime, a new government has been elected that is essentially saying, "We're going to win this war militarily." And the Tamil Tigers have said, you know, "We're going to win this thing militarily." And the people are getting caught in the middle, just like other places in the world – that 85, 90% of the people that are civilians are paying the brunt of this. Well, what the Nonviolent Peaceforce is doing – are you from Sri Lanka? Okay. Well, you're an expert on this. But this is a little picture of Sri Lanka, and this is the southern tip of India. And this is a primarily Buddhist country. Eighty percent or so are Buddhist, I think. And the Tamil population I think is in the range of 10, 12%. And they are primarily up in the north and in the eastern part of the country. And then there's a smaller Muslim population. And part of the problem there, just like what was happening in Virginia and Alabama, is that 80% is saying, you know, "We're the most important people, and the Tamil speaking people are second-class citizens." You know, they can't learn in school in their language, and you know, a lot of them were fired from their jobs and all this kind of – the source of conflict in so many parts of the world is the majority says, "You know, you guys aren't important. We're the first-class citizens." I mean, it's a little more complicated than that.

But anyway, so the Nonviolent Peaceforce has teams up in Jaffna, which is totally a military occupied country right now. The – almost 95, 99% of the population is Tamil, or Hindu. But all the military and the police are Sinhalese, Buddhist. And all, so, and there's soldiers everywhere – I mean, at every street corner and in between, with tanks. And the road to Jaffna isn't even open right now. So, people can't get food and supplies and all this. And we're also over here, where there's also primarily a Tamil population, but the military and police are Sinhalese. So, these are very, very hot spots, and I think over 6,000 people were killed in this last year. And so, that's where we are – right in the middle of these areas of conflict.

And what we're doing, one is there's been recruitment of child soldiers – I mean, the recruitment of children to become child soldiers. And it's happening on a very broad basis and by both sides – both by the Tamil Tigers, and there's a group called the Karuna Faction, which the political leader, from the east, of the Tamil Tigers, his name was Colonel Karuna – he broke away from the Tamil Tigers. But he's now allied with the government, fighting the Tamil Tigers. And so, they are, both sides are recruiting children down to the age of 12 or 13 to start using guns and shooting each other. And there are many, many families who've had one child taken by one side and one child by the other, and the father has already been killed in the war. And so, these families have come to the Nonviolent Peaceforce and said, "Can you help us?" And they are courageously trying to get their children back. And so, we're accompanying them and helping train people that are accompanying them.

There are peace committees, made up of Sinhalese Buddhists, of Tamils, and of Muslim populations, to be people in the local communities that are saying, "We've had it with this war. We want to have peace for our children," and so are laying the basis for that kind of peace. Just in the east, there are 70,000 internally displaced people, who've had to flee their homes in the last three months from the bombing and the killing. And they're in refugee camps, which I've visited. And often, these armed groups are coming into these refugee camps and forcibly taking out the kids. So, what we're doing is providing a presence in these refugee camps to try to make it safer. And what we've been told is it's much safer when we're present, or even if we're coming in to visit as often as we can.

I met a very, very courageous Muslim leader in Batticaloa who has faced death threats, you know, for the last 20 years, and is one of the most courageous guys I've ever met. And he is committed to trying to build a demilitarized zone within Sri Lanka and is personally going to go – he knows the top leadership of all the different sides – he's going to go to them and say, "We want to create this demilitarized zone, peace zone, and we are asking you to guarantee the safety of the populations and to respect that." And he's asking Nonviolent Peaceforce and anybody else we can recruit, including UN agencies – the Anglican Bishop is very interested in this in Sri Lanka, etc. – to be an ongoing nonviolent presence in this demilitarized zone. So that's something that's right in process.

Global Nonviolent Peaceforce

There are specific individuals, including human rights defenders and priests and others working for peace, that have active death threats against them. And when that's happening – sometimes whole communities – and so, we accompany those people, similar to what Professor Nagler was saying happened in Guatemala, to make it safer for them. Sarvodaya, you may have heard of, is probably the largest Gandhi-inspired movement in the world. It's active in 12 or 15,000 communities in Sri Lanka. We're working with Sarvodaya to develop a rapid response peace brigade. So, these are people trained in active nonviolent peacemaking that can go into conflict areas when tensions are beginning to boil to try to help create some peace and to divert that energy from war-making into peacemaking.

We met with a number of the United Nations personnel while we were there, and they are just extremely impressed with what the Nonviolent Peaceforce is doing. And partly, I think – and we met embassy people also, from foreign embassies – I think they are feeling totally ashamed of how little they're able to do, and partly, you know, they represent governments and, you know, all this stuff. And when there's any kind of danger, they tell their staff, "Stay in the embassy! Stay in your office! Don't go out there." And here we're out in the communities and on the front lines. And partly, we've been able to do the homework of finding out what's happening out there, and then saying to the UN, etc., "These folks, you know, need your help." And they can rely on us and have come to trust us as people that are really in touch with the people.

So, our role is to be on the ground in the areas where there's the most conflict and where civilians are most in danger. As I said, we give moral protection, moral support, we're giving protection as an international presence, so the world is watching, to be a monitoring presence, so that United Nations and others know what we're doing. And I won't tell the specifics, but through our homework, we are able to document this child soldier stuff that then UN agencies were able to really go international and challenge that, on our behalf. We're able to actually tell the truth about what's going on on the ground. And to provide the political space for local peacemakers to do their work.

We also have active invitations from other parts of the world. In Columbia, Peace Brigades International and Fellowship for Reconciliation are accompanying one community – a peace community – that is saying no to all the warring sides. While there are 16 or 17 other peace communities, throughout Columbia, that are saying no to the government military, to the paramilitaries, and to the guerrillas. And their leaders are getting assassinated and disappeared. And they're asking the Nonviolent Peaceforce, you know, to come. So, we've decided, as soon as we can develop the financial resources, we're going to go. And we're doing our first training in Spanish in Ecuador in May of this year.

In Mindanao, in the southern Philippines, where there's also been a civil war for many years, there are very courageous local peacemakers and human rights defenders that are trying to protect civilian populations, who time and again get targeted in this stuff. And they have asked us to come and accompany them. And just last week, we found the money from several major donors, contributors, to – we're going to be sending our first team of six people there a month after next to begin working with the local peacemakers.

And in northern Uganda, we are going to be sending a team of people to work, again, with local peacemakers who are asking us to come. A guy named Rolf Carriere, who is a Dutch man from the Netherlands, has been the head of UNICEF for many years. And he's now retired but is very excited about the power of nonviolent peacekeeping and that as an alternative to armed peacekeeping or armed intervention. And so, he's spending his time, on his own money, going and talking with his former colleagues in the United Nations about what we're doing. And he's found many of them that said, "If the local UNICEF, UN High Commission for Refugees, etc. say, 'Nonviolent peacekeepers will really make the difference,' we will support that, morally and financially," for the actual deployment costs, which is the major part of it. But what we

need to do is to recruit and train 500 people to be able – to be ready to respond to those kind of requests. So, our goal is to recruit and train 500 people from all parts of the world to be a part of a nonviolent reserves, ready to go into any of these conflict areas, at the invitation of the UN or other groups.

We're about to also start a short-term deployment in Guatemala. You probably don't even know about this, but our co-chair, Claudia Samayoa, has been doing very courageous work in Guatemala – is facing death threats again. So, we're recruiting fluent speaking, Spanish-speaking people who would like to go to Guatemala and essentially be her nonviolent bodyguard. And I spent a couple days doing this a year ago, and I couldn't – nothing would be more exciting. I don't mean exciting because somebody's there with a gun, but exciting because of the kind of people that you meet, and the kind of – what she and others are doing every day, in trying to, among other things, they're trying to get to the bottom of who did this massive genocidal violence in the '80s. And that's very dangerous because a lot of people don't want anybody to know who did that. But that's what they're doing.

Oaxaca, where, as you know, there's been a massive nonviolent struggle – people are asking us to come in and do nonviolence training. So, we hope later this spring to be responding to that. And in Lebanon, there's interest on the Israeli-Lebanon border to have a nonviolent presence.

John Paul Lederach, a colleague of ours, has written a paper in which he's proposing 250,000 nonviolent peacekeepers. And he suggests ways to finance that, including a peace tax on any war industry that's going to make money off of bombs and bullets needs to give just 2%, you know, toward, you know, a Nonviolent Peaceforce. You know, there's businesses that are, you know, making profits off of, you know, stuff. They can give 2% of their – so anyway, we could do this, if the world decides that this is politically important.

So, things that you can do – you could consider giving one or two years of your life to being a part of the Nonviolent Peaceforce, and if you're interested in doing that, it's not just courses in nonviolence, which are very important, but beginning to try to get some experience in doing this kind of work in your own communities.

Michael: After May.

David: After.

Michael: When the semester's over.

David: Well, I mean, you probably heard that there was a tent city in Richmond, you know, in areas where most people were getting killed, and local community people set up a tent city, same idea as what we're doing in Sri Lanka, and said, "This is a peace zone." And they invited, you know, other people to come and be present there. Well, I think very few of us did, but that would be an example of the kind of thing that people could do.

Protest Against the Iraq War

Yeah. Finally, to say that one of the things that we're doing right now that, if any of you are interested, on the first Thursday of every month, at the Federal building in San Francisco, we're doing a die-in. Five hundred and sixty-thousand Iraqi people have died in this war. Thirty-one hundred Americans have been killed, in addition to, you know, many, many thousands wounded for life, mentally as well as physically. And we're trying to remember that, and we're reading the names of the war-dead. And many of us have been arrested, each Thursday, because that's not – or the first Thursday of each month – because that's not appreciated. But one o'clock this Thursday and the first Thursday of every month, that's what we're doing over in San Francisco, and any of you are welcome to look at nonviolence in action.

So, that's a little bit about the Nonviolent Peaceforce. And as I said, the sign-up list, if you would like to be informed about new openings, we're going to be doing – we hope, if we can find the funds – at least four core trainings this year of people that are really interested in working actively in the Nonviolent Peaceforce. So, now, I took a little longer than I planned, but I'd like to hear your questions or comments. Yes.

Question of Expenses

Student: Why does, so you cover all expenses for people while they're in the Nonviolent Peaceforce?

David: Did we what? All the – yes, all the expenses of people on the ground are covered – food, shelter, medical insurance, etc. And we give \$800 a month, either to your family, or you get it when you leave. The idea is not to live high on the hog while you're in the country, but if you need it for college loans or, you know, supporting your family, whatever – that's what it's for. Or, it's a – whatever you call it, when you're finished – readjustment allowance, like the Peace Corps has. Other questions. Comments.

I wowed them.

Student: I do.

David: Yeah.

Prioritizing the Overwhelming Requests

Student: So, what do you do if you have more people that [inaudible 01:08:50] and how do you prioritize them?

Michael: Can you repeat the question?

David: The question was, "What if we have more requests to come to conflict areas than we actually can do?" Well, that's the case. I mean, we've had requests from at least fifteen conflict areas. And, if you look on our website, you'll see, among other things, a link to – well, there's several things there – there's a link to Peaceworkers UK website, which is where you can sign up on a register to say, "I'm interested in being a member of the Nonviolent Peaceforce."

You can look at our feasibility study, in which we looked at, “What are the lessons to be learned from past peacemaking efforts?” And among that is criteria, for where it’s most important for us to go. And that, when we have more requests than we can actually go to, that’s, you know, it’s looking at what are the criteria. So, I mean, I mentioned some of that, but it’s where there are actual local peacemakers or groups on the ground that are inviting us. It’s where we think that nonviolent peacekeepers could actually make a difference. It’s not just, you know, “It’d be nice if we were there.” But the people on the ground say, “This is going to save lives. This is going to help move us from war to peace,” you know, etc. Etc. I mean, there’s a whole bunch of them. But –

Michael: I think one of the criteria is, “Is this going to be acknowledged by the rest of the world if we do something?”

David: Yeah. So, it’s visibility.

Michael: Visibility.

David: Yeah. But our international governing council, you know, makes those decisions. I mean, the staff does the research and the groundwork, but then that international body, you know, makes the actual decision on a deployment. Yes.

Student: So, for most of your conflict are you in between a civilian faction and the government or is it –

David: Are we what?

Student: Between civilians and the government, or what is the conflict for the most part?

David: Where we’re being invited to go?

Student: Yeah.

David: Well, it’s the whole range. It’s often not the civilians that are fighting the government. You know, it’s armed factions. And you know, you could often say there may be some justice on one or both sides. But it’s the civilians that are getting caught in the middle. I mean, and well, I mean, Burma is another example, you know, where there’s just a very, very repressive government, and Aung San Suu Kyi is leading a very courageous nonviolent movement. Tibet is another example, you know, the odds are very great against the Tibetans. Israel-Palestine, you know, where there are people on both sides that are nonviolently trying to transform that situation into a more peaceful one.

In Zimbabwe, where, again, there’s a very repressive government, but very courageous movement – and especially the women – that are resisting that and are getting beaten up and arrested, and their children are getting arrested with them. You know, it’s similar to what Kosovo was. I think the place is going to explode if, somehow, we can’t get some support, you know, to those people that are struggling nonviolently to challenge that. So, but it’s, as I say, in my feeling, the top priority is where there is a local nonviolent movement that is really trying to change that situation, and to have internationals present can make that space for that to happen. Civilians are actually

getting caught in the middle of this stuff all over the world. And so, our need is everywhere.

But we've just developed a strategic plan. A woman lives here in Berkeley, Joan Bernstein has, with input from our whole constituency all around the world, developed a strategic plan for the next 10 years in terms of how do we grow from where we are to where we want to be – of thousands of peacemakers. And that's something, you know, before too long, we'll have that on our website as well.

Michael: Say something about the training.

Opening Space for Democracy and Training for Change

David: Okay. That's another thing you can look at on our website. But we've developed a three-week training course called, "Opening Space for Democracy." And about half of that is also on the Training for Change website. There's a link from our website – just trainingforchange.org. And it's really training in Third-Party Nonviolent Intervention.

So, it's looking at, "What's the history of doing this kind of nonviolent peacekeeping in areas of conflict? What worked, and what didn't work?" of looking at accompaniment and monitoring, interposition and how do we do that and doing role-plays and whole simulation games, where you actually get to practice this stuff. It's team-building because obviously, just having a bunch of individuals trying to do their own thing in an area of conflict is 1% as effective as having people really working together well as a team.

It's multicultural. It's learning to work multiculturally, and how the importance of really being observant and respectful of local cultures. I think having Americans, we often have this tendency to come in and say, "We know how to do things," you know, and as "This is the right way." Well, that's not going to work in this kind of situation. So, but a lot of roleplaying, really looking at, "What does nonviolence mean?" and how we practice that both, you know, on a personal level as well as in a war zone. But if you look at the website, you'll see a whole lot of that training manual. That's Training for Change. Yes.

Student: Also, is there language training as well? Like, you only send in native students of the language, or are there translators?

David: Well, our ideal is to have people that are fluent in the language. And, when we go to Columbia, for instance, we will, fluent Spanish will be a requirement. Sri Lanka is much more difficult because Sinhalese and Tamil – and the Tamil they speak in Sri Lanka is different than the Tamil they speak in India. It's much more difficult. So, what we've done there is to actually hire local people, after we get to know them, that are not, you know, partisan one side or another, who actually work both as translators and as part of the teams. But ideally, and language training is part of the training. In addition to that three-week intensive core training, we have in-country training which will – and language training is a major part of that. Yes.

Deciding to Leave a Country

Student: How do you decide when to leave a country?

David: How do we decide when to leave a country? Well, that's a good question. In our feasibility study, we also have criteria for, you know, when to leave. And that's one of the things that I think, even in war-making, they need. I mean, in Iraq, you know, when is the time to leave? When it seems like we're no longer appreciated.

But so, in many of these areas, in most of these areas, we have local partners, you know, who are, as I said, the heart and soul of this kind of, of the peacemaking. When they say, you know, "You've made a real helpful contribution here, but you know, I think we can do it on our own." That's, you know, we need to be listening to them. We need to look at our own experience – are we really making a difference? Of both in terms of protecting people and helping moving from war to peace? And you know, if it gets, I mean, that's on the positive side, and if it gets so dangerous that we have to put most of our energy into how to protect our own people, as opposed to protecting the people there, and/or if the two sides don't care what international people think, or, you know, whether they get killed or disappeared. That's a clear sign we're not really – that's not the best use of our resources.

Michael: Just like fasting against a lover, parallel to that theme of Gandhi's criteria for fasting. If people don't care what happens to you, you don't have time to make them care. You're not serving a useful purpose there.

David: This is a slight aside, but this is a good question for you, is learning about Satyagraha. In, we often think of Buddhists as being very peaceful. Well, in Sri Lanka right now, there's very, kind of, right-wing, or nationalist Buddhist monks that are fasting to get the government to end the ceasefire and declare full-scale war against the Tamil Tigers. Well, some people call that Satyagraha, actually. I'm afraid I don't. I think there has to be some element based on love, you know, or justice or compassion, you know, for the other, not just thinking about your own self, for it to really be Satyagraha. But you know, you'll have to develop your own answer to that question. But that's happening right now.

Michael: It's enough to make me revoke my Buddhism.

[Laughter] Well, I think that is all of our time. Thank you very much, David.

David: Thank you.

[Applause]

[PACS164B Lecture 14](#)

Michael: Well, good morning, everyone. We have, actually, three things I'd like to go over today, so I hope that won't be too confusing. Maybe we should start with the most recent event, which is that I went to the talk yesterday, after all, with the people from Bil'in and Hebron. And frankly, I was thrilled. I was really inspired. And I know – were you there, Amy?

Student: Yeah.

Michael: Okay. I figured you probably were. I never see you, but you're always there. So, I would actually like to say a couple of words about what I found was so good about it, and then call on you, and you know, if it's just a remark or two, just stay where you are, but if you'd like to say more, come on up here. We'll strap the high-tech on you, and you can hold forth again.

But, essentially, it was someone from Hebron, where there is a very small Jewish settler enclave surrounded by a very large Palestinian population. And whenever this happens, you need to secure the settlers. So, you have roads that come in that cut the Palestinian habitations apart. And then, you know, the roads have to be patrolled, and then the whole thing gets started – the whole, you know, the occupation disaster gets started.

Now, Hebron is actually, well, first of all, it's a place that's had a lot of emotional meaning for both camps, and that's one of the problems. Both the Arabs and the Jews feel that it's part of their heritage, so it's really, seriously contested. I think it's very comparable to Kosovo, with the Albanians, who feel that they've descended from the original Illyrian people, and they've been there for 2,000 years, and then, the Serbs, who lost a battle there in the 13th century and have never forgotten it. It's, so, Hebron – Palestine in general, but Hebron in particular – have that kind of double valence, and it's just been brutally difficult to tease them apart.

And there's a lot of international presence in Hebron – which I should, incidentally, tell you the other two things I do want to talk about today. I want to get back to what we heard on Tuesday about Nonviolent Peaceforce and third-party nonviolent intervention, say a little bit more about that because I think it's a big topic for the future of nonviolence. And thirdly and finally, assuming we get through those two things, talk a little bit about restorative justice, which is rather different in the approach that comes – that it uses.

Let's see. Had a – yeah. If you could pass this – this is irrelevant to almost everything else, but if you could pass this back to Zoe. I want – Jenna and Zoe should see this cartoon. Okay. That was a word from our sponsor. Now we're back to our topic.

Bil'in and Repression

So, in Bil'in, it's a little bit different because that town is trying to be the second place where the separation wall that's being built, roughly but not exactly along the green line that's notionally dividing a future State of Palestine from Israel. But the wall actually

takes in a lot of Palestinian property. And in some cases, cuts farmers off from their livelihood. And that is the case in Bil'in. The plan there, if their wall goes as it was planned, it will separate farmers from their olive orchards, and that means, to use the terms of Ted Gurr, that I've mentioned from time to time, it would be "Pushing people from poverty to destitution." Okay?

So, when you're pushed into destitution, you really have nothing to lose anymore, and in a way, it's a similar dynamic to the Paradox of Repression. In fact, why similar? I would say it's an example of the Paradox of Repression. If you deliberately push people from poverty, which they can stand for a long time really – an appallingly long time – into destitution, where they can't live, then they respond with resistance of one kind or another. Either they leave the territory, or they fight you in some way or another. And as we know, what we're all about here is what way you're going to choose to fight with.

Mexico and Pemex

And in your reader, you have two or three articles on Tabasco in Mexico because that was a classic example. Pemex came into that state, and which was basically agricultural and fishing, and polluted the land so badly that it was impossible to make a living anymore. People's children were being born with deformities and dying at an early age because of all the chemicals, petrochemicals in the water and in the soil.

And so, they decided to be kind of a buffer between the state of Chiapas, which was below them, and which, at that time, was responding with the EZLN, with violence. They were going to be in between Chiapas and the federal government with a nonviolent resistance. And it didn't last very long, but it got some things accomplished. And it was really pretty darn good as nonviolence while it lasted. So, you have a few articles on that.

Wall in Palestine - Nonviolent Resistance

Now, the building of the separation wall has been an issue where the Palestinians have decided to actually try to obstruct the progress of the wall. And in the town of Budrus, the village of Budrus, they were able to get the wall shifted. And whenever there's a success in a population that's trying to do things nonviolently, that tends to be very exciting, and people pick up on it, and it can spread. So, this is what the people in Bil'in are trying to do. And I'm really sorry, now that I've heard from them, I'm sorry they weren't able to come to this class with their pictures and what not but will do the best they can.

How to begin? They – I think a lot of Palestinians feel they have learned from experience that nonviolent resistance is not going to get them anywhere. So, this is a pretty good way to start nonviolent resistance. What did I say? Did I say – "Violent resistance is not going to get them anywhere" – that's what I meant to say. Yeah. Yeah. If that were true, it would be just, you know, shut down the cameras, leave, and the whole thing would be over – no. Totally wrong. Violent resistance is not going to get them anywhere.

And they tried a pretty widespread nonviolent resistance in the First Intifada in '87 to '89, which you saw a little bit about in the film, "Where There Is Hatred." And we didn't really get to talk about it very much, but I think the drive of that nonviolent resistance, Intifada I, resulted in the Madrid Peace Accords. And at that point, unfortunately, the resisters felt, "Okay. We've done our job, so we can go back to our same old, same old." And you know, who can blame them? When existence is hanging by a thread anyway, you barely have enough to eat, to take off from work and go and be nonviolent for a long time is very, very difficult. Which is why, as David Hartsough was telling us on Tuesday, we pay field team workers in Nonviolent Peaceforce.

So, then anyway, it was a case of nonviolence that was working, but in the end, when the nonviolent resisters were able to sort of shift the momentum up to the decision makers, "Okay. We fixed it on the ground. Now, you do the changes," it failed.

"Work" vs Work

And this is an interesting kind of dynamic to consider.

When Martin Luther King did this repeatedly, I would say it was more successful. You know, one iconic episode for me is when he asked President Lyndon Johnson for the Voters Rights Act, and Johnson said, "That's impossible. I haven't got the support for that in congress. We would lose everything." He said, "Okay. I know what to do," went out, and had one more year of demonstrations and organizing and resistance in the streets.

And then he came back, and Johnson signed the Voters Rights Act and handed Martin Luther King, Jr. the pen and sang – this is Johnson singing, I don't know how good he was – sang "We Shall Overcome." And many of his coworkers said they had never seen Martin Luther King, Jr. cry until that moment. That was an example of getting the dynamic to work. The change has to start from the grassroots, but you force the powerholders, the official power holders – their kind of power – to respond and, okay, Finito la musica – story's over. It was a success.

But in at least two big cases that I can think of, people on the ground did their work, handed it over to the power holders, or the official powerholders, and they blew it. And one was the First Intifada, where the international community could not get an agreement together that would actually work.

And the other was this Prague Spring Uprising of 1968, where the Czechs and their leadership were very much on the same page, very much together, and it was them against the Warsaw Pact Armies. They were using police cars to deliver contraband newspapers. It was working very well.

But then, the Soviets "invited," quote, unquote, about nine people from Czech leadership to Moscow for "talks," quote, unquote – I'm glad I was not a fly on the wall when those talks were going on. It must have been really brutal jawboning. And they got the leadership, basically, I mean, not to put too fine a point on it, got them to betray the revolution. And they knew that they had done that. They went back and had to announce this to the people. They were crying. It was a disaster.

Well, at that point, what could have happened – I guess that’s the word I want to use – what could have happened is the people could have said, “Okay. Back to the streets. You know, how much more do you want? We’ve done it for nine months. We’ll give you another nine months until we get –” When the people lead, the leaders will follow. But the leaders weren’t following, so you have to go back and do it some more.

Obviously, you can get exhausted doing stuff like this. You don’t want to risk your life. Some people were hurt, some people were killed, everything was disrupted. It can be exhausting. But I think that really at the bottom of it, what makes these dynamics fail is we still can’t get over the idea that we’re in charge. We still think that the President of the United States is the Chief Executive – and he will do everything in his power to get you to keep on thinking that. You know, he’ll say, “I’m the decider,” and everybody goes back to work, “Oh, thank God we’ve got a decider up there making wrong decisions on our behalf.”

So, it really is part of, I’m seeing again, that it’s part of this very big paradigm shift to get people to realize that the human individual is where all of this is coming from. And human individuals create structures, and they can dissipate those structures overnight. You know, one day, once, when I was very getting kind of depressed, and I thought we weren’t going to be able to pull off the revolution. I’m glad I didn’t realize that I was right at that time – but I didn’t realize how long it would take. I remember talking to a socialist friend of mine – it’s unusual to have an actual, honest-to-gosh, red-blooded socialist, but Hal Draper was one – and I was saying to him, “It’s such an enormous, monolithic thing. How are we going to get anywhere?” And he said, “Look. Up until one day, Joseph Stalin was God, and the next day he didn’t even exist. His people decided he was a nonperson, all his statues were pulled down, all the textbooks were erased, and he just wasn’t there anymore.

So, we have to have the faith that it’s us and our decisions that we renew every day that are really building the world. And the rest of it are just agreements – agreements that are made and that can be broken.” Even – okay. I was going to say some unpatriotic things. I think I’d better stop here.

Successes of Nonviolence and Non-Triumphalism

So, the First Intifada, as I say, was really a success – it was going along pretty well. I think, we may even want to put Kosovo in this category. In ’90, ’91, it actually had forced the Serbs to reopen the University of Priština and allow people to teach in Albanian. And it’s remarkable how often that is the issue in these identity struggles, getting to have instruction in your own language. I would say, second to water rights, it’s the most important issue today.

But the people didn’t really quite appreciate that they had succeeded, and so, at a famous funeral celebration in Drenica, somebody showed up with a mask and a rifle and said, “We’re the KLA, and this is how it has to go.” And the nonviolence, more or less, collapsed, and the energy drained off into the KLA. The next thing you knew, you had 78 days of NATO bombing to get the Serbs off their back.

So, it's a kind of balance, isn't it? Where, on the one hand, you have to acknowledge that you had a success. And on the other hand, very important, not to try to own that success personally – not to say, “I did it.” – and above all not to be, you know, I'm going to coin a word here – it's not a very pretty one, so we don't have to end up continuing to use it, but – not to be triumphalistic about it.

You know, like when you win the 100-yard dash, you're supposed to spray champagne over everybody, which is a very Pagan, sacrificial holdover. I don't think they realize that there's real superstition. But, you know, you're supposed to dance around – even if you, like, get ten yards, there's a special dance you're supposed to do to show that you triumphed. And it's extremely important – Martin Luther King was superb on this point – it's extremely important for nonviolent practitioners not to do that.

Let me give you a really good example of how you should do it. And this will concern the Sicilian Gandhi, as he's sometimes called, Danilo Dolci, who was general secretary of the War Resisters League for some years – War Resisters League being a very committed pacifist, nonviolent organization. It's a nonviolent organization that focuses on war, rather than a pacifist organization, which focuses exclusively on war. Okay? Maybe it's a fine distinction – it's not going to come up on the midterm.

Danilo Dolci and the Jato Dam

But Danilo Dolci was the general secretary internationally of the War Resisters League, and he was a wealthy architect – well, he was an architect, so he was going to become wealthy. And he went down to Sicily one summer for a vacation and was so struck by the poverty there that it changed his whole life, and he dedicated his life to the uplift of these Siciliani – the Sicilian peasants. And one of his first campaigns was to get a dam built at a town called Jato. And he really had some struggles to go through because, on the one hand, the government didn't want to build that dam. And on the other hand, the mafia didn't want that dam to be built. So, throughout his career, he's treading this fine line between the Mafiosi, on the one hand, and the government, on the other hand. Mafia-government connections usually end up doing a lot of damage.

Anyway, not to start singing Woody Guthrie songs and go into all of that, just trying to stay on topic here, after much struggle, particularly against the mafia, he got the dam built, which meant that he now had a lot of water in his possession. And water, in Sicily, is a valuable commodity. I mean, it's a valuable commodity anywhere where it's rare. Fresh water was rare enough in Sicily that this was a huge thing.

And now this whole time, he's starting schools, and he's having – children can come to school, and it does not matter what families they come from. They can be Mafiosi or non-Mafiosi – he's not asking that question. So, there's already a bit of a bridge that he's building with the mafia.

And on one famous occasion, a mafioso came to him and said, “Ecco, Danilo,” he said, “Okay, Danilo, you've won. Now, you get all the water.” And Danilo said, “No, you don't understand – this water isn't for us. This water is for everybody. Nobody has lost. We just now have done something efficient that's good for Sicily.” So, that's an excellent example of not being, pardon my neologism – wouldn't that be a good television

program, actually, “Pardon My Neologism” – but anyway, pardon my using the word, “triumphalistic.” It was a good example of not doing that.

So, when you have a nonviolent success, you want to come out in between those two extremes. You don’t want to say – you don’t want to fail to appreciate your achievement because that’s what’s going to give you the energy and the learning capacity to go on to the next go round, but, at the same time, you don’t want to gloat and be triumphalistic about it.

Okay. So, this then, by way of a long-winded bit of background – I hope you found it amusing – here’s the success in Budrus. In the remote background, there is some acknowledgement of a success in Bil’in. And once again, there are learning institutions which are in business to collect this information and propagate it. And one of them is Holy Land Trust in Bethlehem, and the director of Holy Land Trust is a fellow named Sami Awad. His uncle Mubarak has come and spoken to this class many times, but I just, scheduling, couldn’t make it to work this semester. But I asked [Mohammed Khatib](#) if he knew Sami Awad – he definitely did. So, you have these two kinds of learning going on.

Learning Processes with Nonviolence

There’s experiential learning, and sort of a folk process, where, you know, who – there is a mysterious kind of learning process in living systems. Okay?

One more digression, and we’ll be right back on track. In the Roan Valley, there was a drought, and it lasted for such a long time that five generations of beavers were not able to build their dams. Okay? By the time the sixth generation of beavers came along, there was a good rainfall, the water level rose. And immediately, those beavers started building dams. Now, how in tarnation did they know how to do that? You know, their great-great-great-great-grandbeavers were the last ones who knew. And to our knowledge, there’s no written language in beaver community. It’s quite mysterious.

So, what I’m saying is, this process goes on among humans also – not the dam-building part, the transmitting of knowledge from one generation to the next – and it will take place, and we won’t need to worry about it except that, for our purposes, in terms of bringing about a nonviolent revolution and a paradigm shift, it’s way too slow – way too slow. So, we need institutions that capture that knowledge and codify it, systematize it, and propagate it, and make it happen more quickly. There used to be such institutions. They were called, “Universities.” But now, they take large amounts of money from corporations.

Okay. So, the people in Bil’in. Here they are. They know that there is such a thing as nonviolence. They know that it can be made to work. As Mohammed pointed out last night, their cause is just. They have tremendous advantage in that regard – their cause is completely just. The Israelis are not only violating international law, they’re violating their own laws. That was very well pointed out. So, you can – this is ripe for civil disobedience. This is classic civil disobedience. You have a law that’s not lawful, and you correct it to bring people back to the law. That’s really civil.

So, I just want to mention one other thing that really struck me, and then I'd like to call on the rest of you who were there to sort of fill this in. The thing that struck me, maybe most of all, was his final announcement. I mean, he had shown this very stirring film and his PowerPoint. I was impressed by the way he got his laptop to work, that was pretty impressive – more than I could do. He had this very impressive display and presentation, and he gave his talk. He answered questions. One of those questions was very impressive, the way he handled that – I'll leave that up to you people.

But when it was all over, and he had his second standing ovation, he said there's going to be a conference in Bil'in, April 19th through 21st, something like that – and I just want to add, as you may have noticed, I do not take attendance in this class, a word to the wise. Anyway, he said there's going to be this conference, and he wants you to come, and he echoed words that I had heard from Mubarak Awad twenty years earlier in Santa Cruz, that we are – Mubarak had said, "We are willing to die, but we do not want to die alone." He said, "Do, please, come." And then he said something that really struck me. He said, "Don't be for us. Don't be against us. Just come and learn. Make your own decision."

You see, that – that is really core PNV, Principled Nonviolence – because remember Gandhi saying, "If a man or woman truly believes in something, for that person, that thing is right and proper." I mean, the point is always to act on your beliefs and test them. And sometimes, it's the role of the nonviolent actor to help you to do that, even when you disagree with them.

Third-Party Nonviolent Intervention - Non-Partisanship

There is a famous example of Gandhi coming out of a meeting and there are these Black Flag people. They wanted to beat him. You know, it wouldn't take much – he only weighs 104 pounds, has neither teeth nor hair – the two ways that mammals often defend themselves. And so, they're getting ready to hit him, and he says, "What good is it going to do you to bang on this head?" And they said, "Hmm. Yeah, you know, maybe this isn't exactly the best thing to do." And then they said, "So what should we do?" And then he gave him a whole nonviolent strategy of how they should carry out Satyagraha against him, and they kept saying, "Well, then, what if that doesn't work? What should we do next?" And, finally, he said, "You should go on a fast unto death against me." And they said, "We're not prepared to do that." And he said, "That's not my job." He was just trying to tell them how to do it.

So, that's a humorous, but also very real example that he was not trying to recruit people to be on his side, he was just trying to push the truth along. And that's tremendous. Of course, nobody with more than a 52 IQ, seeing what's going on on the ground there, would fail to realize that this is a very unequal, very imbalanced victim-victimizer situation.

Now, you may remember that when David Hartsough was here on Tuesday, he briefly mentioned the term, "non-partisanship." It's a serious issue in TPNI. I'm not even totally sure he did mention that word. We may have to go back to the webcast. But I think he used the term. Now, it's taken us – I use the first-person plural because this has been a project that I've been working on, really for decades – it's taken us really a long time to

get this concept clear. I think it's pretty clear really throughout the whole community now. People know what they mean by non-partisanship.

The problem was, how are you going to go – let's take a village in Nicaragua because I have connections with that country now. Let's say, you go into a village in Nicaragua, and these contras are coming across the border from Honduras and coming into the village in the middle of the night, rounding people up, shooting men, women, and children – how are you going to be in that situation without feeling that what you're supposed to do is protect those Nicaraguans, not the contras? Or contra, as it's usually called, even in the plural.

So, the point is not that you would not protect those people. But you would be protecting them because they're people, not because they're Nicaraguans, not because they're victimized, not because of anything, but because you're there to protect human life. And in theory, if the tide were to turn, say, if those campesinos would grab some of the guns and start shooting back at the contra. I mean, mind you, there'd be a small – for one second there, there'd be a rather large thrill of satisfaction. But, in reality, as a nonviolent person, you would switch affiliations and – not switch affiliations, you have no affiliations – you'd switch over and protect those contras.

Is this realistic? Can it actually happen in practice?

Example of Non-Partisanship and Interpositioning - KKK vs Ann Arbor

Well, I know of one very dramatic case from a domestic nonviolent intervention, which takes place in Ann Arbor, Michigan because every year in the good city of Ann Arbor, the Ku Klux Klan has a rally. And they are not a majority community up there, north of the Mason-Dixon. And the good people of Ann Arbor come out – and some of the bad people of Ann Arbor come out, who are bad in every way except they're not racists – and they hate Ku Klux Klan, and there's these terrific riots, and the police can't even handle it.

Well, it so happens that one of the TPNI organizations called Michigan Peace Team is based in Ann Arbor. And they do domestic interventions – they are third parties, you see. They're not Klan members, and they're not anti-Klan members – this is a subtle distinction I'm trying to get at here. They're, as professionals, they're in favor of peace. That's what they're in favor of. So, they actually come out and do interposition – this is real interposition, you know, the last, final weapon, ultimate weapon in TPNI – between Klan members and people who would attack them. And this has worked beautifully, and the police have praised them to the skies. They say, "You know, we would not have been able to control these people without you." And all they are armed with are yellow t-shirts – rather attractive yellow t-shirts that just say Michigan Peace Team on them.

Well, on one of these occasions, some of the anti-Ku Klux Klan hateful people got out of control, slipped through the line, and were beating a Klan member rather seriously. And this very large African American woman rushed over and threw her body on top of him and protected him from all of these people, and then helped him up. So, I think that tells the whole story.

But it's not the only episode. There was also a case, more to the point, in – I believe this happened in Hebron, I'm not sure right at the moment – where there were some IDF soldiers in an apartment searching for something, and a deranged person came in with a knife. And there happened to be a Christian peacemaker team member on the scene, and he immediately got in the way and held that person, held onto the knife hand, until the soldiers could disarm him.

On still a third occasion – because I think this is a really important point, and it's good to try to get this in focus – on more than one occasion, Peace Brigades International in Guatemala has been accompanying a group. It's a group of striking workers, in one case, that I'm thinking of. And the workers, one of them showed up armed, and the rest of the group refused to repudiate that, to tell him to leave or to lay down his weapon. And PBI turned around and left. They said, "We can't be here. We can't protect you if you have a way of protecting yourself." Which is a very different modality.

Those of you who are intimately familiar with the Mahābhārata, which probably is a small percentage of this community, there is a very dramatic scene in that vast epic where the heroine, Draupadi, who has now become a kind of figurehead for the entire feminist movement. Draupadi is going to be humiliated in front of a vast crowd. They're going to be ripping off her sari, you know, her dress. And she has five husbands – they're all heroes, but they, it'd be way too long of a story, say, they can't intervene. So, there she is, and she's praying to God for help, "Save me. Save me."

Now, she's a completely innocent victim, going to be humiliated, which is the worst – in a nonviolent point of view, even, in a sense, even worse than death. She's praying and praying, and God is, apparently, not interested. You know, he's got his computer screen turned off, and his consort Lakshmi says to him, you know, "What kind of a Divine Incarnation are you? Look, this is one of your best devotees. She's praying to you for help, and you're not doing anything." He says, "Honey, take another look." She looks down and sure enough, Draupadi is desperately holding onto her sari with one hand and praying with the other hand. And a certain point comes where she goes from poverty to destitution in her mind. She says, "I'm helpless here," lets go the other hand and prays. And immediately, there's an intervention.

It's a really cool intervention too because nothing happens, but the guy who's pulling her sari off – you know, saris are about six yards long – so, he gets to yard six, and he gives a yank and two more yards come off. And it's like, see, he pulls off about 400 yards of sari and then drops exhausted to the floor. So, that's how God intervenes. He definitely has a sense of humor – He or She.

Now, back to our subject, which is the non-partisan nature of intervention, which Mohammed Khatib referred to, among other things, that he was referring to in that brilliant statement of his. So, just to finish up with it, what we've decided is, as a community, more or less, there's, you know, about twenty different organizations – we don't actually meet together – but what we've decided is that we are on the side of peace and justice, and in a case where one side is clearly being victimized, all our behavior will be on behalf of the victim. We'll protect the victim because the victimizer doesn't need protection. But we promise you that the minute the victimizer needs

protection, we'll protect him or her. It has nothing to do with who we like or don't like. So, that's part of what Mohammed was getting at. Michael?

Protecting All from Victimizing - PITS

Student: Seems like you're protecting the victimizer as well.

Michael: Of course, of course. If you really know what's happening, if you've taken PACS 164 or some real advantage like that, then you'll know that you're protecting the victimizer from his or her own victimization. And I don't think we've formally mentioned it yet, but there is a wonderful – maybe not wonderful – but there's a very interesting concept in psychology today called "Perpetrator Induced Traumatic Stress." And what this is about is the damage that you do to yourself when you harm another person knowingly. It's something that's so serious in its consequences that the United States Army's official position on this is to ignore it. They say, "If we were to even talk about this, it would put an end to a necessary activity," namely war-fighting, which they consider necessary. Okay?

Student: [Unintelligible 0:37:02]

Michael: Perpetration Induced Traumatic Stress. It's obviously kind of a play on Traumatic Stress Syndrome, right – Post-Traumatic Stress – PTSD. Yeah. Got to get your acronyms straight in this business. So, the person who has been working on this, her name is Rachel MacNair, and she will actually be at the Nonviolent Educators Conference that's taking place on campus in July.

Student: On NPR News this morning,

Michael: Yeah.

Student: They actually had – I don't know if anyone heard it – it was on some of the veterans doing yoga and meditation, and they're trying to incorporate that into the Veteran Recovery Program.

Michael: Wow.

Student: So, just on a side note,

Michael: Okay.

Student: There's a little hope.

Michael: There is a little hope. Thank you, Ashley. They're trying to bring yoga and meditation into recovery programs. That I feel good about. If they're trying to bring it in as training, we're going to have to talk. But, no, that's very good. Yeah. No, and obviously, one person who was very good at this for Vietnam veterans was Thích Nhất Hạnh. He developed whole workshops and things to help veterans get over this.

But, yes, Michael's point is very well taken. You really are not intervening on behalf of one side against the other even when you interpose yourself, or, if you don't have to go that far, you do good offices of something, to protect a victim, you are, of course, also protecting the victimizer at the same time. Matias?

Student: What's a good way to incorporate that? I mean, it's, as a theoretical concept, it definitely sounds beautiful, but I can totally feel the bias I have towards –

Michael: Yeah.

Student: One side, and the anger I would feel towards –

Michael: Yeah.

Student: One side, you know?

Michael: Yeah.

Student: [Unintelligible 0:38:56]

Michael: Wow. Amy, do you have anything to say about that?

Student: I feel like, something I noticed in –

Michael: Excuse me, Amy. Let me repeat Matias's question because he is asking, "You know, this is a beautiful concept in theory, but," as Goethe said, "Grau ist alle Theorie." – "Theory is nowhere." – "how are we, given the hatred that we tend to spontaneously feel when we see victimization, what are we actually going to do?" Amy.

Student: I was just going to say, one thing I noticed, from the video of the demonstrations in Bil'in, sometimes the people were saying to the soldiers, "You can resist too."

Michael: Yes. Yes,

Student: Kind of.

Michael: Yes.

Student: So, I think you could appeal to them.

Michael: Yes.

Student: And tell, them, you know, "You're being a victim too."

Michael: Yeah.

Student: And that helps.

Michael: That's a good point.

Student: But I noticed at some of the other times they were also calling them criminals.

Michael: Yeah. In any real human community, and possibly in any real human individual, you'll get a mix of both. Sometimes you'll be able to keep this beautiful thing in focus, and sometimes you won't. So, all that we're saying here is to the extent that you can keep it in focus, you'll be effective – I mean, more effective.

Actually, the phrase they were using, Amy, is, "You can refuse too," because there's a famous set of Israeli soldiers who are refuseniks. And actually, last semester, we heard from one of those who'd been a high-ranking Air Force officer. So, I also caught that

and thought that that was terrific, that you're not going to them and saying, you know, "You're bad. Get out of here." You're saying, "You can refuse too." And this is a lot of how the fraternization works in civilian-based defense. You go to the soldiers and say, you know, "I think you've been misled. What are you doing here? You should be joining us." Yeah. Excellent.

Okay. So, what else stood out for you, Marissa, John, Amy, Jenna, others of you who were there last night? What would you like to add? Alex, were you there?

Student: I went to the noon reception, not the evening one.

Michael: Okay. I understand it was the same thing.

Student: Yeah. That's what I heard. I just wanted to say really quickly, I had a chance to talk to Mohammed Khatib afterwards.

Michael: Wonderful.

Student: And I asked him what he thought was going on with nonviolence in Palestine, whether it's kind of a growing force that people are starting to take note of and whether –

Michael: Yeah.

Student: He thinks it's going to be able to be used on a larger scale. And just without even thinking, what he said to me was, "With your help."

Michael: Wow.

Student: So –

Michael: Wow.

Student: He really stressed –

Michael: Yeah.

Student: The influence of international presence –

Michael: Yeah.

Student: Intervention –

Michael: Yeah.

Student: And I thought that was really [unintelligible 0:41:33]

TPNI - Invitation, Intervention and Influence

Michael: Yeah. And that certainly is the way these social uprisings have gone for the last 20 years. So, what Alex is saying is, she asked Mohammed, "Is nonviolence going to thrive in Palestine?" And without a moment's hesitation he said, "With your help." So there really is – it's interesting because it's a key role that third parties can play and in some cases, will make the difference between success and failure. But, at the same

time, and I think David was stressing this on Tuesday, the minute you go in and do things that they could have done for themselves, you're making a mistake. You're disempowering them instead of empowering them.

So, how to know exactly what to do, how to mobilize their indigenous resources, and then step back. So, I was very glad one of you was asking, on Tuesday, "When do you leave?"

There's kind of a double problem there. There's something that we, kind of tongue in cheek, we call "Peace Imperialism," where, you know, if you go in and say, "Hey, we've got peace and you don't. You need us." – that will tempt you to stick around even after the immediate crisis has been resolved. But the other thing that happens – and incidentally, Matias, we are getting back to your question – the other thing that happens is when you go and risk your life for other people, a funny thing happens. You fall in love with them, and it's very difficult to get out.

You go and discover that these people, who are different from you and live in another country and all of this stuff, that they're your people. And you've lived through deeply emotional, you know, border situation tensions with them. It has been, actually, a real problem in the whole TPNI field – not only to know strategically when you should leave, but to be able to leave emotionally. It's been difficult. Because if every team that went into a country ended up staying there, there'd be no – where are we going to get this 250,000-person team to be international and be really third-party after that?

But, back to Matias' question, here you go into these situations. And for example, I was over at Rabbi Lerner's house last night. He's going to be coming here and talking to us at the end – assuming that his foot heals. He has a very badly sprained ankle. He's going to be talking to us. And you know, we were both saying that we often don't go to these talks because we're so angry anyway. You know, he said, "I've got enough anger for seven lifetimes at this point. I don't need to see more scenes of victimization." Because when you see them, you lose your non-partisanship. You lose your sense of the humanity of the other. And that hurts.

It's kind of one of these very awkward things where there's an important question, and I don't have the answer to it. I know, in my own self, what I try to do is just remind myself that the victimizer is a victim, and just try to see the humanity in that person and remind myself that I'm trying to help that person get over this mindset of alienation that he or she feels. But we're dealing with very deep stuff, and we need a system, a technique, to get these beautiful ideas deeper into our consciousness so that they become part of us. And that's known as PACS 94 – Meditation 8:00 to 9:00 every Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. John?

Student: I kind of think of the children who were, you know, harassing all the students.

Michael: Oh, that was a –

Student: I think of the soldiers as just like older children, you know. They're just trained from such a young age. They're really a product of what they were taught when they were younger. They really are human. Yeah. [Unintelligible 0:46:03]

Hating the Act, Not the Victimizer - Requires Training and Discipline

Michael: Very good point. That was probably the most painful thing that we saw last night. You have these children, under the age of twelve, being egged on by their parents to throw stones at the Palestinians and curse them and kick them, and parental authority figures just standing around not intervening – and parental authority figures and IDF, you know, the Army, with all their guns. The Palestinians know full well if they pick up one stone, they'll get shot. But, in terms of, I mean, the thing that always hurts me the most is damaging a young person at such a deep level that this is going to go on into the future. But what John is adding to that is, after all is said and done, that IDF soldier is just a grown-up baby who's been taught to hate from childhood. Or he's been taught that it's his duty, and he's defending the country, and he may not like it, and all that stuff.

So, that's how to maybe deal with it on the ideal level, and I think when we find ourselves in interpersonal situations to try to approach a person and talk to them. I mean, David told you that incredible story yesterday about that guy who was really about to kill him, and he just looked, and he called him "Friend," which came kind of spontaneously because David is a birthright Quaker. So, that shows you, long training helps in these situations.

You know, and I think I've told you, when Nehru was getting beat up by lathis, he looked up at that cavalry, that mounted policeman, and he said, "It would be so easy to pull that guy down off his horse. I'm a much better rider than he is." But then, as he said, "Long training and discipline held."

Now, that's one of my, I hope you kind of catch on – we're kind of talking about two topics at once here. We're talking about the talk last night and about third-party nonviolent intervention. I'll try to keep it down to two simultaneous topics.

One of the questions that I didn't raise yesterday – I mean, Tuesday, when David was here – and the reason I didn't is that I raise it all the time, and I'm kind of famous for this, they say, "Oh my God, here comes Nagler. Here we go again." I'm always sticking my hand up and saying, "What about the training?" Because to go to someone for a three-week training, that means, yes, you may know something about customs, you may know something about how to organize yourselves, how to keep track of one another, all of these good things. But when that deep button gets pushed, and your sense of humanity is violated at a deep level, it's not going to be there for you.

On one meeting in – took place in northern India – this was quite a while ago now. Narayan Desai was there. He was – his father was Mahatma Gandhi's lifelong secretary, Mahadev Desai. And they're going around the circle, thinking of how we're going to build these Shanti Sena teams, and – incidentally, I misspelled "Shanti Sena." It's "S-h-a-n-t-i," on the – I missed, I left off the "i" on the blackboard. Tuesday, I noticed that, to my horror, but didn't want to interrupt David's presentation.

So, okay. We're going to do this Shanti Sena thing, how much training do we need? And the Americans, who say, "Oh, I think an intensive weekend workshop would do it. We'll use PowerPoint" – of course, they didn't say that – and the Indians were a little

more realistic, “This is going to take – I think we’re going to have to dedicate two weeks to this.” And they got around to Narayan, and they said, well, they asked him, “What do you think?” “Oh, I think one lifetime should be enough.” So, it really is one of the most difficult and undeveloped questions in this whole field. Yeah.

Student: I think it should be much more addressed or – much more a part of the community because we are so trained, or it’s so easy to fall into the – you know, when I go to demonstration of something. It’s so easy for me to just get so rageful and wanting to go against the other side. [Unintelligible 0:50:23] or something. You know? And this is so complex. And to me, it needs a lot more attention.

Michael: It needs a lot more attention. Ashley, did you want to add something?

Student: Well, I was just going to say, and to add to that, it’s almost like it seems sometimes that we preach to the choir, the ones who really have the tools, they know how to deal in the protests. And the ones who have the rage who can’t control it –

Michael: Yeah.

Student: Aren’t the ones really getting the information of how to control it.

Michael: Yeah. What we should probably do – I’m sorry. Did I interrupt you, Ash?

Student: No, no. That’s okay.

Importance of Meditation and Discipline in Training

Michael: Okay. What we should probably do is when we come back to this when we’re talking about globalization and what happened in Seattle, let’s address the whole question of, at least, how to keep violence out of a demonstration, if not, how to keep it out of your heart.

Which, you know, frankly, I was one of those, when they originally were organizing the Nonviolent Peaceforce, around 2001 and stuff, Mel Duncan, who is now sort of the CEO of this whole thing, he was saying, “Well, we should offer meditation.” And I was the one who said, “Let’s not do it because you can’t just pick somebody, and say, ‘Okay. Now you offer meditation,’ you know, you have to know how to do it.” I’ve been doing it for 40 years, and all I would do is show people the technique, without getting involved in their Karma. That’s the most that I would dare to do on my own. But it’s a serious problem. I know you had a question, Roberto, we’ll get to you in one second. *Paciencia todo lo alcanza.*

There’s one way we’ve been able to go about this. It’s not the greatest, but at least it works in a kind of rough and ready fashion. And that is, not so much the training itself, but you use the training as a screening. And you try to get to know people and get to know if they’ve got what it takes to go and do stuff like this.

And I remember hearing from Liam Mahoney, who was one of the leaders of Peace Brigades International and was involved in the trainings for Haiti – now, Haiti was a real success story because the UN got frightened and left. The big institutions, that’s what they do – they pull their people out immediately. The United States Army fled. Yes, I

said it, and I'm glad. You know, when you see these signs around rural areas that say, "These colors don't run." – red, white, and blue. Guess what? They ran. A whole ship full of Infantry soldiers, or maybe it was Marines, I don't know – they pulled into Port-au-Prince, and there was a few people on the dock saying, "We've got pistols. We're going to shoot you." They turned – the ship turned around and went back.

So, the UN couldn't do it, the US Army couldn't do it, and this coalition called Cry for Justice in Haiti, which was like 75 people – no weapons, practically no money, no nothing – they stayed there for months and months and months, protecting human lives while all of this was going on.

But is this why I'm talking about Haiti? No. The reason I'm talking about it is that there was this rather long training for Cry for Justice, and at the very last minute, Liam had to say to somebody, "You can't go." It's very, very difficult. But it's much better to do it then than to have somebody break down, and you know, have to be carried out on a gurney or whatever.

So, you're saying it should be addressed more, and I'm very happy to hear you say that because this is what I do. This, you know, this is why they say, "Oh no. Here comes Nagler." I'm constantly saying we have to pay much more attention to the training piece because if you realize how deep this is –

I'm not sure how many of you have heard this story. I hope you'll be polite and pretend you've never heard it before, but – I had a friend who went down to San Francisco State when there were some interracial problems there. And he – we recommended that he not go, but he went anyway. And then he called up and said, you know, "Hi. This is Tim." So, "Hi, Tim. What's up?" "Could someone come down and get me?" "Where are you?" "At the 63rd Precinct." "What happened, Tim?" "I don't know." He literally said, "When I came to, I was sitting on the policeman's chest and hitting him."

So, and this was a very pacifistic person, you know, he never, if you asked him, he would say he'd never have been capable of doing such a thing. But you get there, and these things erupt out of you. So, this is a big, big problem. But the potential here is also very big because if we can tap into those deeper energies and get them on track, we have a really powerful force here. Okay. Roberto.

Student: Just a comment following up what Althea said [unintelligible 0:55:28]. It's harder –

Michael: Yeah.

Student: For you to [unintelligible 0:55:35]. It's not the people. It's the problem

Michael: Yeah.

Student: But the one thing that I've noticed from place that I've been as well, [unintelligible 0:55:45] is mainly on how the protests are being conducted, how the leadership of the protest, the people are doing it. If they're doing targeting, let's say, the war in Iraq or the Bush Administration –

Michael: Yeah.

Student: Carrying out the war in Iraq.

Michael: Yeah.

Student: Because when I went to place that they were talking about, “Let’s pull out of the war,” and not even talking about politics. The issue is, let’s get the troops out of there. People, think, should focus on getting the troops instead of saying, “Yeah. Bush is not the –”

Michael: Yeah.

Student: “Smartest man.” So, let’s pull out.

Michael: Yeah. If I could paraphrase your point for the world, what you’re saying is very well taken that one of the things that allows you to be non-partisan is to not be ad hominem, as we say in the legal world. It’s not the person. It’s the problem. And as you know, I think this is one of the two or three most basic principles in nonviolence. It’s up there with means and the ends are the same, the person is not the problem. It’s got to be a really, really basic principle. And yeah, these – there is a point, there is some value in reminding yourself that. Reminders do help.

Now, from the earliest days – David was reminding me that there’s a film called, “[A Force More Powerful](#),” a two-volume PBS series on nonviolent uprisings since Gandhi. These are really professional filmmakers – makes our DVD look a little bit sick. But these guys went and got some really amazing footage. And they have some footage of trainings in the Civil Rights movement – you know, those grainy, black and white, cameras shaking around. But you see Jim Farmer walking people through what they call “Roleplays.”

Now, I used to be very snobbish and think that roleplays don’t work. And then, I was in one, and I was to play the part of somebody sitting on a counter stool in one of those lunch counters. And then there were these people behind me who were making believe that they were rednecks. And guess what? I think those guys got a little out of hand. I think they actually believed it. And I felt like I was in a certain amount of trouble, as a matter of fact. I mean, I was surrounded by Quakers – I knew nothing serious could happen to me.

But what I want to say is that if you put yourself into a role even, of acting out, even if the situation isn’t real, the same emotions come up to some degree, and you can process those emotions. So then, when you go into the scene, and it happens in the real world, you – the reality for you is the same.

Kindred vs Hatred

It’s your emotions that you have to deal with.

This is a little bit like that finding that they discovered that, when you see images of violence, the damage done by those images, it makes absolutely no difference whether you think you’re watching the news, and this really happened or whether you think you’re watching entertainment - absolutely no difference. The violence is the same. The

damage is the same. The only thing that matters to the damage is deeper human relationships hurt more when you violate them. Violations of family bonds and things like that, you see those in entertainment, that's going to hurt more than perfect strangers. But it makes no difference that your conscious mind thinks or does not think that that thing is actually happening. It is actually happening for you. Yeah. Michael?

Student: What is – how do you track that damage? Where is that coming from?

Michael: Well, I think it comes from a violation of human unity. You see a family, and you participate in the unity of that family. And when that unity is torn apart, part of you is torn apart. You feel it in your own psyche. It's getting into some deep philosophy here that I should save for this afternoon because I have to talk to a bunch of freshmen this afternoon about Stephen Hawking's book, "Brief History of Time."

But not to belittle the question. It is a very important one. I think, you know, our whole thing here is predicated on the fact that unity among human beings is a reality that we all are aware of. And in the last semester, we talked about some of the new scientific evidence that we actually do perceive one another's emotions on a very, even in our own nervous system.

So, in a way, that whole fabric of our beings – physiological, physical, physiological, mental – is ruptured. Now, this is an important point because that means that the soldiers who are standing there getting the demonstration out of the way – they're hurting from what they're doing. So, you can appeal to that. And that's a good way to get over the partisanship and hatred. Okay. So, this is one of the key areas that we've had to try to understand and develop in the world of third-party nonviolent intervention.

Question of Truth and Justice

Okay. What else did you pick up last night? Marissa, anything you'd like to share?

Student: Well, he touched on, just a bit, last night. I definitely felt that, when you have – I think the speaker was expecting that when you have truth and justice on your side,

Michael: Yeah.

Student: You don't need to hide.

Michael: Yes.

Student: And that's why he could answer any question.

Michael: Yes.

Student: And you're trying, if you don't want to answer a question or you don't want pictures taken or –

Michael: Yeah.

Student: You have something to hide.

Michael: Yeah.

Student: And then, we should question what you are doing.

Michael: Yep. After all is said and done, this is Satyagraha we're talking about. We're clinging to truth, so you should be able to do most everything that you do openly. Do remember that there are some times when you do have to finesse this, where doing something openly doesn't necessarily refer to the facts of the situation.

We talked about a German Catholic priest who was hiding people, and he lied about it to the Gestapo. And he was challenged later on, "Why did you lie? That's a sin." And he said, "The whole system was a lie." You know, it didn't make any sense saying something that was factually correct in a system like that.

But, that finesse aside, I think Mohammed spoke to that very well that they have truth and justice on their side – or, I would go even further and say, "If you believe truth and justice is on your side, and you're willing to test it, that's enough." Because if you say, "The truth is on my side," you're on your way to being an untruthful, an ideological person. But if you say, "I am fully confident that the truth is on our side, and I'm willing to change my mind if you convince me otherwise. But, until you've done that, I believe the truth is on my side, and therefore, I have nothing to hide." And that gives a person a certain kind of power, and a movement a certain kind of power. Yeah. He was very good on that point. Okay. Other things? John, anything that you?

Student: [Unintelligible 1:03:31]

Michael: Okay. That happens to me too.

Student: Yeah. [Unintelligible 1:03:36]

Dehumanizing Characterization

Michael: Oh. Was that a cat he was talking about? Yeah. Oh, he was – you know, he answered that question wrong, I think. Someone in the audience, who was obviously a Zionist and was taking copious notes, challenged Mohammed by saying that yesterday in Lebanon some Hamas terrorists slit somebody's throat off in the forest, and now you're telling us that you're nonviolent? Now, what I would have said – incidentally, Mohammed said he wants to come here and do an MA, so that's going to be pretty cool – what I would have said was, "I said we were nonviolent. I didn't say that every Arab in the world was nonviolent."

I can, well, okay. Let's, off the top of my head, Ted Bundy, the serial killer. I mean, I happen to know about this guy because he read my book when he was getting ready to be executed, and we were actually corresponding for a while. Boy, that was hairy. I almost became Sister Helen Prejean there for a minute. But okay. Here's Ted Bundy. He killed, I don't know, 21 nurses, or something like that. Does that mean that all Americans are serial killers? See, this is how prejudice works. You take the worst example of a group, and you characterize the whole group by that example.

But, their English is not so great, and he didn't quite understand. And what he said was, "If the Israelis had come here and treated us as – come here as guests – we would have welcomed them, given them water, asked about their kids, all the rest of it. They

came here and reduced us to – you know, the state – we don't even have water, literally. Obviously, you get angry, and you fight back. What do you expect?" Yeah. That was the point he was making. Okay. Any – did you notice anything that – remind me of your name?

Student: I'm Emily.

Michael: Emily, I'm sorry. Yeah. Go ahead.

Student: I just, in general, was struck by how, how much energy there was.

Michael: Whoa. That was amazing.

Student: It was very powerful.

Michael: Yeah.

Student: It was just astounding to me because there was so much energy and tension in that one room –

Michael: Yeah.

Student: In the two hours that we were there.

Michael: Yeah.

Student: And I just can't – I can't imagine living in that –

Michael: Yes.

Student: All the time, times a hundred.

Michael: Wow. Yeah.

Student: And the power that it must take to be nonviolent.

Michael: Right.

Student: To fully support that.

Michael: Right.

Student: And it was just very powerful because –

Michael: Yeah.

Student: There is so much invested.

Michael: Yeah.

Student: And he just did – they both did an amazing job.

Michael: Amazing. Yeah. Emily's point is extremely well taken that in the case of both of these individuals, Feryal and Mohammed, the passion, the energy, and particularly, I would say, in her case. Now, in her case, I haven't talked about her as much because I don't think they had any really, developed nonviolent resistance to speak of – and God knows, it would be horrendously difficult to do it. But, when she said, "Nonviolence," all

she meant was they weren't hitting back. So that's non-dash-violence. So, that's why I didn't talk about her as much.

But the power of that woman – my God. And as you say, to live in that kind of tension. I mean, we had a hard time – I was glad I had a long bike ride afterwards – we had a hard time in two hours. Can you imagine – they've been living through this for 59 years. These people have been born under this kind of tension. So, the fact that they're being nonviolent at all is amazing. It's just – It's a testament to human spirit. Let's see. Shannon, were you there? I didn't notice you. Okay. That's okay. It's just sometimes with that new hat style you're wearing, I can't – okay. Amy?

Is There a Cure for Zionism?

Student: I thought he did a good job of answering – I think it was the last question. “Is there a cure for Zionism?” And he gave an example of some of the former Israeli soldiers, who was participating in the demonstration in Bil'in. And I thought that was a really good [unintelligible 1:07:56]

Michael: That was a good one. Someone asked, “Is there a cure for Zionism?” Incidentally, the audience was much harder to handle than the presenter. That just shows you, when you sit here thinking about all of that, you get so angry that you can't – you're basically useless. The people who are actually having – getting shot. I mean, Mohammed was hit by these three salt bullets. He showed the wounds on his back in the film. The people who are actually in there doing it and getting shot at, somehow, they rise above it and manage their emotions more successfully.

So, someone asked, “Is there a cure for Zionism?” the intent being to infuriate that gentleman in the front row. Mohammed said, he literally said, I mean, for coming from him, who doesn't know English that well, it wasn't as corny as if one of us said it. He said, “One of my best friends is an Israeli.” There was a man who had been in the IDF, he'd been in the Army. And he knew that, but he came to the demonstrations, and he talked about somebody else coming to the demonstration holding the hand of an Israeli – key point.

I mean, way back in the First Intifada, that was one of the things that Mubarak insisted on. He said, “There's going to be no cursing, no stone-throwing, and Jews and Arabs are going to do this together.” That was his three conditions from the very get-go. And they did do it together. They found it very difficult to eat together, interestingly enough. They could go out and get arrested together, get killed together, but sit down at the same table and eat together was a little hard. But he insisted that they do that.

So, yes, he answered that question very well, and there was another question that he answered, I think, even better, which, again, was a hostile question, and the audience was trying to save him from the question by shouting this guy down. And he said, “Look, if I can talk to an IDF soldier who's pointing a machine gun at me, I should be able to talk to this guy in the front row and answer his question.” And he was really much more into dialog and education and raising consciousness than the people in the audience were. Yeah, Marissa.

Student: Yeah, further back, there was one point where I felt that he was almost a mediator.

Michael: Yes.

Student: When he was saying, “Calm down.”

Michael: Yes. Yes, that’s right – “Calm down, everyone.”

Student: [Unintelligible 1:10:10]

Michael: Yeah.

Student: Everyone has so much to learn.

Michael: Yeah.

Student: [Unintelligible 1:10:15]

Michael: Yeah. You could almost see him being on – at a demonstration, telling the Shabab not to throw stones and telling the Israeli not to shoot. Yeah. That’s good. Emily?

Student: I don’t know if everyone noticed this at the end, but the man in the front row, when he walked out, he hit someone.

Michael: Oh my gosh.

Student: He hit the guy who was there from the International Solidarity Movement.

Michael: Whoa.

Student: So, I just found that extremely ironic at a nonviolence talk, and also very symbolic.

Michael: Yeah. Yeah, he was the one who accused Mohammed of not being truthful when he said the Palestinians were nonviolent, and then he goes out and punches somebody in a public meeting. What are you going to do? Incidentally, I don’t know if you noticed in the paper yesterday. I hope you didn’t because you don’t read it anymore, I hope. But there was an article – surveys were conducted in America and in certain Islamic countries, surveyed the general public and asked them, “How many of you – would you accept bombing of civilians under extreme circumstances?” And, I think, roughly speaking, 76% of Americans surveyed said they would, and something like 51% of Muslims said they would. Just keep that in the back of your mind next time some of these stereotypes come up. Yeah.

So, okay. I think that was an extremely useful event. I was really thrilled, encouraged to see what they were trying to do. But I have to say, these people are almost up there with Tibet in the sense that this is nonviolence under probably the most difficult circumstances imaginable. I remember when Sami Awad was here a few years ago saying that, “How are you going to organize a nonviolent demonstration when you don’t even have a telephone – when they’ve shut down your phone lines?” In fact, there’ve been some amazing cases of spontaneous self-organization – mostly by women who

had to go out and shop for groceries and violated curfews, and the next thing they know, everybody in the street, you know, everyone on the block has turned out with them. Jenna, did you have anything to add?

Demonstrations - Humor and Surprise

Student: I was really impressed with the creativity of the demonstration.

Michael: Yes. Let's talk about that.

Student: They actually simulated a – you know, a [unintelligible 1:12:47]

Michael: No, I haven't read that novel. Yeah. It's a Palestinian writer, right?

Student: And it's about this man, this Palestinian man, who gets trapped in a water tank.

Michael: Oh yes.

Student: And he's crying out, banging on the water tank, and the truck driver doesn't hear him.

Michael: Yeah.

Student: And by the time he looks into the water tank, the man is dead, and he says, "Well, why wasn't he saying anything?" [unintelligible 1:13:17]

Michael: Yeah.

Student: [Unintelligible 1:13:19]

Michael: Yeah.

Student: [Unintelligible 1:13:21]

Michael: Yes.

Student: So then, their demonstration, what they did was they got inside water tanks.

Michael: To paraphrase that, just really quickly, and without your skill with images, they've been very creative in their attempts, in their demonstrations, and not without a sense of humor. And one thing that they have attempted to demonstrate is the silence of the international community. And there's one slide where they had people dressed up in different costumes representing different countries, where they had, you know, American flag, German flag, French flag. And everybody had their lips x'ed out with tape. So, that's probably one of the things that hurts them most is the paralysis of the international community. And you know, we might want to ask ourselves why that is happening. But that does mean that when internationals go there, it makes a huge, huge difference to them.

Student: And it also was interesting to see how – in the video, how the IDF would respond to the nonviolent intervention.

Michael: Yes.

Student: They were really kind of flustered.

Michael: Yeah.

Student: [Unintelligible 1:14:37]

Michael: Yeah.

Student: It was more bureaucratic [unintelligible 1:14:41]

Michael: Yeah. That's – a very useful strategy has been surprise – disconcerting. IDF units will get there, and there'll be a demonstration, and they won't anticipate it – they won't know how to handle it exactly. All they know how to do is bark out orders. And normally, they're not terribly creative beyond that.

Though, to give them their due, I had a physical one time, many years ago, because I had signed up to be a CO, and they were desperately trying to figure out something else for me. So, they hope that I had something physically wrong with me, so they wouldn't have to give me my CO. Anyway, this is to explain what I was doing in an Army induction center getting a physical.

And the guy in front of me in line – we were about to give a blood sample, and he said, "I'm going to faint." And I said, "Why?" He said, "I faint every time I see blood." So, sure enough, they took a little blood out of his arm he went [sound effects 1:15:46] and he landed flat on his back, with his eyes wide open. He was conscious, but absolutely paralyzed. And so, clearly, this is not prime material for the Army, right? But it was embarrassing the whole unit, and the sergeant came over and said, "Get up, you." which, of course, the guy's paralyzed, he – so, while we're starting to titter, and finally he said, "All right. Lie there."

[Laughter]

Michael: So, these poor guys who have to carry out these orders, they're not given the tools that they need to deal with this very creatively. But I would like, actually – and thank you, Jenna, for reminding me – I would like actually to talk about what it is they are doing. They go down, for example, one of the really, really tragic things that's happening is the uprooting of olive trees. This is like tearing the heart out of a Palestinian. I mean, an olive tree is to a Palestinian what a cow is to an Indian. You know, this is Mother Nature, our source of livelihood. This is where they respect life, and here it is being wrenched out by these horrific machines. And they go, and you saw a guy chaining himself to an olive tree. And then what happens? The IDF comes in, and they take bolt cutters and cut him off – cut the chain and lead him away.

And so, I did want to talk strategically about what they're trying to do because they have gone down there and delayed the construct – oh, rats. They've gone down there and delayed the construction of the wall, but they haven't stopped it yet. And let's do some strategic thinking for them – which, I mean, we are in touch with them. This might be real – as to what could possibly be done to carry it further.

They showed a picture of somebody who had put himself in a contraption – looked like a crucifix, actually – and he was kind of staked into the ground. So, he was lying in the

way of the bulldozers, and they couldn't get him out. And they learn these techniques from what people have done in Earth First here in this country and so forth.

So, the IDF comes, and they see him and, you know, it took them about five minutes to figure out how to get him unpinned and arrest him and leaded away. So, they need to go somewhere. They need to take this to a different step. Let's do – so, on Tuesday, we'll do what I said we were going to do today, which is talk a little bit more about third-party nonviolent intervention and then Restorative Justice.

Student: What was the name –

[PACS164B Lecture 15](#)

Michael: Morning, everyone. We are about one full lecture behind now, and I'm going to make matters slightly worse because a lot of announcements have piled up. And one of them is that the week after the midterm – you know that the midterm is a week from Thursday. And everyone who's on Courseweb got those two documents that sort of help with what kind of ideas you want to be aware of.

Now, is there anybody who would like to have that on hard copy for any reason? You didn't get one, probably yet. You got it! Okay. Good. Oh, that's right! I put your – Okay. So, we'll just leave it at that for now if somewhere we'll save a twig, which reminds me, we might be having a talk about the Oak Grove Satyagraha next week. But that will help for the midterm, and the week after the midterm, we'll do a diagnostic. And then on that Thursday, whatever topic we're discussing – that's when I would like to have the proposals from you for what you're going to write on for your paper.

So, let me remind you how I recommend that people go about writing a paper. You latch onto some topic that intrigued you, and we did not have enough time to get into it in class, and think it over, do some background reading about it. And the second stage is you come up with a statement of some kind that you're going to try to prove or disprove about that topic, right?

So, a lot of people go through the first stage, but not the second, and they hand us this proposal, and they say, "I want to write about Chipko." Now, I'm not going to say, "No! Chipko is bad. Don't write about Chipko." But I can't really help you until you decide what it is you want to say about it. You want to say, "I'm going to try to show that Chipko is a model, environmentally-based, anti-hegemonic, modern, nonviolent movement." A, B, C, D. And then, I can say, "That's a pretty good idea! That's intriguing. Why don't you look at this, that, and so forth?"

So, make sure you go through those two things. And the other thing you have to make sure of is that you are dealing with nonviolence because, you know, just to talk about something you don't like, even though you dislike it intensely, that doesn't necessarily mean that it's violent. And even if it did, it doesn't necessarily mean you're saying anything about nonviolence. Okay?

And the other main guideline, I guess, to have in mind is don't try to exhort anyone to do anything. You shouldn't have to do that. If you state your case well, the case should be so obvious that by the time the reader puts the paper down, he or she says, "Well that does it! I'm going to India next week. I'm going to join the Chipko movement. I'm totally convinced." Or something like that.

So, in other words, we already know that, you know, Gandhi is the greatest, and Gandhi scholars are only slightly less great, and nonviolence is the salvation of humankind. We know that, so you don't have to hype it – you just have to lay it out for us. So, if you give us a good proposal on Thursday, the 22nd of March, we'll get it back to you the next week, we should be in good shape in carrying on a conversation.

Okay. I had an interesting, funny, little adventure Friday. I got an email – obviously, a mass email – from somebody in the homeland security department, Department of Homeland Security, saying, “Do you do radicalization?” I said, “Do I do radicalization? I do nothing.” But I said, “No.” Actually, I answered him right away and said, “Not specifically. My expertise is in nonviolence.” And I got an email back in half an hour saying, “Thank you for your prompt reply.” And I’m sure we will never hear from this person again. So, he will never find out that I actually have gone on record stating that I will not obey the Patriot Act. If he ever found that out, we would have a very interesting conversation, the other side of the bars.

Let’s see. We’re going to be talking – I hope, in a little while – about restorative justice. I was struck by an article in the paper, which I accidentally, casually read just walking by the table, you understand. There was a picture of a woman sitting on one side of the table holding hands with two people who were holding hands with an older man on the other side of the table.

He had a serious drunk driving record, got completely plastered one night, and nobody would come take him home. So, he left the bar, driving in his pickup truck. He was so drunk that he saw somebody riding on a bicycle, probably deliberately swerved into that person and killed him. And he was the husband of this woman. So, this is a meeting to try to arrange some kind of rapprochement between them.

So, that is an example of one of the practices that we follow in the general area of restorative justice. And it was actually going on there in Santa Rosa with a photograph in the “Press Democrat.” It was very real. You could see the emotional turmoil that both of them were going through and that the mediators were trying to get them over – just very, very intense.

Okay. Tonight, I will be giving a talk at the Jesuit School of Theology, right here in Berkeley, a couple blocks from here, actually, in the Manresa Lounge. I think Manresa is a city where Ignatius of Loyola had a vision or spent a lot of time in a cave or something like that. Anyway, it’s now a lounge in Berkeley, just like the Free Speech Movement is now a café. And that will be, actually, I’m starting around 6:45 and going until 8 o’clock tonight. And the address is 1735 Leroy – Leroy. And the title of the talk is, “Bridging Spiritual Practice and Social Change.” I promise to get to that topic, although I probably won’t be spending my whole time on it – you know me. And there’s a notice if you want any.

Almost finished. The only other announcement is to say that I got two very interesting announcements right before I left my office this morning that I haven’t had a chance to send you yet. And I will be sending them to you real soon. But I also wanted you to know that the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace and Justice at the University of San Diego is having internships this summer.

You may or may not be aware of this – the Joan B. Kroc Institute is the – by far, the most heavily funded peace and justice academic center in the US, possibly in the world. \$26 million worth of hamburgers went into funding that institute. It’s a – this is McDonald money, basically. So, I find this extremely funny and, somehow, very gratifying. So, I’ve

spoken down there. It's an extremely beautiful place, interesting outfit, and I think you could have a good experience there. They don't serve hamburgers anymore.

Unity in Diversity and Swadeshi

Okay. I want to now move on to wrapping up some loose ends of things that we've been talking about but didn't finish. I wanted to come off a comment that Sandra made, a friend from Costa Rica, when she was here. You remember, when she was told that they were going to start a women's group, specifically women's group, her first reaction was, "I don't need this. Me gusto los hombres," she said – I'll leave you to work out that translation of that.

But the point is that she thought, she said, "I thought this was about all of us getting together. Why do we have to be just us?" And it's an interesting issue and very, very important. It's kind of critical in how we're going to get the world put back together, given that major, top-down institutions have all failed, and yes, I include universities in that sweeping generalization. Take me out for a latte, and I'll tell you why.

But as we rebuild the world, we have to understand what kind of unity it's going to have. And, of course, the concept – we'll be getting back to this toward the end of the semester – is "Unity in Diversity." And what we often find is that people have to be distinctly themselves before they can really merge with others. So, it's almost a question of timing.

And we can see this perhaps better – I'm here borrowing a technique from Plato that you'll instantly recognize – we can see this better on a big scale. It was very important for Gandhi that India should develop a sense of its nationhood. So, nationalism was very important for him. But when the time came, he was getting ready to drop nationalism and move on to a different kind of way of being in the world. But you have to get to nationalism before you got beyond it.

So, this is a parallel, if you will, to what I think this women's group is going through. They have to act and be together as women to discover specifically what capacities and liabilities, if any, they may have as women before they move past these specific liabilities and capacities and connect up with the rest of the world. And I would say that's true even of the individual – that you have to know who you are before you can be at one with everybody. What is the one that you're bringing to merge into the whole?

There is a colleague of mine, whose work we're going to be talking about in a little bit. He is a Gandhian scholar, Manfred Steger. And he has a book called, "Gandhi and Nationalism," which is, I think, pretty darn good on that. But we're going to be talking about his work on globalization pretty soon.

Now, of course, what happened for Gandhi actually was in many cases people latched onto the nationalism and never got a way of latching off of it. So, as his famous comment, "I got on the train to Rishikesh, and they got off in Delhi." In other words, he was heading for a spiritual revolution, the minute they saw that they were getting some political power, they seized onto that, and thought, "This is as far as we have to go." Okay?

So, this by way of a comment on what Sandra said, and it's an interesting – not a dilemma – but it's not a simple matter. Should we be specifically ourselves, or should we not? It's not that simple. We have to transitionally, provisionally know exactly who we are as an individual, as a category, and then, when we know who we are, we can move out to that and be part of the whole.

So, it's a kind of Swadeshi, I guess? And that's why Martin Luther King said, "You can never be what you ought to be until I am what I ought to be, and I can never be what I ought to be until you are what you ought to be." So, if I try to make you into me, which I am trying to resist the temptation to do – it's an occupational hazard for teachers, right? If I try to make you into me, we'll both lose, because I'll lose the specific contribution that you are, and you can make. So, so much for Sandra's remark, and I am waiting for material from them so that we can go further into what exactly the people in Costa Rica are doing.

I now want to say a little bit more about third-party nonviolent intervention. For, kind of a background history, you do have this old classic in your reader by Charlie Walker called "[A World Peace Guard](#)" [PDF Page 44] – totally out of print. You'll never see that book anywhere unless you come and take me out for a latte to the FSM and ask me to bring a copy. It's very, very hard to come by. And Charlie himself passed away a few years ago.

But in between the Shanti Sena experiments of Gandhi and the modern adventures in third-party nonviolent intervention, there was an attempt to create what they were calling "A World Peace Guard." And just to give you one example of how it was working or not working – and this was actually while Gandhi was still very much in the body. If I have my dates right, it was sometime in the early 1930s. The Japanese invaded Manchuria. People were very much afraid that the Second World War was going to come out of this, which it did.

And there was a woman, an Anglican minister actually, in Britain, named Maude Royden, who decided that what we should do is collect 10 or 15,000 people, get them to Manchuria right away, and position them between the Japanese and the Manchu Chinese.

And so, she thought that Gandhi would be totally thrilled with this concept. He, I don't think, ever made a comment on it directly, but Mahadev Desai and other people that she spoke to said to her, "You pacifists are trying to use a weapon which you have not got." In other words, you haven't done the training, you haven't learned, you know, how to do this, or the strategies, strategic thinking. You just want to rush in and put human bodies on the line.

And we now know that this does not work very well. In the Balkan Conflict, there were people who saw a notice in a bar late at night saying that the next morning, a ship was leaving Brindisi and taking you over to the Balkans so that you could be a peacekeeper. And so, after three or four hours of sleep, they staggered onto the ship the next morning. And they were a terrible liability because they were disorganized, they had to be fed, they had to be housed, they didn't know the language, they knew nothing –

worst of all, they had to be protected. And so, there was both disastrous failures and moderate success in the Balkan Peace Team operation.

Gandhi, interestingly enough, and his people were dubious about this, and while they were waiting and trying to get it together, the battle spread out over a wide front, and it became impossible. So, I guess I'm making two points – the dream has never died, and probably never will, but the implementation has not, as yet, been well understood.

TPNI - Interpretation and Intervention

There is one dimension – I could talk about third-party nonviolent intervention a lot because I've been working on it for a long time, and I think it's really a coming thing and the way to go. But we need to move onto other topics, so I just want to mention another dimension of it. And that is a semi-technical term that peace movement people bandy about called, "Interpretation."

And so, how does this work? For example, going over now to Civilian-Based Defense, which is the sister strategy of TPNI, you have this one historic example that people in the field tend to know about, and that is Prague Spring, Czechoslovakia 1968-69 – pretty darn successful. If you read standard historical accounts of it, you will get almost no mention of the fact that, we know this is a thing – it's called Civilian-Based Defense – and here's the organization that shows you how to do it, and so forth. As a result, people risk their lives and in some cases, lose them. And in some cases, have these brilliant successes, and the world never finds out about it.

The world never finds out about it for two reasons – they don't hear about it at all, and if they did, it would not fit into a frame that they can cognize. You know, there's this thing about human beings – and I think that applies to most of us in this class, as well as the television audience – that in order to understand something, you need a frame of reference for it to land in.

Now, let me give you a kind of sad example of this – and, Adam, I hope you don't mind. I had a very distinguished colleague in Political Science, and we went out to lunch one time. We were good buddies, and I started telling him about third-party nonviolent intervention – "I got about 20 organizations doing this. It's incredibly powerful. Nobody's been killed so far. Everybody we've accompanied has been protected." And he was amazed. I mean, this man was one of the world's foremost authorities in the, sort of, peace area of International Studies within Political Science.

So, he had a fantastic reputation. And he's saying to me, "Mike," – that's what he called me – he said, "Mike, this is amazing!" So, I said, "Yeah. I thought so, Ernie. So, I'll tell you what – why don't you pull together a little seminar, you know, with your colleagues, and I'll come and lay it out for them. And he said, "No." I said, "Excuse me, Ernie, what did you say?" He said, "No."

Well, I went back, you know, trying to figure out what's going on here, took him out to lunch again – this is getting expensive. And ran it by him again, you know, said, "You know, Ernie, this isn't very easy for me. You just say, 'There's going to be a seminar in 223 Moses or wherever.' I'll come talk about this." "No." So, I said, "Do you mind telling

me why not?" He thought for a while because he really was trying to formulate why this wouldn't work. And finally, he said, "It's not their culture." It's not their culture, whatever that means. So, our job is to create an alternative culture, in which these things would make sense, and we would notice them, understand them, and do them – in that order.

So, for that reason, you have people doing these wonderful things. You have a handful of people in Guatemala whose presence makes it possible for you to have a peace process in that country. Amazing leverage. Tremendous effectiveness. Nobody knows about it. As a result, when PBI says, "Okay, we've protected these people. They can now live." They move on. The country, in one way or another, degenerates back into the same old same old. Things are very, very bad in Guatemala right now. You heard David Hartsough mention that this is one of the countries that Nonviolent Peaceforce is thinking of going into, and that's because our – I think she's our assistant director, I'm not sure – is from Guatemala, and she's now receiving death threats, for the second go round.

So, interpretation means, you tell people what happened, and you explain why it happened so that they get to understand it and enlarge their frame of reference. And it's – of all the dimensions of building third-party nonviolent intervention, I would say interpretation, thus far, is the weakest. It's even weaker than training, which I went on and on about last week – I don't know why I abuse you people so much sometimes, but I do get on these hobbyhorses and ride them. I think training is a weak point, but interpretation is, in a way, even weaker because you have people do these incredible things, at great cost to themselves, and then it doesn't do anything in terms of changing the world's mentality. So, to get from here to the dream of John Paul Lederach, the Mennonite historian, of 250,000 interveners is very, very difficult.

I was at a talk in the United States Institute of Peace, back in the '90s, about Peace Teams, as we were calling it then. And I was complaining about the fact that when there was a famine in Somalia, the Marines went in to take foodstuffs to Somalia, and leading to Black Hawk Down, and all the rest of it. So, I said, "Why is it that it has to be you military people?" He said, "Tell me who else is organized enough to put 30,000 men with a supply line in the Horn of Africa inside of one week." No one. No one else has built up an institution to the point where they can do that. So, that's why we real – you know, there has to be kind of a tipping point, where, what we're hoping to do with Nonviolent Peaceforce is pick an intervention which we can succeed in, go ahead and succeed, and then turn around and tell people what happened. It has to be a place where people are actually giving some attention, a conflict that's getting attention.

Now, one of the – I guess, the main reason that we're not doing interpretation – we're not doing it nearly enough – is the demand is so urgent, as David was giving you to understand. It's been one of the most painful things that we've been through is the minute you announce that you exist, you get urgent, urgent appeals from 12, 15 countries, "Please, come help! We need you!" And we don't have the wherewithal to do it.

So, we have to go through this horrible triage, which is so painful I can hardly tell you. We have to say, "We can't come into your country because we'd be just wiped out. We'd be creamed. That wouldn't work." "Can't come into your country because

nobody's paying attention to your conflict. I'm terribly sorry." We have to do one where, A) it'll work, B) there's a credible network on the ground that we can help them survive and then get out – as you were rightly pointing out, how to leave is important – and thirdly, the people will know about it. So, that's one of the main reasons we aren't doing interpretation. Arby?

Student: But it seems kind of hopeless then, for those countries that don't have [unintelligible 0:24:20]

Michael: Yeah. Well, the hope is that if we can get the category in people's minds, do a conspicuous intervention that works, and then say to people, "Do you know what that was? It's called third-party nonviolent intervention." Any French Literature majors here? You know, there's a famous scene in a play of Molière where he's getting rhetoric lessons, and he's talking to his wife, and he says to his wife, "Do you know what you just said?" And she said, "No, what did I say?" He said, "C'est de la prose." – "You're speaking prose, did you know that?"

So, it's kind of like that. We have to say to people – you know, they're going to be saying, "Oh my gosh! What happened? What a fluke! Where did these people come from?" – stay calm, don't tear your hair out! You know, Nagler, you can't afford – say calmly to them, "Oh yeah. No. This is a thing. It's called third-party – I believe it's about 50 years old, you know, but the reason you didn't hear about it..." then you lay out your whole thing.

When that happens, people will be more alert through the next one. And yeah, we can't solve all the conflicts that are going on right now, but if we solve the right conflict in the right way and do the interpretation, people understand it, we'll be able to prevent the next one. That's the hope. So, I wouldn't say that any conflict is hopeless. It's always possible that people could wake up and figure out how to resolve it creatively, but it's, you know, in practical terms, it's often very, very difficult in the prevailing culture. Okay?

Interpretation & Framework - Nonviolent Peaceforce Study in Sri Lanka

So, one of the first things that Nonviolent Peaceforce did, even before we were able to put a team as a pilot project in Sri Lanka, was to write a – do a study, [a serious in-depth study](#), for about a year and a half, on the dos and the don'ts, the history, the theory of third-party intervention. And we very cleverly, because we had the whole world at our disposal, whom do you choose if you want a really thorough research study done? A German. So, we had this wonderful woman, Christine Schweitzer, and she did a thorough, total job of laying out – I'm not making an ethnic slur here. It just happens to be part of their educational system. We have this wonderful document on the web, which lays out the history, from a pragmatic standpoint, of how this thing works, and it's on our website.

So, even if we never saved any lives – and already we've saved a lot, relatively speaking – and even if we never grew, we've done something to increase the culture, to use that famous term. Okay?

So, I am now going to, with some regret, move on to our next topic, which was slated for last Thursday, which is restorative justice. And I'll do that as soon as you feel you don't have any questions left about third-party nonviolent intervention. In other words, do you have any more questions on that before we move on? Yes, Katherine.

Student So, it's, interpretation? Because on the –

Michael: Interpretation means – do you want me to define it a little?

Student [Unintelligible 0:28:12]

Michael: Yeah.

Student [Unintelligible 0:28:14]

Michael: So, interpretation means –

Student: You misspelled it on the board.

Michael: Did I spell it wrong? Interpre – oh, it's, and here everybody in the world is watching this. This is embarrassing. It's very hard to spell when – is that okay now? Ok! I didn't get a PhD in Comparative Literature for nothing. No, it's – the blackboard is inside my focal length when I turn around, so I guess it's hard for me to spell things. Yes, it's interpretation.

Student Okay. And the definition?

Michael: The definition is, "Creating a framework of understanding in which, in the present case, third-party intervention – third-party nonviolent intervention – can be grasped." Let me put it that way. You have this wonderful verb in Dutch, "begrijpen," which, "to understand," means "to grab a hold of and take in."

Because, if you don't have that framework, you can see event after event after event after event go by, and even if the press told you what happened – which they won't do that, in the first place – but even if they did, you wouldn't recognize it. You wouldn't acknowledge it as something important. It's like advertising. They know that in advertising, they have to hit you with an idea at least 3 times before you actually conceive the desire to buy happiness or freedom in the form of their product. The first time it's just – and then you go by. Yes.

Strategies of Building Framework

Student: What are the strategies used to build this framework?

Michael: To build?

Student: This framework?

Michael: To build this – that's a very good question! What are the strategies that we could use, or are trying to use, to help people get this framework? The whole thing is so new that I don't know if we can generalize about it, but the way I've always thought of – oh yeah, and I want to say something else. Thank you, Zoe. The way I've always thought about it is we're trying to lay out the history, the theory, and the – wait, history...

I guess those two will do actually – the history and the theory, what happened and why it happened.

And so, I always start from the basic framework of Principled Nonviolence, and I say, “Even in conflict there is a part of people that do not want to be in that conflict.” But in the normal course of events, conflict is very polarizing, and that means it’s me against you. The minute a third party is on the scene, it’s no longer just me against you anymore. That breaks up the mental framework that the conflict is happening in. And you can do – you can systematically build on this – you can do it deliberately. So, it’s the theory and the history that we work on.

Three Levels of TPNI Training

And now, incidentally, back on the training piece for just a second. Matias had a question last week, “How do you do this training?” I’ve always thought that we should think of training – that’s “t-r-a-i-n-i-n-g” – on three levels. There’s region-specific – s-p-e-c-i – which is things like language and culture, like, you know, don’t insult Muhammad when you’re in an Islamic culture, you know, things like low-grade morons should understand. But there’s all kinds of things – like how to do business in a Japanese country is totally different from how you do it in the West.

And I remember hearing about a training film that was being shown to oil workers going over to the Mideast. It turns out that in the West, the personal envelope is about 24 inches. In other words, when you go up to talk to somebody for ordinary purposes, you tend to stand about 24 inches away from them. But in the Middle East, it’s about 16 inches.

So, here’s this American businessman, he’s had this long conversation with a Sheikh, and he gets up to shake hands, and the Sheikh moves into within his envelope, which is 16 inches. The American backs up to re-establish 24, and the Sheikh moves in again, and they’re basically – they’re chasing each other around the table. So, you have to know some things about how each culture works, you know, in order to operate in that culture. I don’t want to sort of list out all the mistakes that the American military has made in the Middle East, but I’ll leave that up to your imagination.

So, that’s one thing. And then the next thing, underneath that, which could apply anywhere, are conflict resolution techniques. And this is a growth industry now. Every major town has a mediation center, and they can spell out for you certain practices that work and certain ones that don’t work when you have a dispute – how to do it with a third party, how to do it without a third party. All this stuff is pretty well known.

International Witness and Recording

Now, within conflict resolution strategies, there are some that are specific to international work and TPNI, and one of them is, you’re in there – one of the tasks that you’re providing, you’re performing, when you’re in intervention as a cross-border intervener, is witnessing and recording. So, one of the most powerful tools that you have is your camera. But there are moments in every conflict where privacy is essential,

and if you even hint that outsiders are going to know about what you're doing, they will either clam up, or, what's worse, they will smash your camera and maybe smash you. So, there's a specific subset of skills – and a friend of mine, Lizzie Brock, has written a little booklet on these – that you learn within the conflict resolution arena.

And then, the deepest one of all, is some kind of spiritual discipline. And that's the really hard part to spell – I mean, to talk about and promote publicly because it's a very private matter. But, as Thich Nhat Hanh said, "You may be dedicated to nonviolence, but once you get into the conflict, and it's happening, you're going to drop – you're going to forget that you ever had nonviolence. You need something deeper."

Basically, what you need, if you remember back to our friend, the mother in Chile, who talked about her anger being converted into rage being converted into work, which overcame fear – remember that wonderful dynamic – you need a mechanism that's built into your unconscious mind that does that automatically. So that when anger and fear come up, they go through this wonderful conversion. It's called PACS 94. Right, Amy?

Okay. Any other questions then about third-party intervention? Yes, Jenna.

Student: How do you tell when it's going to be a situation that people will care about? I mean, [unintelligible 0:36:06]

Michael: Yeah. Jenna's asking, "How can we tell that it's a conflict that people will care about?" Well, the crude way is to start with one that they care about already. You know, there's a fair amount of attention on Palestine and almost nothing on Tibet. There's a fair amount of attention – where else? We have sort of a – not thinking about just a war, but – well, I guess for a certain period of time, there was a fair amount of attention on the Color Revolutions in Eastern Europe. So, whenever somebody got poisoned, that was reported in the paper. And when there was a big mob in Georgia or Uzbekistan, people were looking at it. But people are paying absolutely no attention to the women of Namibia and very, very little to Nigeria. So, I don't think at this point we have the capacity to focus attention. The only thing we can do is to go where it is already focused.

And I'm not saying this is the only criterion that we would apply. I mean, if there's a – gosh, if there's a place where we could save a lot of human lives and help a country stabilize, we're going to go there, even if nobody's paying attention. But for it to have long-term significance, we have to get the attention out there.

Now, having said that, what's different about the last 10 or 12 years is who needs the mass media anymore? We have alternative media now for a couple, well, maybe for \$1,000-1,500, you could turn a field team member into a walking, real-time, streaming, YouTube, whatever it is – the next thing going on. So, you know, they'll be in there, they'll have this little device clipped on them, and people back in the States will be watching it on their – in the bar, where they're drinking - well, now, that'll take a little while.

But you know what I mean. There are ways that – we're rebuilding a whole new way of communicating, which is going to, I hope, very soon, render the mainstream media

irrelevant. I know we're within earshot of North Gate Hall, but I still – I said it, and I'm glad. Yes, Arby?

Student: Are there third-party nonviolent intervention organizations that work primarily to raise awareness of –

Michael: I think the answer to that question is no. And the reason is partly because I don't think people are aware enough how important awareness is. Pardon me, being kind of cute here. But people are so fixated on the physicality of the situation, which God knows is compelling, that they forget that it's a mental situation also. And if you change minds, you would change behaviors very rapidly and very efficiently.

So, that's one problem, and another is, as I say, once you get into this work, you get so caught in what you're able to do for people that – you know, I guess there's also a third thing that makes it difficult is that I remember talking to Lizzie Brock, the woman who did the booklet that I mentioned in this connection. Coming back from Columbia, one of the most brutal conflict areas in the world today, and she was okay as long as she was thinking in Spanish. But after being back in the States for a couple of days she started thinking in English again, and then she started hearing her thoughts, if you will. And she was no longer used to it, and she was hearing what she was actually saying. And she was traumatized by that. It was very, very difficult.

So, one of the things that we've learned is when you bring a team back, or a person back from a team, unlike the American military, which says, "Bye-bye," you have to take care of that person. They need to readjust emotionally, as well as, you know, getting \$600 or something to get them back into the culture.

So, it's really a new area. We're learning a lot. But the answer, unfortunately, is no. There is no single organization dedicated to doing the interpretation except, it might be, Metta. That's one of the reasons I'm so keen on doing this work. Okay? I think there was one other...Okay.

All right, let's move on, and as usual, you know, the stuff is cumulative. We can come back to it.

Restorative Justice

And, as you've figured out by now, it does not take much to get me talking about TPNI, so anytime things are getting slow, just say, "TPNI!" And off we will go.

So, we want to move on to a rather different area of operations which, the term for which is "Restorative justice." And you have some really good readings selected for you in the reader. I think, if I had to define it in one snappy phrase, I would pick one that's already been used in a different connection, and that phrase would be, "Justice as if people mattered." Because "Retributive Justice" is really, "Justice as if people don't matter – abstractions do."

Maybe it's worth talking about the concept of justice for just a minute or two. We take it for granted that we all know what justice is, and you get into a conversation about it, you discover, even in your own culture, you discover that it's not so easy. There's different

definitions of justice, “Distributive” and so on. People make a living talking about this. They’re called ethicists, and I’m not going to try to encroach on their field.

But you have an even greater shock when you go over to different cultures. And I remember hearing a talk on a certain region, a Himalayan region that’s on the border between Tibet and India – a talk by Helena Norberg-Hodge. And the name of this region is Ladakh.

And I don’t know why she had originally gone there, but she spent quite a bit of time there, and in the period I’m talking about, the late ‘80s, she was kind of making this her shtick. She was going around, saying, talking everywhere about what she was discovering there because it was not a subsistence culture, even though it was way up there on the Himalayan Plateau. These people had enough to survive on, plus excess, so, they did beautiful art and things like that.

But they lived in smallish villages, and she noticed something very interesting while she was there, which is pertinent to us. She was with a villager who lived in this little hut, and a sack of rice – a big sack of rice was stolen from him and his family. The village being small, everybody knew who stole the rice, unlike the person who stole my bicycle last week – we have no idea. Yes, thank you, I thought I deserved a little sympathy for that. We have no way of finding out who that person was. But in the village, everybody knows who stole the rice, so she thought that the victim would just march up to this person’s house and say, “That’s my bag of rice,” because a bag of rice, I mean a big sack, it’s important. You live in the Himalayas. You’ve got to keep your family alive. It’s not a joke.

But the person didn’t do it, and he didn’t do it. And finally, she said to him, “Why don’t you confront him and get your rice back?” He said, “Because I have to live in this village.” In other words, the relationship is more important than the object. So, if they could stay bonded as friends, as members of the community, that is a more important value – even a more important survival value – than recovering this one sack of rice. Okay? So, Helena’s way of putting that was, “They care more about relationships than about, and community – they care more about community than they do about justice.” But I would say, “They have a different concept of justice.” That’s how I would look at it.

A Definition of Justice

And so, now, of course, you’re dying to hear what my definition of justice is, and I will not frustrate you any further. The definition which I just came up with in the Free Speech Café – right after you left, Zoe – is, “Justice is an agreed upon set of norms that move the individual and society toward, quote, ‘Loving Community,’ unquote, towards a more perfect union where peace spontaneously is maintained within that framework, that society, whatever it is.” So, justice is whatever gets you there.

Now, if this is the definition of justice, then to say, “Retributive Justice,” is like saying, “Martial Law.” As you know, when Martial Law was declared in the Punjab in the 1920s, Gandhi said, “They have just declared Martial Law, which means no law at all. The point of law is to create stability, which would not require the use of force or threat.” So, the use of force kind of cancels, rules out, the prevailing law.

So, if you look at page 141 of your reader, which I was clever enough to bring with me today... Yeah. "The basic assumption about the relationship between criminal justice and punishment needs to be re-examined." This is the right-hand side of that page. "Punishment is the deliberate infliction of suffering. It is legal violence." So, this book claims that punishment is counterproductive and needs fresh examination and so forth. So, in a nonviolent order, there is basically – I'm saying basically. It's a slight hedge – there's going to be a slight margin for this, but very, very slight. There is basically no place for punishment.

Now, you remember the famous illustration of that in the very early days in one of the two settlements in which he lived in South Africa. Some of the teenagers, the young adults, misbehaved – I mean, probably they smoked a cigarette or something like that. And he found out about it, he felt he had to do something about it, but he was – came up against a dilemma because he felt, in an Ashram, punishment is not appropriate. So, he figured out that the thing to do was to take the suffering on himself, and he fasted. And when he did that, it had an amazing eye-opening effect on the teenagers. So, you know, we've discussed that example and some others.

So, it's – restorative justice is justice as if people mattered and their community matters. And there's a very neat, catchy way that one of the restorative justice workers in this country, operates in the South, has put it. In Retributive Justice, when somebody has committed an infraction against the community, you say, "Hey! Get out of here!" and you create an area where that person lives, sequestered from the rest of society, whereas in restorative justice, what you do is, you say to that person, "Hey! Get back in here!" and you create a framework for them to do that. Yeah, Zoe?

Question of Dehumanization and Awakening

Student: Is there a point in cultural contacts, specifically our culture, where we're so disconnected from each other that another's willingness to suffer wouldn't affect?

Michael: Well, this is really a good question! A hard question, but a good question. Zoe is saying, "Can a culture, or even a group, become so dehumanized that your willingness to suffer, and perhaps your suffering, would not open their eyes?" in the way that I just described. I'm going to give you a good, academic answer to that, which is, "Yes, and no."

What I mean is this – you can definitely dehumanize people to the point where they would not show any reaction. But I believe, and this is just a belief – hang on one second, Achmed – I believe that it is impossible for the other person not to be touched at all, and I would invoke the Mirror Neuron Phenomenon for that. You know, even against their will, some of them neurons are going to be firing off.

So, what we try to do is not let things deteriorate so badly, not try to have to – not be in a position where we have to intervene at such a late stage that the person will not be consciously aware of what's going on inside of them. But I, I mean, personally, I do not believe that a person can be so closed off that nothing would happen. If they were, they would, you know, they'd get to be the President – no, no, no. If they were, they'd, you know, it would be like, they'd be catatonic or something like that. Achmed?

Student: So, what is the criterion [unintelligible 0:51:33]

Michael: Okay, this is a very fair question because I've been using the term a lot, and it would be probably a good idea to know what it means. And the reason that it's not a snap to define is that it's a funny thing, and it cuts both ways. I guess, the best way to approach it would be to say that "Dehumanization" means, "A breaking of contact with human community."

The reason I want to put it that way is you cannot lose sight of the humanity of another without losing sight of your own. This is one of the big discoveries that's happened in nonviolence. I mean, you can go around saying, "We are important, and you're nothing," but you're really denying your own importance as a person when you do that. And when I say, "The humanity of another," I guess a simple way to look at that is that they can suffer, and their suffering matters.

Now, it's kind of funny that in the realm of animal rights, which we were scheduled to move on to at some point, and we may. One of the arguments that animal rights people make is, "It's not whether animals can think or whether they have rights, but whether they can feel. If they can feel, we do not want to inflict pain on them."

So, but I'm saying, if human – I guess, I'm not saying it's limited to homo sapiens sapiens. But, if you remember, this is – your question has made me kind of grope around for an answer, Achmed, and that's good. I hope you're enjoying my discomfort up here. You know, the Buddha said, and Jain thinkers have also said, "Even the meanest creature wants to live. Even the meanest creature avoids pain. Therefore, do not kill or cause to kill." That's one of, I think, the most profound aphorisms of the Buddha.

So, when you have another person at your mercy, and you inflict suffering on them, and you think you're enjoying it, you're denying their humanity – maybe not on the intellectual level. Maybe if you took a survey afterwards, and the questionnaire said, "Do you think that your prisoner suffered?" And you said, "Oh yeah! Haha! Suffered a lot! It was great!" But really, you'd be cut off from it. You would not know what you were saying.

Student: So, when you say suffering, do you mean when you're [unintelligible 0:54:30]

Michael: Absolutely not. No. Suffering here does not only refer to physical violence. In fact, in the studies of media violence and how it hurts people, they discovered a couple of interesting things. One is that it makes absolutely no difference whether you think the violence you're watching is real or whether it's just an image. In other words, whether it's, quote, "news," or, quote, "entertainment," makes virtually no difference, even in adults. You see a scene of violence, it's going to damage you.

What does make a difference is what is being violated. If it's a relationship between strangers where there hardly is any relationship, the hurt is limited. It's minimal. But if it's a close relationship that's being violated, say, inter – intrafamily relationship being torn apart, the pain that you go through is much greater. And that's – that denial of community on that very deep level is a form of dehumanization.

And what are the numbers now? I mean, when I was last reading about this, by the time you are 18 years old, in this country or any imitator thereof, you have been exposed to 200,000 murders on television. So, the dehumanization is really serious. I mean, the mere fact that we can still, you know, relate to each other at all – it's a testimony to the resilience of the human spirit.

But in my book, you all read that episode to which a friend of mine owes her very existence, where – I mean, her parents were Polish Jewish. They were living in Warsaw. They were members of the underground. Gestapo was tipped off, raided the apartment, found all of this incriminating stuff, was about to take them away – I don't think you can imagine anyone less sympathetic to another human being than the captain of a Gestapo unit having some Jews that he just discovered were a part of the underground in Poland.

So, the situation is as worse as it could be. But just at that moment, they had this two-and-a-half-year-old boy, and he walks over to this Gestapo captain. He doesn't know what's going on – he just sees these shiny brass buttons on his uniform, and he's playing with the buttons. And the captain looks down and sees this, and of course, the parents are absolutely horrified. And he looks up, and he's a completely changed person. And he says, "I have a little boy at home, just his age, and I miss him very much." And he said, "Your son has saved your life." And he turned around and walked out, took his men out of the apartment.

So, this is why I'm saying – I guess it was your question, Arby. I'm not sure. I don't think anyone can be so dehumanized that there's no way that they could be reached. In this case, it wasn't precisely the suffering, but the innocence of the little boy that woke him up. But it can be very, very costly, and if you can possibly avoid it, you don't want to let things get that far.

Okay. So, as we've seen over and over again, the underlying principle in all aspects of nonviolence is that all of us matter, and if you have a system that has to deny that some people matter, it's not going to work. It's not going to take us to a nonviolent future.

Who was it? I think it was Bertrand Russell who said, but it was also said by our very own Berkeley science fiction writer, Ursula Le Guin, that if you were told – okay, this just might be a really good midterm question, PACS 164B. If you were told that you could build paradise right here, just, everything – I mean, you know, lattes would be flowing in the street, sufficiency everywhere. But in order to do it, you would have to sacrifice one innocent child. Would you do it? What's your answer to that question? It's – I have to tell you, I have to forewarn you, it's sort of a trick question. Yeah, Matt?

Student: Well, how could it be paradise if it comes at the expense of someone else?

Michael: That is – okay, Zoe, yeah.

Student: I was going to say, sacrificing a child from the community, you inevitably sacrifice yourself. So, it's really not paradise because paradise would be –

Michael: Yeah. What both of you are saying is very close to the way that I would put it. So, let's just put them all together. I mean, Matt is – Matt and Zoe, I think, were saying

that you'd be hurting part of yourself, so what kind of paradise would that be? I would amplify that a little bit and say it's a false question because you could not possibly build an order of nonviolence on an act of extreme violence. Means and ends are the same. It just does not work that way. And, I think we're saying approximately the same thing. But it is very important to be able to examine the – the "assumptions," is the word I was looking for – examine the assumptions behind the question. And you say, "The very fact that you came up with that question, buddy, shows that you don't know what paradise is. You cannot do this." Arby?

Student: So, first question, if the person decided to sacrifice themselves...

Michael: That is, that, for some reason, is entirely different. And I am not sure why, but it has something to do with the fact that, apparently, according to John Milton and other theologians, God, whoever she or he is, wants us to have free will. And infringing the will of another person is very different from using your own, in some interesting way.

So, yeah, Gandhi would be the first to say, "Life is precious," but there's a point at which we're talking about something more than the physical presence of life in this physical body. And I may have to sacrifice it, but you do not want to get into a situation where you say, "We have to sacrifice you for this paradise." John?

Nonviolent Films

Student: It's like the COs in World War II, where they say, they would do all those horrible things to themselves [unintelligible 1:01:39] in the video that we watched.

Michael: Oh, yes! Yes, that's right – the COs, I didn't quite catch that. Yeah, but in the film, "[The Good War and Those Who Refuse to Fight It](#)," this is what conscientious objectors took on that, yeah, we would starve ourselves, get ourselves injected with typhoid, you name it, but we would not inflict it on another. That is a qualitatively different act, even though, yes, I feel suffering.

But I guess the point is this, that when I'm inflicting it on myself for a higher cause, which I'm not looking to do, incidentally – don't try to find me one! But if I were to inflict it on myself, as we've seen several times in the course of the semester, the pain turns into something else. You know, we talked about this especially last semester when we saw the film, "[A Time for Justice](#)." We talked about, where there was an episode in that film where one of these Freedom Riders was very, very badly beaten, and he said, "You feel the pain, but you don't get bitter." And again, it's that bitterness, which is where you're focusing it on yourself and saying, "This should not be happening to me."

So, if it's something that you undergo on your own, and you're not a masochist, because there are such critters, but you undergo it for a higher cause, then it, somehow, even the physical suffering is different. It registers differently in your consciousness, somehow.

Okay. Well, this is working exactly the way that I wanted it to work, which is, namely, that we're connecting the framework of retributive/restorative justice to the larger issues of nonviolence.

So, what – let’s see. Where are we here? There’s the general characteristic – oh, I’m sorry.

I was about to say that, yeah, we’re rooted in the faith proposition or the frame of reference where every single individual matters, and the whole matters, and in a funny way, the whole, even though it’s numerically bigger, does not matter more than the individual. And so, we reject the whole idea that by sacrificing one individual, you can advance society in any serious way.

There’s one documentary that we’re not showing this semester – actually, there’s several. But one that I really like and would recommend that you go out and have a look at some time. It’s called, “[Doing Time, Doing Vipassana](#).” And it’s about – you may have seen it in your course. It’s about – you might want to add to this, Zoe. But it’s about a prison in northern India, which was very serious. They had 20,000 people in it. I think it was built for 7,000, something like that. There were murders every day, practically.

And, in charge of this prison, they put a diminutive woman, who did very well there. And at one point, she brought in a man named S. N. Goenka, who is the founder of Vipassana meditation, which I think is probably the most popular form of meditation in the world today. Am I wrong?

Student: Can you spell that?

Michael: Yeah. What is it that you want me to spell? You know, I can’t even spell, interpretation, and you’re asking – what is it?

Student: The name of the meditation.

Michael: Yeah. Vipassana – that I can spell. If it’s not English, I can spell it. Yeah. And his name is Goenka. But it’s a very popular – there’s lots of people doing it. It comes – yeah.

Student: I’m sorry. Can you repeat the name of the film? It’s called, “Doing Time...”

Michael: “Doing Time, Doing Vipassana.” So, this is prisoners – they had prisoners taking a day-long or two-or-three-day-long Vipassana retreat. I mean, here are people who are in the habit of going around killing folks, and they have to sit still for most of 48 hours. Yeah.

Student: Did we watch that in our meditation class last semester?

Michael: Not in our meditation class.

Student: Because I remember...

Michael: Maybe in her meditation class. No? Okay. It would be a good idea.

Student: [unintelligible 1:06:02]

Michael: You have her here?

Student: We’ll talk about it later.

Michael: Okay. We'll talk about it later. The point is, the point that we're trying to make is, in Indian culture, meditation, whether people do it or not, is felt to be the most honorific thing that a person can do. So, to take a prisoner and tell him, "We know that you have the capacity to meditate," is like the – in that culture anyway – the most powerful, effective, rapid way of rehumanizing that person.

And so, you see these incredible scenes of these guys, staggering out of this retreat – don't ask me to meditate for three days in a row – staggering out, just pouring down tears, and embracing the warden. They're totally changed by this. So, this is restoration of a very, very powerful kind.

The way I would characterize the movement that's trying to build restorative justice is that it's constructive program almost entirely, and it's a kind of scattered constructive program. It's not pulled into a really tight framework. And so far, there's almost no obstructive program in it. There's almost no confrontation.

So, from my standpoint, what's going to happen in order to make this work is someone or ones – maybe the Internet is going to do it for us. No, I don't think so. Someone is going to have to pull this together into one big framework, do a bit of interpretation on it, so people know what they're doing, and come up with a strategy, right? "Okay. We've been explaining this to you for x amount of months, and now we want you to do it. If you don't, we are going to carry out civil disobedience in some way, shape, or form."

Civil Disobedience and Deep Change to Justice Frameworks

There's a tiny, little bit of civil disobedience happening here and there. For example, there is an organization that, actually, I'd like you to know about, called, "Consistent Life Ethic." And what they – their position is that all forms of inflicting violence on life are wrong. They are all to be avoided. And that has given them a position where, on the one hand, they're against war and the death penalty and stuff like that, and they're also against abortion. It has given them a unique position within the peace movement, the progressive world, whatever you want to call it. Abortion is something that I'd like to talk about with you at some point.

But one person who is part of this, a board member and former president of Consistent Life, Mary Rider – where is this? She and her husband and their 17-year-old daughter were convicted of trespass in January when they went to the contractor's order – office – contractor of Arrow, which was a company that made small jets and was leasing them to the CIA, to carry out, quote – here's one of those euphemisms again – "Extraordinary Renditions," unquote.

In other words, they needed special planes to take people and carry them to countries where they could torture them. And they went with other anti-torture activists, citing, incidentally, something – a principle in law called, "Necessary Defense." Have you heard of that? There is actually a small body of law called, "Peace Law," and it protects peace activists. And Necessary Defense states that if your welfare would be more threatened by not doing what you're doing, you have the right to do it. So, you have the right to perform civil disobedience against a law or a system which you have come to understand is going to harm your welfare and that of society in a serious way.

So, their point was that the rule of law is being destroyed by the practice of torture, and it was in the interests of themselves and the country to perform civil disobedience against it. So, similarly, there are some anti-death penalty protests here and there, but mostly it's a question of scattered constructive program.

On the other hand, potentially, I think restorative justice is very seditious. It is very destructive to the framework of the present culture, which says – well, I'm going to borrow a term from one of my colleagues here – the concept of – well, if I'm going to borrow this term, I'd better remember it – Oh yeah. It is, “Redemptive Violence.” The idea that you can fix things by violence is so deeply rooted in our culture that the idea that you can fix them without violence, not mention that you can only fix them without violence, which is my position, is really paradigm-busting idea. It would just completely break us out of the controlling narratives of our culture.

So, this movement, even though, okay, it looks a lot tamer than insurrectionary revolution, which we started with, it has the potential of overturning the social order in at least as powerful, I would maybe even say more powerful in a way. Because we've seen in a lot of these successful insurrectionary movements, they succeeded, but they didn't work in the sense that they threw out some kind of despotic ruler, but they did not throw out the ideology that brought that ruler to power in the first place. So, this is very – this potentially is a very deep change that could be worked in our society. And that's why philosophers like – who was it that – Foucault devoted volumes and volumes to the concept of punishment in modern societies.

One of the secondary characteristics that I like a lot about the Retributive Justice movement, is that it has been a way of involving some indigenous input. And that, I think, has to be part of the future. We have to realize that, darn it – and I am a PhD in a major research university in the West that's saying this – darn it!

Example of a Restorative Justice Framework

The West does not have all the answers, and in some cases we have to look to other cultures, which may be materially and politically less developed than our own, by choice or not by choice, and yet, they may have something to offer us.

So, people are looking in Rwanda, for example, and that part of Africa. They're looking at the Gacaca court system. Am I pronouncing that right, Cindy? And the way that that works is people are brought into confront the entire community, which, of course, is possible to do if the entire community is a village. And through discussion and through the use of respected elders, they acknowledge that they've committed what we would call a crime, you know, some kind of harmful act against an individual or the community, and they work out a retribution – “How are we going to fix this?”

So that's the extremely important assumption behind restorative justice. Justice, I have just been saying, no person can be so dehumanized that there would not be a way of rehumanizing them. Sometimes it might be impossibly difficult, but there is a way. Similarly, there is nobody – there is no crime for which some restitution could not be devised.

Now, let me take an even more exciting – well, maybe that’s the wrong word – moving, dramatic, something like that, practice, again in sub-Saharan Africa, somewhere in the Bemba communities, is a practice – now, I have tried to track this down, and I have not been able to document it. But that might simply be because of what we were talking about earlier today, that people don’t have the frame of reference, so they don’t notice it when it happens, so they don’t write about it. And I even forget where I originally heard about this, so, with all of that said, here’s this wonderful system that either does or does not happen. But it’s very plausible for us.

The way it works is, here’s this tribe, this village, where somebody has done something very wrong, usually a guy. So, what happens is the entire community sits in a circle, with that person either in the middle or at the head of the circle. And they go around the circle, and everybody in the community has to, what? They have to say...

Student: Something good.

Michael: Something good about that person. And what happens is, when they’re about a third of the way around the circle, or at some point, the guy, for it is usually a guy, breaks down, and he sees his better self and can cling to it and acknowledge his lower self. When that emotional transformation happens, then the whole community can talk about the restitution. All right.

Other examples of this are found among the Navajo, which is very parallel to – oops. We’re running out of time. I’m going to continue this a little bit on Thursday, but by way of conclusion, I’d like to read you a little bit from a letter that I received from a friend in Florida. “I thought of you staying in touch with me whenever you can, and that really counts to me,” my friend Michael said, “And that was like seven months ago, when I told you I was having trouble with my anger. But now it has gotten so much better, and I have come a long ways with learning how to control my anger. And I no longer feel the pain of anger I once felt, even in the extremely difficult times that I am faced with each day. Every night,” – are you beginning to catch on where this friend of mine is? – “Every night, I go to sleep with dudes talking about violence, and I wake up with dudes talking about violence. Everybody wants to be a killer. Nobody wants to be himself. And you are now like family to me because the insight you share with me about nonviolence has somewhat helped me strive to take my life to another level.”

My friend is in the most high security prison in Florida for the rest of his life. He had been in prison for 30 years when he first got a hold of my book and started writing to me. Basically, his life between the ages of 14 and 18 – he had no father in the house, of course. His life between 14 and 18 was basically a crime spree, and he got himself locked away forever. He has serious management problems. I’ve called the people in the Justice Department in Florida, they say, “You know, there’s no possible way that you’ll ever get him out.” And not only is he in prison, but he is in a cell by himself, 23 hours a day, and he’s been there now for 35 years.

And yet, so, you know, just ask yourself, “What earthly good does this do?” Here’s a person who has got it. He has caught on. You walk out on the street here, and you’ll run into quite a few people who understand nonviolence, not as well as Michael McKinney.

He totally wants to turn his life around, and there's no way that we can reach out to him and help him do it.

So, let's talk next time about some of the ways that people are going into prisons, and then we'll move on to environmental and animal rights stuff. And then we'll be talking about

[PACS164B Lecture 16](#)

Michael: Good morning, everybody. I'd particularly like to welcome back the people who had a midterm or a paper last week. I have a very restorative attitude towards that kind of thing. It's definitely not, "Hey, get out of here. You missed class," but, "Come back in." I do know that there are other courses going on, and in some cases you have to take them, regrettable as that is.

Announcements - Bloody Sunday

A little announcement – yesterday was the anniversary of Bloody Sunday, 1965. That was the day that the Montgomery to Selma march took place. And it was as good example of how the paradox of repression works. These marchers were very, very brutally clubbed and badly dealt with when they got to the other side of the Edmund Pettus Bridge. And so, the next Sunday, the whole country, basically, was there with a lot of religious authorities and people like that. It was kind of a climax of the Civil Rights movement. Also – huh?

Student: John Edwards is using that march as part of his campaign.

Michael: Who? Edwards?

Student: Yeah.

Michael: You know, there's actually some pretty good candidates out there. I don't know what's going on. I remember one campaign where one famous commentator said, "If the Lord had wanted us to vote, He would have given us candidates." Now there actually are a few.

Those of you who were at my little conversation with the Jesuits on Thursday, I'd like to hear how it seemed to you. I have – yeah. And you don't have to make nice. You just need to tell me straight up.

I also wanted to announce that there's a handbook called "[The Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies](#)." And I think this year's edition is going to be very, very good because it's coedited by a fellow who's been doing them all along and Johan Galtung, and he's, you know, one of the best that we've got. So, Webel and Galtung, "Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies" is just hitting the stands.

We – on Tuesday, of course, we're going to basically have a review for the midterm, and what I often do for those is nothing. I just come in and say, "Okay. Here I am. What's on your mind? What do you like? What didn't you like? What did you not understand?" What I think I'd like to do this time is take half an hour for a presentation by one of the people who's involved in the tree sit that's going on right now, the Oak Satyagraha.

There's a famous elderly tree-sitting woman, I understand, named Redwood Mary, and one of my students is going to try and get a hold of her and have her come talk to us. So, I think that probably will substitute in inspiration and immediacy of contact what we

otherwise would have gotten by the extra 30 minutes of going over the terms and so forth.

So, if that sounds okay to you, then what I'd like to do today is talk a little bit more about restorative justice, if you don't mind, and then just a little bit about animal rights, and then start talking about environmental struggles, and put the spotlight on India and do the same thing that I did with the European anti-militarism, which is to look at one of those middle-era campaigns that took place in between Gandhi and the modern age, so we have kind of a sense of that historical continuity. And the issue will be – the organization, the movement – will be the Chipko or Hugging Movement.

So, am I going to cover all of this? I have no idea, but it's okay. I think some of you were expressing to me that we are – there is a lot that we're not getting to. But my main concern – I think the most useful thing that we can do is have a frame of reference in which to understand all of this stuff. And if we can accomplish that, then you can go out and learn the stuff and pick up on what's going on on your own. Of course, you can't have a frame of reference without any content, so that's why I – and I do think it's inherently good to know our history, who's done what, and learn from that history, what has gone wrong, and so forth.

I was actually looking over the weekend at the research report that Christine Schweitzer and other people have done for [Nonviolent Peaceforce](#), and I really do feel that that's a significant contribution to the advancement of peace – just to know the history and to be able to sift out from that history what works in what circumstances and what does not. It's really a very valuable document. And I think I emailed you a link, didn't I? So, you can go right to that in the Nonviolent Peaceforce page.

All right, so, given that I can't possibly cover anything – everything, I mean. But I can cover some things – another Freudian slip. I can't possibly cover everything that I even wanted to, so why not – we're not even going to try. Any questions that are left over from last time that you'd like us to go into before I start. Yes, Arby.

Restorative vs Retributive Justice and Constructive Program

Student: From that one time you were talking about making step 4 step number 1? I kind of saw a parallel with restorative justice – like could that be compared to the step 4 that you wanted to create?

Michael: In a sense it could. I mean, I hope you understand Arby's question. It was coming off that 4-stage list that was presented by the Gene Sharp community in that film, "Where There Is Hatred." It has different titles, but we saw the one called "Where There Is Hatred." And step 4 was, after the revolution – we have a seat right here, Sethi, if you want. Okay. After the revolution, you go and restore society, build it back up, and create the world that you want.

Gandhi had said a long time ago that will never happen. If you – I'm going to be, you know, taking a big philosophical overview – if you go for the negative first, you will not get around to the positive. The thing is to get to the positive first, and then let the negative kind of shatter itself against you.

So, and I think we have seen this and will continue to see it in campaign after campaign, especially the insurrectionary ones, that, if you try to simply overthrow a regime and say that then you're going to rebuild a new world, it doesn't happen. You have to try to rebuild the new world, then the regime will get in your way, say, "Hey, we don't want this." Then you have your nonviolent moment, and then it works.

So, Arby's question, "How does restorative justice figure in?" That's interesting because I did say last time that I would characterize the current state of the movement as scattered constructive program with very little obstructive program. So, in a sense, yes, but, in a sense – and I've made this very clear in my book. I think it's [Chapter 6 \[Study Guide\]](#) that's on this stuff. In a sense, even restorative justice is after the fact and not enough because you're waiting until somebody has committed an act against the general welfare, and then you're saying, "Okay. You've identified yourself as a miscreant. How do we get you back in?"

But, by itself, that wouldn't really be the heart and soul of constructive program. By itself – and, you know, I don't know if you've seen – do you remember the Wheel of Nonviolence that's in the book? If you look at crime as a problem, the Gandhian answer to this was education. Because I guess what we're saying is that to commit a crime against your fellow human beings is a form of ignorance. It's the failure to understand that to hurt another person, you're hurting yourself, which we now have some scientific evidence for. In a way, I kind of regret it, you know, because who needed scientific evidence? If you don't have the imagination to see this... dot, dot, dot. I don't know.

Okay. Never mind my petty little complaints. But it – certainly to hurt another person and think that you're benefiting yourself from that is a form of ignorance, and the appropriate way to address it is preventatively, through education. It's interesting that you can also use education after the crime has been committed, and it works very well in that category also. I was just talking with Mansoor, who works with us in Metta, and she was just hearing a program about – well, I guess there was a fellow who attacked an LS – wait, sorry. Gay, lesbian, L...

Student: LGBT.

Michael: LG – thank you. LGBT house here in Berkeley. And he, fortunately didn't hurt anyone, and he was – the judge sentenced him to an anger management class, which, if it works, is a very deep form of re-education. So, we were sitting there sipping chai, watching the crows, FSM area there – didn't see you there today – and asking ourselves, "Is this restorative justice or retributive justice?" And we came to the conclusion that it's kind of a mixed bag. It's definitely restorative to say to somebody, "You have a problem with your anger. You need to control it." But it's retributive to say, "You have to do that. We are sentencing you to this."

The best way, if you can possibly do it, was to bring a person to the point where they say, "Oh. I have a real problem with anger, don't I? I want to know if you can help me with that," which, if you remember the letter that I was reading you last time – and I wasn't even reading you the most heartbreaking parts of the many letters that I've gotten from this fellow in this high-security prison in Florida – this does happen to people. They wake up, and they say, "Whoa. I've gotten myself in trouble. I need to get

out of it.” And then, in the case of most people, like that friend of mine in Florida, there’s no way. We have no facilities to help that person. Okay. Lengthy answer to a reasonable question, but...

Okay. So, one of the reasons, I realized just over the weekend – it was a very exciting creative weekend for me – I realized that one of the reasons that I like Restorative-Retributive – Restorative. And I like it so well that I can spell the terms in this case. I actually think that this is one of the very rare cases where we got to make up the vocabulary. You know, there’s a few others, like we call ourselves, “Progressives.” The rest of the world does not. They call us, “Avocado Eaters” or “Body-piercing, ‘New-York-Times-reading’ Liberals” – things like that.

But, at least in our own discourse community, we’ve made up a term for ourselves that works much better. And obviously, people outside the community don’t like it because I had one of them say to me one time, “If you’re progressive, what does that say about the rest of us?” And I said, “Yeah.”

It’s a little bit like that with this set of terms, too. Now, they did not – they don’t say that they’re Retributive. They talk about the difference between rehabilitation, which I feel is a very weak form of Restorative, versus punishment. And you may be aware that California, which had a fairly progressive – there, I’ve used that word again, and I’m glad I did. California had a fairly progressive criminal justice approach, in which, it was mostly oriented around rehabilitation. And in 1976, there was a statewide decision that from now on the purpose of the Criminal Justice Department of the state of California will be punishment [unintelligible 0:12:51] for that. But “Restorative” is a much more positive term. It brings about the notion, the image, that there’s something there to restore. A person had something, they lost it, and it can be restored.

Before I talk more about the term, which I’m going to do in just a little bit.

Retribution and Redemption

I wanted to point out one of the connections between the criminal justice area and other areas of violence or nonviolence.

I was very, very saddened when the Holocaust Museum was about to open in Washington. I was saddened that they even opened the thing because I think it’s just the wrong way to go about memorializing and restoring, but anyway, okay, that’s another issue. But when it was about to open, the German government said, “Could we also put a museum next to that which would be a museum of modern Germany, and you could see what Germany is doing now since that dreadful era, which was as dreadful for us as it was for you?” And, immediately, that permission was denied.

Now that really shocked and irritated me – fortunately, I have conquered anger – a joke. But I think this was a huge mistake. This is like blocking the door to restoration, to rehabilitation. It infuriated – well, of course, it couldn’t have – but what particularly got me was, you know, I had spent a fair amount of time in Germany, and I felt that there’s so many good things going on in that country, and they were really coming off that era in a beautiful way, and it could be a lesson for all of us. But no. We have to have this

attitude that restoration is not possible. So, that shows you the connection between what we do domestically and what we do internationally.

There's even a connection – we're going to be talking about animal rights in a little bit, and one of the early English philosophers on animal rights said that if we are cruel to animals, we will be unjust to one another as well. That's the importance of it. So, whether you believe that animals have souls or not, even if you don't go there – and we will be going there in a minute – but even if you don't go there, if you allow people to practice cruelty to animals, they'll practice cruelty to one another. It's not a coincidence that the CIA maintains hunting lodges where people can go out and kill animals and discuss their next move. Yeah, Matias?

Student: I think, in a sense, it's the same concept. If you're hurting another person, you're actually hurting yourself. The same thing if you hurt an animal, you're hurting yourself. It's a reflection of what's going on inside of you. If you have to get back at somebody else, person or animal doesn't matter. It's the same energy, the same action.

Michael: It's the same energy, from our dynamic standpoint. It's the same action, whether you hurt an animal or a person. And guess what, folks, a person is an animal, but just an animal with a PhD. And I suppose this gets us back to our – the hero of the Otpor movie. They say, "You know, we were for life. They were against it, and that's why we won, and they lost."

So, Johan Galtung's definition of violence is anything that inhibits the fulfillment of life. Actually, that isn't his definition – it's my version of his definition, but I'll talk it over with Johan next time he's out here. I have a special role in his life. I help out with Greek and Latin terms whenever he needs them, you know.

Anyway, back to the point. Now, of course, there were specific political reasons why they didn't want that alternative, complementary museum built, and that's because, in order to keep on carrying out the aggressive foreign policy that we have – we, as a nation, have – we have to be able to construe it, to put it in a framework of Redemptive Violence. And the conspicuous act of Redemptive Violence in our national history recently was the liberation of Europe at the end of World War II.

And that's why – there was a president who has the same name as this president, but he was a little bit earlier. He's actually the father of this president, okay? In 1991, when we were starting to bomb Iraq, he got on the radio and said, in a voice where – you know, I almost never listen to these guys, but I happened to catch him saying this. I was riding in a van. He literally was trying to sound like Eisenhower. He really was kind of imitating – impersonating Eisenhower. And he said, "The liberation of Kuwait has begun." As though Iraq was going to take over the world and convert us all into some terrible, totalitarian thing, and they were liberating us.

And – I can see you smirking. I agree with you. This is ridiculous. But the fact is, this is the way people think – and I don't think that's the word we want. This is the kind of knee-jerk reaction that people have. A part of them wants to be violent, a part of them needs an acceptable, moral framework in which to put that violence. So, we have to keep on reliving World War II because we say to ourselves that World War II was the

good war – remember that film, “The Good War and Those Who Refused to Fight It.” Actually, it wasn’t such a good war. We didn’t fight it for the right reasons, but I don’t want to get into that whole thing. But I’ll tell you what books to read later on if you’re interested in really getting demoralized.

So, what am I saying? There were specific reasons why we have to maintain this mythos, this mythology that, in fighting that particular war, we were fighting against evil. And all other wars that we fight are the same as that war. It’s ridiculous when you bring it out in the open. So, what’s the solution? Don’t bring it out in the open. Just keep using the images and the frames and let people react.

So. But, I mean, if you take away that particular political reason, there’s an underlying reason, and that is that we do not believe – as a culture, at this point in time – we do not believe in restoration. We do not believe in the regenerability of the human being. And actually, in theological terms, we are a deeply pagan nation. We do not fit in the Judeo-Christian framework in terms of our real controlling processes that some of you are studying in a complimentary course to this one.

So, this is all a rather long-winded – obviously, I needed to get something off my chest. Thank you. I feel a lot better now. But what I’m trying to show is that, as Matias was pointing out, these things all go together. If you can bring yourself into a frame of mind in which it feels acceptable to you to commit cruelty against any form of life, it will spill over into other forms of life. It’s just the basic dynamic there is the same.

Restoration and Construction

Hence, the importance of restorative justice as a constructive program, which is rather un-confrontational. You know, it does not – what I like are stealth programs, which are going to overthrow the entire paradigm, but they don’t know it. My model here is the spinning campaign.

Or if you remember the Gandhi film – I showed a piece of the Gandhi film in a two-day course. It was the one where the British Viceroy was talking about the Salt March, and he says, “It’s going to take more than a pinch of salt to bring down the British Empire.” I’ve always thought I missed my calling, don’t you? How wrong he was.

That’s the kind of campaign, on one level, that I like. On one level, I like transparency. You should be out in the open. But on another level, I think it’s counterproductive to push people’s buttons, and it’s much more productive to create something positive, which they will be attracted to, and you will undercut them.

So, restorative justice, to repeat, goes right to the heart of the whole commitment to violence that runs through our culture, but it does it in a way that’s not provocative, at least, not confrontational. It still isn’t getting very far because, if you want to lose a campaign as a politician in this country, the easiest way to do that – you know, sexual misconduct will only work under certain circumstances. That’s a peculiarly American system there. But the one thing that will absolutely get you dis-elected faster than anything else is for you to be soft on crime. You know, even if you’re not soft on crime, and they say you are, and the timing is right, you will be absolutely crushed. So that

shows you how deeply embedded in our value system, this punitive arrangement is. Okay. Zoe.

Student: Also, just how strong our sense of false security is.

Michael: Yes. You know, Zoe is bringing up a very good point, which I touched on with the Jesuit friends.

Security and the Human Family

Security – I mean, the latest thing that I wrote for Metta’s blog was about security and the new concepts of security, which are called – they used to be called “Total Security.” Now it’s called “Human Security,” I learned last week. But also, a complimentary aspect is “Common Security,” as opposed to what – there is no real word for it, but we might call it “Separate Security.” Separate Security stating, “I’m going to keep you so terrified that you won’t dare attack me.” So, you’re insecure, I’m secure. The more insecure you are, the more secure I am, which, you know, we would not believe for even two milliseconds. But Common Security says, “In order for me to be secure, you have to be secure.” That if you’re secure, you will have no reason to attack me.

And, yes, you’re absolutely right. On one hand, it’s the sense of retribution that we got even. And on the other hand, it’s the false sense of security that we’ve put the bad people away. Who was it? One second, Matias. Somebody – I think it was Solzhenitsyn, or somebody like that, said, “The line between good and evil runs through the heart of every human being.” And the whole mistake is to think that it runs through the community in some way, so we could put the bad human beings here and the good human beings here, separate them out, and we’ll have paradise. But in that very act of separation, we’re tearing paradise apart. Yeah?

Student: It’s just amazing to me – I mean, to look, for example, at the government right now, and the course they run is to go onto very, very simple emotional levels, you know, “You’re either with us, or against us.” – good and evil. And it works because people don’t have to get into any concepts, they don’t have to work for something, they don’t have to stay open. It’s as simple as, you know, “You’re white. You’re evil.” You know, punishment or not, so...

Michael: This problem has often been brought up in the progressive community, namely one of the problems with the present regime is the simplistic, black-and-white, polarizing thinking. And so, the next step in our own thinking is, “Well, if we could get people to think about things in a subtler, more complex way, this would solve the problem.” I’m mostly convinced of that, but part of me is so pessimistic that I think you have to get people to have a good knee-jerk reaction instead of a bad knee-jerk reaction, and then we can get them to a sophisticated level.

Student: I’m a little bit stuck on how you said that society has tended to reject the notion of rehabilitation as a whole. It seems that – I mean, maybe it’s from my limited experience – but it seems that on a smaller scale, like as in a family member, if a family member commits a crime, it seems that the family is really towards rehabilitation. And

that, at some level, it does exist. And why is it that, on the broader level, we tend to reject this, but it's still there on the individual.

Values of the Abstract Community and Family

Michael: Yeah. Ashley's point is really excellent, and I think there's two aspects to it. One, I'm being kind of simplistic when I make sweeping generalizations like that. And it's been often pointed out to me that I do that, but somehow, it hasn't helped – I keep on doing it. I don't know why. It's partly trying to get through a lot of stuff and pull out the main things and have them be clear – I will often speak in exaggerated terms.

And, clearly, it is the case that there are pockets within our society where restoration is the norm. And clearly – you're right, Ashley – that tends to be the case in the family. And that's part of the point with restorative justice is that you try to rehumanize the process, so people deal with one another more like family members.

And any of these little charts that you've seen, which kind of spell out, "Okay. Here's the restorative approach. Here's the retributive approach," you'll see that the first thing that tends to come up is in the retributive approach, the crime belongs to the state, whereas in the restorative approach, it belongs to the victim. And if they're really sensitive and sophisticated, they'll say, "It belongs to the torn relationship between the victim and the offender." Hold on, just one second.

Now, one of the ways of looking at the bad process that's going on here is that the values of the state are seeping down into the family, rather than the values of the family expanding up into the state. And I think the main mechanism for that is called television. Everybody sits around, watches a program that's been programmed by somebody far away whose sole purpose is to be popular. And, unwittingly, what's happening is the values of the abstract community are overwhelming the values of the human family.

I don't want to dwell on this because it's not a very happy topic, but just to give you one example that I think I have in my book. There's a divorce, took place in San Francisco some years ago – not in itself an uncommon occurrence – but the ex-husband in this relationship was talking about how he's going through this legal process and said, "I have to get something out of this relationship." You know, really looking at it as a business contract, and that's really like the formal, what is it *Gesellschaft* versus *Gemeinschaft*? That's *Gesellschaft* values sinking down into the *Gemeinschaft*, into the human community. So, obviously, family values – there they go again. They've got our word. Family values are a way of restoring society if we would build it up from the nucleus instead of having it come crashing in from the externals. Yes, Lisa?

Student: Do you want [unintelligible 0:29:37]

Michael: Your name is?

Student: Sarah.

Michael: Sarah. Sorry.

Student: How much do you [unintelligible 0:29:44]

Michael: I didn't catch the last part?

Student: How much do you think this is really [0:29:51]

Michael: Yeah. Sarah's question – I mean, I thought I was being philosophical – is about – you called it, "Planned obsolescence," but I think what you're really talking about is the second law of thermodynamics that everything runs down over a time. Is that what –

Student: Do you think that that would be more specifically part of the material culture?

Michael: Yeah.

Student: The idea, I mean, we used to have, I mean, even as a culture, you used to go outside. You'd think that a good product was something that lasted –

Michael: Yes.

Student: A really, really long time, and now we just assume technology is...

Entropy of Materialism vs Nonmaterial Pragmatism

Michael: Yeah. Yeah. I guess because our economy depends on overconsumption, in the sense we have to consume more than we need, we have to change that value of sustainability to one of obsolescence. You know, you've got the latest model of blah-blah. You know, we're all susceptible to this. I had this cell phone, and I showed it to my granddaughter, and she laughed out loud. And I felt I had to go and buy myself a new one. You know, I was totally not on time with that stupid little Nokia. I'm sorry – hope I'm not offending anyone. So, now that I understand what, generally, you're talking about, Sarah?

Student: Oh, sorry. I didn't mean to – but I was just wondering how much you get to see that [unintelligible 0:31:38]

Michael: The – oh. You know, I don't think that the planned obsolescence value would necessarily conflict with regenerability because, in the sense that I'm using it here, we have to have a belief that however violent, dehumanized a person has become, that there's a core of that person that has not been violated and that that has to be touch, and we have to restore the person from that core. And, when you say that core does not exist, this is basically the Manichean Heresy. You're basically believing in the absolute existence of evil, basically. And, where the planned obsolescence piece would come in is that, you know, how often do you renew and where does continuity balance with renewal. That would be a little bit different in each case.

Okay. This is terrific, so let – yes, Michael.

Student: So, when you said Manichaeian?

Michael: Yeah. There's a – this is a – there was a – in the middle of the third century, there was a man in Persia whose name was Mani. I don't know why I keep – I know you're not Persian, Arby, but you're the closest I can come right here.

Student: Well, I was born there.

Michael: Oh. Okay. All right. There you go. In that sense, I'm from Brooklyn. Yeah. His Greek name was Manikhaïos, which we get Manichean from, and he – this belief is fostered on him, though I'm not entirely sure he actually believed this. But anyway, the belief that the universe was an interplay of absolute good and absolute evil and each of those had the same ontological reality. You know what I mean? Had the same degree of realness. They're both absolutely real, and so the world was going to be a continual fight between good and evil because evil could never be completely overcome.

Now, you compare this with Gandhi's outlook, and he makes a very challenging statement that evil exists only insofar as we support it. If we could withdraw all our support from it, it would cease to exist, whereas good can never cease to exist. That was his belief. "Ein guter Mensch, in seinem dunklen Drange, ist sich des rechten Weges wohl bewusst." A good person, and we're all good people, even if we get caught up in very dark drives and behaviors – we know perfectly well what's going on, and that knowledge can be touched in the right way. We can be regenerated. Arby?

Student: [unintelligible 0:34:37] You brought up earlier in the semester – the Native American thing where it's like two wolves inside of you and whichever you feed –

Michael: Okay. Good question. How does this nonbelief in the absolute existence of evil – how does that tie into the story that I repeat endlessly of the Native American grandfather with the two wolves fighting inside of him? I believe that that's true in practical terms, on the individual level. I mean, that's Manichaeism works, not as an absolute description of reality, but as a handy, thumbnail version of what we have to do every day in our life.

Because in practical terms, folks – and I'm sorry to have to add this – I don't think we have the capacity to completely withdraw our attention from evil. So, Gandhi's thing remains hypothetical, mostly. However – are you following me? You know, I can withdraw my attention from evil partly, but then, you know, I'll walk past a billboard, and off it'll go again. Or somebody who's running for office will annoy me, and off it'll go again.

So, it remains hypothetical, but it's also very practical because in real terms, in the phenomenal world that we live in, it's a matter of degree. And in that world, the more I withdraw my attention from – okay, I'm calling it "evil." I think you know what I mean – harm, destruction, lack of life. The more we withdraw our attention from that and put it on the good side, the stronger it will be. And it's not possible for a person to completely eradicate his or her sense of reality – his or her goodness. But it is possible for a person to completely eradicate his or her evil. And I think we've come pretty close with people like Gandhi, actually – very rare, but it happens.

So, you know – you remember Boulding's First Law. Any of you who are Peace Studies majors should be aware of Kenneth Boulding and famous – I'm really jealous of him that he has a law named after him. As you know, I've tried three or four times, but they don't seem to stick. But that's why I'm depending on you people to – Boulding's First Law is that anything that has happened is possible. So, okay?

Student: Can you say that one more time, please?

Michael: Boulding's First Law? "Anything that has happened is possible." And the way I'm applying it right now is because we have had a few human beings who have just about in all practical terms eliminated the last vestige of selfishness within themselves, it shows that that's possible to happen.

Now, some people think, "Okay. It was okay for them because, you know, well, he was brown, or he didn't have any hair, or no teeth," or something like that, but I think all of those things have got to be very superficial. You know, the other position is that if one person was able to do this, then, theoretically, any person can. Therefore, we ought to rebuild our culture on that basis, and make it possible for the maximum number of people to get the furthest ahead with this that they can.

And what we've got now is a classic image of the exact opposite. I mean, I just got a notice in the mail the other day from my car dealer. Yes, I own a car. I'm sorry. At least it's a Prius, okay? So, here's this advertisement from the Toyota dealer in Santa Rosa, and on the front cover in big, bold, red letters, "It's all about you." It's not about fuel economy. It's not about saving the environment. It's not about having a safe car to drive in. It's about my little ego. That's going to make me run in there and have an oil change, right this very week. Okay. I have a feeling I'm sort of a little bit out of control here today, but it's okay. Amy?

Student: [Unintelligible 0:39:07]

Mythology of the Mystic

Michael: Yes. Gandhi said, in fact, he prefaced that by saying, "It is my absolute conviction that anyone can achieve what I have achieved if they cultivate the same determination and faith." Amy? Oh. Duh. Shannon?

Student: When you're saying this, I can't help but think of how a lot of the people that do achieve selflessness and greatness – these higher levels of consciousness – often come to be deified like Gandhi. Or Jesus, or people like that. So, it becomes like they're not people? [Unintelligible 0:39:44]

Michael: Yes. Isn't that interesting? When people do achieve this – and as I was saying to our Jesuit friends last week, the point of an avatar, of somebody who reaches this pinnacle, is not to fix the world, but to show how the world could be fixed, and instead we do the exact opposite. And this was my attitude to Gandhi before I started having a spiritual practice of my own. I thought, "Boy, you know, that's terrific, but I can't go there. You know, for one thing there's fasting? Sorry. I need my three squares a day. That's all there is to it. You arrest me, put me in prison, and take away my food, I'll sign anything." I'm being slightly facetious, but I just did not feel that that was, what he did, was humanly possible for me.

And this is part of the belief that evil has an absolute existence, and we can never totally overcome it, is we take these people and say, "They weren't people." That's why this new film, "Lage Raho Munna Bhai," has been so successful because it de-deified

Gandhi. It took him down off the pedestal. In fact, the first thing that Gandhi says in that movie was, “Destroy every Gandhi statue in the world.” It was part of the point of that film. Yeah, Amy?

Student: That’s why I think Gandhi is such a good example because there’s so many biographies of him and stuff too. And it was really inspiring to me to read about how he was really shy and stuff when he was a kid. He wasn’t that great in school or anything. Whereas figures like Jesus or the Buddha, they’ve been so mythologized.

Michael: That’s right. And well just to repeat what Amy was saying – just a second, Matias – that the good thing about Gandhi is that a, he was close enough to us in time that he’s well documented. And b, he got to do his own documentation. Guess what? We never let people do that. You know, we tell their story for them.

I wanted to – and then you went on to speak about the deification of Jesus and, to a lesser extent, the Buddha. They’ve tried very hard to keep that from happening in Buddha’s case. And I wanted to say, the reason I made the comment last Thursday night, which I think probably infuriated most of the people in the audience, about the Jesus of history versus the Christ of faith is that, in fact, people – some people – have been working very hard to see if it wouldn’t perhaps be possible to get Jesus out of all of that mythologization and see what he actually was as a person. Now, it turns out to be fiendishly difficult in his case because we have this nasty habit of executing avatars, and b, because he was one of those who didn’t write anything.

This is a movement, incidentally, that started in Germany in the late 19th or early 20th century. It was called Entmythologisierung – demythologization. And we’re carrying it on today with very accurate historical tools. At first, I thought that this was a big mistake, but now I’m thinking that this could actually be a tremendous benefit.

And, incidentally, that’s why – I’m sure I’ll get sued for this, so let’s all go down together – that’s why Mel Gibson did that movie of his, which could be called Wiedermythologisierung, or remythologization – taking the most negative, most violent parts of that religion and putting them up on a pedestal. And it’s been followed by some imitators since then. It’s a desperate attempt to remythologize Jesus, which I hope will totally fail. Yeah, Matias?

Symbolism and Language

Student: I was just going to make a comment, I mean, it’s interesting that Gandhi said that, you know, “Destroy all the statues.” I bet that was similar to what Jesus meant and commanded. “Don’t,” you know, “You shouldn’t have any symbols up of God or of me.”

Michael: It’s hard to say how he – yeah.

Student: I know, of course, there’s not any proof, but I like to imagine that that was the intention. [unintelligible 0:43:55] You have to find your own way. And it was an entire religion written up as...

Michael: Well, one of the things that, I mean, in the last analysis, we know nothing about what he said or taught. But one of the things that seems to be somewhat

trustworthy is when he would repeatedly say to people – you know, they would say, “Oh, you cured me.” And he would say, “Your faith cured you.” You know, “I was a mirror that enabled you to see that faith.” Okay. Right?

To get, not exactly back to the subject, but somewhere, you know, within range of the subject, I was going on about how much I like this set of terms and that I like it because we made it up this time. And there’s a mysterious process – nobody knows how you get language into the mainstream or images into the mainstream.

But we do know some things about it, and I’m happy to say that, with my little nonprofit, with a staff of two and volunteers, all of whom are in this room, that we have the services of a world-class marketing person. This has been really an exciting adventure, which is getting us to combat – condense everything into three words and so forth. So, we now know, I think, how important it is to get control of the discourse and not have our opponents tell us who we are.

The Realms of Creative and Uncreative

And even within the nonviolence community, I’ve been saying all along that most of the people who belong to, what I call, “Strategic Nonviolence,” they, in their own terms, they define us as, “Moral,” which is a term that I basically never use because I, perhaps, have no right to, but because I think it’s kind of misleading.

So, let’s just compare this, just to stick with this idea for one second, if this is what we have in the criminal justice area. If you go and look at what we have in the environmental area, we have this term called, “Sustainability.” And, you know, it’s useful up to a point. I have a friend who has a law degree and a PhD in Environmental Science, and he did a song, kind of a karaoke thing, with a friend of his, which went, “Unsustainable – that’s what we are.” And it’s a very, very funny song. But the point I want to make is that “sustainable,” somehow this gets back to your point, Sarah, that it’s like taking something that we’ve already got and freezing it, and that somehow doesn’t do it for me.

If you look here, to take another example, in the early years of the Perpetual Peace Movement in Europe, the idea of Perpetual Peace mostly was that you take a contractual arrangement of non-conflict between two states and freeze it. And that would not work.

And one of the very few people in this tradition who saw that this was not enough was Immanuel Kant. He wrote a book – essay, called, “Zum ewigen Frieden” – “On Perpetual Peace.” But he said, “No. It has to be rooted much more deeply and organically,” and so forth. But first of all, a contractual non-conflict state is not peace. So, you don’t even have the energy there to work with.

And second of all, it’s a pipe dream to think that, by getting people to sign onto the thing, it will stay there because they’ve signed it. During the Cold War, there was a study done of the average life of an arms treaty. And I think, it was two to two-and-a-half years was about as long as they – and that was before the present regime got itself into power in Florida in the year 2000.

So, I think, you know, “sustainable” sounds a little bit too much like the mistake that was also made in the ‘80s in the antinuclear age, when our great rallying cry was, “Survival.” It’s not enough. Do I want to survive? Yeah. But it’s not the kind of thing that’s going to rouse my most creative energies.

And it was pointed out about two-thirds of the way through that decade that if we have a nuclear war, cockroaches will survive. They turn out to be very resistant to radiation, so have this whole planet of cockroaches. It’s sort of like a science fiction fantasy, and I’m sure they would divide themselves into North cockroaches and South cockroaches and rebuild the whole thing.

But the point that I’m making here is, again, these are kind of Manichean terms. You see what I mean? They’re staying in the realm of the non-creative and the negative.

Rights, Responsibility, and Respect

And then we come, finally, if we wanted to look at animal world, we talk about animal rights, and it’s a similar problem but a little bit different.

I noticed that in Dwinelle Hall, if you walk and look at the display cases in Dwinelle Hall, there’s one called, “Animal Advocacy” – “Student Council on Animal Advocacy.” Makes a little bit more sense, but it’s been pointed out, not just by me but people who agree with me – obviously on the right side of things – that the term “Rights” is a bit abstract, and there’s a point at which feminists are quite correct in this. We need to reground this in concrete living realities.

And in fact, right at the end of World War II, when the UN came up with “The Declaration of Human Rights,” they thought, “Oh, Mahatma Gandhi’s going to be our man. We’ll get him to sign this thing right away.” They went to him, and he said, “Come back when you’ve got a ‘Declaration of Human Responsibilities,’ and I’ll be happy to sign it.” He did not like the idea of rights because these tend to be thing that you claim for yourself. Yes, John?

Student: Someone I know has been kind of talking about animal rights, and he said the idea of animals having rights is ridiculous. He said it’s just a term we made up. And it doesn’t really mean anything.

Michael: Yeah. There’s a philosopher – if you’ve read this section in my book, you’ll be very well aware of this – named Mary Midgley, and she is a passionate advocate of animals – what shall we say? Animal non-suffering – and animal empathy, or empathy with animals. And she said, “We’re going to have to ditch the term ‘rights.’ It doesn’t work.” That was a philosopher. It just hasn’t got enough substantiality to it. Close the door carefully, Shannon. Thank you.

So, this is one of the big pluses – several of the big pluses, actually – of restorative justice. It goes really right to the heart of things in a stealth way, which sometimes is necessary. We got to make up our own vocabulary, which is very, very helpful, and we should do that more often – figure out how to get our words out into mainstream discourse.

As I mentioned last time – hang on one second, Marissa – as I mentioned last time, it is a very good example of globalization from below, in the sense that we’re drawing upon indigenous ways, indigenous mechanisms that have worked, and using them in the context of our own cultures.

I was in the city of Atlanta, a number of years ago, when four young white guys had burned down a black church, and they were apprehended. And they were sentenced to rebuild the church. And that was just a very good example, and this is something that we could learn from the Navajo, in this case.

So, that was one good thing about it, and then we have this variety of restorative projects going on, which could be used to build out to a whole constructive culture. And that’s one of the things I’d really like to look at is, you know, what are all the projects that are going on and what pieces do they plug in in the puzzle, and how can we get them all on one page? And you have things like the victim-offender reconciliation programs – I think we did talk about those a little bit – and also some preventative programs, where you apply education and other things like that, you know, before people get involved in gangs.

On Saturday, in San Diego, I’ll be talking to a man who lost his 26-year-old son to a ridiculous, random act of gang-related violence. And he turned his whole life around, gave up a highly, highly successful – financially successful career, and now dedicated himself to keeping children and youth out of gangs. And he’s now spoken to more than three million school children.

There’s also a fellow, again, in San Diego – I don’t know why San Diego is so ahead of the curve on this. I think, even though I am an honorary citizen of San Diego, I feel somehow more of an affiliation with Berkeley. Anyway, he – there’s another person who is an American-born Buddhist fellow in a Thai lineage, who’s been taking South Asian youth, and not just keeping them out of gangs, but getting them to take vows and ordination and wearing robes and the whole thing.

And guess what? When they do that, in their community, they get a tremendous amount of respect. And guess what? It turns out that if there’s one thing that drives people to crime, it’s disrespect. And that’s not just me speaking – though, if it were, of course, it would be enough – but psychiatrists – a couple or three of – incidentally, Philip Zimbardo, who did some very important studies, was here yesterday. So, please, go and see him. His wife is the head of the academic senate, and his daughter was a PACS major, so he’s definitely a good guy, even though he worked at Stanford.

But what I was saying is, one of the most common terms in the gang world is “diss” – “He dissed me.” And this particular psychiatrist I’m thinking of, who has dealt with the most dangerous repeat violent offenders – he said one of the things he commonly hears from them is, “I never got so much respect as when I shoved my gun in that dude’s face.” It’s all about – I mean, here I am, generalizing again. I know I’m generalizing. Whatever is the penalty, I will pay it cheerfully. But if one had to generalize, the – at least, if it’s not the only cause, it’s the single most effective way that we could get at crime prevention would be to get people some respect. Okay, Marissa?

Student: I just want to say that I was talking to Ms. Barber about sustainable farming. [unintelligible 0:55:50] A healthy farm is not one that is sustainable, but regenerative.

Michael: Oh, wow.

Student: And so, we must decide [unintelligible 0:55:59]

Regenerative Farming

Michael: Imagine. Regenerative Farming. I love it. Because think, you don't freeze a seed indefinitely. It only does, and Jesus actually said this, it only is going to do any good if it dies and rolls over into the next incarnation. Right. Yeah, and actually, in terms of American farming, which I'm a little bit close to on one edge because we have a very – for our little community, we have a very productive organic gardener, and the guy who lives in our community happens to be on the organic farm board bureau for Marin County.

It's interesting that farmers are partly on board with organic farming because partly they have a sense that this would work very well, but partly they're suffering because they are marginal. Most farming, except for agribusiness, is marginal. And you cannot afford to do something that's going to take away your tiny little margin. So, to convert to organic farming involves economic risks in the short term. But I would say, if you took a group of farmers and a group of nonfarmers, on the whole, farmers would be more aware of and in favor of regenerative farming and sustainability and organic growth.

Yeah. I know a friend of mine lived in a community somewhere in the Midwest, and there was a time when the government was giving out various kinds of ridiculous subsidies, and so they sent this community many, many blocks of Velveeta cheese in plastic wrappers. So, you know, there are these, you know, vegan, animal rights people looking at this saran-wrapped food, and they said, "What are going to do with this?" So, they took their tractor out and dug a deep hole and buried all of this stuff. And it was a sustainable community. And some 10 or 12 years later, they were plowing, and they dug into this stuff. And guess what? It had not changed a hair. It looked exactly the way it did when they buried it in the ground 12 years earlier. So, that's probably what it would do in your GI tract too – not go through any kind of a regeneration process.

All right. Yes, Ashley.

Student: On the farming comment?

Michael: Yeah.

Student: As my family is from Iowa, and farms. They are farmers – or half of my family, that is. They, I think that you're right that they understand the – how organic and sustainable or regenerative farming could be a benefit for the land, but on an individual level, like you were saying, the economic cost. It's impossible for them to kind of, support that for their individual lifestyle because farming is – it would take, I think like two years or something for the process that they have to do, and they have to be adamantly against it for their own livelihood.

Michael: Yeah. It's a real problem for those people, and it's a pity because it would be so easy to solve. And I think the way to solve it would be two ways. There should be some government subsidies. I do believe in government, and that it should subsidize certain things. And, on the other hand, we as consumers – a friend of mine pointed this out to me a long time ago, and I hated it, but it's true – we have to be willing to pay for what we want, to pay the whole value.

There is a dairy farm down the road a piece from us, Straus Dairy. It was started by Holocaust survivors in West Marin. And it's the first organic dairy, at least, west of the Mississippi, which is a lot of turf, west of the Mississippi. And they are – what that means is, that if a cow gets sick, they have to get rid of that cow because they can't put in antibiotics. They have to be very careful about feed. They all have electric vehicles, so they can't go more than 60 miles at one shot. But the fact is, they're doing fine.

We have a very fine French bakery in our little town, and so, naturally it – because of my Swadeshi, I have to go there to have ham and croissants every Saturday and hang out with the local farmers. And, you know, there's Albert and his wife every weekend, and they're doing well. They have to branch out into doing organic ice cream – it's very good, Straus ice cream.

It is possible to do, and it would not be difficult. With just a little bit of sacrifice on our part, and a little bit of effort and intelligence – maybe that's the missing piece here – a little bit of intelligence on the part of the government, we would be able to convert to – what are we going to say? Regenerative, closer to reality farming. Yeah. Yeah, John?

Student: So, are there kind of more animal rights involved with that organic dairy? Like better treatment of the cows and things like that?

Michael: Oh, yes. Okay. You're making an excellent point. John's making an excellent point here. That was actually Gandhi's way into all of this because – I wanted to say a long time ago, so let me say it now – Gandhi did not straight out say a whole much about the environment or farming.

And one of the reasons was it was second nature for him. He, you know, there was no – when, for example, my teacher, Sri Easwaran, when he first heard of organic food, he said, "Organic food? What is that? Are people supposed to eat plastic? All food is organic." He didn't realize what we were talking about was highly-processed versus not-so-highly-processed.

But in his farm, in Kerala, south India, where Zoe might be going on spring break, they didn't even use fertilizer from cows on somebody else's field. It was so Swadeshi, so self-sustainable, so self-sufficient, so self-contained and regenerative. And so, the point that John is making is that this is going to be closely connected with kind treatment of animals, non-exploitive economic systems, localism. All of this is going to – if you get a hold of one really basic thing, and cling to it, you do Satyagraha with it – the Law of Progression, you'll see it spilling out into all other dimensions of regeneration that we need to talk about.

Okay. Good.

Animal Advocacy

So, what I'd like to do – always ready to be trumped by your questions – but left to my own devices, what I would do in the next 15 minutes, I want to say just a little bit about the Animal Rights Movement, and then talk about major environmental struggles in India, and at least tell you the name of the movement that I was going to talk about at some length, which is the Chipko Movement.

I guess we've said a number of things about the Animal Advocacy Movement, which I think were very well said, and I have to say that for some funny reason, and it's an interesting reason – we should talk about it. For some reason, the Animal Rights or whatever you want to call it Movement has been the least nonviolent in terms of approach.

And I'm sure you've all noticed this. And this manifests itself in a variety of ways. One is when these organizations come to do an exhibit on campus, it's going to be like Botero, you know, it's going to be like Abu Ghraib. Here's this horrible panoply of animals being tortured, and "You're guilty," and so forth. The amount, the level of anger in this movement – of course, I'm generalizing. There are exceptions. But the level of anger has been appalling.

Now, I happen to be a person for whom some of my best friends are animals. In fact, in a sense, all of my friends are animals. But I feel very deeply, relatively speaking, the suffering of animals. I just have been trained that way. And I have often wanted to cooperate with groups that advocate this, and I have rarely, if ever, been enabled to because they come on like gangbusters, you know, "Let's trash the lab. Let's do this, that and the other thing."

And I was in a project once – in fact, I started a project at Berkeley, here on campus, to save a colony of monkeys who had been the subjects of studies by the anthropology department. I mean, thank God for – thank Hanuman that they were anthropology monkeys and not physiology monkeys because that's a little bit rougher.

But an anthropologist was just observing them, and then – so okay, it was a violation of their privacy, but it wasn't much more serious. And then, they ran out of grant money, they couldn't keep the animals anymore, so their first thought is, "Well, we will have to destroy them."

But they didn't act on it right away, so it leaked out. And again, Easwaran got a hold of this, he said, "Michael, you have to fix this." I said, "Yes, sir," went down to campus, got together with a bunch of friends, had a very good campaign going. And there was one person who almost torpedoed the campaign.

He said, "We really want to shaft the university on this one." And he was going to have these hate letters all ready to go, "Now we're going to get him." And I said, "Look, I have my problems with this university, don't get me wrong. You know, like any red-blooded American, I don't like bureaucracies any more than you do. But I tell you what," I said, "Why don't we save the monkeys this time and get the university on the next one?"

But he wouldn't go along with me – “We have to get the university right now.” And eventually, we had to write a letter to the chancellor saying, “Hey, don't confuse us with him.” And he was the main animal advocate in the East Bay. He was the head of one of the main animal advocacy groups.

And so, I'm asking myself, “Why? Here's this project, this value, which is inherently so nonviolent. Why is this of all the sectors in the whole nonviolent movement, as far as I am aware, why is it the least nonviolent in attitude?” The only thing I could come up with – and tell me if you think this makes sense to you or if there might be some other reason – the only thing I can come up with is that, somehow, when the creature being hurt is helpless, it triggers something in us which is deeper, even than it is, say, in the case of another human group.

I mean, it's like children and animals being hurt – it infuriates us more than when it's human against human, even though there are, you know, heavily-armed humans against not-so-heavily-armed humans. That's the only reason I can think of why this movement in particular has been so hampered by that kind of anger and ad hominem recriminatory, vengeful approach.

I went to a meeting in North Carolina one time. It was about animal rights, and I told them what I just told you, as well as some other things that were less offensive. And I think it went over pretty well. I think the only group that was really, really angry at me was the Italians. I don't know why but they just, I don't know, maybe somehow that's how they approach things anyway, and they're really not that angry when you just stop to talk to them.

Okay. So, in the interest of time – did you have a question, Ashley?

Student: Well.

Michael: Yeah.

Student: If we don't have time, no.

Michael: There's always time for questions.

Student: Okay. It was just that it doesn't seem consistent when you look at, you know, the helplessness of humans when you compare them to animals. It doesn't enrage like a kind of violence to attack people against, for instance, the genocides or when the refugees are being –

Michael: Yeah.

Student: Murdered, and children, likewise.

Michael: Yeah.

Student: It's not that it's evoking this vocalization of people wanting to attack violently against them, necessarily. They sympathize, but...

Michael: Yeah. That's right. Even this question of child soldiers, which I think is probably the most painful blot against humanity that's happened. Somehow, it doesn't

provoke that utter negative, counter-effective hatred the way it does in the animal rights world. It's a funny thing. Arby?

Student: It just kind of seems to me like, when it comes to violence against other humans, people are against violence. People don't want genocide to continue, but it's, I think, the idea, when it comes to animal rights, you have to change a lot of things in the culture, and I think there's a big stigma around it. I think that might contribute to why so many –

Michael: Yeah. Yeah. I think, yeah, there is a stigma attached to it, and I think, you know, that's an interesting point. After all is said and done, if you didn't kill animals, you would not be able to eat them. Right? Because run around – you know, despite the song, "Oleanna, Oleanna" – you couldn't go around eating little roasted piggies. You have to kill them first.

So, if you're against killing, you're going to have to change your food habits. And there's a funny thing about food habits – their code is very, very deep. When classical scholars, for example, have studied food codes in the ancient Greek world. And they've shown that there were four basic schools of philosophy in the Hellenistic Period in Athens, and each one was connected with a certain dietary pattern.

So, it is – I think that's also a very good point. People immediately feel threatened – okay, they could give up their fur coats. Though, I don't think that PETA goes about doing this very well, you know, they have that slogan, "I'd rather go naked than wear furs" – to me that's a little bit confusing. But okay, people could give that up – and now we've got rayon. We don't need animal furs anymore. But somehow, the food habit, you have to let people grow into this.

I'm thinking of, now, an episode when Gandhi went to Bihar. So, we're talking 1917. A lot of volunteers collected, you know, thousands, "We want to work with you." And whenever this happens in India, whenever you get thousands of people who pull together, not because they're members of a community, but because they're interested in an issue, you'll have a thing – "Some of us are vegetarians, some of us not. What are we going to do?"

So, the vegetarians are saying, "Hey. No nonvegetarian food here. It's a clean movement. They're going to have to eat zucchini." But it was Gandhi who said, "Let them have their kitchen, and we'll have ours." And guess what? Within one week, the nonvegetarians had closed down their kitchen and come over and said, "Can we eat with you guys?" Because a vegetarian food's a lot better – if you don't believe me, just order a vegetarian meal next time you're on United Airlines. All your fellow passengers will say, "Hey. What's that?" But b, I think, it's because that's the only way it can go. You know, you can't ask vegetarians not to be vegetarians, but you can ask nonvegetarians to temporarily eat vegetarian. And that way you get the community back together.

Environmental Struggles in India

Well, once again, I feel very good about what we have said. I feel a slight pang of regret about what we have not said. Let me just give a piece of it, and that is to say that, in

India today, there are major struggles going on. And they are tending to not be in the area of militarism, but they are tending to be in the area of environmental protection. And they tend to be directed at the federal government, you know, the GOI, Government of India, but with full awareness that the Government of India, in this respect is really not a government of India anymore. It's a government of multinational corporations being used by them.

And I think you could kind of make a list of four or five really basic environmental areas where these struggles are going on at a really acute level, with some significant successes. One, the first, historically speaking, was against clear cutting, logging, and that's where our Chipko Movement would have come in, if I had gotten to it. I'll figure out a way of making us more familiar with it. The second is against dams.

So, to go by organization, this group here is the Chipko Andolan. "Andolan" means "Movement." "Chipko" means "hugging." So, this is the Hugging Movement. Now, it's not what you're thinking. This is not like a flower child hugging movement taking place in Golden Gate Park. This is women hugging trees to prevent them from being felled by ax-wielding corporate operatives.

Another organization is the Narmada Bachao Andolan, which means "Save the Narmada Movement." The Narmada is an extensive river system that starts in sort of the central Gangetic plain and flows west to enter the sea near Gandhi's hometown of Porbandar. So, it flows mostly through – starts in Madhya Pradesh, I think, some of the tributaries, and ends up in Gujarat.

The Government of India, as part of its modernization program – I guess I have to back up here, one slight little step. There is an excellent documentary made by the BBC, interestingly enough, called "Gandhi's India," and it talks about the fact that Gandhi's economic ideas were completely reversed by the independent governments of India – the Nehru government. They just said, "This absolutely will not work. We cannot have village uplift, decentralization, Swadeshi – none of that. We need industrialization, and we need it fast." You know, and it would be hard to argue with that. You had millions of people starving. You can't wait for those two years that you were talking about, Ashley, for the system to rebound.

But anyway, they went too far, way too far, completely rejected everything that Gandhi had stood for, and by the late '50s, Indians were beginning to realize that this is not working for our country, and they're trying to rediscover simple economics, natural economics. And by this time, the government had put in the most, probably the most ambitious dam-building project in the world, maybe second to the Three Gorges project in China, but after those two, probably the biggest in the world.

And what happens when you build these dams? Well, you know perfectly well what happens. You have the huge lakes where you used to have forests. You have dramatic, drastic shifts in water availability. And the government was claiming that whenever villagers would be driven out of their land, they would be resettled, and they had a very ambitious resettlement project for them, and it was very intelligent. And the electrical power and the water would be made available to farmers.

Well, people like Arundhati Roy and others use their intellectual prowess to show that you still had people living in refugee camps in utter squalor after ten years, and somehow, all the money that was designated to put them into nice little model villages – even if that were an acceptable solution, which it is not. You know, you wrench people out of their village where their families have been living for a thousand years and say, “Now, we’ll give you a nice concrete Quonset hut to live in.” – I’m afraid not.

So, even at best, it wouldn’t have been very good, but it was not at best by any means. They were just living like refugees. And secondly, guess what? All that water and all that electrical power was going to the coal companies and the big power firms downstream from these villages.

So, there’s been a big resistance movement to the dams and parts of this movement have been third-stage Satyagraha, meaning people, villagers, sometimes individuals – you only need one really, to make this work – but sometimes in large numbers, have said, “I refuse to leave my village. If you flood it, I will drown.” And they have actually stopped the government from doing that.

And I have a friend who, when the American River was going to be dammed, somewhere north of Sacramento, he –

Student: Auburn.

Michael: What?

Student: Auburn.

Michael: At Auburn? Right. That’s right. You remember that Amy. He, my friend, went up there and chained himself to a rock, up to his chest in water and sent a telegram to the authorities in Sacramento saying, “I am chained to this river in an undisclosed location, and if you build that dam, I will drown.” And in those days, they didn’t have the kind of super spy equipment that they have today. They couldn’t find him, and they had to postpone. Did the Auburn Dam ever –

Student: That dam is still being postponed.

Michael: Okay.

Student: But our representatives are always talking about starting it up again, so...

Michael: Yes. Evil exists as long as you support it. You keep re-electing it, you’re going to have to keep fighting it. Okay. Let me quickly mention that there’s a couple of other areas, three in particular – genetic seed modification, which has been horrendous, changing people’s economies into commercially exportable, particularly shrimp fisheries, for example, and thirdly, and finally, Coca-Cola, which has been one of the most conspicuous successes.

They bring in a Coca-Cola plant – notice the word “plant,” ha, ha, ha – people have been drinking coconut water for 10,000, 20,000 years in this village. It goes fine, thank you. We replant the coconut trees, no problem. And suddenly they come in and say, “No. You don’t want to drink water or coconut milk. You want Coke, don’t you? We have a big billboard at the entrance to your village that’s telling you this.” And it turns out that

in order to manufacture Coca-Cola, among other deficits, you have to extract vast, unthinkable vast quantities of groundwater to do it.

And a group called the Sarvodaya Mandal, which means – okay. “Sarvodaya” means “the uplift of all,” and “Mandal” means “circle” in the sense of “network, organization.” As a direct, I would say, here and here, you had direct descendants of Gandhi. I’ll forget – little time. I’ll talk about that in greater detail. Sarvodaya was a Gandhian concept. It is a Gandhi-inspired organization. And I have an interview with one of the heads of this on videotape that I’ll try and use for you. But they have, using purely nonviolent methods, they have stopped Coca-Cola from expanding or continuing to function in a number of locations.

Thank you for listening to the express train here today, and –

[PACS164B Lecture 17](#)

Peacemaking, Peacekeeping, and Peacebuilding

Michael: Feels like a much longer weekend because I was down in the high desert country around San Diego for a couple of days. And I'm telling you that because what I was doing was attending an intensive retreat for advocates for the Nonviolent Peaceforce. So, I found out a lot about what NP is doing. And I know that's something that you all were very interested in, so if you have any other questions about, you know, what countries we're operating in, where things stand, I'm in a better position to answer those questions now.

And then, not to be outdone, I also – I have an announcement too. There's a screening – free screening – Thursday at 7:00 PM in 110 Barrows, of a film called "The Peacekeepers." "Peacekeepers" is a brilliant film about the struggle to save a failed state, namely the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where 3.3 million people have died in the last 10 years. Very bad combination – rich minerals and poor people.

And, since they're using the term "peacekeeping," I just – excuse me. This is an item that comes up for us in nonviolent intervention work also. These terms, I am pretty sure, were developed by Johan Galtung. He's the source of most of our vocabulary in the field. And he makes a distinction among three functions – peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding.

And the idea is that peacekeeping is any kind of intervention in a hot conflict to get it cooled down to the point where people can negotiate. So, the UN does peacekeeping through threat power, which I have always maintained is a complete contradiction in terms and will never get anywhere. So, hopefully, I may even be wrong on this point, but alas, I don't think so. But you can also do nonviolent peacekeeping without weapons, of course. And that is frequently what an intervention will do. Amy?

Student: Do you think the UN will ever catch on to [unintelligible]

Michael: We had this debate all weekend. I'm rather pessimistic about the UN, but my – ultimately, I came to this conclusion after much pressure by friends of mine at the event. But no, seriously, this is what I have always believed anyway. We should always leave it open for the UN to step in and do this, but we should never depend on them. I think that's the winning strategy – just build it as if they were not there, but have the door open for them at any time.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Yeah. And that is actually now, finally, starting to happen. David Hartsough, when he was here, he mentioned Rolf Carriere, who's a former UN diplomat. He is arranging for UNESCO and UN volunteers and other programs to use Nonviolent Peaceforce as a source for trained volunteers, which would be terrific. But the only problem is it's a catch 22 – we don't have enough money to do the training. If we had the money to do the training, we would have a lot of money from the UN.

So, they're offering us something like \$1.3 million, but we have to be able to prime the pump. It's part of what we were meeting about this weekend.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: To prime the pump? We have to get the flow started. You know, like sip a latte, and then you can go on for another paragraph. Case in point.

But it is very significant that if you look at the history of peace interventions – which I gave a presentation on it this weekend, so that's why I'm still up on this – you will see that there were a number of proposals made to the UN by people who could have followed through on them.

One of them was Vinoba Bhave, whom we have heard about, who was probably Gandhi's closest disciple from the spiritual point of view, I think, at least as far as known to the public. And he, during the – oh, I'm not sure I remember what crisis it was. It might have been when the Cyprus thing blew up or Kashmir. He offered the UN that he would raise 100 thousand unarmed volunteers, and he got absolutely no response.

And, although this is disappointing, I think after a while, after you've been through these disappointments decade after decade, you begin to ask yourself, "What is the handwriting on the wall here? What are we supposed to be learning from this?" And I've come to the conclusion that there's something, again, extremely appropriate and consistent and, therefore, effective about peace – nonviolent peacemaking not being centralized.

It has to be organized, God knows. You know, there's the case of Mirsada, this one organization that tried to drag people into the Balkans, and it was a disaster. In one case, a lady saw a sign on a bar Saturday night, and Sunday morning, she was on a ship going over to the Balkans. She had never heard of this before, had no idea what to do, had no idea who was going to feed her. And she'd be – they were all a huge security risk for the people on the ground.

So, just jumping into this without organization and without preparation is a huge mistake. At the same time, the kind of organization that we tend to be familiar with, which is parametal, hierarchical, top-down, head-honcho, honchitas, and the rest of it – that's not appropriate. And somehow, it's very easy to organize violence in that way, and it makes a lot of sense, and makes a very clear statement. But it's not very easy to organize nonviolence that way.

So, that doesn't mean that the UN will never get on board, and in some cases, people – individuals in the UN have understood this already. But to get it to do – to adopt this as an organization, we're going to have to build it and make sure that when they come on board, they don't sink the ship.

Like you know – just to give you one little vignette, which is kind of an example of how this could happen. Not Mirsada, but another group that was better organized, and one of the larger nonviolent peace teams that's been mounted so far, which had about 2000 people – this was Balkan Peace Teams. And you can ask your husband about this. And they had a group that was ready to go into Sarajevo, through Sniper's Alley.

I'm going to be in Sarajevo in September. Did I tell you guys that? Oh! Let me interrupt this for a brief announcement from our sponsor. My book has been translated into Serbo-Croatian, and I'll be going over there to launch it in September, with a brief stopover in Germany – refreshments. Yeah.

Anyway, closed parenthesis, back to topic. Here they are. Thank you! They are poised, ready to go down into the city through Sniper's Alley. Nobody went through that without getting shot, hence the name. And vroom! Up comes UNPROFOR, the United Nations force in the Balkans, and they said, "We will put an armored personnel carrier" – they had two buses that they were going to go down in – "We'll put an armored personnel – an APC in front of your buses and an APC behind them to protect them."

So, the Balkan Peace Team people had a brief consultation and said, "Spasibo, but no spasibo," you know, "Thanks, but no thanks. If we were to do that, it would completely violate everything we're here for, and we would be rendered incoherent." I'm sure they didn't use that expression – that's the way I tend to think about it.

So, they took these two beat up buses, that only said Balkan Peace Teams on the side, and they went down through Sniper's Alley, and not a single shot was fired. So, it's good to remember that. The UN way of doing things is adverse – it's going to get us in trouble with Nagler's Law.

The Chipko Movement

So, what I would like to do today, if we can finally get started, is talk a little bit about the Chipko Movement and then stop and throw it wide open for a complete review for the midterm, which you'll be having on Thursday, if you recall. And we can go the whole rest of the time with that, but if we run out of speed or steam, and we figure we know everything, no need to talk anymore, then I would like to show you about 12 minutes of a film about Judi Bari and the Earth First Movement. But you won't be responsible for that material for the midterm, so if we're still rolling, we won't stop – we'll keep on rolling. So, I made a point of bringing a very light projector today, so it's not a huge burden for John.

So, I thought it might be a good idea to do one of our chart things for this movement. And, again, the reason I'm dwelling on it a little is that it plays an intermediate role between the Gandhian Era and the Contemporary Era, which our course is nominally about.

So, the issue was deforestation, something that we are, unfortunately, on intimate terms with. 97% of the old growth redwoods in California – finito. We're working on saving the remaining 3%, you know, at this point.

So, and the next thing we might consider is the players. And, I would say, you have the classic, modern configuration of corporations running governments instead of the other way around. You know, governments used to be a way to put a check on the greed of corporations, and now we have something called "Free Trade," and that whole relationship, as they would say in French – I don't know why I want to – it's a very pretty word in French – "Bouverce." It's completely turned on its head.

So, actually, people who are in the progressive movements of one kind or another oddly find themselves trying to rescue the state, which they've been against, classically, for the last hundred and so many years. You know, communism promised us the state would wither away. It failed to do that. Much worse, it now becomes a fig leaf for corporate systems.

Classic, very sad case of this – at the end of the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, which, basically, was a successful struggle on many levels, it was written into the South African constitution that, basically, food, clothing, and shelter was the right of every citizen of South Africa. Everybody should have the right to adequate housing, modest income, and so forth. And twenty years later, none of that was there. Why? Because the IMF came in and said, “You have to restructure.”

And you know what that means. I hope you know what that means because a lot of people don't. It means the poor people get screwed – that's what it basically means. So, there was a statement by one person, who had been in that movement, who said, “We rose up to struggle against the – we rose up to take possession of the state and succeeded, only to find that it no longer existed.”

So, I hope with this grim introduction, trying to identify what's going on here. Corporations want to come into the Garhwal Himalaya and other sections of the Himalayan low-lying, relatively low-altitude Himalayan forests, and they want to do clearcutting for very good reasons, of course. In some cases, they want to cut down all the ash trees so that they can make tennis rackets out of them, things like that.

And the adversary to this is – oh! What are we going to call it? Right? I will use an old-fashioned term, and I hope that's all right. It's the “People” who happen to live there, the indigenous people. And this issue has a background, which I think you may have come across, and that is nearly 400 years before this episode dawns in the 1970's, there was a group called the Vishnoi or Bishnoi. In that part of India, it's hard to distinguish between “v” and “b.”

And as is often the case in India, a community is more than just a bunch of people who happen to live in one place. They actually develop a kind of religious culture, which is somewhat distinct for them. And because they're hill people – living in the Himalayas, living in a balanced, sustainable, symbiotic relationship with the forest – the forest becomes sacred for them.

So, these people, the Vishnoi, they had a constitution, if you will, which almost – I think it almost even had a written form. And it said, “Nobody is going to cut down a living tree except under very special, carefully controlled circumstances.” And over a period of 20 or so years, the government had been supporting multinationals, a lot of them actually from Los Angeles, to go in and utilize, develop – all of these euphemistic terms, as though, you know, it wasn't developed if it's just being the world – the forest.

The villagers didn't own the forest in the legalistic sense, but they were the custodians of the forest, and the forest was their – okay, if you don't mind my using a somewhat sentimental word – the forest was their mother. It was providing them with fuel and, in some cases, tree crops and a balanced, sustainable environment.

Well, immediately, when the corporations came in, they didn't like the fact that it was a mixed forest – that's too messy, and it's hard to exploit. So, they cut down a lot of one kind of tree, and they planted a certain type of pine tree, called chir pine, which is a deciduous tree. The needles shed, they lie on the ground, and prevent things from growing. It's a kind of mulch. And what does that mean? Well, what it meant was in one year, 70 villages – villages, not people – 70 villages were swept away by floods. So, we're going from poverty to destitution on the fast track here – their life was being wiped out.

And I'm going to make a special category for Outside help.

Great Chain of Nonviolence

And they were conspicuously blessed by this unusual woman. Madeleine Slade took the Sanskrit name Mirabehn – Mira was a very, very famous saint in the 16th century, I think, and "behn" means "Sister," so this was Sister Mira.

And she was very, very close to Gandhi at one time, and I'm not going to get into her whole history, but toward the end of Gandhi's life, he started sending people out to remote villages to start building them up from the grassroots. He felt, you know, "We've done what we can. We're on our way to getting political independence, but we're not anywhere near where I wanted us to be in terms of rebuilding India along spiritual lines, along its own traditional culture. So, I want you to go out to these villages and help the people rebuild."

So, she, by coincidence – ha-ha-ha, you know nobody believes in coincidences anymore. This is Berkeley, right? The 21st century? By divine providence, or whatever, she went to this village that was right, smack in the middle of this area and started writing about the deforestation and the disastrous flooding that was happening. So, the world gets alerted to this.

And then there were two Indian fellows – one was named Sunderlal Bahuguna. And the other one, I think was – I'm not totally sure of his first name, but his last name was Bhatt. And both Mirabehn and Bahuguna had been with Gandhi. So, what we're talking about here is a rare case of direct transmission, right? Even more direct, in a sense, than Larzac, which is our western European parallel to this, because these people had really spent a lot of time with Gandhi. In one case, he's actually an Indian.

And they start to constitute – I want to bring in a concept here, of which this is sort of a version. And it's, again, a concept by Galtung - where would we be without this man? – "The Great Chain of Nonviolence." You've heard of the "Great Chain of Being," which was believed in the Middle Ages, that you have creatures that were very low down on the chain, and then you get to Berkeley students and start working your way up to the very top.

Anyway, "The Great Chain of Nonviolence" is this idea that you might be a disenfranchised, voiceless person, part of what they would call in German Marxism, "Lumpenproletariat." You know, you're just a nondescript worker in some factory, or

you're a domestic worker in some white woman's household – how are you going to get to the governor?

Well, one way that we think of doing that, immediately, is we all get together. There's a million of us, and it would embarrass the governor if we stand outside his office and don't let him drive his limousine into the parking lot. That's one way – go multiply ourselves by numbers. Another way is one really conspicuous person doing one conspicuous thing at the right time can have a tremendous impact. That's another way. We've seen examples of that.

But there's also a third possible mechanism, is that you get to be friends with the lady that you're working for. Her husband goes bowling with the police commissioner. And so, you build your way up, through just a chain of human associations, to the top that you need to reach – if, indeed, political power holders are to be thought of as at the top of anything.

So, you had these villagers – oh! I'm sorry. I started to say something about the Vishnoi and their past history and the background, then I – strangely enough, I got sidetracked. How did that happen?

Anyway, in the 17th century, actually early 18th century, there was a Maharaja who wanted to clear-cut a forest – they didn't use the term in those days of course. He wanted to cut down all the trees in the forest so that he could build, I don't know, a stable for his elephants or something like that, or a gambling casino or something, some useful item like that.

And the women in the village, knowing that their livelihood depended on that, begged him to stop. When he didn't stop, they committed suicide. The story goes that 400 of them jumped over a cliff – 400 of them. This brought the Maharaja to his senses, so the story tells us. Okay?

So, this is, at least, acting as if you're at the third stage of the escalation curve, and perhaps, they were. Is this a recommended mechanism? No. I think the peace movement is small enough already. But it goes to show you, very dramatically, what you had to do to reach the top from the village bottom.

So, the fact that you have Mirabeau, who was in contact with global civilization, and Bahuguna, who was also a very educated young man, who knows how to do things and organize things, he has Gandhian training – they get pulled into it. That makes the link in between the villagers who have no voice, no connection otherwise that they know of – that they know how to exploit – with the government.

And, in addition, we've talked frequently about some of these people, like Hildegard Goss-Mayr, the role that she played in the Philippines, very likely to come up on the midterm... She comes in with training and experience. Actually, I just found out something about her that I didn't know until yesterday – she was actually tortured, seriously, in Guatemala at one point.

So, and she overcame that in a personal way and didn't hate her oppressors and ended up being able to be very active, without being overcome by fear. So, it's not just what

she knew from reading books and stuff – she had gone through a very deep transformation and was very, very helpful for those people. And that’s the role that Mirabehn played.

Techniques of Bahuguna

But then there was something that Mirabehn could not do very easily, and that was to walk from village to village singing songs from the Himalayan region and awakening people and being immediately accepted by them. She couldn’t do that because she was a white lady. She didn’t know the language. She didn’t know the culture very well. But this, Bahuguna could do.

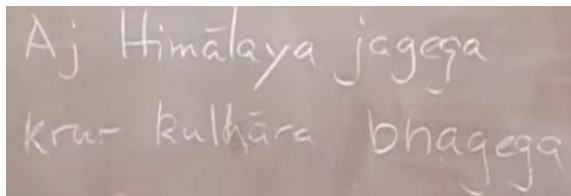
So, then when we get to techniques, one of them was the padayatra, which means, “pilgrimage on foot.” “yatra” means “a going”, or, especially, “a religious going, a pilgrimage.” And “pada” means “foot.” Next time you visit your podiatrist, Matthew, you tell him that he has a very distinguished title that is a second cousin to the Sanskrit word, “pada.” He’ll be thrilled, or she.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Huh?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: That’s right. There you go. So, Sunderlal Bahuguna, at certain periods during the campaign, goes on these 6000 kilometer-long treks, where he visits village after village after village, and bringing in poets from the region. And poetry and song plays an important role in spiring people and giving them some slogans like – let’s see. I might be able to remember this one.



“Today the Himalaya arises.” Isn’t that a nice image? “Today the Himalaya arises.”

Oh, I remember! “The cruel ax has been scared off.” It says, “The cruel ax has been scared off. Today the Himalaya arises.” They would go around chanting things like this. So, you see, you have people at their appropriate stages, doing what they have to do.

Chipko and Hugging Trees

The most important technique, the one that gives the movement its name, is, of course, “Chipko,” which means “Hugging.” And, apparently, we don’t know for sure how this started, but it definitely began in the village. It was not something that Mirabehn thought

up. She didn't come in and say, "I have a good idea. Why don't you guys or gals go out and hug the trees?"

There was a meeting, apparently – we're not entirely sure of this, but apparently, there was a meeting, and one old man got up and said, "When a leopard jumps on a child, the mother protects it with her own body." Immediately, they got the idea, and the next morning, they were out there hugging the trees so that the axmen could not come in and chop them down.

And it was a long-term movement. Another thing we could talk about is the timeframe and the outcome. Everybody got this? "Aaj Himaalay jaagega" – we're going to sing it at the midterm. I think it's a long a, actually. Whoops. This is very embarrassing because I'm sure there's at least a hundred people watching this lecture in India, and they must be, "Argh!"

Timeframe and Outcomes of the Chipko Movement

Okay. Timeframe. Outcome. So, the timeframe is actually from the mid-'70s – although the problem started earlier – mid-'70s to the present. It is – the struggle is still, in a sense, going on. The outcome, I would say, was a mixed success. A lot of felling was prevented, but people who go back and visit the region today will bring back depressing reports. But somehow, they figured out a way to do it, even though the villagers aren't allowing them to.

So, I'm hoping that you'll find this kind of scheme and way of spreading things out convenient and helpful for all the campaigns that we have to look at. But I now want to get to the most important criteria, the most important columns, and then I will stop and make myself available to you for your questions.

And those, quote, "most important columns" are, "What kind of nonviolence was involved, if any? Is it strategic, principled, or some mixture of the two?" and, finally, let's put it this way, "What kind of program was involved? Was it constructive program or obstructive program, or both?" And as I think I mentioned to you, it's very likely that we'll find, as we go through the rest of the semester, that a campaign will tend to be very strong on one but very weak on the other. There's very few that really get the two things in balance. And then you want to still take another step and have some kind of strategic vision where you can tell when to use which. So, absent a Gandhi, how are you going to decide all of this?

So, in the interest of time and because you haven't had much of a chance to read up about Chipko, I'll just fill in these columns myself. And I would say that it's pretty close to Principled Nonviolence. It's as close as you're going to get in PACS 164B, okay? PACS 164A was the squeaky-clean course, where you had to practically be a Gandhi, or we wouldn't study you. But in B, we realize we're dealing with ordinary flesh.

But because the movement was primarily a women's movement – some men were involved, but only if they were sober, so that definitely limited their participation. This is a big problem in some parts of India and other parts of the world also. It was primarily a women's movement. They did bring some of the men in. And of course, Bahuguna

played a very strong leadership role in terms of being prominent and active, going from place to place, making representations to the government. It was he, and not Mirabehn that was able to do that.

But it was mainly a women's movement, and they mainly – I don't know of a single episode where they threatened the axmen with violence. They – it doesn't mean there wasn't one, and who knows what's actually going on in their heart. But I think, as far as we can tell, and that's as close as we're going to get this semester, it was a movement where they wanted to protect life, and they were going to do it in a – yes, an interpositionary posture, getting in between what you guys are trying to do and the thing. But they were not against the axmen. And of course, they didn't use any violence.

So, pretty darn close, we'll say, pretty darn close to a Principled Nonviolent Movement. And I would say that it was very strong on OP, and it had little bit of Constructive Program in the sense that they would be blocking the felling of the trees. But it's not like they were trying to rebuild their whole economy or stuff like that. There was some because Bahuguna came in there, and he raised the consciousness of the people politically. It was definitely what Paulo Freire calls, "Concientizao." I'm probably not pronouncing that very well. Not bad?

Student: Pretty fair.

Michael: Pretty fair? How would you say it?

Student: Conscientização.

Michael: There you go – "Conscientização." There. I knew that! So, it's what we call conscientizing, which is a disgusting word, but it sounds much better in Portuguese. But it means getting the people up to the point where they can act politically and represent their case to the powers that be. Matthew, did you?

Student: Wasn't there something that had anti-alcoholism with it?

Michael: Well, actually, that is a good – yeah. That is a good point. And, in fact, having mentioned the alcohol problem, it would not be fair not to mention that there was an anti-alcohol solution. Yeah. That actually was throughout the entire Gandhian movement in India, from the late '30s onwards. "The Drink Evil" is one of – is the name of one of the 18 programs in Constructive Program. Wherever he went, people had to stop boozing. Okay. Okay, John?

Constructive Program and Indigenous Nonviolent Mechanisms

Student: If the villagers were in a sustainable life before the trees started being cut, what kind of Constructive Program could they have done?

Michael: Okay. John's question is a very good one. Did they even need Constructive Program, given that before the industrial-style felling started, they had a perfectly good lifestyle there – a balanced economy and so forth? This leads to a very interesting point

about globalization, and I'm not calling it globalization from above or from below for the time being.

But if you think about indigenous forms of nonviolent culture before Gandhi comes on the scene, and we start studying him and writing books about it and all the rest of it. There was an English anthropologist by the name of Fabro, who collected a study of something like 55 countries – 55 cultures – where they had pronounced nonviolent mechanisms in their culture.

But – and it's a very valuable resource. There's no denying that. But unfortunately, when these – it's very hard to find a nonprejudicial word for people living at this cultural level, but let's say preindustrial people. They have these nonviolent mechanisms in their culture. They can be very effective. But what's going to happen to them after contact? When they come up against the developed world, what's going to happen?

In at least one case, and probably a lot more that I don't know about, these people became super violent when they were dragged into, let's say, the Cold War. I'm thinking of the Samoy people, who lived in mountains high up in the middle of a Malay Peninsula. They were very, very nonviolent, but when they got caught up in the Cold War, they were cannibalistic. They went ballistic. They were absolutely uncontrollable.

So, the question is, yeah, you might have a sustainable forest economy, which will work fine if you're going to be left alone, but what do you think the chances are that you're going to be left alone? There's – so what we now need is Constructive Program to rebuild an economy, which will use the indigenous balance but allow it to interact with the outside world. Right? That's the challenge. I kind of wish it were not, you know. I wish that we could leave those people alone, and they could be happy, and we'd be happy – everybody would be happy, but it's not going to be like that.

There's a documentary film called, "[A Message to Little Brother](#)," which is about a community that lives high up in the Columbian Highlands, which is now completely out of contact with the coastal Indians because, in the 17th century, of course, the Europeans came in and cut them off.

So, they are totally enclaved. They live in these little island pocket fastnesses up in the Andes. And guess what? Their life is deteriorating, even though they have absolutely no contact with the European South Americans, because they're destroying the environment so fast that they can't live up there on their hilltops anymore.

So, there was one Indian in this group – I think this film is legitimate. It's so fantastic, it seems like it's almost like a science fiction story, but it looks like it's probably legitimate. There was one Indian who happened to go down to the lowlands and marry a Spanish-speaking person, so he could translate.

And they actually invited a film crew – that's how we have this documentary – they invited a film crew to come up, walk across these rope-bridges with their heavy cameras, and film this village. And they gave us a lecture. They said, "You see that mountain that should be all green, and it's still brown? What are you doing, little brother? You're destroying the world."

So, much as we may like to preserve these indigenous economies, I think what we have to do is preserve the principles that they developed and apply them in a way which enables them to live in the modern world. Because the one thing that I do believe about the globalist model or their ideology is that it's here. There's, you know, we're not going back to little isolated communities. That would be romantic and nostalgic. And, I mean, I happen to be both romantic and nostalgic, but that doesn't work in the real world.

Midterm Review - DACE

Okay. So, by way of transition to the rest of today, which wraps up what we've studied so far. As you're probably aware, there's going to be two questions – Roman numeral one and Roman numeral two. That wasn't very informative. Roman one will be IDs, identification, and that's where you'll mainly use that list that I emailed out to all of you, but we won't be entirely confined to that list. There may be something that we didn't think of at that time. So, don't be indignant if a term comes up that wasn't on that list. But most of them will be from that list. And what I will ask you to do is briefly identify what this is. There was a system that we cooked up for last semester, which I would love to share with you, but I have to find some chalk. Oh, thank you, Sethi. Yeah. Good.

Oh! This is funny, isn't it? I hope you'll find it funny. I started talking about these three things, and I got sidetracked. That's my middle name, you know, "Mike Sidetrack Nagler," they call him. Peacekeeping is getting in the way of a hot conflict and chilling it out. Peacemaking is trying to resolve the issue that caused the conflict. And peacebuilding is creating new institutions – cultural, social, economic – so that problems like that won't arise. Okay.

Now that you've got that, I'll take it away. So, what you should think of when you start one of these IDs is the first thing that you want to do with a term is to define it. In other words, don't start by giving some characteristic. Don't say, "This is a very important item." It wouldn't be on the exam if it weren't an important item. We don't need your reactions – you can put that in the course evaluations. But tell us what the thing is.

So, if I were to take, suppose you had CBD. And you know, you're hip enough to know that that stands for Civilian-Based Defense. You would start by saying, "One of the two ways that nonviolence can be deployed against large-scale armed conflict, parenthesis, quote, "War," unquote." And then you would say, "It is what happens when citizens of a regime resist occupation of their cultural institutions not of their territory. So, you don't do what's called shallow interdiction – keeping the enemy from getting into the country. You can't do that. Once they come in, you don't let them take it over. So that's Civilian-Based Defense." So, that's how you would define it.

And then, in some cases, you would need to attribute the term to the person who developed it, and that's important in our field because the field is so new, and the vocabulary is not yet agreed upon. So, for example, suppose you had Nagler's Law as an ID. Whom would you attribute it?

Student: Michael Nagler.

Michael: Yeah! Who is buried in Grant's Tomb anyway? Very good. So, that may or may not be appropriate. Definition is absolutely indispensable, but attribution may or may not be necessary. Then, you want to contextualize it in the sense that if it's part of a set, tell what the rest of the set is.

So, classically, last semester, I would put out there, say, "Exchange Power," and you have to say, "It's the type of power which derives from the exchange of desired goods. Give me what I want, I'll give you what you want. The concept was developed by Kenneth Boulding. It is the middle part of an important series which goes from 'Threat Power' to 'Exchange Power' to 'Integrative Power.'"

And then, you do an evaluation of "Why is this thing important for nonviolence?" Well, let's keep that in the same grammatical voice – evaluate. And you say, "It is 'Integrative Power' which is basically the definition of how nonviolence works. It is the power of nonviolence. But the one that you're talking about is not." Okay?

So, in some cases, this may not be necessary because there isn't a set, and in some cases, it may be obvious how it relates to nonviolence. So, do be thinking of all of these, and we sometimes call this the DACE system. And we're going to patent it and sell it for nonviolence courses around the world – make \$10. But, if you keep that little formula in mind – define first, then attribute, contextualize, and evaluate as necessary. And really, all of this can be done in two or three sentences. And probably you'll have 12 terms – read them over, think which 10 you want to take, and then put the number and the term, and then go. John?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Yeah. If you have an event, like suppose – well, an event or a campaign – but suppose I were to say, "The Sharpeville Massacre." Okay, that's an event. You would definitely want to say why it was important, what principles it brought.

In fact, that's a good point that John is making – you should know the principles of nonviolence cold and use them all the time. I mean, don't worry about using them too much. You can even – this is not a matter of style. You can be corny about this. Say, "This involves the principles of A, B, C," just keep piling it on. I mean, realistically – don't just put words in there to fill out the paragraph. They have to make sense, right? We'll assumedly still be awake at the time that we're grading your midterm. But don't be afraid to use these principles – that's the whole point, is to be able to see the principles at work in the episodes on the ground. Okay?

So, that's the ID's, and the essay will – it'll ask you to give historical – again, you'll have your choice, probably give you three, of which you choose one. Take a historical overview of a certain period and/or – oh, essays can be all over the map, really. It's kind of difficult to prepare for them. You'll be much better prepared for the final exam, for the essay questions there. Okay?

Now, let's get to content, substance, things that – I mean, like, maybe I got sidetracked at some point during the semester and didn't finish something. You'll want to ask me about that.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Base Communities and Affinity Groups

Michael: Okay. So, Andrea's question is about base communities and, well, actually, you know, that's a column that we didn't put in here – formats, new inventions, stuff like that. Originally, it was, I think, was not an acronym. It just was the word "Base," and it developed in Central America and South America, and it was also brought into the Philippines. And you saw an example of a Base Community meeting there in Mindanao, I think I remember.

Okay, but having said that – and I haven't really – that's not the definition. It's just telling you where it comes from. Who'd like to define it? What is a Base Community? Que es una comunidad de base? Marcella?

Student: When I think of a base community, it's those people that are going to be receptive to [unintelligible] and those people that are going to be [unintelligible]

Michael: Interesting! I would actually use a different term for those people. I would call those people "Early Adopters." Like if you go into any community, there will be – and you say, "We ought to try to do this nonviolently," you'll get some people who will say, "Yeah, yeah. That's a good idea," including even some men. But that is kind of an artificial community. That's just sort of an interest group.

A Base Community is a real community of people who got together frequently, and it was in the context of Evangelical Christianity, which has become a powerful force in Central and South America. I can vividly remember walking through the streets of Leon at 10:30, 11 o'clock at night. Everything is shut down, except one building, where people are standing up and holding hands and praising the Lord and singing loud music.

And so, it's because the way the church – the Catholic Church – got squeezed during the revolutionary periods in the – from the '40s to the '60s, that they ended up in an awkward position, and people started defecting from them into other kinds of Christianity. Now, having said that, to be sure, the base communities in the Philippines were Catholic. There's almost no Evangelical Christianity there.

But these are real communities where people got together, got to know each other personally and socially, and talked about what they were going to do about their problems. And you remember that scene in that slum in Manila, I think is where it was, where people were saying, "The problem is that the government isn't listening to us. They don't know about our poverty. What are we going to do about it?"

So, it kind of combined Christian cultivation, or religious cultivation, with a grappling with the political problems that the community faced. And because there was, in many cases, no other organization to do that, the base communities became very important as a way of building movements.

Now, there's also a modern version of this that Buddhist groups here are starting to build. Now, I think this stands for Buddhist Alliance for Social Engagement, but I'm not

entirely sure. And they're – these are rather different in that they are not neighborhood communities. They're more like the kind of communities that you started talking about, Marcella.

And people have pulled together to train – Metta is working with them, actually, on this – pulled together, they get training, and they learn how to do social action based on meditation practice. And they – but they have deliberately chosen that acronym because they wanted to signal the fact that they were like the base communities. Kathryn?

Student: What is the BASE acronym?

Michael: I think it stands for Buddhist Alliances for Social Engagement, but don't quote me on that. Alex?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Well, that's a good question. How are base communities different from affinity groups? I'm hoping that some of you can answer that question, even though we really haven't gotten to this in great detail yet. I know that's coming up a little bit later. But I bet some of you have had some experience with affinity groups, knowing you as I do. Anybody? Amy?

Student: Well, affinity groups, first of all, don't have to be the [unintelligible]

Michael: Right.

Student: And things like The World Trade Protest,

Michael: Right.

Student: In Seattle [unintelligible] where you have people from a lot of different interests and backgrounds that came together to kind of work for a common cause, like you have women's groups, people from all over the world and stuff, and labor rights, environmental groups, things like that.

Michael: Yeah. In Seattle, tens of thousands of people were mobilized, and you need a way for them to get organized. And you don't want to use the old-fashioned way, where you take one charismatic male, put him at the top, and down it goes from there. So, it's much more from the ground up. It's called "Basisdemokratie" in the German Green's Party.

And what you do is pull together people who have an affinity – duh. Hence, the name affinity group. And it could be – I mean, I wasn't there. I don't know. But it could be almost anything I guess, you know, you all play the guitar, or you eat granola, or something like that, or that you come from a given region. Actually, granola wouldn't work because I'm sure they all eat granola.

And the point is, not just that you come together, but that you function as a unit throughout that campaign. So, you have a representative who goes up a hierarchy to a group that's trying to make decisions with you. And, very often, affinity groups will stay together after a campaign. And that's terrific because one of the biggest problems in the

whole peace movement, for the last – for the whole period that we’re studying – has been continuity. Every episode, you have to reinvent the wheel, get out the old Rolodexes and start all over again – your Excel sheets.

Incidentally, this is one of the ways that Third-Party Nonviolent Intervention has been helpful to the whole peace movement is that people who have gotten involved in an attempt to interpose themselves in a conflict – that will fall apart, no permanent thing will come out of that, but they will roll over and be the same people who will go on to found Peace Brigades International or Witness for Peace. So, just because the thing has been happening quickly enough, there’s been enough, on the personal level, enough continuity. Continuity’s been a huge problem, and because of that, learning has been an even huger problem. Arby?

Effervescence of the Crowd and Mob Mentality

Student: Did you talk about the effervescence of the crowd?

Michael: I’m not sure I did talk about the effervescence of the crowd – it’s a sort of bubbly topic. What it refers to – well, does someone else know? Did someone come across it in our reading? I’m pretty sure it was in – yeah. Zoe?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: I bet it would come from Durkheim. It sounds Durkheimian to me. What?

Student: Is it – I don’t know if this is necessarily positive or negative...

Michael: You’re exactly right. It is not necessarily positive or negative. And even when it’s positive, it’s partly negative. But go ahead, tell us what it is.

Student: Something to do with how one person’s energy or excitement can [unintelligible] a lot – affect the remainder of the crowd in which –

Michael: Yeah.

Student: They gain some kind of momentum.

Michael: Yeah.

Student: And fervor or something.

Michael: Yes. Momentum, fervor – those are all very good words for it. I’m not sure that it’s essential that it be one person who sparks the crowd, but it usually is, I bet. But there’s a strange phenomenon – the crowds themselves can somehow develop this fervor, and it can make people capable of doing things that they would not be able to do by themselves. And they can be practically unstoppable. However, the term “Effervescence” connotes what?

Student: I was just going to say that this sounds to me a lot like a more positive term for “Mob mentality.”

Michael: It's exactly – that's exactly what it is. It's just a positive spin on mob psychology, is all it is. And that's why it's not such a great thing because the crowd can turn. And in fact, René Girard, who is the expert on scapegoating – he has shown that the typical pattern is, "Hail to the chief, jail to the chief." You know, the crowd will put somebody up on the pedestal and make him into a god, and then, having made him into a god, they will sacrifice him.

So, the problem with effervescence is that it's effervescent – duh. You know, you can't build a movement on sea foam, you know? You have to run around the crowd and get everybody's emails and talk to them later when they're sober and see if they're still interested.

And this was the great, great power of Constructive Program. That's where Gandhi really was a genius to do that because you could do spinning any time, and it didn't depend on a momentary enthusiasm – it drew upon much deeper commitments, deeper energies.

So, from a political point of view, a sociological point of view, you might get very excited by crowd effervescence, but if you're really trying to build nonviolence, you should be somewhat suspicious of it. Matias?

Student: What did that term mean, spinning?

Michael: Spinning means to take something off –

Student: Like, in context, how do you use it?

Michael: Oh, spinning cotton. Oh, that was a different kind of spinning. Spinning cotton. Anybody could spin cotton. "Gretchen am Spinnrade" – "Meine Ruhe ist hin, mein Herz ist schwer." Okay. Yes. I should stop quoting Goethe. It's really getting embarrassing. John?

Monkeywrenching

Student: How about Monkeywrenching?

Michael: Monkeywrenching – that is something, which, again, we were just about to get to, didn't quite get there. It's a good thing to know about it, or it's a good thing to know about. Has anybody been involved with a group that's considering, "Should we – to Monkeywrench or not to Monkeywrench? That is the question."

It comes from an English language idiom, "To throw a Monkeywrench into the works," which means, it's like sabotage. And, in particular, it has come up in the environmental movements, where, in their intense frustration and in their anger against machinery, people have blocked operations of certain machines. If we get to it – and we will get to it either today or after the spring break – we're going to show how this issue was dealt with in conjunction with the deforestation – reforestation movement of Earth First.

It leads to – I mean, in A, we talked about this to some degree. It's basically property destruction, and like all forms of property destruction, it's a very weak way to change anybody's mind. So, it is definitely in the area of coercion, not of persuasion. And so, it's

not something that we want to rely on, and if it's really damaging, we don't even want to do it if we are trying to be a principled nonviolent movement. Okay. What else? Yes, Sarah.

Droit d'ingérence - Responsibility to Help and Sanctity of the Individual

Student: What about the right to help? [unintelligible]

Michael: Droit d'ingérence? Yeah. That's a good one. Suppose you have that on the exam, and I would – you would get it translated, so – this being an American university. Droit d'ingérence. What's the definition, first of all?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Pardon? Let's go to that first. Qu'est ce que c'est le cœur le Droit d'ingérence? Que es el derecho de – how do you say intervene in Spanish?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: I'm sorry. I'm sidetracking us. I'll talk to you later. What is it? What is this thing? Yes, Sethi?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Yeah. That was excellent. So, Sethi started by saying, "It is a concept in international law." I would say that it's not a concept which is enshrined in international law. You will not find – you know, you can go to The Hague, and you will not find "Droit d'ingérence" written into law. But – I don't think it's part of the Geneva Protocols or anything – but it's a concept that individuals – I don't say they're required, but at least that they have the right to intervene in a state if that state's apparatus has failed to protect its own people at a very basic level. Yeah, Amy?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Responsibility to protect, yeah.

Student: And if the state fails in its responsibility to protect its people, the international community –

Michael: Has to pick up that responsibility, right. If a state fails, like when the new Serbian state was driving out the Albanians from the Kosovo region, that was regarded as a failure of the Serbian state to protect its own population, and there was a right then to intervene and do something about that. Not necessarily to bomb them for 78 days, but that's, with the poverty of imagination, that's all they came up with.

Okay. I don't know whom to attribute this to, contextualize it. It's not – I suppose you could say it's a part of a growing body of peace law. But to evaluate it is important – why is this important for us in peace development today? Nick, did you want to?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: I didn't quite catch the end.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Yeah. That –

Student: I guess like [unintelligible]

Michael: Well, that, what you're talking about, I think would get us into what we sometimes call "Peace Imperialism," where you go into a country on a pretext of protection and, in effect, the Indian Raj was in India for that reason because the final pretext that they had – after they ran out of the "Lesser breed without the law," Rudyard Kipling pretext, that we're bringing you civilization – the pretext they had was that if we pull out, what's going to happen between Hindus and Muslims? Not mentioning that it was they who had driven the two communities apart. But that's – you're talking about how it could be abused, but I'm thinking of, if not abused, if properly understood, why is it so important for us? Zoe?

Student: Because it supports and encourages the ideology of human [unintelligible].

Michael: Right, right.

Student: And peace development naturally –

Michael: Yeah.

Student: Involves the evaluation of states.

Michael: Yeah. Yeah. There's two answers to the question, a minor one and a major one. And Zoe is giving us the major one – that it is a reflection of the most basic underlying principle of Principled Nonviolence, which is the sanctity of the individual, if I may use that term – that the sanctity of the individual trumps the authority of the state. You might want to put it that way. That occurred to me in the desert this weekend. Hope you like it.

Because the state has more people in it than an individual has, there is this tendency to think that the state is much more important than any person, and it has eminent domain, it can make you sell them your house, and stuff like that. But at a point where the state fails in a conspicuous way, we have to go in to assert the value and the importance of the individual against any collective. That's the most important reason.

The minor reason is that, unless we have this right, we cannot do Third-Party Nonviolent Intervention, and then Nagler's favorite form of peacekeeping is no longer possible. Okay. Good. Yes, Michael?

Student: What does translate to?

Michael: "Droit" means "right," and "en géri" means "to intervene, to interpose oneself." So, it's the right of intervening. Does anyone actually know French? Does "Droit" – does it have a [ciquaflex]? "Droit?"

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: It does. Okay.

Student: No, no, no.

Michael: It doesn't.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: That's okay?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Okay. Good. I think – yeah. Okay. This is going out all over the world, so the whole European Union is going to be seeing this, I would think. We're not just these provincial Americans who don't know anything. Yes, Arby.

Student: Do you think it's important to attribute, not only the person, but the date or the time period?

Michael: Well, only in some cases. For an ID, only in some cases. But if you're talking about an event in your essay question, obviously, you do want to know approximately when it happened and what was the outcome. Yeah. Okay, Alex.

Student: I know this has to do with the Buddha Deer King story.

Michael: Yes.

Power of Vulnerability

Student: The power of vulnerability – can you talk about that?

Michael: I can talk about the power of vulnerability. I'm not sure I can talk about it cogently. It's something a little difficult to define. I did use the Deer King Story, a, because it's one of my favorite stories, and b, because it illustrates this pretty well.

But when we first heard it in this course was in the film, "Where There Is Hatred." It was a young Catholic priest up in the mountains in the Philippines talking about how the people decided that they had to use their vulnerability. He was saying, "Remember, we have to figure out how to turn our vulnerability into a weapon." Now, I don't know if he used the term "weapon," maybe he said, "into a force" or "an implement" or something like that.

It's a startling idea. It's kind of meant to turn our thinking on its head, which is good, and to get us to think that the power to dominate or to threaten or to harm is one kind of power. But we really miss the essence of what it means to be human if we think that's the only kind of power that we have. And that there's another kind of power, which is an appeal to integrate – that's integrative power – and connected with that, there is the power of vulnerability.

Now, as a principle, it has been used way, way back in animal behavior. You know if you see an alpha male dog ganging up on a beta male dog or a beta female dog. You know, let's say a beta male dog. It'll make a better story. The beta male dog will do something that canineologists call "Going puppy." It will lie on its back and put its paws up in the air and say, "I'm helpless," and it might even pee, you know, to show that it's

just totally – it’s a baby and needs your protection. And what that accomplishes is it presses a different button inside Mr. Alphie, whatever the name of the alpha male dog is, and instead of thinking of the beta dog as a potential rival or a victim, he thinks of that dog as a subject that needs care.

Now, in human beings, this dynamic is still built in there, and there’s no harm in appealing to it, but, you know, within reason. You have to realize we’re human beings. I – if I’m on a demonstration and someone starts beating me up, I am not going to lie on my back and wave my paws in the air, much less any of the other stuff.

But I think it’s important for us to realize that, indeed, you can change people by, what? By laying down your capacity to harm them – deliberately laying it down, not saying, you know, “Please don’t hurt me. I don’t have a way to defend myself,” but saying, “Here. You see my – here’s my gun, okay? I’m putting it down on the table. I’m not going to use it. Go ahead, do what you want.”

If you saw “[Hotel Rwanda](#),” there’s a very, very moving scene that I think we might almost try and get a clip of for our DVD, Andrea, where our hero, Paul Rusesabagina – he is – the Hutu general is pointing a pistol at him. He’s just, Paul has said something very threatening to him. And instead of, you know, trying to knock the gun out of his hand or something, he said, “Go ahead and kill me. It would be a blessing.” And just, the guy immediately puts his gun down.

Now, I have a friend who, I think I told you the story, had to disarm a child soldier in Rwanda. And he had a sidearm, and he decided not to use it. He just walked up to this boy without taking his gun out of the holster. So, these are all examples that, somehow, by not being threatening and, even further than that, rendering yourself open to the threat of the other, of the opponent, you can change that opponent. Yes, Arby.

Student: I know the graph is about insurrectionary movements, but would you have to be on the edge of that graph by going to risk your life to do that kind of thing?

Michael: Actually, that escalation curve that you’re referring to is not only about insurrectionary movements. It’s about any kind of oppositional movement. And, I suppose, what we’re talking about is stage three – if the opponent actually can kill you, then, if you want to use your vulnerability as a mechanism for changing the situation, you are risking your life. You’ve got to be willing to lay it down.

Let me hasten to add, the power of vulnerability doesn’t always, quote, “work,” unquote. You know, don’t come back here with a black eye from the vigil and tell me, “Nagler, you got me into this.” I’m not saying that it always “works.” There are also other kinds of power that are in the mix, and we have to know when to use which. We have to have the right expectations about what are we going to say if it doesn’t get us what we want, if it doesn’t protect us.

And, incidentally, I have found that if you demand of nonviolence that absolute protection, you’ll never get to understand what nonviolence is. There was a person at that Jesuit meeting a couple of weeks ago, you remember, who said 98% of the people will not attack you but 2% will. That’s the wrong way to approach nonviolence.

So, what are we saying? There is something called the power of vulnerability. We are not saying that it trumps all other kinds of power immediately in any situation. Okay. Good to know that. Kathryn?

Student: I was just wondering if you could talk about Frans de Waal.

Michael: About?

Student: Frans de Waal.

Michael: Oh!

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Okay. Is he on your list?

Students: Yeah. He is.

Michael: I'm sorry. He's actually a holdover from A. But, while he, since you brought it up, aside from the fact that there is a lovely river in Holland called the Waal, and he's from that area, so he's Frans de Waal – Frank from the Waal, what was his importance. Just very briefly, so we might as well know it. He's an important guy. Yeah.

Student: Reconciliation in primates.

Michael: [Reconciliation in primates](#). Yeah. And, generally speaking, the fact that primate nature, which we have inherited on one level, is not simply read in tooth and claw. It's not just aggression.

He's the guy who told the story about those two chimpanzees who were locked out of their cage in the Chicago Zoo and a terrible rainstorm came up. It was bitter cold, and rain was sloshing down, and two of the chimps had been locked out of the cage by mistake. So, he found the owner, or keeper, I guess. And they went over there and opened the cage to let the chimps in.

Now, the chimps are freezing and getting soaking wet. They want to dive into the cage. But before they did that, they each gave each of these guys a big hug. Isn't that nice? Of course, being hugged by a wet chimpanzee is not my favorite reward, but, I mean, you know, on the spiritual level, it is something, you know. It shows some form of recognition. Those things are about 40 to 50 times stronger than a human being, too, so, a hug from a chimp can be dangerous. But in this case – Okay. I think we get the point.

Okay. We have a few more minutes. If there's anything else, maybe stuff that you came across in the reader that we didn't talk about, and you want to know is this fair game or not fair game, how much do you have to know about it, just go ahead and ask me. Yes?

MST and Tabasco - Summary

Student: What's the MST?

Michael: Okay. Adam is asking about a movement, which we were to have gotten to but didn't quite, and it's the Movement of Landless Workers. So, I think I will declare it off bounds for now. It'll definitely come up on the final. It's a huge social movement in Brazil. Yes?

Student: [Unintelligible] the Tabasco Movement?

Michael: Yeah. That came up. Yeah. And you have to, you know, define it, tell why it was important, stuff like that. Yeah. Right, so anything that was in our section of the reader will be possible. Okay? Yeah, Paulo.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: It's in the reader.

Student: Oh, okay.

Michael: Yeah. Does anybody want to, in 60 seconds, tell us what happened there, how to characterize it, why it's important? Famous sauce comes from that region, we all know that. Okay. What was the issue? You're going to have a lot of reading to do between now and Thursday. Yeah. Carrie?

Student: Tabasco?

Michael: Yeah.

Student: There was – it's rich in oil.

Michael: Yeah.

Student: It's a great oil resource, but the people are really poor. So, they protested against that nonviolently.

Michael: Yes. All of that is true. Yeah.

Student: There was an election...

Michael: Yep.

Student: On regional notice.

Michael: Yeah. Yeah. The – what's – you're close, Carrie. That's pretty good. What set it up was very much this kind of thing. In Mexico, there is a national oil industry, Pemex, and so, they didn't have to make any arrangements – they were all the same animal. And they decided to go – there was offshore oil, and this is a region of Mexico where there's a lot of wetlands. People were fishing and agriculture – was basically their income.

Pemex came in, did this huge extraction, pumped out oil, gave nobody in the region any money for all of those resources – very much like what's happening in Nigeria today, southern Nigeria – and left the place absolutely devastated. And the people of Tabasco decided that they would protest this nonviolently. Again, there was kind of a leader, who came from, I think from Mexico City – his name was Rafael Landerreche – who knew how to do this, and he was kind of their Sunderlal Bahuguna.

And they said, “We are going to be a buffer in between Chiapas and the rest of Mexico. In Chiapas you had armed insurrection. In Tabasco, we’re going to have unarmed insurrection – a buffer zone.” So, it was almost by the numbers, by the rules, pretty well-organized and carried out. Yes, there was photo fraud, as where is there not? Don’t look at us. Yes, Marcella.

Student: The idea of poverty to destitution?

Michael: Yeah.

Student: In example, in Tabasco, is that a specific term? Or...

Michael: Well, the concept of going from poverty to destitution, if it were to show up, and I don’t think it will, you would attribute it to a sociologist, Gurr. Robert Gurr. It’s his term, and what he said was, “If people are suffering poverty, they can take it quite a bit, and it can actually go on indefinitely. But if the poverty increases or if you make it increase to destitution, meaning they can no longer live, their children are getting deformed, they’re dying of malnutrition, and all of that, then they have nothing – there’s nothing holding them back anymore, so they are going to rebel.” So, the name of the book where this comes up is, “Why Men Rebel” – Ted Gurr is his name. “Why Men Rebel.” It’s just an issue for us because that’s where a lot of nonviolent movements get started among quiescent populations.

Student: “Why Men Rebel?” [Unintelligible]

Michael: I think that’s the name of the book. Yeah.

Student: Okay.

Michael: He didn’t know that women also rebel, I guess. But I guess we’re out of time.

Student: On the essay question, do we need to bring a blue book?

Michael: Oh yes! Bring a blue book, by all means. In fact, bring two blue books, in case the person next to you forgot.

Student: On the essay question...

[PACS164B Lecture 18](#)

The Timber War

Mary: ...been cofounder of Plight of the Redwoods Campaign, and currently, I'm executive director of Circle of the Earth, Grassroots Women Taking Action for a Sustainable Future. So, we have been a tribe. We have been an amazing group of people who have come together in this community around something that's really important to us. And Matthew has asked me to talk about my past work, rather than about the oak grove, and some of the interesting – how do I start? I guess I'll just go back to some of the work I was doing in Mendocino County.

I'm originally from the East coast. Actually, my first ever participation in anything that I call civic or political was the anti-apartheid movement when I was at Rutgers University. And I have a very fond memory of – we would follow the university president – this is when we were trying to divest our university from investments in South Africa. And we were following our university president to his car in the parking lot.

And one day, we went to the board of governors meeting of the university, and instead of, you know, doing the usual dialog, people got up on the tables and started dancing for apartheid. And it was a really interesting and lovely way of bringing a heartspace into something that was very serious. And, as you know, apartheid has fallen.

And years later, I ended up having an incredible experience – I met one of the members of the African National Congress at the UN who is now a member of his parliament, and he was a governmental representative to the United Nations. And here I was, you know, a former student doing my little piece, didn't know whether it was going to make a difference, and we met.

Our paths met, and we, you know, had this amazing moment where he said to me, it was that people all over the world did their part over time, and eventually something happened, and he was able to be freed from prison, and he was now part of a democratic government. So, that goes to show you, you never know what your actions will lead to. And it may not be your specific action that will be the tipping point, but you are part of the organic whole that's shifting that forward.

I had experiences with dealing with loggers on the front lines. I was living in Mendocino County, as I mentioned, and the Timber Wars were going on. And I actually had an introduction to the Timber Wars by accident. I was going to Humboldt State University as a student for a summer arts program, and I had no idea the Timber Wars were going on. And all I knew about California at that time was, you know, from Rice-A-Roni commercials, the cable cars, and from my Paul Bunyan stories, lumberjacks.

So, I got up there, and I was flying over, in a small plane, I was flying over Arcata and was just looking on the ground and seeing all the devastation. And I said to somebody, "What is that?" And they said, "That's a clear-cut." And I said, "Oh my God!" You know, it looked like a bomb went off.

But to make a long story short, I ran into loggers at a café, and I went up to them – naïve – and I said, “I want to know what this logging stuff is.” You know? And here the Timber Wars are going on, and I come up and confront them with this. And they actually sat down with me and explained to me what logging was. They were second and third generation loggers. And I learned from them what Pacific Lumber was doing and Maxxam to the logging community up in Humboldt County at the time.

Michael: Will you want to make sure everybody knows what the Timber Wars are?

Mary: Right. In the, I’d say, ‘80s and ‘90s, logging had taken a corporate turn – profits over sustaining the resource. And the biggest, I guess, most famous story is Maxxam and Charles Hurwitz. He was involved with the junk-bond fiascos and savings and loan – Texas savings and loan crisis.

And he was taking over Pacific Lumber with, you know, buying it with junk-bonds, and in order to pay the interest on the junk-bonds, started cutting the forest. And, instead of a few shifts, one or two shifts, a day, went round the clock – logging, clearcutting, and devastating the resource when the former company, Pacific Lumber, was known for sustaining their timber holdings and treated the community very well.

Maxxam and Charles Hurwitz actually then raided the timber pension plans, the pension plans of the loggers. So, not only were they devastating the resource, they weren’t treating the community very well anymore. And that started the whole move toward devastation logging, as we call it, which is now happening around the world.

But anyway, so the loggers – they pitted the loggers against the environmentalists. It was the environmentalists who were the ones that were forcing the jobs to be shut down. At that time, the jobs for milling and some of the timber was being shipped to Mexico for cheaper labor. The forest was being cut at a rate that we’d never seen before, and people in the local community started standing up and saying, “No,” to this. And then we started getting pegged as – well, the people before me, including me now – were being pegged as environmentalists, as those who are standing in the way of jobs and progress and profits.

And in Mendocino County, we were having the same thing happen with Louisiana-Pacific. And, you might have heard of Judy Bari, who’d been bombed – check that out on the internet because I don’t have time to go into her story. She was on her way to say –

Michael: We’ll be seeing a film called [unintelligible 0:06:55]

Mary: Yeah. Okay. Good. So, anyway. So, there was violence being directed toward environmentalists, and it was risky to go out there and take a stand for this. And one of the interesting experiences I had, we had a – I would go into the forest and do what’s called recon work. And I would look at topographic maps with our watershed team, and we’d look at the California Timber Harvest Plans the company filed with the state.

And we’d go into the forest to make sure and assess that the company was doing what they said they were doing. And we would find violations, and I would videotape them or photograph them or mark them on the map and come out of the forest and give them to

our legal team or to the watershed groups, and they would then submit them to the Forest Agencies or Fish and Game, etc.

And in one plan, it was – I forget the name of the timber company. We had an injunction from a court, a superior court order to stop the logging, and the company did not give the order to the employees. So, we took it upon ourselves, in the community, to sleep at the gates the whole weekend and stop the logging.

And we had some real angry loggers come up to us, and we couldn't leave, otherwise, they would go in. And there was a lot of yelling going on. And you know, here we are, two hours at the gate. And you know, no sleep. And the loggers are angry, and we just started dialoguing and dialoguing and dialoguing.

And what we did was just really keep centered and grounded and not flip into this anger that kind of feels like you get into a different – you're not really grounded when you're angry. You're just all over the place – the anger is flying all over the place. And by the end of two hours, it was a progression. You know, you get tired of standing, you get angry – I guess he got tired of yelling. I'm not sure what. But we kept a real calmness. We kept saying what we were standing for, not what we were standing against.

And it was really interesting because all of a sudden, he comes from his truck – he went back to his truck, and he comes back with an Earth First journal. And we were like, "Wow! Why does the logger have an Earth First journal?" And then he started showing us something in there, and he says, "You know, I really don't believe in this logging, but I have to do it because I need to, you know, earn a living. And they're not doing it the way they're –" And then he started coming out with his side of the story, and his anger was coming out at what was happening to the earth and the timber company.

Then he went back to his truck, and he brings out a wooden cross, and he was talking about his cross, and what his faith meant to him and about, you know, Jesus and the earth and all that. And by the end of almost three hours, we ended up hugging each other. And this was just a real amazing experience, and I think it was all because that we stayed grounded, we didn't attack, and we were willing to listen.

And then there was another great experience I had in New York City. We were doing boycotts against the Gap. The Fisher family, who owns the Gap Empire – Old Navy, Banana Republic – they purchased 238 thousand acres of forest land in Mendocino County.

Louisiana-Pacific decided to leave the county, and we thought, "Oh great! We're going to have a new company. They're going to come in, and they're going to do the right thing!" Louisiana-Pacific Company actually cut themselves out of business, and they left a – let's see, about 19 inches diameter inventory of trees with a little bit of old growth, so there was really not much merchantable timber left.

So, here comes the Gap family and purchases this really cut over, impacted forest. And we thought they were going to, at least possibly, be good stewards. And we went to them as a community, and it was quite beautiful to see all these people, you know, from our community, who've done years of research and really wanted to do something different and go to this family and ask them to give some money toward, you know,

restoring the resource, to providing jobs for the unemployed loggers and fishermen. And the family said, “No.” So, make a long a story short, you can see it in the “Timber Gap” video if you want to get a copy of it from the same place you got “Headwaters Action” – Video Collective will have that film and tell you the story of that.

So, we launched a nationwide campaign, and we ended up – “Save the Redwoods – Boycott the Gap” was what we called our campaign. And I was in New York City meeting with our New York City activists there, and we decided to do one of many actions, and one of them – we wanted to reach the working class, so we picked Brooklyn. And there is an Old Navy store on Atlantic Avenue in Brooklyn, so we decided to create a press release that says, “Coho salmon,” which is indigenous to Mendocino County in our rivers, “Coho salmon swims to Old Navy on Atlantic Avenue in Brooklyn.” And we had, someone made a Coho puppet, brought it in a taxicab.

But when I got there, there was all these police barricades, and this real tough sergeant made us get in these – it felt like we were in pens behind this barricade. And then there was this other fellow from another movement, wanted to give out literature, and started to haggle with the police.

And I said, “Get back in here,” you know, in the pen. I said, “Number one, we don’t have legal observers. Number two, there’s only three of us here. If they take us away now, nobody’s going to know what happened to us. So, get in here and shut up! Cool it! Because this anger is not going to get us anywhere.”

So, he got in the pen, and then the puppet came, and then I invited a musician friend of mine, Ray [Kuroda 0:13:21], who does a lot of events. And we were in the pen, and we’re singing. And then, little by little, we snuck out of the barricades, and we’re all on the sidewalk. And police weren’t saying anything. And I do have a picture of New York City Police playing air guitar and singing.

And at the end of our – you know, because in New York City, you have to make appointments for your activism and rallies, and we had to end by a certain time, and we did. And the sergeant comes marching up to us, and he says to us, says to me, he says, “I want to be assigned to your next event.” And I said, “Why?” When he was kind of real tough, and he says, “Because I really like what you’re doing, and I want to be part of it.” You know?

So, you know, I’ve been through a lot of hellacious protests – The Battle of Seattle, the teargassing, watching people getting beaten – I don’t know how you could do that on a larger level. But even The Battle of Seattle, protestors going there and staying nonviolent, really made a difference and changed things around the world. You know, this is – I mean, I have a lot of stories, and I could answer some questions later. And I think RunningWolf, who ran out, is up next. But yeah.

Student: Mary, I think as soon as RunningWolf gets back, we’ll want to turn it over to him to be respectful of our time constraints, but just since we’ve got another minute here, do you want just say one thing about what it’s been like to be in the oak grove, what you’ve done there, or what it’s like to be a tree sitter.

Mary: It's intense because, you know, any time you walk in a grove, and if you're a tree sitter or a former tree sitter or a ground support, you have this edge of feeling hunted. Because when the police – now, you almost feel like an animal, how an animal feels to be chased and moved and all that. And I think that's something we have to kind of pay attention to.

It's not just about us saving the trees because they're beautiful because this is an ecosystem that not only provides life for us and, you know, gives us life without asking for anything in return. It provides habitat for a whole ecosystem for something we can't even see that's happening. So, we're there also for the species who can't speak for themselves. Okay. Thank you.

Zachary RunningWolf and the Oak Grove

Student: So, RunningWolf is going to talk about the Native American experience and perspective about the oak grove and his experience as an activist. And also, I should mention that RunningWolf is a past and future mayoral candidate in [unintelligible 0:16:30]

RunningWolf: Thank you. Hi, my name's Zachary RunningWolf. I'm from the Pikuni Tribe, Blackfeet Nation in Montana. There are 85 thousand Native Americans here in the Bay Area, which is the second-largest Native population, only to Oklahoma City. Also, that doesn't include the Hispanic people, who are Native. So, if you count them into the equation, you get a much larger – half of African Americans have Native blood. So, now, you start to talk about between two and three million people in the Bay Area who have Native blood. So, let's get that.

I led the tree-sit on December 2 into the oak grove, the morning of the big game. I say that we played our own big game, and we trumped the powers that be. On the first day that we took the trees, on the New York Post website and the L. A. Times, instead of listing the big game's score, they say, "Protestors Have Taken the Trees."

So, this has turned into a world issue. It's gone around the world. This is vital. This is larger than those 42 trees that we're up there trying to save. Many issues have come out of this tree-sit, including the experience of being in a tree, which I myself have gained. In the Native culture, we are now considered the Tree People, up at the oak grove. We are considered a tribe. We are protectors of these, what we call in the Native community, standing people. These are living beings.

And so, Matthew does great work with nonviolence, but what is violent and nonviolent? We are violent every day, and we don't even know it. Who drives a car here? Yeah. Where do you think that oil comes from? There's serious violence going on right now in, not just Iraq, but all over the world. Not just to people, either – to the environment. We are nuclear bombing the Middle East. That's going to be around – depleted uranium is around for 100 thousand years. It's blowing in the wind. This is very, very violent. As far as – who lives in a house? Yeah. Very violent. Those are tree people, cut down. That's a very violent action. Who eats meat? I do. Very violent.

So, what I'm getting to is basically we have 4% of our old growth left. Four. Just four. So, we are up there defending trees that should be landmarked. We landmark buildings here – dead trees, killed trees, murdered trees – in the city of Berkeley that are 80 years, 100 years old. But we have 200-year-old living things that are helping us recycle our waste, and we're set to cut it down for a good football team. That's insanity! This university is completely insane!

So, we're up in these trees, we've been there for 109 days. I am so proud of everyone who's participated in this. The community has come together on different issues, we have three lawsuits, including the city of Berkeley, against this university. This university refuses to back down, even though it's on a fault line. We've had five earthquakes during this time.

There is a crack in the southern part of the stadium. Unbelievable! It's a death trap! I'm in the construction business. There is – in 1925, when this was built, this probably required rebar, probably six feet wide. Now, if you go by the Bay Bridge or other overpasses, the grids are about this big. Concrete is a very rigid, rigid material, and during a violent earthquake, it will come down in pieces. Wood structures tend to sway. So, basically, the university is full of it. They are basically putting, not only student athletes at risk, but they're putting 70 thousand people who are going to occupy that stadium in danger.

That's not it. It's a World War I war memorial veteran – veteran's memorial. It has been landmarked by the federal government as a historical grove. And finally, and most importantly, it's a burial ground. It's a Native American burial ground. In 1925, they found three bodies under there. Somebody brought us a piece of paper, that worked for the university, stating this. So, now, it's a federal issue because you're dealing with Native Americans. We do not have a relationship with Tom Bates. We do not have a relationship with Arnold Schwarzenegger. We have a relationship, although it's not a good one, with Mr. Bush and crew.

So, this thing is huge, and this university is not backing down. Why? You should come out on Wednesdays when Professor Chapela is out there taking us through these walks describing what's going on at this university. What's going on at this university? Do you know the nuclear bomb was invented here? We talk about Free Speech Movement – they're pimping that. It is genetically altered foods, nanotechnology, computer science – basically, this university is the enemy of Mother Earth, the way I look at it.

It has a – I don't know if you know about power lines with the Illuminati. You should start looking into the Illuminati – this thing is huge! This is not just about this oak grove. Because there's – what did I list? About seven or eight different reasons why they should be stopped. But they keep coming. British Petroleum, \$500 million, in genetically altered food – this is control of the world's energy source, corn ethanol. This is very, very serious, and they will not stop.

Chapela pointed out this power line which goes through NORAD to Washington, D. C., goes through the university, right through the prison industrial complex which is called Alcatraz, and goes out to the East. Yeah. This is basically, probably the biggest fight in North America is right up at your oak grove, and it involves very serious things.

I have now two felony counts against me. I am going to be running for mayor. The reason why I have felony counts? Because then they can knock me out of even having a voice in the mayorship. Last election, I brought up some ugly, ugly things about this university – \$300 million in perks to their top executives. Yeah. I said, “Well, if Berkeley’s starving for money, why don’t we just divide the \$300 million in just perks alone to the 10 universities? That’s \$30 million for the city Berkeley.” They didn’t like that. Yeah.

See, I’m bringing – I give up the mayor’s salary because I’m a Native leader, not a politician. I give to the community. I protect the children. That is something that’s different. And we are at a turning point in the world’s history. And I do have to apologize to your generation – my generation has left you a very, very dark time. Understand that.

I’ve ridden this bike for six years. I don’t understand what’s going on in this world when we have traffic jams out there, we have a war over oil, and we have global warming. Yeah. I’m being accused of the Stop Driving Campaign. I support whoever is doing that 200%, but we need to – I mean, it’s really simple. Stop flying. Stop driving. Stop these people. It’s really, really simple. But it’s on you. A lot of people look, “Oh, there’s nothing I can do,” – 90% of this battle is inward. 90% of it is inward. We have control. That’s their big game, is they’re fooling you into thinking of this globalization. Act locally, they’ll go globally.

We need to get back to our roots. That’s why we’re making that stand up in the oak grove. We have blessed this community with education, as far as simple ecology. These trees – they’re trying to say that three trees, they’re going to replace three trees for every one that they take down. But little saplings don’t recycle the air like 200-year-old old growth trees. That equation doesn’t work.

So, anyway, going to my culture, like how do you live with nature? That’s what we’re facing. And this is – we’re coming on the Mayan calendar, where Indians shall live again. This is the prophecy. My culture – this is the last battle. My culture teaches you that you only take what you need. For instance, if you need wood for your house or whatever, you go up on the tree, and you cut the dead limb off. That helps the tree flourish. You look at the environment and see what is available for you to take.

We as – I’m a medicine person in the Native community. We only take the brown stuff off – we never take the green. The creator has made that so that the medicine is most ripe at that time. It’s living within nature. When we ran – I come from the Blackfeet Nation – when we ate meat, we ran the buffalo. So, the buffalo would run, the sick and the elderly would come off, and we would take them, making the herd stronger. We were a vital part of nature. We were not above it. We were right there with it – an integral part.

One of our elders said, “The biggest crime that this country took from Native people was our gathering rights.” Because we went into the forest, and we took the dead wood out. We set fires when we needed to – yes, fire is good for nature. They found that out in Yellowstone. So, we would go in – like California basket weavers, they would go in and take the brown marsh, weave their baskets, made the marshes grow. So, there is a way to live with nature. And now, it’s time for us to learn.

What's going on at the oak grove – yes, Mary is right. We've become a tribe. See, Native people – everybody can be Native. It's not red people ruling over white people or black people or whatever. It's teaching. It's teaching how to get back in touch with the environment. So, us Native people are here to do it. It's already happening. South America has broken off the – Chavez paid off the World Bank. Chiapas has broken away. Guadalajara. The Inuit are suing the US in world court. There are casinos popping up all around here.

Yes, we are starting, and I'm running for mayor. Also doing bike rides to Albuquerque, New Mexico, promoting biodiesel, solar, and wind to take the Native community into the front seat. This is our country. This is called Turtle Island. You may need to know this for your survival. We are getting down to crunch time. It's not whether we are going to – this society is going to collapse. It's going to collapse. There is no doubt about it. Money is the enemy of Mother Nature.

So, that has to go. Economic motivation – I heard about this green economy. That's bullshit! That is a load of crap. No, we need to get in touch with nature and get away from economic destruction. Are you ready for it? There's nine million people living in this area alone, and when corporate America takes a dive, you've got nine million people looking for food and water. Yeah. We have temperatures, this last – I love looking brown. And I was out there in shorts. Yeah, I was enjoying it, but it was damn scary to be at the beginning of March and have summer weather out there. We need to wake up now.

And so, if you can manage to come to this tree-sit, we're trying to branch it out. We are branching it out. There's student activists here who are organizing a – you know, I love them. We need to wake up now, though. Going back to the violence part, I feel that taking – Okay. This is the last point. I was quoted in the newspapers that violence can be a good tool because I said that if somebody comes up that tree after me, I will feel threatened at 65 feet, and I'll throw your ass on out of it. I was quoted.

An attack on me is an attack on my people. I'm a Native leader and elder. That has stopped this university from taking those trees. It also – when one person does an action like this, it also, if you do not agree with it, it helps you get a little bit more confidence. And I've seen it in our group. Even though they don't particularly take my point of view, they feed off it and go, "Wait a minute! RunningWolf is making a stand here, and he's willing to go to jail for it." Anyway, looks like it's my time. I'd like to thank you. Gail. You coming up?

Student: Michael, did you want to take a few minutes for questions [unintelligible 0:33:01]? Okay.

RunningWolf: Anybody?

Student: When did you [unintelligible 0:33:12] court cases [unintelligible 0:33:16]

Mary: The question was, "What are the state of the court cases right now?"

Student: Yeah.

Mary: Well, there was a temporary injunction, and the judge had ordered that all court cases have to be heard. So, that means there's no cutting of the trees until that happens. But it doesn't mean that the university could come in and fence it off and start doing some preliminary work. And so far, they haven't done that. Otherwise, you'd probably hear about it.

RunningWolf: I think what changed was, when we got the Native burial site confirmed, that putting a fence around a sacred site would be politically incorrect. And so, it's a PR game that we're playing here a lot.

Michael: Amy.

Student: I hear a lot of resentment in other classes from sports people and people outside of maybe this community, and I was wondering what the oak campaign is doing to address that and to bring that bond closer together, so it's not just reinforcing the stereotype.

RunningWolf: I ran for mayor, as you well know, last election. There's three sites on this campus that have potentially – Mayor Bates specified the Edwards Track would be a good spot for the gym. We are not against a new gym. And also, there's many places, like Telegraph Avenue, which were cited as blight or economically depressed. So, there are many places within this city, including the downtown plan, which the university garnished over the last 10 to 15 years. They have control of the downtown. So, there's absolutely plenty of places that you can put the sports facility.

Mary: I have an answer, too.

Student: It's just that the students are reacting, in a way, to us. I feel like they're creating a break between maybe the stereotypical jocks and the hippies or something. And I was wondering if there's dialog or if you guys are talking to the students or...

Mary: So, the question is, "There seems to be a break or difference or separation between the sports community and others who feel opposite maybe of –" Well, I was at the grove one day, and one of the football players from the Cal team – who I shall not mention because he's under contract, and he can't make public statements – was totally outraged that the trees were going to be cut. And we asked him if he could go to Daily Cal and even write an editorial about how he loves nature. And he says, "I can't do that because I'm under scholarship and contract."

Sports fans and Cal alumni – I was at the mayor's annual Christmas gathering last December, and I had an alumni sports fan, we were talking about the grove. And he said to me, "If it means us not going to the Rose Bowl, not having a stadium, I'd rather have the trees."

So, what's interesting, as you know, I'm a resident of Berkeley. And what the students aren't seeing is there are laws here in Berkeley that protect these trees. We're not a bunch of hippies. I mean, if you saw all the people that participate in this – I mean, call me a hippie, fine. Sometimes I look like a hippie when I'm out there. And maybe there are real hippies – I can't tell the difference. But when you're out, sleeping out there or in a tree, you kind of start looking like the same. But anyway, and there's everybody from

homeless, to people with PhDs and high-level jobs and political leaders and everybody in between.

RunningWolf: I would also like to add that there are athletes, especially the lacrosse team – which is very ironic because it's a Native American sport, but – who are very supportive of our movement. In fact, we did a sports show, a national sports broadcast during the Superbowl. And one of the – we were on a national sportscasting radio. And they were trying to clown us. And they interviewed one of the, probably the most famous women's sportscasters from Miami. She phoned in, and the final comment was, "What would you say to tree-sitters, these professional hippies?" She said, "Stay in the trees and don't come down!" Totally –

Student: I have a specific request. I'd like to see if you'd be willing to tell the story about how you were interacting with the athletes who were throwing bottles and swearing at you at the beginning of the tree-sit? I think you said it was football players, and you said something to them that changed the dynamic totally – do you remember that story?

RunningWolf: I don't quite remember – I mean, if you can jog that – no! I remember the bottles, but I don't remember quite –

Student: What I remember is that you had said that there were some students of color who were throwing bottles and swearing, and then you said something about the connection between the Native American experience in this country and the experience of African Americans, and that changed the dynamic totally.

RunningWolf: Yeah. That's true. And also, what I've threatened to bring up is that – and I hope this crosses over to the dominant culture's football players – but I'm sure the colored players would not like playing on my ancestors. And I will go to the football team and say, "Look, this new gym will be disturbing my ancestors. Are you willing to play for this football team?"

And I guarantee you, there'll be some people of color who play football who will not like that. And so, if you want to talk about success of a football team, I think you'd better move that gymnasium because I think a lot of your good athletes will have a problem with disturbing my ancestors.

And you know, if we went up to Montclair and decided to put a football stadium on that, on the ancestors up there, do you think we'd have a problem up there? So, why is it that us Native people are treated differently? Especially when we hold the answer to live with nature.

Mary: I want to remind everybody that every Sunday at 2 o'clock is a salon. Two amazing women who are PhDs have been holding a salon with different guests every Sunday at 2 o'clock. And this Sunday is going to be tree stories, and I'm asking you to come with your personal experiences and stories about trees or your favorite tree poems.

Student: [unintelligible 0:40:13] participating in a nonviolent protest and there was some violence, how would you confront that and – yeah. How would you deal with that?

Mary: I'm thinking of the – the question was, for those who couldn't hear, "How do we deal with violence if we met that in a protest?" I had two quick stories. One was downtown Berkeley, our first Boycott the Gap protest at the Gap store when it was there. We're tying up our protest, and we're chanting, and really the energy was moving. One fellow was shaking with such rage, he was ready to bash in the windows.

And I had to hold him and whisper into his ear, "Brother, they're not the enemy. It's not the employees." But he was banging against the windows and just – and they had to lock the doors. So, it was pretty scary, but I just wrapped my arms around him and just tried to whisper, "This is not about them. This is not about them. I understand you're angry."

And the other one was at the World Bank Protest in Washington, D. C. There was, on top of the hill, it was pouring rain. And there was about ten people sitting in meditation with ponchos. And the army and tanks and police with shields were behind a barricade. And behind, down on the hill was the [black block 0:41:55] marching up and really intense. And I said, "Oh my God! They're just going to blow it! This is not the time for that energy!"

So, I ran down the hill, and I ran up to the fellow who looked like the leader – all I saw was his black, you know, mask and black everything. And I said, "Brother, please! This is what's happening," and explained what was going on. And he gave me the finger and called me a "fucking peace Nazi" and just turned around and went the other way. And I said, "Oh no! They're really angry at me now, and they're going to take that anger and put it somewhere else!"

So, I ran down the hill, and I told a friend of mine to come with me. He says, "What are you going to do?" I said, "I don't know, but I've got to chill them out!" So, I went up to him, the same guy who gave me that – it was just such an intense gesture right in my face. And I said, "Brother, I appreciate what you're doing. You all are part of this struggle with us. And I apologize if I offended you. And I love you." And he turned around, and he came up to me, and he kissed me. And I could see his eyes because the first time his eyes were angry, and they were like knives, and the second time, they were just really peaceful. And they went the other way, and –

RunningWolf: I don't really have an example, but I have an example of my community in a historical point of view. I come from a warrior of the plains. We did things through medicine. In other words, we would go up to solve an argument, and we would count coup. So, our first action, we'd go up to somebody's village and touch them on the back. And that meant the next time – the creator allowed me to come into your village and touch you on the back. The next time I come, you're done. So, it was a very nonviolent – you can't go through North America and find an archeology site with a thousand warriors in it. We didn't do that. Prior to contact, there was 100 million people plus living on this continent without jails. Yeah. Yeah.

So, when Martin Luther King talked about the promised land, going to the mountain – Christopher Columbus landed on it. That's reality. Because the biggest punishment was to be ostracized by the tribe. So, you were just simply asked to leave. That was our greatest punishment. We did have one death penalty. If you touched the children wrong,

we strung you up. To this day, we still not have found a cure for child molestation. It tends to ripple out.

Michael: Okay. Thank you very much. Thank you very, very much. [Unintelligible 0:44:54]

Michael's Comments to Mary and Zachary

So, for one minute if you can, I know this is going to sound funny, burbling through my shirt here.

It was wonderful to hear from you because all these poor people get all semester long is an airhead standing up here talking about theory. And it was just great to hear from people who are actually out there doing it. I wanted to make two comments before you leave about some of the things that you said.

One was, I was very touched by your talking about, Zach, about the way that you live with the earth in a sustainable way and only taking the things that are – because one of the principles that we start out with in this semester is, in fact, even last semester, is if you're a nonviolent person, you believe that your whole life can be based on that principle and there is no conflict which is not resolvable. What makes a conflict seem that you can't resolve it is only when your ego gets involved.

And I told a story about one of our great peace researchers, Johan Galtung, who's been going around in the Middle East talking to Muslim people and talking to westerners. And he came up with the determination that what we need in the West – we think we need, anyway – is we need access to their hydrocarbons, you know, we need to get at their oil. And what they need is they need respect for their religion. And if we both recognized that, there would be no conflict.

And it struck me that there's a parallel. Like, just as we can live in nature, off the excess of nature, and recycle our products with nature, similarly, in human relationships, there's absolutely no reason why there has to be a deadly conflict in order to solve anything. So, I just really loved hearing you say that.

Now the other thing, since you're being my willing prisoner for one minute more, I wanted to make an observation. And that is you're listing off all the reasons why they shouldn't take that particular grove, and those are all good reasons. But from the point of view of a nonviolent conflict, the more reasons is not actually a plus. From the point of view of a nonviolent conflict, what we'd like to have – what we call sometimes "a nonviolent moment" – is these trees are sacred. Your stupid football team is not. And just have it be very, very clean.

That's not a reason for you not to cite these, but to the extent that you bring in these other things, it's going to compromise you when you go to the next grove that they're after. Because maybe that one won't be on a burial ground. You see what I'm saying? And maybe it won't be on an earthquake fault.

So, they're smart. They've got PhDs. They're going to find one that isn't on an earthquake fault, and you won't have all those other things. So, mind you, I'm not telling

you what to do – I only tell these people what to do. But I am saying, from the point of view of really making the conflict clear and educating people that the life of the trees is sacred, bringing in those other reasons is not helping. Well, thanks again! It was really great hearing from you. Don't forget your bicycle. I would be really tempted to take it. I lost two of them already this semester –

Mary: [Unintelligible 0:48:39]

Michael: Yes.

Mary: I just saw the author last night. It's called, "Why Can't We Be Good?" by Jacob Needleman, author of "American Soul." I think this will blow your mind. It's really, really got some real juice in it. Hope to see you in the grove!

Michael: Yep. Thanks very much, you guys.

Student: And you've probably already heard this, but if you want to check out the grove website, it's saveoaks.com. Go to saveoaks.com for more information.

Michael: Okay. Great. Good. Oscar, could I see you after class? Yeah. Let's talk for a minute after class. You can take it now if you like. Okay. Ok! Well, that was a wonderful thing.

Announcements

I'd like to also mention that we've just had a Die In, in the East Bay, and some of our people were involved in that. And I don't know. John, do you want to say anything about that, or maybe on Thursday?

Student: Whenever you want.

Michael: Okay. Let me try to get into the midterm IDs and stuff like that. See how far I can get. I also wanted to mention that there are two resources that I want to share with you now that you're starting to look at doing a paper. One of them is there's a chart in my office called "100 Years of Nonviolence." It's in French, but if you come in sometime when I'm there, between you, me, and a dictionary, we can figure out what it's saying. It's got some pictures. It gives you a very nice sort of overview of what's been going on from the French Anti-nuclear perspective.

The other resource is – I mentioned it a long time ago – there is a box in the bookcase that's opposite Professor Sanders' office which is labeled "PACS 164B," and that's a big, random collection of newsletters and things like that from ongoing organizations. Okay?

So, a few general things about midterms and how to deal with them psychologically and otherwise – I wanted you to know that there are two possible things that can go wrong, generally speaking, with a midterm. You can get a very poor grade, or you can get a very good grade. And if you get a very poor grade, that of course is a very poor grade, so that in itself is unfortunate.

However, we practice restorative rather than retributive approaches to grading in this course, and that means, for example, if you got a C in the midterm, and you get an A in the final, we figure – the way we look at it is, the point was for you to learn the stuff at some point before the semester was over. So, you'll get much better than a B as the exam part of your grade, which is half of the grade – goes along with the paper. So, it might be a B+ or an A- depending on, you know, how things actually stack up, how I feel Monday morning, and so forth. So, don't be depressed if you got a bad grade, but be galvanized. This is a – please, close the door carefully. Thanks.

Now, the other problem is sometimes you get an excellent grade on the midterm, and you think, "Oh this is a breeze! I don't have to work anymore." We're going to call this "The Paradox of Expression." Don't let that happen to you – the course is cumulative. Some of the most important material will be happening subsequent to the midterm, so keep the momentum going.

I thought there were three things about the midterm, and I can't remember what the third one was for now, so we'll just move on. We are going to – yeah, Maria.

Student: [Unintelligible 0:52:34]

Michael: That's what I'm going to be doing right now.

Student: Okay.

Midterm Review

Michael: Yeah. For the next – for as much time as we've got. I'm going to just go through the IDs. And I hope you understand my attitude here is that the midterm is as much a test for me as it is for you because I can see from the midterm what I didn't go do clearly.

So, again, it's more a restorative than a retributive approach. Incidentally, [Ink 0:53:03], I hope you appreciated hearing from Zachary RunningWolf because that's something you don't get in Europe. You don't have Native Americans in Europe. We are your Native Americans.

Okay. So, let me just go through them one after another. With EDSA, there was some confusion about whether what I was asking you to describe was the 77-hour climax of the movement or the whole Opposition Movement, which lasted for more than two years. So, because I didn't make it clear, I didn't take off any points. But it is – in some cases, I got the impression that you thought that the whole movement took place in 77 hours, and it just sprang up spontaneously when Marcos gipped on the election.

That would be a big mistake because that's the mistake that the media makes all the time. This is – "A mob descended on Belgrade" is their formula. Or, in the case of the 1991 resistance against the coup d'état in Russia that focused particularly in Moscow, the press had absolutely no idea that people were doing nonviolence training in there, six to eight months before that thing happened. As far as they knew, it just sprang up out of the soil, it's random, then it goes back down again after the event is over.

This is probably one of the biggest holes in the thinking process, if that's the word we want, of the general public when it comes to nonviolence – that they think it just happens, and then it goes away. They have no idea that you can do training for this, and you can do organizing.

And that's – of course, this is critical because remember the argument about the madman with the sword, where we have argued that under extreme circumstances, you may actually have to use lethal force – by the way, I'm not sure that Zach's example was a good example of this, in case you were wondering. But, in extreme cases, like to protect a bunch of people where you have no time to do any communicating, you may have to use force, you may have to use lethal force. You try to do this psychologically in a way that keeps it out of the inward violence at least.

But if you remember, the main point that you have to remember in conjunction with that example – it's important that people know that example because otherwise they'll think that nonviolence is a moral, "Thou shalt not" sort of thing, and they'll never realize that it's a force. So, at a certain point, we have to share that example, but we must immediately add, "This is not a reason that you can prepare for using lethal force. Because if you have a chance to prepare, then you can prepare nonviolence." And this is just sort of an opportune time for me to mention that.

So, sometimes, EDSA, which is the name of an intersection, Espanad de los Santos, is taken to mean that climax, but sometimes it's taken to mean "The People Power Movement." I wasn't clear about which I was asking for, so that's not your problem. But it becomes your problem if you don't realize that Hildegard Goss-Mayr was in there for two years and the base communities were working, and the church was working on people, and there was all of this preparation.

Okay. Let's see. Then, on the question about Shantidas, so Lanza del Vasto, mostly, you all knew who he was, which is not surprising because I've shown you his picture and given you his whole life story. But a slight mistake that happens sometimes on that ID is that people went off into the Larzac campaign, which is sort of natural since I spent – because of delays and one thing and another, I spent three days talking about it, so naturally, it would tend to come up.

But if the question was about him, I wanted you to talk about the other things that he had gotten involved in – the anti-torture campaigns in Algeria, the anti-nuclear campaigns in the rest of Europe and in France, and so forth. And of course, his importance lay in the fact that he brought expertise into the area which did not exist there, and yet, he was able to touch on feelings that people had there on the ground, you know, about their land and their livelihood and so forth. So, it was a good blend of stuff that those people didn't have but using stuff that they did have without this attitude of Peace Imperialism. John?

Student: If we have a person who's been involved in a lot of events, and we're trying to keep the ID short,

Michael: Yeah.

Student: Should we make a list or just talk about –

Michael: I'd say just a really brief tick-off. Like in the case of Hildegard Goss-Mayr, she was in Central America, and she was in Guatemala, she was in the – pre-eminently in the People Power campaign, and she's also a writer and has been involved – you know, yeah. Keep it really short, but at least so that you know.

And in the case of a person or an event, please, give me some sense of when this happened. You know, I myself am so bad at numbers that I don't think it's fair for me to ask you to be absolutely accurate, but it's nice to know approximately when these people lived or when these events happened. And in fact, it'd be even nicer if you got it exactly right. It'd be more than I could do. It'd be very nice.

Okay. Let me see. Yeah.

The Nonviolent Moment

The next one was the Nonviolent Moment. I really must not have been very clear about this. A nonviolent moment is the climax of a well-orchestrated nonviolent campaign. And incidentally, I sensed that there was some confusion about terms like “principle,” – jot these down – “principle,” “institution,” an “event,” otherwise known as an “episode” or “encounter,” a “campaign,” an “organization,” and a “movement.” You see what I'm doing? I'm starting from something that's not materially represented at all, and I'm talking about building it up into longer and longer lasting types of social development, of organization.

So, I don't use these terms in any special technical sense, fortunately because most of the rest of my vocabulary is pretty specialized here – won't do you much good once you get out of 24 Warren. But just be clear in your mind what those terms mean because there was some confusion, and it really hurt getting clarity on the IDs.

Okay. So, having said that, what is a Nonviolent Moment? A nonviolent moment is like – remember last semester, we compared a nonviolent interaction to a conversation. It has a similar dynamic to a conversation in the sense that if your opponent is distracted, that's not a good time to press forward with your issue, much less to take advantage of them.

And this is called non-embarrassment. Right. Gandhi was fabulous at this. At one point, he actually was the – it was the key log that got pulled out of the log jam that released the whole success of the South Africa campaign was when there was the potential for embarrassing the government because European railroad workers were going on strike, he immediately shut down the Satyagraha in order not to embarrass them. And I said that the dynamic here helps us understand it is, let's say I'm having a conversation with Matias and somebody else walks by who is a friend of yours, you're paying attention to them – that's not when I want to make my most cogent point.

So, what you're doing as a nonviolent actor, individual or group – you can take charge of the dynamic of the situation. You have to be opportunistic and take advantage of opportunities when they occur. But also remember what Ben Kingsley said in the movie. He said, “It's not only generals who know how to plan campaigns. We are in charge.”

So, one thing to know about a nonviolent moment that very few of you mentioned was you can actually plan for that. You can so arrange things that they're going to be forced to hit you with what they've got. And you're going to be in a position to take it, and then, you're going to win. And that's, you know, it's not 100% guarantee except on the "work" versus work level. Arby?

Student: I guess I misunderstood because from what I understood about the nonviolent moment is as a result of a nonviolent campaign, this moment will happen. I didn't know it was planned.

Michael: It doesn't have to be planned. It can sometimes come around without your planning. And then, because you've taken PACS 164B, you know what's happening, and you take full advantage of it. But you can also plan it. That's not essential. The essential thing is that a nonviolent struggle of any kind with any duration – it starts off with people really not quite understanding each other.

You know, you – I was just up in Ashland, Oregon, and there's a peace community up there. And they had a letter writing campaign – at my instance actually because they were going to have a candlelight vigil, and I said, "I don't think so." So, they had a letter writing campaign. They wrote a letter to their senator, but at one point in this letter, when I saw it, I was kind of embarrassed because they said, "We are going to insist on holding you to this promise." You don't talk to your representative like that when you're only a small fraction of his constituency, and you're just beginning the conversation.

So, at first, he's not going to take you seriously. You say, "I want you to pull out of Iraq." And he says, "Oh, sure, sure. I've got nine other people who don't want me to, so too bad." You have to prove to him that you mean it, and you're not going to take "No" for an answer, on the one hand. And on the other hand, that you're not going to be pulled into personalistic hatreds or disrespect against him, if it's a him that you're dealing with. And you're absolutely serious about both of these things.

Even you won't know how serious you are until the moment comes along, and you're really tested. You know, who can say – if you go into a campaign, and you say, "I'm not going to back down," and then, you know, people are being beat up and there's tear gas and stuff like that – who knows how we're going to react?

But if you've done your preparation well, in any nonviolent interaction, there'll be jostling and maneuvering, and maneuvering and jostling. If you keep holding onto truth, and they keep doing their "Threat Power" thing, at some point there's bound to be a collision. And it becomes clear what they stand for and what you stand for – that's the nonviolent moment. Ideally, you've planned it. Otherwise, you just take advantage of it.

Student: So, the ID is "Nonviolent Moment?"

Michael: "Moments" plural?

Student: No, no. "Nonviolent Moment."

Michael: Yeah.

Student: I think on my page it said, "Nonviolent Movement."

Michael: It says “moment” on – now, that’s why some of you wrote “movement.” Two or three people wrote “movement” on their paper, and I said, “Why are they doing that?” I’ll have to look at the exam. I’m sorry. If it said movement, it was totally a mistake. And –

Student: I know I wrote about the nonviolent movement.

Michael: Yeah. Well, I’ll – does everybody have their – no. You don’t have your exam paper. You gave them to me. Ah-ha! There’s no evidence! Too bad!

Student: [Unintelligible 1:05:53]

Michael: Okay. Right. Well, it’s just between me and the shredder at this point. I’m really sorry if I – because there were two versions of this, and I’m really sorry if that somehow happened. But what it meant to say was “Nonviolent Moment.” Okay. Yeah, Maria?

Student: Is that a little different from what you talked about in your book? In your book, you talked about – gave an example of the [unintelligible 1:06:17]

Michael: Ah! Well, I – you have to understand. For someone like me, who’s like five foot six, to have a happy moment in a basketball game – you have to write about it. You have to enshrine it in a book, right? But if I remember correctly, I did not call that a nonviolent moment, I called it a peak experience. Yeah. And that did lead to some confusion because I suppose you could argue that the conversion experience that the nonviolent actor goes through – you could call that a nonviolent moment, but let’s not. Let’s keep the definitions clean for the same reason that I was just talking to Zach about. Amy?

Student: Didn’t you say that a nonviolent moment is a peak experience, but a peak experience isn’t a nonviolent moment necessarily?

Michael: Yes, you could say that. In fact, let’s say it – a nonviolent moment is a peak experience, but a peak experience is not necessarily a nonviolent moment. There could be other kinds of peak experience – after a strong cup of chai or something like that. But also, I think that when we use the term, we’re talking about group dynamics and not about the feeling state, you know, tone, something like that. Matthew?

Student: Could I point out two other things about the nonviolent moment, and please correct me if you hear anything off-base here – One is that the nonviolent moment may or may not result in an immediate success for the nonviolent resisters. I mean, that did happen in EDSA, right? That was clearly a success where the pilot was looking down at the crowd and had the trigger ready but couldn’t pull the trigger. So, there was something that happened where basically, the oppressor has two choices, which is to back down or to escalate the oppression in a horrific manner. So, there you have the immediate success and the deeper work.

On the other hand, the nonviolent moment of the India struggle was the Dharasana Salt Raid, which was absolutely not a success. No salt was raided, no salt was obtained, and all the protestors just got absolutely, brutally beaten into the ground. So, it did not succeed, but it worked on the deeper level because of the change in human

consciousness that resulted from media reports of the event ultimately led to the final success of the end to colonization.

And then the other point is to say that if you don't really have your strategy in place, and you're not thinking through how you're organizing and orchestrating it, the whole thing could actually be a wipeout, which is kind of what Tiananmen Square was. That was sort of a – I don't know if you'd agree [unintelligible 1:08:58]

Michael: I would say there was not a nonviolent moment there.

Student: You wouldn't even call it that. Okay.

Michael: No. Because they were stuck to one strategy, and they were not really in a negotiation with the other side. They were just clinging to something, and they got kicked in the face. Yes. But that's not how the term is used.

Student: Give us an example of how to not do a nonviolent moment, kind of how to not set it up.

Michael: Definitely, you don't want to get killed. That's – if you can possibly help it. Yeah. No. It would be interesting to study why there was not a nonviolent moment in that campaign. Okay.

Student: In the film "[Bringing Down a Dictator](#)," when all the buses were headed toward the city, and the mayor was kind of in charge – was that a nonviolent moment?

Michael: I think you could say that because on that confrontation depended on the rest of the whole campaign. So, in a way, you could say that day was a nonviolent – the nonviolent moment of the campaign that had gone on for two years. Or you could also say that that particular standoff, when the mayor of Čačak is talking to the police, it was their nonviolent moment, undramatic as it may have seemed. Yeah. But you get the idea. So, it's m-o-m-e-n-t. Okay.

Question of Interpretation in TPNI

Now, the next ID also requires a good bit of comment, and that is a question of "Interpretation." I think I misled some of you. In particular, I misled you, Amy, when I said that this is the weak link in TPNI. I think you drew two wrong conclusions from that, which was my fault. One, that interpretation itself is weak, where what I meant to say was this has been the least developed. It's the weakest link in the whole chain of change that would come about as a result of nonviolence.

That's what I meant to say. You have people risking their lives, they do brilliant things, they save other human beings – all of that is terrific. They're doing it on a shoestring. And then what? Dot, Dot, Dot. There's no response from the world because the world didn't hear that it happened, and if they did, they didn't have a frame of reference to put it in. They would not be able to assimilate the lesson of what they are hearing.

So, I meant – when I said it was weak, I didn't mean that interpretation itself was weak. Interpretation can be the strongest thing that you've got. But it's weak in the sense that

it has not been developed, and it's clear why it has not been developed. When we reached the point in Nonviolent Peaceforce where we had this convening event in Delhi, by that time we already had, I think, 17 countries who were asking us to come and intervene in their country. And we weren't even strong enough to do one of them, and people are dying, people are being tortured. So, everyone who is on the ground doing this, they do it 110%, and they don't have time to go back and interpret. So, that's where people like us can play our most significant role.

Now, there was one exception to that – Witness for Peace, when it started out, what they did was they had these tours, they took people to these villages in Nicaragua and then brought them back to talk to people in the communities here about what low-intensity conflict actually looks like on the ground. So, they were doing a little bit of political consciousness raising.

But that wasn't what I'm calling "Interpretation." Interpretation means what happened in Moscow in 1991, what happened in Belgrade in 2000, etc., etc. were not flukes. It was not a coincidence. It was a result of a scientific dynamic, which we could study if Peace and Conflict Studies only had enough of a budget to keep this course going. Okay. Sorry. That was a little bit of a plug.

Okay. Anything else that you wanted to ask about the ones that we've talked about so far? EDSA, Shantidas, Nonviolent Moment, Interpretation. Andrea?

Student: I'm just still not clear on what interpretation is exactly.

Michael: Okay. Let me give you an example of how it works. PBI and NP and Witness and all of these groups, they go out, and they do all these wonderful things on the ground. It's – really, I can't overstate how much we should admire and appreciate these people. They are risking their life, for peace, for all of us. And yet, nobody hears about it except, you know, their parents, their friends.

So, they go and write some books about it, like "Hebron Journal" and like the new book that Elizabeth Boardman has written. Is that called "[Taking a Stand](#)"? I hope not because there's another book called "Taking a Stand" that's coming out now – I'm supposed to write a preface for it.

Student: [Unintelligible 1:14:03]

Michael: We do, huh? That's a serious mistake. I've got to do some emails right now. But anyway, back to your question. She writes a book describing what has happened, and that's already a big plus because most people don't even realize that there are groups out there doing it.

But we need – to do the interpretation, we need to explain why it happened, how it actually worked. We need to tell people that there is inside every one of us a desire for unity. A nonviolent person is then able to wake up that desire. We need to explain that when there's a "Escuadrón de la muerte" that goes out there to kill some people, and suddenly there's a European person standing in the way.

They haven't got orders from their captain, from their commander what to do. So, they rush back – yes, on one level, these people like to operate in the dark, but on another

level, the dynamic is really within themselves. They go there thinking that these miserable villagers are not human beings. Look, you know, they live in the dirt. They're just farmers. They can't send their kids to school. They don't deserve to live.

When suddenly, somebody who has no other reason to be there except for love of these people is there, your moribund, sleeping awareness that these are human beings is reflected in those people. You embody the conscience, is an awkward kind of term, of the death squad people, which is asleep in them.

So, you're doing interpretation for them right there in the event, but now, we go out, and we give talks all over the country, and we patiently describe, "This is what happened, and this is why it happened." The goal is that people will suddenly begin to understand.

I made this – if you'll give me – I'll do this in 15 seconds. Okay. We have people all over the country who are hanging up crosses representing the American soldiers who have died in Iraq. And I say, "Okay. Okay. If you want to do that, do that. I'm not against it. But what if, every time you had one of these things, you handed out a little flyer saying, 'In 1948, the Iraqi people rose up nonviolently, and they defeated the British and the petroleum companies.' So, why couldn't we go into Iraq, find the nonviolent activists – mostly in universities – translate Gene Sharp and Michael Nagler into Arabic, especially the latter, and we could have done it that way."

See, that would be interpretation because you're giving people a framework in which to interpret and evaluate – I guess it should also be called, Andrea. "Interpretation" means "Understanding, appreciation, and evaluation of the nonviolent dynamic."

Okay. Great! So, let's do a lot of interpretation between now and Thursday. We are not going to have our guest speaker from Columbia on Thursday. He's going to come right after spring break.

[PACS164B Lecture 19](#)

Michael: Okay. Good morning, everybody. I want to express my condolences for those of you who haven't started your spring break already. But we're going to have a very good time here today.

We're going to continue reviewing the midterm material, which will also be final exam material, and then I want to take about 15 minutes to look at this film clip, part of a film on the Judy Bari experience at Earth First. And, probably in between those two, I'm going to ask John and, I guess, Sam to talk about the Die In a little bit, see how you experienced – don't demonstrate it here, but just tell us about it.

Is there anyone who wanted to go to a discussion section but were not able to make the times? Okay. So, we're going to put this in four – two piles, so we can – yeah. Just spread it out. Yeah.

Okay. So then, we have your exams here. They're alphabetical, and they're in four piles, so I'm going to stop a little bit early. Let's see, Maria, you had to leave early? Come get your exam now. Should be right here.

Student: Thank you.

Michael: You're welcome.

Okay. So, I'm going to stop a little bit. If I forget, please tell me [whistles, clicks tongue] – that's the signal. No, it's not. We don't use that in this course.

So, was there anyone who wanted to go to a discussion section and would be able to do it on Wednesday or Thursday afternoons, not having been able to make it? Okay. Marcella. ¿Hay otros, otras? ¿Maria? Okay. Sam?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: No, discussion section. Yeah. For this class. After spring break. Wednesday afternoons and Thursday afternoons.

Student: It's an either-or?

Michael: Either Wednesday or Thursday.

Student: Can we do a show of hands? Who – so, it's either Wednesday at 4 p.m. or Thursday at 5:15. Raise your hand if you prefer Wednesday at 4 p.m.

Michael: Okay.

Student: How about Thursday at 5:15? I think it's a little more on the Wednesday side, and I prefer that anyway, so Wednesday at 4 p.m. in the Oak Grove, there will be a discussion section. And if it rains, it will be moved to IHOP café.

Michael: Kate? Okay. And thank you, Matthew, because I know you're getting the same high level of compensation for your work in this course that I am. Jenna?

Student: Where's the Oak Grove?

Michael: Where is the Oak Grove? Just follow the police barricades – you'll get there.

Student: It's just in front of Memorial Football Stadium. So, if you're going up Piedmont Avenue, and IHOP is on your right, just pass IHOP, and it's about half a block up on the right side.

Michael: And soon we won't have to be ashamed of our small Memorial Stadium anymore, though I hope we actually will still be.

Okay. So, I think we were up to interpretation, and I was – yes, Matt. I'm sorry.

Student: If I could just do a –

Michael: Brief announcement.

Student: This Friday, just people expressed some interest in having some kind of a social event for class, and so, at Canterbury House, tomorrow night at 9 p.m., I'm hosting a little dinner party. So, yeah. If you're free, you should come on by. It's right at 2334 Bancroft, just right across the street from RSF. It's the old yellow house there. And I'm going to be cooking up a big pasta dinner.

Michael: Okay.

Student: So, I was wondering, just to get a show of hands, who would be interested in going there? Who thinks they can stop by [unintelligible]?

Michael: Yes.

Student: Tomorrow night.

Student: Nine p.m.?

Student: Yeah. Yeah. Nine p.m.

Michael: Okay. Good. And I won't be there, so, I mean, the lid's off. Well, maybe we'll try and arrange another one later on that I can be at?

Student: Yeah.

Student: Maybe a picnic after spring break.

Michael: Picnic after spring break. Sounds like a good idea – nonviolent picnic. Everybody, bring your little mask, so you don't inhale flies and things like that.

So, we were talking about Interpretation, and – Andrea, was it you that asked me to talk about it some more? Do you feel pretty satisfied? Okay. Yeah. It's a good bridge, actually, to the next part of the semester because we're going to talk about changing the culture, changing the stories, how to get people to think differently.

And my feeling has always been that that is a very efficient way to make change and that it's – when I said that the Interpretation side of the whole shift has been very weak, what I meant was that people get so caught up in the action that they forget the job of

explaining to people what that action was and what it meant and how to understand it. And so, now more than ever, that could be an extremely powerful leverage to bring about a change.

In fact, when we have our open house for Metta, which you are all invited to, on April 25, we're going to have little, wallet-sized laminated cards that give you the nonviolent worldview on one side and the basic principles of nonviolent action on the other. So, you can just carry that around in your wallet. As you're being arrested, you can whip it out, and...

A friend of mine saw part of the hearings yesterday with Al Gore, and apparently, there was a very interesting episode that took place that he was being attacked by a senator from a particular political party. This senator has made himself be the point person for exposing the great lie of the liberal media, that global warming is happening. And so, he was not in a very comfortable position. And not being in a comfortable position, he was very nervous. What do you do when you're nervous? You attack people, right? Unless you're nonviolent.

So, he was attacking former Vice-President Gore pretty enthusiastically, and at one point, Al Gore said, "Senator, I don't think I'm going to be able to explain my concerns to you, but why don't you and I," and he named a mutual friend that they have, "Why don't you, I, and mutual friend go out and have lunch, and maybe I'll be able to get it across to you there?" And immediately this senator, whose name I won't mention, calmed down.

It was a real nonviolent interaction in congress – probably the first time since 1778. I think in 1778 the first congress meeting had to be canceled because there was lack of a quorum. But ever since then, from then to now, I think that was probably the first time.

So, I felt very good about that. And that was, if you will, on a very small scale – I usually wouldn't use the term for this – but on a very small scale, you could call that a nonviolent moment. Because they're building up and building up, and they're trying to resolve it. And finally, one person gets absolute clarity, and the situation resolves in favor of the nonviolent person. But let's not use the term that casually. Usually, it refers to a major campaign that's jostling and jostling and now reaches climax.

Fellowship of Reconciliation and Continuity of Nonviolence

Okay. So, the next item was the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a.k.a. [International Fellowship of Reconciliation](#). Just for your information, it was founded in 1914 when an Englishman and a German named Schultze were coming back from a meeting in, probably in The Hague. And they got off the train in Cologne, and they heard the news that war had been declared.

And, in a famous moment, they stood facing each other on Bahnsteig sieben Kölner Bahnhof – platform seven of the Köln train station, where I myself stood about three years ago, had a moment of silence for this event. They shook hands, and they said, "We will never let this war separate us as friends." And that was the beginning of the internationaler Versöhnungsbund, or the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Now, why it shows up on your exam – there is something that is probably qualitatively different about the FOR, as opposed to almost any other peace organization that might show up in our course, and that is that it has been around since 1914. The rest of them, I mean, like I mentioned to you Berkeley Students for Peace, who performed an act of nonviolent interposition almost spontaneously. It was very successful, as most of them are. I think the tenure of the Berkeley Students for Peace was about four months. So, now why am I making a fuss about the long duration of FOR? What's been one of the besetting problems in the peace movement? Kathryn?

Student: It seems that a lot of peace movements are set up and then whenever they accomplish what they set out to do, then – or they don't – then they fall.

Michael: Yes. Yeah. That's the big problem that these movements, if they are even movements and not just campaigns or uprisings, they arise in response to a problem, and they either solve the problem or they don't, and then they go home. And now there's a difficulty with this, and that is that you have to reinvent the wheel every time there's a problem. And there's a tremendous advantage to continuity, and the peace movement has lacked continuity very badly.

So, because we have one organization that has been hanging in there for us, the other probably being the Society of Friends because it's been around for even longer, and though it is not a peace group specifically, it works on every aspect of peace development.

But in terms of peace groups, per se, I think IFOR is probably the longest running peace game that we've got, and that helps – it's not just a number. It's not just something to put in the Ripley's Book of Records. It means that you learn stuff, and you accumulate wisdom, and you can improve, as opposed to just constantly reinventing yourself.

So, one day, the director of FOR – USFOR – was on a train with somebody, fell into a casual conversation with this person, told him that he was part of FOR, and they were looking for some office space, and the guy said, "Oh. Take my house." And he had this huge mansion on the banks of the Hudson in Nyack, New York, and he was looking for somebody to donate it to, gave it to this fellow.

And I went and visited there a few years ago. And I was standing in the living room, and there was a little three-by-five card on the mantelpiece. And I was looking at it, so Richard Dietz, who's my friend who I was visiting, said, "Go ahead. Have a look." So, I picked it up, and it was an admission card. Somebody wanted to pay this money – subscription. That's what I'm looking for – subscription to the FOR by a person named Martin Luther King, Jr. with a \$25 check to join.

So, it's not, I would not call it a TPNI organization, and I'm going to get to that in a minute. It's much broader than that. It's a – I see looks of concern on some faces here. But the main thing to know about it is that this is our one shot of really having some continuity in the peace movement on the organizational level. Otherwise, things just keep, you know, reinventing and reinventing themselves.

Parallel Institutions

Okay. Now, there was some confusion also about parallel institutions. And I think I didn't talk about it very much, so let me say a little bit more about it now. It's mentioned by George Lakey, of course, that's where we get the "Step four should be step one" motto. But the importance of parallel institutions is that, if you build them strongly enough, it makes it immensely easier to get rid of the institutions to which they are parallels that you don't like.

In other words, okay, the state – let's take the Palestinian example. The Israelis shut down Palestinian schools whenever they feel like it. So, instead of saying, "Oh, you've shut us down. We're helpless. We have no school to go to," you start a little school in the basement of your house or in back of the police station or wherever. And that's a parallel institution which, you can immediately see, it breaks your dependence on the state. So, the state, or whatever is holding you down, can no longer say, "Do what we want, or we'll shut off your blah, blah." You say to them, "Go ahead. Shut it off. We've got our own blah, blah, thank you."

There's a – I don't know if any of you saw "[Reilly, Ace of Spies](#)" – I don't know why we happened to pick this one television series to show at the Ashram, but there's something about Reilly that we like.

So, there's a scene in "Reilly, Ace of Spies," where Stalin is asking one of his henchmen about a particular group, and he's asking, "What is this group doing?" And the henchman says, "Oh, they have these meetings, and they plan stuff." And the benevolent dictator says, "What sort of stuff do they plan?" And he says, "Oh, well, you know, they're sort of setting up a parallel government, you know, like a model UN." He says, "Kill them," and has them all executed immediately because Stalin recognizes, and we should also from our point of view, that setting up a parallel institution immediately delegitimizes the state or whoever it is had the original set and also breaks your dependency on them. And without that dependency, they have no hold on you unless it's a benevolent sort of institution that you've bought into in the first place. Unless it's the "Finest congress that money can buy," for example as [Greg Palast](#) has said – that was a joke, by the way.

There's a story from one of the great, great spiritual teachers from the 19th century in India, [Sri Ramakrishna](#), trying to explain how people can rapidly take to spiritual practice when it's the right time for them to do it, and it's nearly impossible when it's not yet the right time. And he says, "Look at this palm tree," – there are lots of palm trees in India – "Here's this palm frond. It's been there for a while. You want to pull that frond off the palm tree, it's going to – ten strong men would not be able to do it. You know, it has all of these fibers running down into the trunk. It's on there. You cannot get it free. But the instant that a new green frond emerges, the old frond turns brown and drops away by itself."

So, that's the power of parallel institutions. And it's kind of the – what shall we say? It's the jewel in the crown of constructive program. And some of you thought that these were just institutions that sprang into existence and that they're just – they do these casual functions. No, you can build them. You can plan them, and you can actually replace the government with your own government. That's the power of it.

Okay. I'm going to keep moving along unless I see a hand shoot up.

Person Power and State Power

The next is Person Power. The attribution – blush. This is my term. It's –

Student: I thought it was Galtung.

Michael: No. I invented Galtung. No. No. Where is it? Actually, TPNI and Person Power are two items on your list that were part of a set. Some people thought that Hildegard Goss-Mayr was part of a set with Jean Mayr, namely they're a married couple, uno una pareja. But that's not the kind of set that I meant. It's perfectly okay if you don't mention him.

So, that leaves us with Person Power and TPNI, and I'll get to that in a minute. But Person Power is technically part of a set with People Power and State Power. People Power, I don't know who came up with that phrase, but it's usually attached to the Philippine Insurrection in 1986. It was coined as a contrast to, an alternative to, State Power. And that's about as far as strategic nonviolence tends to go.

And if you read [Jonathan Schell](#)'s new book – I can't remember the name of it. But he talks about [The Other Superpower](#), right? The world at this point in time, poor world, has one superpower, which is a large country lying to the north of Mexico somewhere. But his point was there is another superpower, and that is the world's people. So, what he has done is raise People Power to the global level, which is entirely appropriate. After spring break, we'll be talking about globalism and how nonviolence fits into it or tries not to.

But here you have this polar opposition, and a friend of mine, [Huston Smith](#), has often said, "The universe can count higher than two." And sometimes when you see polar oppositions, it shuts down large parts of reality. So, I like to come in and break up polar oppositions and throw on a third item. That's part of my self-designated job description.

So, I came up with [Person Power](#), but while you're at it, it doesn't just break up the duality. Now, principled nonviolence accepts the existence of both of these, but it's primarily based on Person Power. And it is a form of power. Some of you were saying it's, you know, you talk about a single individual can be committed, which is true. And then you went on to say, "The importance of Person Power is if you can sum up a lot of Person Powers, you have People Power."

But my point is, rather, that all forms of power ultimately emerge from Person Power, from the power of an individual. And you can look at it this way – when we were talking, incidentally, last semester about mirror neurons and stuff, that is an example of how we're picking up how Person Power gets generated in an individual.

But look at it this way – the power of the state is very impressive, but the minute enough people withdraw their assent from that power, it disappears. I mean, one day, Germany is divided into two countries, you have this huge wall, you will be shot instantly if you try and walk across that space at Checkpoint Charlie or wherever. And one day later, people are out there with crowbars pulling the thing down. You know, [Gene Sharp](#) and

the whole long tradition of political scientists that talks about withdrawal of consent is absolutely right as far as it goes. And it does mean that the power of the state can disappear overnight.

People Power, which is a collective power, kind of the effervescence of the crowd thing – it can also dissipate when the people disperse. I mean, look at one of the most powerful – from various points of view – one of the most powerful episodes in the history of nonviolence is the [Rosenstraße Prison Demonstration](#). It lasted for one weekend, and by Monday morning, there was nothing left.

But Person Power is ineradicable. It is there. It's basically what keeps you alive, really, mobilized into a higher force and the love of your fellow beings and so forth. And as they say in the old song, "[Die Gedanken sind frei](#)," you know, you get to think what you want, you get to feel what you want. People can do things to your body, but they cannot get at Person Power. They can't change it. So, in a way, I'm using this little stepwise thought process to illustrate that person power is fundamental to the other types.

Okay. Now, I think we – any questions about Person Power? Because this is really something that's quite – yeah, John?

Student: Is a fast Person Power?

Michael: A fast is a way that a person is using his or her power. Yeah. Is using his or her hold on other people, on various levels, to create change. Yeah. And to manifest absolute independence from the system. Yeah. So, I would say a fast is an example or an implementation of the inherent power in an individual. And I think the whole change and growth in understanding nonviolence in the last, oh, about 20 years, has been uncovering Person Power, if you will.

Alay Dangkal - To Offer Dignity

Okay. So, the next was this Tagalog expression, "[Alay dangkal](#)." And "alay" means "to offer," and "dangkal" means "dignity." And many of you remembered that, and that was very nice. But there's something – a couple of other things could be said about it, and not everybody got them. One is – and I think I made a fuss about this – that in the world's vocabulary about nonviolence, this is almost, almost the only positive term that I am aware of.

I've taken a look at about 15 or 20 different words for nonviolence in different languages, and almost all of them attempt to be a literal translation of ahimsa, and they come out sounding negative in the respective language, which ahimsa did not actually do in Sanskrit. So, but "to offer dignity" is a rare positive expression.

For example, in Arabic, as far as I know there are two terms that are current, and Ahmed isn't here today – you heard about Ahmed going to LA, Marcella? Okay. Ahmed isn't here, but there's a term "le-ouf," which means "non-violence." But they also use the term "sumud," or patience, endurance, something like that. So, "Alay dangkal" is a rare positive term for nonviolence, and we should be very happy about that, celebrate it, put it in our midterms, identify it correctly, and so forth.

The other thing to be said about it is this question of dignity is – for Gandhi, it was just primary. And often we overlook it. We overlook it when we insult people whose minds we are trying to change, if we're even trying to change their minds, as opposed to just make them feel bad.

But I remember having this discussion with [Dan Ellsberg](#), which is the second or third famous name I've dropped so far this morning – let's see how many we can rack up. He, you know the peace movement was all – even in the free speech movement, for example, people would get up and use their free speech to say insulting things about, say, a dean or an administrator. Not realizing that when you bring down the dignity of another person, you compromise your own. Not realizing, now on the strategic level, that when you do that, you alienate that person in the most effective way that you can possibly do that.

[Carol Gilligan](#), another famous name – she's part of a set with Harold Gilligan. Harold Gilligan is a psychiatrist who has studied really, really violent criminals – serial killers, and stuff like that. The kind of people that [Marshall Rosenberg](#) had to talk to in that little story – did I tell you that story? Yeah. Talking to this person who killed seven people.

Student: I think it was last semester.

Michael: Yeah. Last semester. Okay. Well, I'll get around to it when we talk about something else. But Gilligan, as a psychiatrist, has studied these people for two decades, came to the conclusion that the one most effective predictor of violent behavior is the lack of dignity with which one was treated in one's youth.

So, this is very powerful on the strategic level, and on the principle level, it's very deeply healing. And that's why I think that the Filipino people did a really smart thing in latching on to this concept. It hasn't stuck, and maybe that should be your project when you go back there – form the "Alay Dangal" Radio Station or something like that.

Student: What's the name of the author again? Of that book that brings up the lack of respect?

Michael: Oh. I don't know what books he has written, but his name is Gilligan, Harold Gilligan.

Student: Can you write the Arabic terms as well?

Michael: Yeah. I'll have to do it in English though, if that's okay with you. "Le-ouf" means "nonviolence," and "sumud" means "patience" or "endurance," which is pretty good, but, you know, you could be enduringly bad also. So, there's no way you can offer a person bad dignity, but endurance by itself is close to, but not exactly at the center of things.

Okay. We're getting along very well. TPNI is part of a set – that's another one of our set terms. And what is it a set with, and why? Remember that?

Student: CBD.

Third Party Nonviolent Intervention and Civilian Based Defense

Michael: CBD – Civilian Based Defense, and Third-Party Nonviolent Intervention. And what are they a set off? What are these two things? What do they do for us?

Student: [unintelligible]

Michael: I'm sorry, Kathryn?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: I would say that TPNI tends to be more based on People Power, but CBD often requires the whole population to resist as one. And so, they haven't focused on People Power there. Adriana?

Student: [Unintelligible] nonviolent alternatives to war?

Michael: Exactly. This is the way that nonviolence can respond to the biggest, most destructive, and most highly organized, and most enduring form of violent conflict, which is armed conflict or war. So, here's our answer. It comes in these two forms. What's the difference between TPNI and CBD? How can you tell which one you're dealing with? I'd like you guys to be so intimately familiar with this that if your roommate wakes you up in the middle of the night, you would be able to answer. Amy, and then Matias.

Student: I was going to say TPNI is when a third party intervenes –

Michael: Yeah. Like, duh.

Student: While CBD is the whole community coming together to, I guess, do it themselves.

Michael: Yes. CBD is a do-it-yourself method, and TPNI is do it for other people. That's basically the difference. CBD typically is deployed – well, typically is deployed – there's probably about six cases in all of human history – but typically is deployed in advance of an attack, a wholesale attack on a country. Whereas Third-Party Nonviolent Intervention could be almost at any stage in the development of a conflict. Matias, did you want to add something? Okay.

Student: Is what happened in Prague CBD?

Michael: Yeah. The classic example of CBD is Prague Spring.

Student: So, you say that's more of a cultural, social protection versus individual people?

Michael: Yeah. The whole society had to do it. If small, isolated groups of individuals decide to resist an armed invasion, they will typically just be – what's the term we use? They'll be taken out. They'll be taken out – they'll just be killed. But when you have a whole population say – in Prague what happened was they would declare a curfew, say, "Eight o'clock, everybody off the streets."

At eight o'clock, every door in Prague would open up – and these are beautiful doors, by the way, if you've ever seen Prague or seen a poster, the doors of Prague. And "prague" actually means "doorway." I just found that out last weekend, so I thought I

would share that with you. Every door in this town would fly open, and everybody would be out on the streets.

Now, obviously, you can defy a curfew if you're just an isolated person, but it's – you're very likely to get yourself killed that way. Women have been doing it in Palestine. They've been going out, saying, "This is my time to do my shopping, and I don't care what the IDF says." They go out and do it. And usually, they have been joined by other people.

But CBD does depend, more or less, on the whole population saying, "No. We don't accept this thing. Therefore, it doesn't exist. So, you're talking about State Power and Threat Power, okay? If we don't obey you, you don't have any State Power over us. If we aren't scared of your threats, your Threat Power doesn't work." So, that's how that you knock that out.

So, there was another thing I want to say about TPNI and the way you were responding to it, and that is that – this is typical for a lot of our terms – if you're not familiar with them, or you're just getting familiar with them, you tend to use them in way too general a way. And that is going to make it – we're going to lose focus that way, and we won't know what we're talking about.

So, let's confine TPNI – I mean, this is one of the reasons we gave it an acronym, right? So, it could be a specific, focused thing we were talking about – as a deliberate intervention by a third party – distinctly a third party, from outside the area, the regime, the culture – in order to, in some way, break up the conflict process and create a space for dialog and peace.

Therefore, I would not say, as some of you did, – and I don't think I took off a point for this because we hadn't quite discussed it. I would not say that Hildegard Goss-Mayr's presence in Manila in the mid-'80s was an example of Third-Party Nonviolent Intervention. She was a third party, to be sure. She was very helpful. But she – I'm trying to get my hands on what exactly is different here. First of all, she wasn't a group –

Student: I think the difference is that she was associating with one side, right? Because in Third-Party –

Michael: Okay. That's cool. Yeah. I like that, John. Let's – what I was going to say is that she wasn't really a third party. She did not attempt to negotiate anything between Marcos and the Philippine people. She was there for the Philippine people. That, probably, is the very best way to look at it, look at the difference.

But the other thing that I was going to say, which is not nearly as exciting, is that she confined herself to encouragement and education, which TPNI, that's almost the last thing they get around to. They try to do direct interventions of one kind or another.

Like this classic thing that happened in Sri Lanka about a year and a half ago, where some children had been abducted to be made into soldiers by a faction of the Tamil Tigers. The mothers of those children, those boys, knew exactly where they were and wanted to go get them, but they were afraid.

So, they called on our team. And, I think, two of our people went and accompanied those mothers to the Tamil Tiger camp, and then just stood outside the door and let the mothers go in and do the negotiating. See, they did not act as mediators. They acted as protectors, witnesses. At the end of the day, literally, the Tigers came out with those mothers, gave them back their children, and gave them their bus fare to go back to town. So, that is an interaction that could not have happened without the intervention of a third party.

The potential for TPNI is that if you build it up on a larger scale – that’s what [David Hartsough](#) was telling us about – that it could really become a visible substitute for the war system. Okay. So, let’s keep that in focus.

Radical Pacifism

Then, the next one was [Radical Pacifism](#). The reason that I want us to learn something about this movement is that it was a transition from the days of political radicalism to the days of nonviolent resistance.

So, up until roughly World War II, the struggle – it’s the same struggle, but it’s getting reconceptualized. The struggle was conceptualized as basically a class struggle, which meant, basically, a labor struggle, which meant, basically, if you wanted to be progressive, you would seriously consider joining the communist party.

And until and unless you find out what Stalin was doing in the Soviet Union, you might well have a very idealistic commitment to communism or anarchism or something like that. Now, my way of looking at it is that that was not nearly revolutionary enough because it did – it was still accepting materialism and still accepting violence. So, really, it wasn’t going to get us enough – not get us far enough.

Radical Pacifism begins to refocus on different kinds of victimization, and it looks at ethnic minorities, intolerance, and things like that and begins to discover nonviolent resistance as a tactic. And that leads us up to the future.

So, what you wanted to say about Radical Pacifism is that it grew out of the World War II conscientious objector phenomenon, but a lot of you just stopped there. But if you remember, you had that one page in your reader, which I drew your attention to, which kind of lays out very succinctly what were the characteristics of Radical Pacifism and how it was a transition from the old Marxist class struggle days to whatever it is we’re trying to do today – save the oaks or whatever it may be.

Otpor

Okay. Now, we move onto Otpor, and I have to apologize. I got carried away. There was – effervescence of the individual happened, and I gave it an exclamation point just because I was so enthusiastic. But technically, it does not have an exclamation point – I didn’t take off any credits for this. Earth First. is the only organization that actually has an exclamation point as part of its title, to my knowledge.

There was only one thing that a lot of you failed to mention about Otpor, and again, it's the thing that is most characteristic, is almost qualitatively different about it. And that is that it was the only example of a nonviolent movement being funded by the United States government – the revolution of 1776 was not nonviolent, though people have argued that there was a nonviolent movement going on, and if they had let it go, we would have had a much more bloodless, much more efficient, and much better revolution.

But be that as it may, Otpor was supported by outside intervention, which focused on training and education. So, this was rare – on a large scale, you had a huge social uprising, which was supported by educational materials, coming directly from the Center for the Study of Nonviolence Sanctions in Conflict and Defense – Whew. – at Harvard, the Gene Sharp people.

So, that's the input. The output side is that after the revolution succeeded, they parlayed that into this organization, Council...Nonviolent Action and – something like that. It's CANVAS – I forget exactly what it stands for. But what they've done is try to package the experience of the Otpor students and make it available to other revolutions. It has been very successful. There's about eight other uprisings that have happened that probably either would not have happened or would not have been nearly as successful without that input.

So, I keep jumping up and down and making a big fuss about this. I know that it's much more appealing to talk about action and things like that, but I want action to work, darn it. I want it to be effective and efficient, and that's where the power of thinking and conceptualization comes in. That's the part that we have done least well at.

And, well, look at this phenomenon, for example – we're experiencing this neoconservative takeover – I mean, movement. And where did it come from? Well, partly, it came from the fact that foundations – see, you would think – this is the result of a very interesting study. You would think that progressive foundations have a lot less money than conservative or reactionary foundations.

That turns out to be only partly true. Actually, there's a pretty decent amount of money out there for good causes, even if you're not counting George Soros and Bill Gates working on HIV in Africa and so forth. There's a decent amount of money, but for some reason – and this has to do with culture, I believe – the people who are funding progressive causes were very timid about it, and they never funded anybody more than three years, which means that you didn't get a chance to develop anything. They never funded infrastructure, which is what we needed most. And, as a friend of mine, who was a funder – I went to her one day and said, "Susan, I have a great idea." And she said, "We do not fund ideas." So, what do they fund? Everything that I don't need.

So, while this is going on on the progressive side, conservatives were focusing their support on key individuals with good ideas and maintaining that support as long as it took to get those ideas into practice. So, the result of that is you have this network of right-wing think tanks, and they're able to come up with a concerted strategy, and the rest is this dismal situation that we happen to be suffering through right now.

Whereas, in the progressive world, we've been saying, "Oh, yeah. We already know what we need. There's no need to discuss it, certainly no need to talk it over with anybody else because they're way too stupid. And why would we need a think tank for...?" And as a result, we don't have a strategy, we don't have a plan. All we've got is George Lakoff, which, you know, is pretty good, but it may not be quite enough.

So, that's my excuse for constantly fussing so much about the component of the social change that's trying to happen, which deals with how we understand and think about and interpret and discuss our ideas. Okay. Anything I've so far that's particularly annoying, and you think we should – anything else? Okay.

Hildegard Goss-Mayr

The last remaining item is not an item, but a person. It's Hildegard Goss-Mayr. She's an example again of continuity – will you guys figure out who owns which of those two laptops?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Okay.

Student: I'm sorry.

Michael: That's okay, John. I understand. I've had technical problems myself. I know how that is.

It's good to – some of you, when you were talking about Hildegard Goss-Mayr, you went immediately to the People Power Revolution and just talked about that. That was only part of her career. And you should know that she's a very good writer and that she's still at work, that she's an honorary president of the [International Fellowship of Reconciliation](#), and that she also worked in Guatemala. And she's like a roving trainer-ambassador. Up until recently, it's been a very small group of people who have been playing that role, and she's been one of the most prominent ones.

Essays

All right. So, we want to say a little bit then about the essays, and then we can move on to have a look at this video, I hope. If you wrote about restorative justice, you might have seen the following cryptic – or you may see. You may see this written at the end of your essay. Okay? So, okay, what is NZ? This is not a trick question. It's New Zealand. And what is – why is it here in connection with restorative justice?

Student: It's been a model for [unintelligible] programs.

Michael: Yeah.

Student: [Unintelligible] the government of restorative justice.

Michael: Yeah. It is a model of taking indigenous formats for restorative justice and incorporating them into a modern state. So, New Zealand is way ahead in this regard.

Student: Didn't they have a woman president or something too, who was really [unintelligible]?

Michael: I'm not – does anybody know about...? Oh, okay. Then probably, yeah. There's a lot of cool things about New Zealand, not the least of which is the scenery. If any of you saw "The Whale Rider," that is a wonderful movie. I'd really, strongly recommend that. That's the interface between ancient and modern New Zealand. It didn't talk much about restorative justice in that movie – mostly about whacking people with sticks and riding around on whales. But New Zealand is one example among many.

In my book, I talked about Navajo examples that have been brought in. And there's an interesting parallel here – in Navajo medicine, if you are riding a horse on a Navajo reservation, and you are a dude and can't stay on your mount and fall off and break your leg. They will immediately take you to a western hospital to get your leg set because they do not have x-ray machines on the reservation, and they don't know how to do that. But as soon as you get your leg taken care of, they'll bring you back to the medicine man, and they'll start working on you to take care of the trauma that you experienced in your mind and body when this thing happened to you. The western doctors are absolutely clueless about that. You even mentioning it is enough to get you thrown out of medical school.

So, this is very typical of a big fact about our contemporary world, and that is that we need each other – we need indigenous wisdom and modern inventiveness. And so, similarly, in restorative justice, bringing indigenous methods in and articulating them with the needs of a modern industrial society is a very good move.

Restorative Justice - Victim-Offender Reconciliation Program

Now, VORP – this wasn't in anything I said in lecture, but it is in my book. It stands for [Victim-Offender Reconciliation Program](#). That's that kind of format where you bring the victim and the offender together with some sort of mediation, and you work out a system where they can feel good about one another.

Oh, that's too bad. I have an article on restorative justice and I left it in my office, and I'm not going to send Amy running all the way up to Stevens Hall to get it at this point. It's a nice article, I'll bring it in after spring break and read you a few things about it. One of the things that this writer said is that retributive justice – the worst thing that it does is it isolates both the victim and the offender from the internal impact of their experience. It turns it into an abstract thing – "Don't worry. The state will take care of you. We'll distribute punishment, and there will be justice." It has, really, almost nothing to do with your feelings.

Now, we keep constantly trying to pretend and deny that this isn't the case. And every time we execute someone, we bring the family of the victim, and the journalist goes around to this family and waits until he gets somebody who says, "Oh, thank you. I feel so much better. This is closure. You know, when I saw the smoke coming out of his ears, I really felt that at last –" You know?

But this absolute nonsense. This is not how human beings react at all. But the journalists, playing their role in sustaining the culture, true or false – mostly false – are constantly iterating this every time there's an execution because this is part of trying to convince us that retributive justice works. But it does not work. It isolates the individual from his or her own experiences.

So, restorative justice goes right back to that level and says, "This is the key thing. Let's fix it for the victim and for the offender."

Restorative Justice - Alternatives to Violence Project

And another program that works within restorative justice is called the [Alternatives to Violence Project](#) – mostly a Quaker-based program, goes into prisons. And one of the simple things it does is it takes cons – convicts and teaches them how to talk about their issue, so they can solve it on the level of talking without, you know, pulling a knife on one another.

And in other ways too – it tries to give them some self-esteem – there's our dignity thing again. And once again, it's completely non-governmental, but here and there, more progressive criminal justice units have taken to adopting some of these things into their prison because they see how well it works.

And, incidentally, our very own state, California, tried to do this – took this prison warden, Joanne Woodruff, I think her name was, who was an incredible human being, who was always thinking about the inmates as people, had an amazing record in terms of people that she released did not come back to prison.

And none other than Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger picked up on this, and he appointed her to be the head of the Justice Department of California. In which position, she lasted for about three and a half weeks because the prisoners – Prison Guards Union is so immensely powerful that nobody at this point can function in that whole system.

So, that just gives you an example of some of the problems we're up against in instituting this. And again, it shows that restorative justice has been pretty much a constructive program operation, without an obstructive program element.

Power of the Community

Okay. I have only one other supplement to make here, and that is those of you who discussed Larzac, that campaign, and quite a few of you did for obvious reasons, important to mention the power of the community. It – what the community does – and I myself didn't realize this until just now – what the community does – therefore, you were not responsible for it. But I'm kind of thrilled, so I'm going to share it with you.

Okay. Nonviolence, up to now, has been mostly an idea, which shows up in occasional episodes, but that doesn't give it much solidity for most of us, who are pretty much anchored in the material world. If you take this idea of nonviolence and make it into a

community, that gives it much more local habitation and a name, as we say in English poetry. It reifies it – it makes it a thing.

So, I mentioned several strategic advantages of the communities that Gandhi founded in India, that they were refuges, they were mostly training centers, and they were places you could experiment with a new economy and a new way of living. But I think the most important aspect of community – like the community of the Arc – is that it shows you you could build a whole world based on nonviolence. We're doing it right here on our small scale. This is what monasteries were in the Middle Ages. They created another world, based on a different energy, and they showed you that another world was possible.

Okay? So, I don't mean to give you the impression that your exams were very weak – actually, they were, basically, they were quite good. And let me just again remind you that if they were very, very good, you're probably in trouble. If they were very bad, you're also in trouble. In the latter case, come and talk to me. But otherwise, they were pretty good. So, let's now – have we got – yeah.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Let's see now if we're going to get this thing to work.

Okay. Well, there's something. That's your notes for your exam. I hope you didn't carry that with you into the...

Kasey, would you get the lights for us, please?

There we go.

[Judi Bari](#) and her partner were driving in a car, and there was a bomb in the car. And within five minutes the FBI came around and arrested her for having bombed herself, and it was horrendous. And it looked like a very good case was actually developing against the FBI.

Unfortunately, Judi, possibly partly as a result of complications of this attack, she developed cancer, and she died shortly thereafter. But just before the Oakland Police and the FBI were going to be brought to court and publicly accused of counterterrorism for having bombed her. But that's a very unfortunate outcome, wasn't the part of the film that I mainly wanted to focus on.

We have time for maybe one or two comments, and then I want to stop, so you can have time to pick up your exams. Anything that – I hope you were able to hear that, by the way. I don't know why the sound wasn't that good.

Oh, yeah. This is a contraband DVD, so maybe it was... So, anybody want to comment on this from any aspect at all? What stood out for you? Sam?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Well, I actually don't know the answer to that question. I do know that it's far from over. It's still going on. But I think [Mr. Hurwitz](#), the junk-bond king who moved in and milked the remaining redwoods, I think he's now out of the picture in one way or the

other, but that would be very interesting to find out, actually. Yeah. Anything else strike you?

Student: I thought it was awesome how they [unintelligible] the loggers.

Michael: Well, this is – I'm starting to come up with some kind of a concept around this – that's my job. I come up with concepts for things that are already in existence. But there's something about clarity that, as long as the issue can be confused and polarized, we don't get anywhere. And the closer we get to focusing the issue on what it really is, the more power we gain from that clarity.

So, as long as they were pretending that everybody wants to clear-cut, and it's good for everybody, it was impossible for the environmentalists to get anywhere because they were, you know, isolated and stigmatized in that way. But what they were able to do is show that, really, nobody benefits from this in any substantial way, that we're an interconnected system.

When we go beyond the kind of sustainable harvesting that Zachary RunningWolf was talking about last time, and we start cutting into the capital instead of living off the interest of nature – that's a concept that E. F. Schumacher came up with – it's very limited how long we can survive at that. It's kind of like that line between poverty and destitution. We're running nature down to a state of destitution. And that hurts everybody, so this is, perhaps, the one area where conservatives and progressives are starting to identify some commonality in our world today, is around the environment.

So, a concept that will not unlikely show up on the final exam is this idea of monkey wrenching, which is a general term for property destruction or, in some other way, interfering with something that you don't like, which doesn't involve getting to the people.

So, I think, with that, I'll stop unless you have any other – we have time for another question or two if you've got one – comment or two.

Okay. Good. So, let that sink in. And let's not all crowd up here at once. This isn't like a one-day sale.

Part 4 "Globalization from Below"

[PACS164B Lecture 20](#)

Michael: So, good morning, everybody. I hope you had a very good nonviolent break. No untoward episodes in it. I know some of you went to exotic places. I'd like to hear about that from you, when we get a chance.

I hope you all got my CourseWeb announcement that I will have a truncated office hour today because at 12:30 I'm going to be having a radio interview with [Kathy Kelly](#), who is somebody that I hope you will learn to know and love as I do.

She and I are being interviewed on a program called, "Values of the Wise," in case you wanted to get it on the web. I don't know how they got me on that program, but it was their choice. And I'll try to make up for that with some other hours soon as we get a chance and settle down from the holiday. Your papers – your proposals for the term paper are here. I hope you enjoy the alphabetization. There's a superb alphabetization job by Amy.

I'm just going to hand them around now because I don't think we have time for me to hand them back individually, as much as I would still like to get to know some of you better. Some of your proposals – I think I would say the proposals varied from good to awesome. Some of them are really fantastic. It could actually lead to successful nonviolent revolutions in various parts of the world.

Elizabeth, we have seats up here if you care.

Now, some of you have not gotten your midterm papers back yet and that's not a good move because you want to look at those and see what you didn't know and use them as a learning tool. Okay.

Season of Nonviolence

Just in terms of the world, instead of PACS164B for a second, not that those two are so different. But tomorrow ends what's called, the "[Season of Nonviolence](#)," which is a 64-day period that stretches from the memorial of the assassination of Gandhi on January 30 to the assassination of Martin Luther King, which is tomorrow, April 4. I was talking about this tomorrow – duh. I was talking about this yesterday. I've transcended time, as you can tell.

I was talking about this yesterday at San Francisco State. They invited me to speak to sort of wrap up the season. And I said, "I hope you don't feel this is ungrateful for me to do this, but I think this is the wrong season. And it's typical of a bad move that is constantly made in the peace movement. And that is to memorialize death and violence and negativity instead of memorializing life and nonviolence and the real."

And they took it pretty well, but it's an example of how when you're struggling to create a new way of looking at things, a new paradigm – I'm going to get back to that term in a second. When you're struggling to create a new paradigm, which we've been doing, you know, consciously since 1970 – "we" being a very small group of people. What you sometimes find is that when you reach out to do the opposite of the system that you disagree with, you often end up

unconsciously taking over some of their symbols. And with it, some of their meanings and some of their values.

And this, I think, is a good example of that. We should completely turn our back on the idea of celebrating death and just do our own thing. Not in a sentimental way. I mean, you're not flower children or anything. My main point is not to take over the symbols of the other side.

Oscar, I hope we can talk for just a second after class. Yeah.

Paradigm and Language Shift

Yeah, I was going to say something about a paradigm shift. This is really an unfortunate thing that makes me very unhappy. The state department – I guess it must probably be the justice department has recently said that we have to get ready for a paradigm shift in America in terms of security where we now are going to have to accept the fact that it's legal to spy on American citizens. And they're calling that a paradigm shift.

So, you see, here's our great word which we're going to use to break out of all of this, and what did they do? They came along, and they co-opted it as though more fascism was a paradigm shift when you've already got too much fascism. So, it's pretty galling, pretty upsetting. And in fact, this is not the first time this has happened. I happened to have studied a little bit. Early fascist movement in Europe – well, that's too grand a way to put it.

I stayed in an apartment in Paris where the guy was a professor who was an expert in this. And I read his books. I didn't study, you know. I read his books. And I picked up some very interesting things about fascism. And in some ways, it was a whacked out movement. You had whole police departments exercising, doing their calisthenics in the nude and things like that, that you don't usually associate with fascism. You associate it with certain beaches in California.

But the other thing that I learned from that brief exposure was that they called their movement, "die neue Welle, The New Wave." So, they captured people's desire to break out and experience something new and turn that into deepening the old. So, I don't know what lesson I'm drawing from all of this, but it made me so mad I thought I'd have to share it with you guys. It's known as venting, and there's nothing you can do about it.

So, let's get back to our topics. Now, we're a little bit off from the syllabus, as you've noticed. I had to rearrange some things because of guest speakers. We knew that would happen. So, Thursday we're having [John Lindsay-Poland](#) from [Fellowship of Reconciliation](#). When I first met him, he was working with [Peace Brigades International](#). So, he's got a long track record working in South America for nonviolent causes.

And so, I have already talked a little bit about the stuff that's on the syllabus for today, namely Chipko and the other anti-globalist movements – to call them that. They're taking place in India. So, this was to carve out the opportunity now to talk about globalism itself, and how does it figure in for us who are coming at the world from a nonviolent perspective?

The other thing that you had on your readings, which I really haven't had a chance to discuss yet, are the people in "[Peace is the Way](#)". You know, I know that you've all been keeping up diligently with the reading, so you read all of these essays – (wipe that smile off your face, Nagler) you read all of these essays. What I did was I chose people who were representative of different viewpoints and who I also thought were important opinion leaders in the creation of the

nonviolent – what we used to call paradigm. I don't know what we're going to call it now that they've stolen our word.

But those – the people that I assigned from Peace is the Way, an FOR production, along with Kathy Kelly, I think are some of the people who are really trying to figure this thing out for us both in action and in theory.

By the way, Alex, I know I owe you an email. I forgot to get back to you on something. Okay. So, good.

Punctuated Evolution of Nonviolence

From the nonviolent point-of-view – I'm going to make a big generalization here. I'm going to do some big picture stuff and look way back in history. You could describe global history as, not what biologists call, "A punctuated equilibrium." But rather, a punctuated evolution. In other words, in once sense, it's been an absolutely steady process where you started with people in very, very small communities, isolated from one another. And they proceed to grow and expand. And then, of course, you have new modes of transportation. And now, you have new modes of virtual transportation known as, "Information technology."

And people encounter each other much more closely than they did before. And what's going to happen at these stages where people suddenly become aware of one another? Well, in a famous essay on what's called, "The perpetual peace tradition." We're going to have to do a chalk satyagraha at some point. This is what we're reduced to. Oh, thank you. That's right. I keep forgetting. Okay. Aha. I was enjoying complaining about it. And now – anyway.

Yeah, perpetual peace is a term that we give to a tradition of thought which really lasted for hundreds of years and was an attempt to think of a way that the human species could live at peace. It wasn't a terribly effective tradition because, in a couple ways, it wasn't very realistic. It relied mainly on law and treaties.

And you know, during the Cold War it was calculated that the average lifespan of a treaty was two and a half years, if you were lucky. It's just – it's just words on paper. You cannot legislate world peace. But I think the best – intellectually, the best contribution ever made to this whole tradition was an essay by Immanuel Kant, which he wrote in 1895 – sorry 1795. But who's counting? Called, "[Zum ewiden Frieden](#)", "on Perpetual Peace".

I was going to say it really repays reading, but you'd have to have about three spring breaks to read it. I mean Kant was – ugh, very dense German English. Nothing is going to help. It's very, very dense reading. But unfortunately, it's – every now and then you come across something brilliant, and you realize that you had to schlog through all this stuff to get to that nugget. So, someday when you find yourself on the Galápagos Islands for three weeks and nothing else to do, bring a German dictionary and Zum ewiden Frieden with you and enjoy this thing.

One of the points that he makes in that treatise is that nature has figured out a way of keeping us from waging war on one another. Very simple, she scattered us all over the globe. We can't wage war on one another because we can't reach each other. Well, of course, we now know that that was naïve. Now you can press a button in Moscow and a silo will open up in some submarine in the mid-Atlantic or something and there'll be no more I ♥ New York will be going on anymore. So, that was, in a way, naïve, but it brings out an interesting point.

That it seems like the world process has provided isolation as a temporary measure. Which, if we use it properly, we can develop mechanisms robust enough that we could withstand exposure to other communities. Let me make this a little clearer what I'm talking about because I can see that Sam was puzzled with this.

Take a look at a community. One of the peaceable people studied in that anthropological sweep brought in about 55 communities. They're called Semai. I think I mentioned them before. There's different ways of spelling that and writing it. And they live in the middle of the Malay Peninsula. And they are isolated. They were obviously driven upcountry when the Malays arrived. And so, they live in a rainforest atop – high altitudes, and they don't mingle much with the Malay.

And they developed a non – I'm going to call it a non-dash-violent culture. In other words, it was a culture that enabled them to avoid violence, but it didn't give them a robust mechanism for dealing with violence when it occurred. These are the people who had this folktale about, you know, someone will sit around the fire at night, and he'll say, "I was walking through the jungle with my friend and suddenly, uh-oh, what did we come across? A bunch of Malays. You know, those down country people, they're very uncivilized and violent. And so, they started attacking us immediately. And I stood there and said to my friend, 'You run.' And I said, 'Take me. Spare my friend.' And the Malays were so impressed that they left me alone."

This is a great nonviolent episode. The first anthropologist who collected this story was very excited. The second anthropologist who collected it 20 years later was beginning to get concerned. And by the fifth anthropologist we realized that this was not a story that actually happened. It's part of their folklore. But that's okay for our purposes. You know, we don't care what happened up there in the jungle.

What we care about is that these people had a nonviolent culture in which they praised courage as a way of overcoming conflict. But then a form of early globalization known as the Cold War happened and all of Southeast Asia was swept up into this brawl between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. disguised as an ideological conflict. But you remember, Galbraith saying, "In capitalism, man exploits man. And in communism, it's exactly the other way around." So, they're just jousting really for who's going to get to exploit the rest of the world.

Anyway, the point here is that the Semai got swept up into this conflict. And so, you might think, "Oh, they were dragged into it kicking and screaming. They dragged their feet. They didn't know how to handle weapons. They were very reluctant." But alas, what actually happened was they went ballistic. They just went completely over the top, cannibalism, everything. It was grotesque.

And I guess the way to understand this is, they had mechanisms for damping violence, but not for really coping with it, despite that story that I told you. And their unanimity and their harmony was predicated on common hatred of another. You all recognize this from PACS164A. This is the old scapegoating business. And it works very well as long as Kant's principle obtains, and you don't encounter anybody else outside the community, it will, quote, "work," unquote. But it will not, no quotes, work. It will not really make things better in a long-term and stable way.

So, we – this is what I'm calling this punctuated evolution where you have peace mechanisms which last up to a certain level of integration, and then they don't withstand the shock of, you know, first contact. Contact with the developed world. And this is not only a phenomenon that happens to these indigenous communities, but the very perpetual peace tradition was at fault here because it was mostly – what they turned out to mostly have in mind – this was the other

great drawback of this tradition was let's have Christians stop fighting Christians. In other words, let's all gang up on the Turks, and we'll have peace.

Well, we're still suffering from the fallout from all this stuff. Can they join the European Union? I'm not sure. Who are they? Should they? Arby might have something to say on that. Anyway, even in highly developed countries there was another stage of this same process of punctuation, where you had an attempt to create a kind of peace regime, but it was predicated on the common expulsion of another. So, it was not a stable regime that was going to really last.

And so, where are we now with all of this? Well, it looks like we're up to as far as planet Earth is concerned and that is the main planet that I'm going to be concerned with here today, it looks like we are up to the final crisis/opportunity. We have no way of isolating ourselves from one another anymore. You go into a cornfield and pick an ear of a corn, and it turns out it's got a funny gene that was put in it in Mexico and the winds brought it up to Nevada and somebody accidentally took it on their shoes into California. And we, as I say, you know, we have weapons that go everywhere. We have spy satellites that photograph every square yard of the earth once a day, or something like that. I don't remember. But fortunately, we're safe in this ghastly classroom with no exposure to the outside world. It's probably not even true.

But given all this technology and the communication technology in particular and the weapons technology in another sense, all barriers are rapidly breaking down. So, if you want to look at this pessimistically, it looks like, you know, we don't have robust enough systems of conflict conversion that are going to help us get over this hump. But if you want to look at it optimistically, we're being forced to become one planet whether we like it or not. It's either, you know, become one planet or go into the dustbin of cosmic history. And you know, what we've been discovering in the last – what is it, about 10 or 15 years – is there's lots of other planets out there. If ours fails, you know, God, whoever she is, probably has something else in mind for another one.

However, we're responsible for this one, okay? I'm not saying we should not take this very, very seriously. But I am saying that behind all of the manifold critical aspects of the global revolution that's happening, there is an opportunity behind every one of them. And so, from the nonviolence point-of-view, conflict becomes the main problem. All the other problems are there, but they are secondary to the conflict problem integrated with it. And we want to try and look at this as an opportunity rather than a crisis for the most part.

Crisis of Globalism

So, I want to look at the crisis a little bit and think for just a bit about what globalism is. It's not something I know a whole lot about, but I've done some thinking about it. Read some books about it. We can all discuss it together. And I guess I would describe it as a process which is both broader and deeper than we've ever seen before.

Broader in the sense that we've just been talking about. Where I – I stayed with my niece last night, and she has a job where she travels a lot. She was telling me, "Gee, I feel nervous. I'm walking around without a plane ticket in my wallet. I've never liked this. What's wrong? You know, I better get on the Internet and get myself some tickets even though I'm not planning to go anywhere." But it was tongue in cheek, but it does go to show you, you know, what the world is like.

When we were in high school, we had one fellow student who actually went to Europe before he graduated high school. Now, about half of us go to high school in Europe. Anyway – unless we come from Europe, in which case, we go to high school here. But anyway, of course it's broader in that sense. And that's very obvious and everybody knows this. And I have at least one friend, for example, in Holland. He's a brilliant entrepreneur, [Eckhart Wintzen](#) who ran the first software company in Holland and was forced out of it with only a couple hundred million dollars to his name. Very funky office off in the woods somewhere in the center of Holland.

And his great scheme is to have Holland continue to be the trade hub for the world that it has always been, but to have most of the trade be virtual, so you don't have to actually ship things, which is very costly and uses up a lot of fuel. You can just do it mostly by Internet trading.

Okay, so that part of it is fairly obvious. But it's also a deeper globalization, in the sense that people are reaching more deeply into the resources of nature to manipulate them. And in a little while, I'm going to read you some highlights from an article on genetic modification.

Okay, now as this system advances, what we've seen so far are little pockets of successful resistance, mostly when communities are pushed from poverty into destitution. Or there's a threat of that. So, one of the iconic poster uprisings is [Cochabamba](#). Is that what you were going to talk about, Amy?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:22:52]

Michael: [The Zapatista Uprising](#)? Yes, of course. That's very – yeah. Well, they haven't decided yet what they are. We're going to – after I've read a few of your papers, we'll weigh in on whether they're violent or nonviolent. But I do know that [Subcomandante Marcos](#) sent a message up to a bunch of us a number of years ago when he had not laid down the gun yet. And he said, "You show me a better way, I will take it."

So, he's not ideologically committed to violence. And what they actually did was they used violence – I'm not saying this is an okay thing to do, but they used it as a publicity stunt. They used to – huh?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:23:33]

Michael: They did use unarmed witnesses, and it has led to a whole kind of a funny take on violence. I know there's an email that went around a couple of years ago that said, "Air attack. Easy LN, air attack on armed camp." And you went and read a few lines down, and it turns out what they did was they stood around this military base, and they folded up – they had propaganda leaflets. They folded them into paper airplanes and sent them over the fence into the camp.

So, the one I was going to actually talk about – I'm not going to talk about it much, just mention it, was Cochabamba where Bechtel decided to privatize the water. It's a resource that Homo sapien sapiens have probably been using in Bolivia for 20,000 years, no problem. You know, it rains every year. They drink, it rains, they drink, it rains. Going on just fine. But Bechtel said, "This is not a good situation. Nobody is making a profit." So, they stepped in and privatized the water.

And two weeks later, Bechtel was out of that country. They had no mandate to operate in that country any more because of a popular uprising, which was not violent in the sense that nobody

used arms or anything like that. But then I think the uprising became a down-setting, a down-seething or whatever you want to say. It went right back down as soon as the issue was no longer there. But it leaves a bit of a residue.

And as you know, you have a chain of very, very populist and, for the most part, anti-globalist heads of countries around Central and South America now.

Books Illuminating the Great Turning and Paradigm Shift

So, to get a handle on this crisis, I'm going to recommend a couple of books. One very big and one very small. So, you can take your pick which one you want to read. The big one is called, "[The Case Against the Global Economy: And for a Turn toward the Local](#)." It's by [Jerry Mander](#) and [Edward Goldsmith](#). Jerry Mander is – I owe him a lot because he actually gave me the title of my first nonviolence book. That was – and it only cost me one latte in Point Reyes Station Café, so I'm really, really a good buddy with Jerry.

So, he's the person who wrote, "[Four Arguments in Favor of the Elimination of Television](#)." And he's one of these people who turned his advertising skills into good uses. Mainly interested in Native American cultures and spirituality. But there's another very small book which is called, "[The Very Small Book On Globalism](#)," that actually is a series of books that I believe Cambridge University Press puts out. It's called, "[The Very Small Book On](#)."

It's not the same as X, Y, and Z for Dummies. This is for smart people who don't have a lot of time, as most smart people don't. Because if you're smart, you know that things are in a very bad way, and you better do something about it. But the one on globalism was by Manfred Steger. It's a good way to get a quick overview of what this thing is. I'm going to get back to him in a second, but I want to talk about two other people – and this really almost introduces a new topic which we're going to talk about as our last topic for the semester, namely a nonviolent culture.

And I can't use the word paradigm shift for this anymore because the term has been shifted to the other side. So, let's use a term that's getting to be current, and that's, "The great turning." This is the idea that – and there's a book on that subject by [David Korten](#). And he represents a very good blend of theory and practice. He runs something called, "The Center for Positive Futures," up on Bainbridge Island in Washington, and they published, [Yes! Magazine](#). And he's written a series of books. And they're all good, but I think they've been getting better, as is not always the case.

He wrote a book called, "[When Corporations Rule the World](#)," and then another one called, "[The Post-Corporate World](#)." And now, "The Great Turning," where he really is starting to introduce the concept of a spiritual awakening, a spiritual revolution. Without which most of this stuff either will not happen or will not happen in a very enduring way.

But I think he borrowed that term from a very popular American Buddhist teacher. In fact, she's a Berkeley person, [Joanna Macy](#). And now that I've mentioned it, I think I'm going to ask her if she's free to come in and talk to us. Why not? She has – well, she comes from a very interesting background, and I don't want to spend a whole lot of time on it, but she has a very interesting way of looking at this process of complete transformation. Complete in the sense that it would penetrate into every institution and rethink that institution from a different set of values than what we've got now.

She says, okay, we have to do three things. We have to resist the worst of the damage. Where like they're about to cut down the last grove of redwood trees. We've got to get out there and do something about it. We have to create alternatives that are going to replace all of these things. So, when we no longer have people logging redwood, how are they going to build houses? We have to be the ones experimenting with tamped earth or hay bales or mud or whatever we're going to use.

We have a mud hut up at our ashram that Amy saw. And it's fine. It's been there for a long time. It doesn't melt away during the rain. Nobody lives in it. It's just some hoes and shovels and stuff like that, but they've never complained.

Transformation - Cognitive and Spiritual

So, we have to resist the present system where it's at its absolute worst, and it's going to kill us if we don't stop it. We have to create alternatives to steadily replace the whole thing. And then we have to change the culture.

We have to come up with a new culture, which is a very mysterious process. Because the thing about cultures is usually in order for them to operate, they have to operate in the dark. You cannot say, "Well, I think this aspect of our culture isn't working. Let's change it." Because you need something that you can appeal to as a final recourse in decision-making, legal negotiation and so forth.

So, you can't say, you know, "Well, I don't like the constitution. We're going to change it." You can ignore it, if you feel that you're going to get away with it. And nowadays, who doesn't it? When Iraq was having this process to write their constitution, somebody said, "Well, don't put them through all that trouble. Just give them ours. We're not using it."

So, mostly you have to have cultural – your culture has to be handed down by God in the form of stone tablets from a burning bush. Or you have to discover it under a bush in the desert, if you're a Mormon. But it's not something that you can sit around and negotiate and discuss. But we have to. We now have to completely deconstruct the prevailing culture because it's a culture of death. I call it, "Culture.com." It's a phrase I came up with yesterday.

So, we have to change the culture. And she sees that as taking place on two levels. Cognitive, how do we understand stuff. And spiritual, which means how – I would say it means what do we believe about stuff? Especially, what do we believe we are. If you think you are a material object that is being controlled by material objects that have no meaning and no consciousness, you'll have one kind of culture. If you want to have a different culture, you've got to believe something else about human beings.

So, that's Joanna's scheme. And we can maybe come back to that in a couple of weeks when we talk about changing a culture. But I think it's clear to her, and it's clear to me, that this has to go from the bottom up. I mean this – in terms of long-term change, this is the most important. This is how you implement this, and it will automatically sweep away what you need to sweep away in this part. And furthermore, I would say – and I'm sure she'd agree with me – the spiritual really underlies the cognitive, the way you see things depends on very deep values and belief systems.

So, those are two people who are weighing in on the global crisis and how we have to shift it around. And if you happen to be at the Greens Festival last season in San Francisco, David

Korten gave a very, very good talk. And he said, “If you want to understand it in a nutshell, the corporate system is a system to turn nature into garbage for money.” It’s basically what it does. So, that’s the process that we’ve got to intercept.

Okay, so here we go.

Globalism - Statistics

Then let’s talk about what globalism actually looks like. Yeah. What it’s done. Here are a few statistics. You don’t – this won’t be unfamiliar to you, and I’m not going to dwell on it for a long time because A, you already know most of this and B, it’s depressing. Okay? And can’t have an education if you’re depressed. But, we have to have some kind of sense of what’s going on out there.

Next year – that’s this year now, there are 50 million preventable deaths are expected. Of which, 12 million are children. That is the equivalent of 13,000 trade centers every year. This is from a book – an article by Richard Parker called, “[From Conquistadors to Corporations](#),” which was in [Sojourners](#) in 2002. So, he said this because, of course, we pay – there is not a single American who does not know about the Trade Center deaths. But these 12 million children and 38 million other people are unknown to all but a tiny fraction of Americans. People just do not know that this is going on.

A hundred years ago, six European states, namely Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Nederland, and Portugal ruled or otherwise controlled 60% of the world’s population and territories. Now, that system – this is me speaking, not Richard Parker – that system was brought to an end by your hero and mine, the toothless lawyer from Gujarat, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. But remember, he said, “I do not want to replace a system of white rulers with a system of brown rulers.” We do not – the point is not who’s doing the dominating, the point is to get rid of domination. And this is a phrase that’s constantly used by the Great Turning people, “We want to get from a domination system to a cooperation system.”

Somehow, after Gandhi did that, what we succeeded in doing with his legacy, was dislodge that set of rulers and allow them to be replaced with another set so that somehow things got worse after the imperial system folded. Since 1960 alone, the income gap between rich and poor countries has doubled, leaving the richest states controlling more global income than ever while more than a billion people – that’s almost a sixth of the world – survive on \$1 a day. And 2 billion people survive on \$2 a day. That’s more than I get for teaching this course, but I’m not putting myself in that category. It’s really not quite –

“Structural adjustments,” quote/unquote, amounted to massive cuts in education and healthcare. More taxes on poor and middle class, less takes on the rich. I remember in Jerry Mander’s book on, “[Four Arguments in Favor of the Elimination of Television](#),” he has a very, very interesting argument because he was an economist. He talks about the trickle-down theory, how we’re going to build these wealthy corporations and their wealth would trickle down to professors and students and people like that.

And he goes on for several pages describing how well this system was supposed to work. But then he has, in a separate paragraph, he says, “There was just one slight problem.” New paragraph. “It trickled up.” The wealth trickles up instead of down. And that’s – it’s structural adjustment, and Brentenwoods [* 00:37:22] is just a different way of institutionalizing the same

energy. And it's easy to do that if you never think about energy, and you think only about institutions.

So, since the 1970s, 100 countries in the world – that's almost half the world – have undergone economic decline. Sub-Saharan Africans living on 20% less than they did 25 years ago. As a consequence, the numbers of the very poor during the 1990s alone grew by nearly 500 million people. That's a person for every dollar that British Petroleum wants to give the university. Half a billion people.

Dimension of Global Economies

Now, I was hearing from [Monsurah] yesterday that there's an interesting new way of thinking about global economies that really bids fair to open our eyes to another dimension of this. And that is that if – this is going to be very crude now. I hope you understand. I know less about economics than anybody. I mean I took one half of one economics class, and I went out of there screaming saying, "Those people are crazy, or I am." I prefer to believe it was them.

So, technically, I know nothing about this subject. But as wealth increases like so, it turns out that the U.N. measuring human development shows that wealth would make a tremendous difference for very poor countries where people don't have access to health care, food, and pure water, which is going to be the new oil in terms of global warfare. When you give people that – remember Gandhi's model in Gandhian economics, the food, clothing, and shelter needs are a special category. They are the right of everybody and the responsibility of everybody to make sure everybody in the society, which in this case is the whole world, gets access to those basic needs.

So, as long as you're starting to plug in basic needs, human development – this is what I'm talking about here is a [Human Development Index](#) that was developed by the U.N. Human development increases dramatically with wealth up to a certain point, and then it levels off almost as dramatically. If you're measuring live births, other measurable physical parameters of human wellbeing, they stop growing along with the wealth curve beyond a certain point because that is all that money can do for you. Beyond that point, you need something else.

Then they discovered another interesting thing, that at a certain point when the excess goes way beyond what you need, human development actually goes inverse. It starts to decline.

Five Characteristics of Globalism

Then, of course, you have the King of Nepal, right? You've been thinking about the King of Nepal a lot lately, I'm sure. He developed a human happiness index. He says, "Never mind the gross national product. What the point is, for people to be happy, not to be gross." So, this declines even more dramatically after wealth goes beyond a certain point.

So, this is about all I'm going to say in terms of statistics about what globalism is doing to us because I want to start moving us more quickly to the violence aspect. But I want to share with you something that Manfred Steger developed after he came out with that little book. So, this is like a very little book with a footnote. Here's the footnote. He delivered this at a conference in San Francisco three years ago. He makes a distinction between globalization and globalism, okay? Globalization is the process that's going on. Globalism is the belief system about that process.

And he said that globalism before 9/11 had five characteristics. The first was, it was believed that this system was inevitable. And I'm going to say that it is a typical classic half-truth. It is inevitable that we become more and more in contact with one another. And various kinds of national and ethnic boundaries break down. If you were to ask you just – I'm not, but if I were to ask you to raise your hand if you had one parent from like one continent or one ethnic division and another from another, you know a fair number of you would say, "Oh, yeah, I'm half this. I'm half that. My grandchildren are half Jewish, half Mormo-Catholic. A very strange background. They're sweet kids, don't get me wrong.

But even on that very basic level, the world is globalizing. I got a phone call from my son in Nicaragua last week because he's just visiting somebody in his office and he's come out laughing his head off because the guy has an Arabic name, was born in Bethlehem, and he's living in Nicaragua doing a plastics factory in Managua with posters of Krishna and Radha all over his office. So, this is inevitable that this is happening.

And it's a process that you have to know how to manage. I mean this has always been how it worked. If you read Herodotus, which now I'm not going to ask for a show of hands. How many of you have read Herodotus in the original Greek? No, never mind, you can keep your hands down. I know all of you have. He was the first person to write as a Greek – was writing toward the end of the archaic period, early 5- century BC or whatever they call it now, BCE. Writing from a perspective of a Greek who was telling you about how the Persians, the Sivians, the Egyptians and other people lived and what gods they worshiped and what rituals they use and what practices, how they waged war and so forth.

And it was not unproblematic for the Greeks who had a very coherent sense of what their culture was to suddenly be exposed to other cultures. It is not entirely not – it is not entirely free of problems. I remember being told when I was taking an anthropology course a long time ago that there was a phenomenon known as ritual death that was happening in certain Sub-Saharan African communities where people were suddenly exposed to Western civilization. It rendered absurd their culture, and it led them to feel they didn't know who they were, and they were dying from no physical cause. They just gave up on life. So, it's a process that we have to know how to manage, but I do agree with globalism that it's a process that's going to go on. Nobody is going to stuff that technology back in the bottle.

Okay, the second thing you'll recognize is where this comes from. It liberates the markets from control. So, we now have a perfect Keynesian system where the whole world is turned into a trickle-down economy. But guess what? New paragraph. It's going to trickle up. It liberates markets to do their thing.

The third belief in the globalism – I'm going to put that down here. The globalism ideology. The third belief is that nobody is in charge. It's just happening. That's part of the inevitable piece. And fourth, it benefits everyone. Please suppress your laughter at this point. It benefits everyone. And if you look around and see people starving, they will say, "It benefits everyone if you wait long enough." It will work as well as a mercantile system in a nation will. I'll get back to that term in a little bit.

And the fifth belief is that – how does he put it? It spreads democracy. Democracy follows the market. So, this, in a word, is the neoliberal belief system. Now, his point is that Item 3 changed after 9/11. So, post 9/11 everything is – a couple of things are different here. One is it goes from nobody is in charge to the U.S. is in charge. And – yeah, Andrea?

Student: Who's this?

Michael: Oh, this is Manfred Steger. Yeah. This is a talk that he gave at – oops – at the institute. It's the [Peace and Justice Studies Association](#), the talk he gave in San Francisco in 2004. I was the moderator of the panel, so I got to write down everything he was saying. So, Point Number 3 has been changed and point number – and a new point has been added. Point Number 6, they now believe that globalism requires a war on terror.

And here's where we finally come in as PACS164 people because this means – and Steger points out that the Strategy of the United States – this is a title of a document promulgated by the State Department. Strategy of the United States in 2002 has a seven or eight-page section on the global market. So, market and military values are completely merged here. And the big difference here is that since globalism, which is progress in a nutshell, requires a war on terror, a nonviolent person is no longer a marginalized kook which was bad enough, that person is a danger.

Nonviolence is now a dangerous system – dangerous idea. We haven't quite started to see the spill-out of this concept, but I think we are going to see it. In the double – I guess we have, actually, started to see it in the WTO protests which were at first very successful and then were contained by massive, massive repression after Seattle.

Mercantilism

Now, I mentioned the term, "Mercantilism." This is an old idea from the early modern period. A mercantilist economy was one in which the economy of the state competed with other states. It was a competition based economy. And what made it mercantilist was that it was protectionist. The government would make sure that there was a good balance of trade, meaning we sell more stuff than we buy. More stuff goes out than comes in. And you remember the brilliant observation of President Bush that almost all of our imports come from outside the country. [Laughter] You have to keep that in mind.

Yeah, I take it back. I don't know less about economics than anyone in the world. [Laughter] You have to maintain a good balance of trade where you sell more than you buy, so you get richer and richer so that you can get unhappy, which the implicit goal for most people outside of your self.

And you are doomed to perpetual competition. There's a limited – the global value is going to remain constant, and you have to fight for your share of it. And that means that the military resources of the nation state or at the disposal of the economy really hasn't ever been a whole lot different. If you look at the way the British Empire moved in to India, they did not march in with an army and conquer them. They sent in businesspeople. They set up the – India, the free – what is it called? John Company, the East India Trading Company, went in there. Then they needed to protect their assets. You recognize that phrase? Then the country basically ends up in the hands of the British.

So, it's a very dangerous combination that is military, the state, and the economy. Well, now something else comes in to give us a little bit of a twist. And I'm going to then kind of have just open it up for discussion of how nonviolence should recalibrate itself to adjust to the new situation, which is partly new. Partly not so new. But I'm remembering a very poignant phrase in a documentary that I saw on the overthrow of apartheid, which is something that you have in your Nonviolent Social Movements book. It was a success story in the short-term.

Nelson Mandela was basically released from prison because they knew that what – the Afrikaner regime knew it was losing it, and they might as well have a half-way civilized person recover it for them. Anyway, it was a largely – after having started very nonviolent and then taking a downturn in 1960 with the Sharpsville Massacre when Mandela ends up going to prison after that. This is a long and very interesting story. It wasn't exactly what I wanted to do here, though.

It was a successful constitutional legal takeover of a regime, of a horrible regime, and replacement of it by a much better regime. And in the constitution of that country, the South African constitution, every person is guaranteed housing, food, and a job. Or it might be – I think they may have education in there also. But anyway, basic, basic, to get you, you know, from here to here is guaranteed for every African – you know, South Africa, by their constitution.

Okay, within, I think, about eight years you took a look at what's actually going on, and the destitution was worse than ever. Why? Because the global institutions went in with their ideology and their neoliberalism and their structural adjustments. And in no time, everything was shifted again away from the poor. And guess what, quote, unquote, "It trickled up," once again. It trickled up and out. Up to the wealthy and out of the country.

And so, the very poignant line that I'm leading up to, there's a woman who was deeply involved in the struggle in the final stages. She said, "We rose up to seize the state." More in fact, she said, "We rose up and seized the state only to discover that it did not exist. The state was no longer in control. So, one simple way of looking at what's happening is that the nation state is losing authenticity and hegemony and control. And what we're experiencing is a humongous struggle about what is – who's going to take over though resources?"

Globalization from Above vs from Below

And basically, there are two camps. This is over-simplifying a bit, but basically there are people who are very wealthy and well-organized and there are people who are neither. And obviously, the people who are wealthy and well-organized, they have a significant advantage. What that says to me is that the only way – oh, and incidentally, this is sometimes called – because [Richard Falk](#) at Princeton has come up with this term and I think it's pretty useful. The wealthy and well-organized taking over the world through corporate networks, that's known as globalization from above. And what the resistance is known as globalization from below.

So, this is why this whole thing is half-truths and confusing because we all believe not only that globalism is inevitable, it seems to be where human destiny is taking us, you know, to all – to be one family on this planet, but what kind of family? And, you know, who's going to be in charge of the family. That's what we're fighting over. So, we're not fighting about whether there should be globalism or not, we're fighting about what kind of globalism done by whom.

And obviously, we have not been the first off the block because this system has been going on for a long time. In fact, another person I'd like to mention here is [Naomi Klein](#), who is a brilliant Canadian journalist. You're allowed to have brilliant journalists in some countries. And she has been writing about globalism, and she talks about the strategy, what you do when you want to impose neoliberalism on a country that hasn't been brought into the family yet.

One of the things that you do is downsize the government. You downsize the government, get rid of the competition, and then privatize all of these industries. So, let's think about where that

puts us because we've been saying – let's see, what can we erase here? This will be for later on in the semester. So, let's erase this.

We've been talking about people power, right? As you now know very well. And we've said that the old opposition used to be people power versus state power. And then Nagler comes along with his oddball ideas. And he says, "It's really a three-fold thing," because you have to take into account the inherent power in the individual which really is the base of the pyramid for all of these things. But now suddenly it's not the people against the state anymore. In fact, very often, the people are appealing to what are left of the government for protection against these rapacious corporate networks.

And what's taking over the world in David Korten Volume 1 era is basically the entire world being made into a market where everything is commoditized. And let me just read you one example about that. And then I'm going to try and leave enough time for us to have a discussion, and I think this will work. But this is from [Z Magazine](#) for December of 2006. And there's an article called, "GM Foods and World Hunger." And I'm just going to give you one highlight.

Now, this is language now, "The food dictators who control intellectual property and patent monopolies over GM seeds and plants, these people recently attempted though the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization." You know, taking over global institutions for their own purposes. "And the World Health Organization to use the famine in Zambia to market GM foods." Genetically modified foods though aid programs. Even though more than 45 African countries expressed a willingness to supply local non-genetically modified relief and voiced support for Zambia's desire to not pollute its crops with GM food."

So, you know, I keep saying that this is a new old system that's really a new take at a larger scale with better technology of a system that's been in place forever. And it really hasn't been always a classical system of a nation state – of a nation state, I mean, against other nations. The imperialists against victimized nations.

It's a struggle between one ideology against another and a set of people who gravitates towards the ideology of exploitation, ownership, and competition versus people who feel somehow that that ideology is wrong. It's not what human beings have to end up being. So, just if you – next time you are swimming at Speaker, you walk out to Bancroft, take a right. Go past the bus stop there. I assume you'll still see it. There's an advertisement that's been there for a long time. It's an advertisement for condos in San Francisco, as if a Berkeley student could afford a condo in San Francisco. I don't know who this is supposed to be aimed at, this advertisement.

But what it says is, "Buy the Bay." B-U-Y. Not B-Y. B-U-Y the Bay. In other words, this is training people to regard the world as an object, as a commodity which they can buy and sell. Who owns the bay that people should come along and buy it? I mean I think we should have a wallet-sized version of Chief Seattle's speech where he says, "You cannot own the Earth." And we should all carry it around in our wallet.

Resistance to Commoditization - Trusteeship, Swadeshi, and Co-ops.

Okay, so now let me quickly turn to some of the ways that the resistance is getting itself together. If you think about Gandhi's main ideas, there are two of them which if you were to implement those ideas, globalism from above would disappear immediately. And those two ideas are trusteeship and swadeshi. You cannot buy and sell the bay if you are its trustee, right?

You just want to make sure that it's still a habitat for certain kinds of ducks, and you want to get all of those car batteries out of it that people dumped in there for about 30 years.

I have a friend who works on that in a nonprofit that just dredges car batteries out of the bay, so the lead won't be poisoning the fish. And if you're a trustee instead of an owner, globalism simply will not be able to operate. That is the neoliberal top-down type of globalism. And then we'd be free to discover one another as one big family, with unity and diversity and all the rest of it.

The other idea, of course, is swadeshi which means localism. And that was reflected in Jerry Mander and Ed Goldsmith's book, "Against the Global Economy and for a Turn Toward the Local." If you do swadeshi, there would be nobody to organize an exploitative system and take it across the top and exploit other people with it. Okay, so keep those ideas of decentralization, localism, and non-ownership if we just had grasped – I'd been told that I use the word grok too frequently. But I'm going to use it one more time. If we had just grokked those ideas, we would – we, the world population, whoever we're talking about here, you'd never have this global disaster that's coming up.

So, let me give you then one example of a way that's being – the way this is being fought from another article. This is a very non-local chai I'm probably drinking here, but that's okay. This is from Peace Work subtitled, Global Thought and Local Action for Nonviolent Social Change. And this – you'll find these in that shelf that I pointed out to you. It's outside our office in Steven's. And this is an article called, "Globalization Co-op Style."

So, in other words, said, "Yeah, okay, let's have globalization, but let's do it with co-ops." And it turns out – well, let me read you the opening paragraph. "In the early 1900s," a long, long time ago. "Fishing and farming families throughout Atlantic Canada came together in study circles, often around their kitchen tables, to learn about their economy." Very, very local.

I remember during the Free Speech Movement, we – I don't know who I'm talking about here, but you know, people with beards or long ponytails, depending on whether you were a boy or a girl. We decided we didn't like the university – a big institution. Oh yeah, in fact I wanted to say something about our university. I'll get back to that in a second. So, we started something called, "The Free University." And we just met, you know, in various odd places. Coffee in those days was terrible, so we didn't often meet in coffee shops. There were no lattes or anything. There was a real deprivation. But we would meet in one place or another. And I remember trying to learn ancient Chinese from somebody who happened to know a little bit about that language. And that experiment lasted about four weeks, I think. You know, learning Chinese is not a very easy thing to do if you're not a native speaker of that language.

And there was really nothing to sustain the concept of a university without walls. It was a beautiful idea, but there wasn't enough clarity and enough momentum behind it. So, I mean I want to now back up a second and add something to what I was saying about how state's governments are not playing an extremely ambiguous role. They are, of course, much bigger than local communities, much, much, much bigger than individuals, so they have their dangers to begin with.

But in a way, they're better than what we've got, what we're heading into getting right now. And if you want to think about how that works, just think of our own university. When I came here, I think something like 54% of the university's budget was provided by the State of California. And

that meant – you know, there was fairly ample money to go around for experiments. Not for nonviolence. Of course, let's not be ridiculous.

But experiments in various things. Like, should we have a Department of Demographics? Let's try it. Hire five or six people, you know, teach it for a while, see what happens. And most of these ideas were thought up by this odd group of middle people who don't really belong anywhere. They're called professors. They have no power, but at that point, they still had a little bit of prestige.

Now, I think I may get the numbers slightly wrong, but the last I heard, it's something like 20% of the university's budget comes from the state government. Which means 20% of the money is coming from the public. Where is the rest of the money going to come from? Enter Beyond Petroleum. You now come into a situation like this, and you say, "Hey, we'll give you half a billion dollars." Which is really not a lot of money to them. But you know that old song, "Been down so long, it looks like up from here." And the next verse is, "\$10 bill looks like a window shade to me." It's kind of like a half a billion dollars is more money than you ever dreamed of hearing about in your whole life, and everything is swept away.

There are like one or two lone faculty voices saying, "Maybe genetic modification isn't the way to go for getting new energy sources." Anyway, I have experienced in my own life what happens when you take power away from the government and give it to corporations. Because basically governments are – even if they are despotic governments, are somewhat dependent on the will of the people. Corporations are the most efficient entities for money-making, and they are completely insulated from the will of the people. They have but one responsibility, which is to bring in cash.

Okay, so now I've – now that we're just about as depressed as we're going to get for the rest of the week, let's start building it back up. So, here are these Canadians – lots of good things start in that country. Sitting around their kitchen tables learning about their economy. What an idea. You know, they live off their economy every day, but it never dawned on them that they should have something to do with it. They should study how it works.

And they developed – they used a curriculum which was developed by men and women who were connected with a university, St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia. So, okay, this did not come from Harvard, Oxford, Göttingen or Cambridge. It came from a relatively out of the way university and a relatively out of the way place.

So, this curriculum explained to people how their wealth was being extracted by middlemen who lived elsewhere who owned the means to turn the farming and fishing communities into, quote, "Value added products." Even as other middlemen were selling them their agriculture inputs – the foods, the fuel, and other consumer goods. So, they're being, literally, sold a bill of goods at the highest prices possible. And they're being paid the lowest prices possible for their product.

And if the people doing this are smart, they'll keep these farmers and these fishing people barely alive, so they won't go into destitution. They don't want to kill the good that laid the golden egg. But this is how the system works. My son works with a farmer in Nicaragua who lives on the Atlantic coast – sorry, Pacific coast – one of those coasts. And the community is called, "Salinas Grande," which means, "The Big Salty."

And one of the things that he does is he collects sea salt. Sea salt is – now, you probably are not aware of this. I wasn't either. But sea salt is a very yuppified commodity now. You can buy it

at Andronico's and Oliver's for like \$8 for a little vial of it like this. And you convince yourself that you're having a more satisfying experience than somebody else who's just taking, you know, Morton's and dumping it on their hamburger.

And so, this stuff is selling like \$8 or \$10 for a little thing like that. And Pablo is getting \$10 for a kilo. Sorry, sorry, for a 100 kilo sack. So, people are just, you know, siphoning and siphoning and siphoning off that wealth all the way up and down the line. It's even worse with heroin. But I told Josh not to get involved in the heroin trade.

Anyway, what happened in this area is it started with an adult education effort. So, please take note. Education is a very powerful tool if used correctly. And it led to the creation of hundreds of co-ops and credit unions across the region which had what are called today, "Economies of scale." In other words, the economy operates within the region to which it pertains. You are not – you're not really being owned and operated by mega-institutions and mega corporations that are hundreds of miles away.

Let me tell you this – the rest of this really quickly and see if we have time for a discussion. I'm sorry that I've – I went on and on today. But we'll make up for it.

Community Supported Agriculture and Mondragon Cooperatives

The main point that these people hold before themselves as their ideology is in traditional economic thinking, all – each of the units competes. The minute there's the unit, the people in there close their eyes to other units and say, "How do we thrive?"

So, if you weigh in on the side of the consumer, the consumer says, "I want to pay the lowest cost possible for my milk or whatever else I'm buying." The producer says, "I want to get as much money as I can." And they're in inevitable perpetual conflict. So, their spokesman says, "This does not reflect the cooperative values of interdependence. What if farmers and consumers were committed to treat each other fairly?"

In other words, what if the relationships mattered and what if you saw yourself as a cooperative, interdependent unit? And as you're probably aware, there is an institution called, "Community Supported Agriculture." Whoops. CSA's, which are all over the country. There's maybe – there's tens of thousands, maybe more.

In these communities, there's one right near me. The farmer asks the local people what they want. And the local people say, "I'd like to get zucchini." That's crazy. Nobody wants zucchini. But let's just take zucchini as an example. Okay, how many can you use? You know, ten bushels. Okay, that's what we'll plant. And so, you don't have any of this anxiety about, "Oh my god, what if nobody buys my products? I'll go broke."

And it's interdependent. And that has led in some places even to a barter economy, where you come into the CSA, and you work for part of your food. And that's going on all over the country. And you don't know about it because it has to stay under the tax radar. So, a lot of these communities are not really quite legalized yet.

Not to mention the people working on them. And one of the models that they used – they went about this in a very intelligent way. It didn't just spring up from the soil. They went around studying things like the Rochdale community, which was probably the oldest co-op in the country. Maybe the oldest in the industrialized world.

They looked at an area in the Basque region of France where they started – we’re running out of space here. An area called, “Mondragon,” where they tried to re-construct capitalism. They wanted to build capitalism with a human face. It was all started by a Catholic priest. His name is Father Arizmendiarieta. And he started it not around kitchen tables, but in bars in the Basque Country.

He would go in and talk to these farmers, said – factories were failing in that region because it’s, you know, it’s a region that the Spanish are very nervous about. Something about bombs. I don’t quite follow this. But they were letting that region run down. They said, “What if we take it back, and we build our own factories?” And they were not against capitalism. This is the interesting thing.

Everybody who works in one of these plants owns part of the plant. Well, what if you come in, and you don’t have any capital? Okay, a certain part of your salary is tithed to giving you the ownership in the plant. So, after you’ve worked there for ten years, you have a reasonable share. It’s not that you don’t have managers, but managers can only earn ten times more than a beginning line worker. Ten times more may sound like a lot. But bear in mind, if you’re working for Disney as a file clerk, the CEO of Disney, who I understand is the wealthiest – highest-paid CEO in the world, he’s getting hundreds of thousands of times more money than you’re getting.

I once figured out that the chancellor was getting five times more than I was, and I didn’t like that at all because I didn’t think I was only as good as a fifth of the chancellor, but what are you going to do? So, they do have capitalism in the sense that they manufacture products with using capital and building infrastructure. But they don’t let it run out of hand. And it’s been a very successful experiment. So, they studied that.

And what they have tried to develop is what they call a stakeholder model instead of an investor owned model. In other words, you don’t own the factory because you have the money to invest in it, and therefore you get to say everything – who manufactures what, how much money it’s sold for, and so forth. Instead, everybody who has a stake in this, who’s involved in it in one way or another, whether you’re the end consumer or you’re a worker or a farmer, or you’re an investor, you get to form a cooperative and decide what to do with this whole operation.

And let me underline some of the language here. And then apologize for having not let you say even one single peep the whole time. We’ll make up for that. The power of cooperative business alternative is that it can nurture what is best in people. That’s an incredible concept which you will see very often advertised, but falsely. Nurture what is best in people and enable us to meet our needs in ways in which everyone wins.

Now, in those simple words there’s a lot of nonviolent ideology packed into them because you’re talking about needs. When you’re talking about needs, you’re not talking about wants. So, you’re smack on target. Sorry, sorry. You are very much lined up with Gandhian economics. And you have a concept in which everyone wins. So, you’re not using the competitive instinct to drive success.

One last phrase, “In such a world, there would be no place for the violence that’s inherent in competitive greed-fueled buyer beware economics.” So, to sum it up – and I have – they have a list of their values and stuff here. It would be very interesting if you were writing. You might find this very interesting if you’re writing on that in any way.

But to sum it up, I would say that we have a network of very, very promising constructive program alternatives that are going on out there. I've said this before. I'll say it again. What we don't have is somebody looking at the whole picture and saying we should be doing constructive program here and obstructive program here. And now we need CP. Now we need OP. We don't have that strategic overview. But I think it's starting to build. It's starting to come. People are beginning to realize this.

Okay, I can't believe 24 hours ago I was stricken with anxiety that I would have nothing to say today. And this [loco rea 01:18:09] is the result of all that. So, good to see you people again, and I'll see you on Thursday.

[PACS164B Lecture 21](#)

Michael: Good morning, everyone. We're going to get started here, and I'm going to introduce our guest speaker in just a moment. But I wanted to say a couple of things first. I have the proposed prospectuses for your term papers that you handed in. And as I say, some of these papers are absolutely awesome. They ranged from good to awesome. I feel very – naturally, it's against my religion to get excited, so I never get excited. But if I could get excited, I would get excited about some of these papers because they're going to really make a difference here and there.

And then Jordan, would you tell us a little bit about the Metta possibility for some of those papers? This is Jordan Pearlstein, who is the Programs Director of Metta.

Jordan: Hello. So, actually, a student in a class kind of came to us with this idea, and he thought it was a wonderful idea and wanted us to make the option available to other students. I know you're all working on your ideas for your term papers right now. Some of you, I guess, already turned in your ideas. But if you're a little bit flexible, Metta has a huge, long list of different research that contains [unintelligible 00:01:07] nonviolence and also our position, in particular. So, if you really want to ground your research at all and have been thinking about, you know, what else can I do with my term paper besides put it in a dusty drawer and build your critical thinking skills, of course, then let us know. We have a huge, long list, like I said, that would be incredibly helpful to field in our organization and our work.

So, come up to me after class and I can get your names and I can start helping you guys.

Michael: Good. Thank you, Jordan. And then there was one another announcement about somebody talking about the Department of Peace, so do this really quickly.

Student: Yeah, just briefly, April 9- there will be a meeting on campus on [Unintelligible 00:01:52]

Michael: Thank you. I think I mentioned last time that the Department of Peace was proposed by Benjamin Rush in Philadelphia in 1784. And so, we're a little bit slow on some things. But not us. Not this class.

John Lindsay-Poland - TPNI and FOR

And it's my pleasure to introduce a good friend and colleague in the peace movement today, John Lindsay-Poland, who comes from a very distinguished TPNI background. When I met John, he was in Peace Brigades International. And then he went on to join Fellowship of Reconciliation. Otherwise known as F-O-R. Not otherwise known as, "For," by the way. We don't usually call it that because you say, "For," and then people immediately think against. So, we don't want to produce that.

So, John has been the co-director of the Colombia Task Force, and they are doing mostly accompaniment work and policy work. Very good. And I've asked them to talk about how FOR is functioning these days within the overall framework of nonviolence in the world. And I've also asked him to talk about the part that he knows best, Colombia and a particular – if he'd say something about the peace communities that are getting started there. Okay, thank you.

[Applause]

John: All right. Okay. Well, good morning, everyone. I want to thank Michael for inviting me, and actually thank you for choosing to take a course on nonviolence because you don't have to. So, it clearly indicates some interest, something that's stirring some desire, something that you're looking for, something that's different from the dominant paradigm. And so, I thank you for that.

I came from – I'll just say a few words about myself and how I got into this. And then something about the fellowship and then more about Colombia and then about what we're doing in Colombia.

Michael: Can everybody hear?

John: Yeah, can you hear me all right? If you can't hear me or if I say something – if I use some weird acronym, then just raise your hand and say, "What the hell are you talking about?" Okay, so I grew up in New Jersey. I grew up in a suburb. Everybody called it an upper middle-class suburb, which I think basically on the world scale of things means an upper-class community. And I wanted something that was not so sheltered.

And I think one of the things that really drew me out was after the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in 1979 President Carter responded by saying that every man aged 18 to 20 had to go to the post office and sign a form saying that you are prepared to join the armed forces. And this somehow was supposed to respond to the Soviet's invasion of Afghanistan.

And if you didn't do that, you would be subject to up to five years in prison. And it got me thinking, "What is it about signing this piece of paper that is so important that the government would threaten you with five years in prison?" They would spend like \$50,000 a year to put you in prison because you didn't sign this piece of paper.

And so, I decided I wasn't going to do that. I couldn't really do that. I couldn't really wait for a draft to decide that I was a conscientious objector to conscription that I just couldn't – I wasn't prepared to do that, and so I wasn't going to sign it. And that led me into conversations with the people around me, with my family, with my friends, about why are you doing this? You know, isn't this like social security? I mean, isn't this just paperwork? This is just a bureaucracy. Why are you making this decision? Why would you risk prison if it's just a piece of paper? So.

And that made me begin to articulate, well, what is that I really think? You know, what is it that I really believe about what the United States' role in the world is and what my role in the world is? In college, I got involved in the anti-nuclear movement. At that time there was a very strong movement against commercial nuclear power in the United States.

And began to see the power of nonviolence and not necessarily in shutting down a nuclear power plant, but in the sort of more micro-relations of a protest. Of how an affinity group that is deciding to act together, when confronted with police brutality, can hang together and decide not to strike back, but also decide that we were going to stay together and protect each other. And that was a very powerful experience. It was also a very powerful experience to see cops beating up people who were not provoking them.

I mean, like beating up medics and press people and that was like, whoa. That's – it's – it's visceral.

John's History in Central America

A few years later, some of my friends were visiting Nicaragua. This was during the Sandinista period and – the previous Sandinista period – and were coming back jazzed. I mean, they were coming back, like really charged. Like something was really going on there. And so, I began to learn a little bit more about it. And went to Nicaragua on a short-term trip in 1984 which was right when the contra war between – the war between the contras and the Sandinistas was heating up.

We went to a conflict area and met peasants there who were – you know, there was this one family who showed me this document that their son had found on the body of a Contra soldier, and it was in Russian. And it was on the body of a Contra soldier, which was being supported by the United States because they said that the Sandinistas were being supported by the Soviets.

And they said, “Well, can you help us figure out what it is?” So, I took it home, and it turned out that it was the – it was instructions for how to put together and dismantle an AK-47, which was the weapon that the Contras were using. This is all just to say that I got hooked and because each experience led me further into not only movements, but also further into connection with people in Latin America who were taking enormous risks for something that they believed in, in a way that changed their society. But also, to resist what my country was doing in Central America at the time.

And I began to learn more about what the U.S. role was at that moment in Central America and also historically in Central America. And I began to feel a sense of responsibility for what our country was doing and that I didn't like it. And wanted to represent something really different. And there were other people who were doing that.

So, it wasn't like I just had to invent it. You know, there were other people who I could join with and go and witness and be with people in Latin America. And went to Guatemala in 1986 with Peace Brigades International to accompany relatives of the disappeared who, in Guatemala, the worst period of the violence of the attempted genocide was in the late 70s, early 80s. And the first groups to come above ground in civil society were the family's members of the disappeared who were looking for their relatives, their sons, their husbands, their boyfriends, their fathers, their wives. And were meeting up with each other in the morgues and the hospitals and police stations.

And at first, just comforting each other. At first, just – there wasn't necessarily – even though their relatives may have been politically involved, the first thing was just connecting with each other over their grief. And they began to give voice to that and say, “Where are our relatives? What happened to them? Are they dead somewhere? Are they in prison somewhere? What happened?”

And that cry was very powerful and connected with a lot of other people in Guatemalan society as well as in the international community. And Peace Brigades International found that they could play a role by just standing with them. Not advising them, not providing anything else other than a meeting space and a physical accompaniment because if a North American or another international was with them, then the army and the death squads were less likely to take them while the international was around. And we'll talk a little bit about that later. The Fellowship of Reconciliation began to do work in Colombia out of the same kind of request, a request for accompaniment.

And so, I want to talk just a little bit about Colombia because without some sense of context, none of the rest of it makes any sense. You know, I don't think that any nonviolent strategy can work unless it pays very, very careful attention to all the dynamics of the conflict in which one is entering or already in.

So, if you could actually put up the Colombia map slide. Can people see this? Need a little focus, maybe. Is there a way of doing the backlights on and the front light off? Yeah.

Michael: That's the way.

John: That's the way – okay. So, Colombia is – just to place ourselves geographically, it's spelled with two O's. It's not spelled with a U. And you would be surprised how many people spell Colombia different ways in the same text, you know? And to just locate ourselves geographically, the Caribbean is over here. The Pacific is over here. It borders Panama on the Central American side and then Venezuela, Brazil, Peru, and Ecuador.

Colombia is a very large country. It's the size of France, Spain, Belgium, Portugal combined. And it's also very diverse. It's diverse geographically. There are mountain ranges that run north to south – three of them. It has desert up here. It has plains over here – flat plains that are also fairly dry. There's jungle area all through here.

Within these valleys and mountains, there's also jungle areas. It's kind of a paradise for guerrilla warfare because you can – the regions of the country are very well-defined both geographically, but also culturally. And so, for very long periods, Colombia's capital had very little – in Bogotá, had very little contact with these other regions. And so, there was a severe problem historically in Colombia of governability because you had this federal area with ambitions of control over this larger other area, but not the means – largely for geographic reasons in order to control in.

It's also very diverse culturally. There's a large Afro-Colombian population that's estimated between 30 and 40% of the population. There's about 44 million people who live in Colombia. There's also a very – it's not large in numbers, but it's significant, indigenous population. There's 81 different indigenous peoples in Colombia. Some of them are as small as 100 people, but some of them as large as several hundred thousand, who are spread in different parts of the country.

There is – it's also very rich in natural resources. So, it's rich agriculturally. And it also has oil, has coal, has gems like gold and other very highly valued metals like gold. It also is very rich in water resources, which, you know, many people consider to be the oil of the 21st century. And it's rich in biodiversity. It's one of the most biodiverse countries on the Earth, so the pharmaceutical companies are very interested in some of the species available there.

Michael: There's a special plant that grows there that leads to an illegal crop.

John: There's, you know. So, there's an indigenous – I don't remember what it's called, but there's a – oh yeah, there's that. Yeah, yeah. No, no. But I thought you were talking about – there's a – indigenous people use a certain plant to – I mean it's also a psychotropic, but it's part of traditional use which also coca, the coca leaf which is what Michael was referring to, which is one of the basic ingredients in cocaine, which is grown in Colombia. It can be grown in many different parts of Colombia.

And it's mostly grown – it's grown here in the south, but then there's many other areas where it's also been grown. And one of the things to say about that is that the area – the arable land on which you could grow Colombia – you could grow coca, there's only about 1% of the land on which you could grow coca leaf is actually being used to grow coca leaf. Which means – we'll just jump ahead here to the drug war.

If your primary strategy for dealing with addiction in this country is that you're going to try and eliminate what's called, "The source," of coca leaf by fumigating that leaf and trying to destroy it and therefore both destroy the leaf and give a disincentive to growers who are planting that leaf, then the growers – if they don't have another economy opportunity, they have 99% of the other arable land on which to move in order to plant that leaf.

So, that's exactly what's happened, is that the Colombian government has fumigated an enormous amount of acreage planted with coca leaf. About 100,000 hectares per year, which is a very large proportion of the actual land that's planted in coca leaf. But the overall amount of land planted in coca leaf doesn't change because the places that are fumigated, people move from those areas to another area. You know, people call it, "The water balloon." You squeeze one area and so it goes into another area.

And this is exactly what actually happened in Peru and Bolivia where there was a drug war based on fumigation and eradication of coca leaf in the 1980s and early 1990s where they were sponsored by the United States. And the amount of land in Bolivia and Peru that's planted in coca leaf went way down. But then the business was consolidated in Colombia and the narco-traffickers were basically enabled to verticalize their whole operation within one country rather than have to transport it from Peru and Bolivia into Colombia, which had all kinds of issues related to the drug war.

So, the conflict in Colombia, however, predates the drug war. And so, when people talk about the – you know, use drugs as a lens for talking about the conflict in Colombia, it often distorts the analysis because drugs came into the conflict after the conflict was already very, very well established. And much of the conflict has to do with precisely the wealth and natural resources that I was just describing. The problem with these natural resources is the inequality and access to them. And this is both in terms of land tenancy, but also just in terms of who controlled the outputs from the production from that land.

This is a historical problem in many countries. However, in Colombia it was also reflected in the political structure where there were two main parties – the liberal and conservative parties that basically struggled for control over those resources and those outputs and that wealth. This came to a head in 1948 when a liberal candidate for president, Eliécer Gaitán was positing a different kind of discourse that really did include the poor and include the landless in the vision for how economic and political power would be practiced and exercised in the country. And he was assassinated, which gave rise to about ten years of warfare called, La Violencia, that took about 200,000 lives.

This conflict was, quote, "Settled" between the liberals and conservatives through an agreement by which each power would – each party would share power for the following ten years, they would alternate the presidency. But not just the presidency, controlled also the governorships, the mayoralties, and also much of local power. And that's what happened between the late 50s and into the 1970s. However, this did not include, again, the broad majority of people.

And so, a number of the number of liberal who had been part of La Violencia took up arms and became what are today the guerrillas in 1964. There have been a number of different guerrilla organizations on the left. The largest one now and the longest standing one is the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, or the FARC. And having fought for more than 40 years, they are very – they're very much a military organization. They – although there was popular support for the FARC in many areas during many periods in the '60s and '70s and into the '80s, most analysts would say that today, the ideology and social agenda of the FARC has greatly deteriorated.

And that is partly where the drug trade enters in. The FARC mostly gets its money from the drug trade and from kidnapping and extortion. Now the opponents of the guerrillas are the army. And the army is, in many ways, has been the government presence in many of these communities. So, in the rural areas which are where most of the war has been fought, the only presence of the government is the army. You don't have a school. You don't have a health clinic. You don't have some agency that builds roads. It's the army, and then everything else is what you do on your own.

And so, the – and the army is also responsible for many, many abuses. In the 70s and 80s, the army was under a lot of heat for human rights abuses. And so, landowners got together with the army and with drug traffickers and formed what are known as the paramilitaries who kind of took over from the army, the dirty work that the army was under criticism for. And the paramilitaries did not distinguish – do not distinguish between civilians and guerrillas. Their methods are outright terror. They use chainsaws, machetes, you know. It's really, really scary stuff.

The guerrillas and the army also commit abuses. But the majority of abuses are committed by the paramilitaries. And one of the results of this has been an enormous displacement from land. Colombia has the largest – the second largest displaced population in the world. Iraq, perhaps, might make it the third largest right now. There's 3.7 million people who have been displaced from their lands. What happens? The paramilitaries come in. Sometimes it's the army or the guerrillas. They come in, and they say, you know, "If you don't leave, you know, either you join us or you leave, or you die." And so, many people leave. Or the armed groups come in, and they just kill people and out of complete terror, people just leave. And then – yes?

Michael: Who's the first one, I'm sorry? The largest displaced population in the world?

John: Sudan.

Michael: Sudan.

John: No, I'm sorry. Congo.

Michael: Oh, of course.

John: Congo. The objective, however, of these operations is not just to hit the opposite armed group. The objective is to control the land. And so, that's where the wealth of the land comes in, because there has been an enormous counter agrarian reform that has occurred in the last 20 years through the displacement of these people. An enormous concentration of land in the hands of fewer people who are primarily paramilitaries who get most of their money from drug trafficking.

So, you have this concentration of land in the hands of drug traffickers and paramilitaries. The paramilitaries are allied with the army. And here is where we have to talk about a fourth armed actor, which is the United States. Now, the role of the United States in Colombia did not start from plan Colombia, which started in the year 2000. Really, you have to go back to the 1850s, when Panama was still a part of Colombia, and the United States was very interested in this crossing area. There was a gold rush in California, for example. There was a railroad that was constructed across here that was controlled by New York banking interests.

And the United States military, the Navy at the time intervened many times in order to control this transit route or, you know, sort of do away with interference of locals who were maybe trying to control the transit route themselves. And so, and then in 1902, 1903, you have another very important intervention of the U.S. military when there's an independence movement in Panama. The United States is considering a canal across Panama, and the Colombian senate rejected a treaty with the United States in order to build that canal. And so, Theodore Roosevelt says, "I took the canal." Meaning the Navy intervened in order to keep the Colombian military at bay so that Panama can become, quote, "Independent."

And I say quote because immediately there was a treaty that was imposed on Panama in order to control the canal zone and put in a military presence in Panama that would last the next century.

The next wave of U.S. intervention comes in the early 1960s in the wake of the Cuban revolution when a U.S. military advisor, General William Yarborough goes to Colombia to advise the Colombian army about how to control these leftists who are organizing the country and advises the Colombian government to form paramilitary groups that would do counter-terrorist and terrorist operations. That's the language that he used in order to suppress what – there was just no distinction between armed groups and unarmed opposition. That was the birth of the modern paramilitaries within the Colombian state.

The paramilitary then formed, as I was saying before, a more indigenous or its own structure independent of the army in the 1980s and 1990s. After the wars in Central America, after the Cold War, and after the wars in Central America are settled, there is no ideological basis for U.S. intervention in Latin America. What is it? I mean, you know, the communist, the Soviets are gone. The wars in Central America are settled, so what are you going to do to have any kind of control or influence, as the word is used, in Latin America?

And what came up? Help me. Drugs. And drugs was also an arena in which, domestically in the United States, it would be much easier ideologically. I mean, I can think of all kinds of people I know who are peace activists, people on the left who say, "Well, you know, we do have to do something about drugs. You know, they're like screwing up all these communities. We have to do something about drugs." It's not about fighting guerrillas. It's about fighting drug traffickers because they're bringing all this poison into our community. Yeah?

Student: So, what about CIA involvement and getting drugs to the United States?

John: What about it?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:31:30]

John: You mean does that – are you saying like how does that fit with the ideological justification for fighting the drug war?

Student: Yeah. I mean, I get the big picture. Like you want to [Unintelligible 00:31:47]

John: Well, the whole rationale of the drug war, you have to be a little skeptical in the beginning. Not only because of the CIA's involvement. And I would argue that the CIA is not responsible for the amount of drugs in the United States. The amount of use or the amount of trafficking. They play a part, but one part out of a very, very, very large business. Very large business.

The reason – the other reason to be skeptical is that the strategies that are being employed don't work. And the congresspeople who are approving the money for those strategies know they don't work. I mean, before Plan Colombia was introduced – and I'll talk about that in just a second – there was this experience in Peru and Bolivia where they used the same strategies of fumigation, and they did not change the price on the street. They did not change the purity on the street in the United States. They did not actually change the overall amount of land planted in coca.

So, then the strategy is introduced in Colombia. And what happened in Colombia when it was – or what happened here when this was introduced? There was a little study that was commissioned in around 1999 that asked people in the U.S. whether they would – one was how did they perceive democrats as opposed to republicans as being soft or hard on drugs. And democrats were perceived as being more soft on drugs than republicans. So, Clinton was in office. This is a political problem.

Then people were asked, "Would you support spending money for aircraft that could interdict drug shipments from, at that time, Peru and Bolivia into Colombia as a way of, you know, dealing with this problem?" And most people said, "Yes." And then it turned out that this study was commissioned by Lockheed Martin. And Lockheed Martin produces the E3 planes that have these monitors on them that are used in monitoring air traffic between Peru and Colombia.

There was a very hard lobbying effort by the producers of helicopters, by the oil industry, Occidental Oil which has – there's a lot of oil in here near the Venezuelan border. People say there's a lot of oil down here, but it's mostly not explored because of the conflict. And the oil companies were also saying, "We support Plan Colombia. We think these – that the oil production in Colombia should be protected because many of the oil pipelines were being attacked by guerrillas – they're being blown up by the guerrillas and losing lots of oil and lots of money.

So, the whole rationale is pretty suspect. You know, our – my take is that the main reason why the United States got involved is to control the resources because it is so wealthy. And in fact, after 9/11 the U.S. ambassador to Colombia at the time said openly that we have to protect the oil in this country because the other sources of oil in the Middle East, particularly, are unstable. And so, we have to be looking at these other sources of oil as well as other natural resources which are strategic for our economy.

So, that then comes out a little bit more into the open after 9/11. It's still – now, it's called a narc – it's both a counter-terror – they're narco-terrorists. You know, it's all kind of conflated together because, in fact, the guerrillas are trafficking in drugs. So are the paramilitaries.

Now, the impacts of this I talked a little bit in terms of the displaced population. Some people in Colombia met this with a nonviolent resistance that there was – there were broad levels of resistance in opposition to a military approach to the conflict. Particularly in the mid-1990s, there

were broad mobilizations. There was a referendum that occurred, an informal referendum in which about 12 million people voted for negotiations with the FARC, particularly, to do a comprehensive solution to the conflict. And that resulted in negotiations or talks between the government and the guerrillas.

But this coincided with two things. One was an escalation of paramilitary violence. I think it was in the year 2000 there were like 200 massacres in the country. A massacre being defined as killing of three or more people at one time. And so, that was – at the same time as you're having this negotiation, you have a paramilitary force that's collaborating with the army and that is basically disrupting any possibility.

And so, the guerrillas were like, "We're not going to do this." The FARC laid down their arms once before and formed a political party called the U.P., the Patriotic Union. And they were basically massacred. So, there were like 2000 people from the U.P. who were killed. And so, and the guerrillas were not particularly sincere about the negotiation process. And then the other thing that happened was Plan Colombia came in. So, you had this enormous infusion of military assistance to the Colombian army.

Community-Based Nonviolent Initiatives

So, all the conditions for a comprehensive solution to the conflict were not existing at that time. And the negotiations broke down in 2002. Since then, a lot of the nonviolent initiatives in the country have been more identity based or community based. If you don't have the conditions for really transforming the national conflict as a whole, then people begin to look in their communities, "Okay, how can we survive?"

And I mean virtually, survive. So, you have these indigenous communities that are in danger of extinction. You have campesino peasant communities that are in danger of annihilation. You have people who, as a community, all the bonds of community are being broken apart by violence and also displacement.

And so, the initiatives are, for example – and many of them are described, actually, in this booklet which I would encourage you to get a copy of afterward – are, for example, youth who are being seen as actors in the conflict. They're being seen as the violent ones because most of the armed groups, who are they trying to recruit for their killers? They're trying to recruit youth, mostly young men.

And so, young men, basically, are seen as suspect. Does this sound familiar? And so, they decided they wanted to project something different. In Medellín which is the second largest city, this group came up called, "Medellin Youth Network," that first said, "You know, we're going to be conscientious objectors to participating in all of the armies because none of the armies defend us. So, we're not going to participate in any of them. And second, we're going to project this culturally."

And they began to do these marches from the outskirts of the city, which is where most of the poor communities are and also where the armed groups tend to go for their recruits. And into the center of the city, doing street theater, using music. They would have these open concerts, free concerts in the middle of the city which was something that had not happened in Medellín before to basically create a different kind of culture in their own communities. But also, to be really in your face against the state.

So, they had like every July 25. is the national – it's like the 4th of July here. And so, they'll have these parades, the armed forces will do a parade through the street. And every year, the Medellín Youth Network comes out, and they'll do something like take off their clothes in the middle of a fountain. And they're all painted. And then they'll have these – each one will have a letter saying, you know, "No army defends us."

And, you know, they're just like out there. You know, they're really in your face about it because they're trying to survive, and they want to get people's attention about like, you know, there's a different way of dealing with this conflict.

From there, you also have a group like the [Ruta Pacífica De Las Mujeres](#) which is the Woman's Peaceful Path. And they are a very diverse group of women from all over the country. There's campesino women. There's working-class women. There's professional women. And they got together in the mid-90s initially when a group of them heard about a community in [Utaba 00:42:15] which I'll talk about in a minute, where it was reported that 90% of the women had been raped. And they decided they were going to go there to embrace the women.

And so, they organized a caravan from all over the country. And women who had like not left their communities before, like they had to talk with their husbands. Like, you know, "I'm going on this trip. And, you know, this is why I'm going on this trip, and I'm not going with you." And deal with that part of it. And then come together and go on these like two-day caravans. I mean, it's what I said before about think places being inaccessible, it's still very true in many, many different places. It takes a lot to get from place to place in rural areas.

And they went to this area, and they embraced the women and formed this organization. And since then, every year, every two years they've done these caravans to go to a different part of the country where the conflict is hitting especially hard.

Another group that I want to talk about was formed in the [Utaba 00:43:35] region, which is a very heavy conflict region. All of the armed groups are present there. The army, the guerrillas, the paramilitaries. And this particular community was formed in the mid-1990s, when the area had been controlled by the guerrillas for many years. And the paramilitary groups kind of had their birth in this area up here.

And in the mid to late 90s, with the assistance of the army, they basically began to move in this direction. And many communities in the area see the reasons why they were moving in this direction is controlling the natural resources, but also controlling the isthmus travel route because the Panama Canal is at capacity. And so, there's different – the international commerce is looking for different ways of getting things from one ocean to another.

They probably won't build another canal, but there's – any time you develop that kind of infrastructure, the land around it becomes much, much more valuable.

Example of International Nonviolent Solidarity

And so, the paramilitaries were moving into these communities and using these terrorist methods together with the army. And peasants were just fleeing.

And so, with some support from the Catholic Church, some of these communities decided, "We're going to say that we don't support any of them because if we support one of them or if we don't even say that we don't support any of them, then the next time the other armed group

comes in, they will say that we supported the other one, and they'll kill us." And that's exactly what happens. It's like when, you know, when the guerrillas come in they say, "Well, you must have been supporting the army. You must have been an informer, you know, you're out."

The army comes in, and they say, "Well, the guerrillas were just here. You were supporting them. You gave them food. You're giving them information." And so, you know, people get killed that way. So, these communities decided they were going to declare themselves neutral. And there were actually a number of them at the beginning, many of them were very small communities, river communities that the only access is by water.

And they, as the conflict went on, were not able to sustain themselves. But there was this one community called the [Peace Community of San José de Apartadó](#) that declared themselves a peace community almost exactly ten years ago in March of 1997. And they said they're not going to support any of the armed groups by giving them food, by selling them things, by giving them information. They're not going to join the armed groups. They're not going to carry weapons. And they don't want them to come into their community, at least into the populated areas of their community. And they made this public. And the first response of the army was to kill the leaders. The army and paramilitaries together came in and killed a number of leaders.

And so, in 1998 they requested accompaniment not only by the Catholic Church, but also by internationals who they hoped their presence would prevent further killing. So, here's where if you could bring up the other Acrobat file, that would be great. And you can – that was it. That's the PowerPoint one. Okay. Yeah, that's fine. You can just advance it down here. Yeah. Okay.

So, could you go back one? So, we found out about this community though a solidarity group that gave them – that nominated them for an award that the Fellowship of Reconciliation gives out. And we thought that, you know, it was pretty daring to do what they did and pretty amazing and constant with our values as an organization, the Fellowship of Reconciliation. I didn't really say anything about it. But it was formed as a faith-based, but also principled, opponent of war and violence. And was formed on the eve of WWI by people from – pastors from Germany and England who were about to be on opposing sides of the war who decided they didn't want the war to come between them in their fellowship in Christ. They were all Christian.

And it came out of that seed as a belief that whatever else is going on, war does not have to come in between our connections with each other. And there are other ways of dealing with conflict besides warfare. And so, the fellowship has always worked for the right to conscientious objection. And then also the use of nonviolence as an active force in dealing with injustice. So, it was very active. I hear you've been reading about this in the Civil Rights Movement. In the 40s and 50s and 60s, FOR played a fairly prominent role, mostly in support.

Which I actually want to emphasize because in terms of this community, we don't – I mean, there's violence in our communities here. There's a lot of violence in our communities. But we're not like waking up with combat – most of us. Some of us, maybe. But combat between well-defined groups that might target us because they want our land. And so, our role here from North America, also because of the United States role, is one of support.

We're not going there to be protagonists. We're going there to try and enable a form of resistance that is Colombian, but that we can have some role in supporting both by direct support in some way, and by changing the policy. So, we'll come back to that in a minute. So, I took a visit to the community in the year 2000. We were invited there after we had given them

this award. And to be honest, the first one, they invited us, I wasn't going to go, you know? I mean, it's a long way.

You can't get to San José de Apartadó in one day from here. You fly. You have to fly. And then you have to fly from Bogotá to Medellín. And then from Medellín to El Prado. And then from El Prado it's about an hour and half on this very, very, very bad road. Bad in more than one way because it's both in bad condition, but also it's a road on which the paramilitaries have killed very many people. And then you go there and then in order to get to some of the settlements, you have to hike in. There's no roads into those settlements.

And just before the event that they invited us to, there was another massacre in the town center. So, I went. This was on their third anniversary and was very impressed by their resistance. And thought, you know, it would be really great to bring a group here of people. Because the Fellowship organizes delegations. That's one of the things that we had done during the wars in Central America is organize delegations of North Americans, primarily, who then come back and do work in our own communities to change policy and to support the groups that we've met.

So, we took this group back in 2001. In the meantime, there had been another massacre in the community. Not in the town center, but in a settlement that's kind of the agriculture center of the community. And the paramilitaries had come in, and they had picked out six men and killed them while an army helicopter was flying overhead.

And so, when we came with this group, the community said, "We would like you to come back, and we would like you to have a regular presence in the community. Like every six weeks because we're going to have these meetings with the government to investigate these killings. And so, we would love it if you could come and be a witness."

At first, they didn't say to increase our protection. At first, they said, "Because we know that we're going to go down, and we want someone to be present and document that." When someone says that to you, it is a very, very powerful experience. And so, we said, "Okay, maybe it would be easier if we had someone here ongoing rather than going back and forth every six weeks." And they said, "Great." So, then we went back, and we decided, "Okay, how are we going to organize this? The Fellowship of Reconciliation is not Peace Brigades International. It's not an organization that has had a presence overseas."

So, then – can you go to the next one now?

FOR Accompaniment

So, we decided that we would try and organize this accompaniment presence. At that time, Peace Brigades International already had a presence. Did you guys talk about Peace Brigades International already? A little bit? So, Peace Brigades International, they had a presence in Colombia from 1994. And they had had a presence in a part of this community beginning in 1999, I believe.

And it was having an impact at least in the areas where they were present, which was in the town center. But in the more rural areas, which is where this massacre had occurred, there were people still vulnerable. So, it had shown, however, that there was some dissuasive presence that had an impact. We also wanted something that would show back here that there's another – that there's another impulse. There's another presence. There's another force in Colombia

besides violence. You know, like if you think about Colombia, what's the last thing you heard about Colombia?

Student: Kidnapping.

John: I mean, it's like the only thing that you hear about Colombia is drugs, violence, warfare. If you can't imagine that a society has within it some other force, how can you construct a foreign policy that actually would resolve that conflict? How can you construct a foreign policy, except one that supports an armed group? If you cannot even imagine that there are other forces within that society.

And the only way of imagining it is by documenting it. By coming back and saying, "These are the people I know. These are things I've seen. These are the initiatives that are going on in civil society. These are the communities that are being affected by the armed conflict. These are what these communities are doing about it." That then becomes, in the long term, a basis, the foundation for constructing a different vision of U.S. policy and what this country's relationship will be with Colombia.

And then we would also, by documenting those experiences, try to support directly those groups that are so vulnerable and that are trying to do something about it with the overall goal of demilitarizing U.S. policy towards Colombia. Can you go to the next one?

So, we would try and have a tangible impact through accompaniment. And that we would also try and have a moral impact through encouragement. And I'll talk about those in a minute. And then we would also try and build a global movement or at least contribute to the building of a global movement for demilitarization. If you can go to the next one.

Accompaniment and Deterrence

So, deterrence is actually the way accompaniment works. And I think Michael might not like this. But, you know, it's kind of a jiu jitsu. At least that's the way I can think of it positively. Enormous power that the United States has is you try and use it by saying, "Okay, if you don't respect human rights, then there will be a consequence. And it's not – in many respects, it's not a nonviolent thing to say, "We're going to withdraw certain kinds of support."

I mean, in fact, we want them to withdraw support to the military anyway. But the threat of withdrawing support to the military or to the rest of Colombia can become an incentive to influence behavior. So, why don't you go to the next one? You have to be able to at least suggest that there will be negative consequences if human rights are not respected. And we do that through a number of different ways.

It's not only through physical presence. It's also through grassroots mobilizations. So, when something happens in San José de Apartadó we mobilize people to write to the state department, to write to their congresspeople, to write to the Colombian president and so on. And try and exert pressure on the decision-makers from the state who actually influence the armed groups.

There has to be a chain of influence. From us to the civilian state, whether it's the United States or the Colombian state, to the armed forces in Colombia, to the paramilitaries – depending on who is actually the threatening force. Without that chain, you're not – you're in a much worse position to actually influence the behavior. Because you want the person – you don't want to

have to confront the armed guy at the moment that he has been ordered to carry out an operation, and he is prepared to do it.

You want him to be influenced before that happens. You want to influence the chain of command. And the chain of command is both political and military. So, you expose the human rights violations and therefore get more support and get more attention to what's going on. And you work with the government's desire to appear that they are respecting human rights. Most of these governments have signed international agreements of one sort or another that they've ratified within their national legislation that respects, you know, the right to life, the right to freedom, you know, any number of things that you then work with. Even if they're not abiding by the law, they have a desire to show that they are abiding by the law.

So, you also want to be clear about what – to the aggressor, what is it that is unacceptable? Sometimes there are things that the government might do that are legal, but that – for example, this peace community, they're saying they don't want any of the armed groups present in their community. Well, that includes the legal armed forces because the legal armed forces have acted illegally and allying themselves with the paramilitaries in killing people and abusing people.

But legally speaking, the armed forces actually have a right within Colombian national legislation to be present within this community. So, then you work with a political, you know, you're trying to show that those actions are still – have some policy cost that we have – we support something else. But you want to communicate what it is that you want them to do and not do. And that must be visible.

The aggressor has to believe that you're capable of doing something. So, if Michael Nagler went to the Minister of Defense in Colombia and said, "I'm going to bring – my class is going to stop you from committing these abuses." Probably he would not have a lot of credibility because there's no track record of the peace studies, the nonviolent studies class at U.C. Berkeley, having done anything in Colombia yet.

So, you wouldn't be able to show that you can back up what it is that you're doing. You have to show that you have, for example, some support from congressional leaders who are holding the purse strings. You have to be able to show that you have something to back yourself up. And you also, as I was saying before, you have to know who the aggressor is. So, that's about tracing that chain of command.

If you don't – like if a killing has occurred and it's so chaotic and people don't know who did it – I mean that happens too. Like was this the guerrillas or was this the paramilitaries or was this a common crime? What's going on? You don't necessarily know that you're going to be able to deter it through these methods. Go to the next one.

The Costs of Actions

So, the theory behind this is that there are actions that have unacceptable costs and there are actions with acceptable costs in any situation. So, suppose you are a member of the – a commander of the paramilitaries. You know that if you kill the president, that's going to have unacceptable costs. Even if the president is your political enemy. But however, if you kill, you know, [Fulando 01:02:25] Joe Blow in some remote region, or you maybe just threaten them because you want them to displace. You want to be able to control the municipality where

they're living. No one is really going to make a big deal out of it, so that has acceptable costs. Go to the next one.

If the idea of accompaniment is that you change that space. So, when you – for the person who is being accompanied, you want the space in which they can operate with acceptable costs to be greater. You want them to be able to, for example, this peace community that we accompany, they have been able to return to some of their lands that they were not able to do without accompaniment because the area for acceptable costs was greater.

On the other hand, for the aggressor, you want the space of their unacceptable costs to be greater. You want certain kinds of actions that they would carry out if they have – if there is accompaniment, you want the areas where that's unacceptable. Where the consequences are unacceptable, you want more things to be the case for that. Is that – anyway, we'll come to – you can ask questions about this. These things get more and more complicated, so I'm going to skip over some of them.

But now, of course, what the actual line is between the acceptable costs and the unacceptable costs, you have the actual reality. And then you have the perception. Because you might – people might perceive that we can exert unacceptable costs, but actually we can't. You know, that would be – all right, so for an activist who's threatened, they might perceive that we can protect them and say, "I'm going to take a certain kind of risk," when actually we can't produce a consequence that would be unacceptable for the aggressor.

And in that case, they might have an unexpected danger because they think, "Oh, jeez, I've got this foreigner with me. I'm going to go out on a motorcycle at night, even in this area that's really kind of sketchy because I've got a foreigner with me. What the hell, you know?" And actually, it might be more dangerous, and we might not be able to respond in a way. Or they might think they have all these congress people behind them, we can – you know, we don't have to worry about things. And then regardless of their behavior, there might be dangers that they didn't expect.

On the other hand, it might be that they are more inhibited. They actually think that they don't have as much space as they do actually have. In that case, they might be inhibited, even though the real borders would suggest that they have that space. They're just not using it. Go to the next.

Now, they have, of course, the same thing goes in terms of the effective accompaniment is that you want these spaces to become smaller. And so, it also affects the perceived border between acceptable and unacceptable costs. You can go to the next one. Also, the same thing is true for the aggressor. That the accompaniment affects their perception of what the costs are going to be. So, there might be, for example, they might think that they can get away with killing. The army might think they can get away with killing a leader of San José de Apartadó.

And this is exactly what happened two years ago when the army carried out a massacre. They might have been working with the paramilitaries. Or it might have been just the army in of San José de Apartadó in a very remote area. Like about five hours further from where the Fellowship of Reconciliation team is.

They killed two families. They used machetes. They killed children. They dismembered the bodies. One of the people killed was one of the cofounders of the community who had met with the vice-president of Colombia. He had come to the United States on a speaking tour before. He

had spoken at the School of the Americas at a protest. He was someone who did not really fear the army. And actually, that's probably one reason why he ended up being killed, because he and his brother-in-law, his half-brother, saw the army there. And his half-brother said, "Let's go."

And Luis Eduardo said, "I can talk to the army. I'm not afraid of them. I've talked to them before." And he was with his girlfriend and with his 11-year-old son. And the army then just attacked him. And then the army killed another family about an hour-and-a-half walk away that included two kids, a 6-year-old and a 1 ½-year-old. And in the wake of this, this community is already well-known. In the wake of this, there was an outcry, but not only in Colombia, but also in the United States that we worked on organizing.

I mean, you work with indignation. You work with it. And so, we did vigils in front of the State Department. We got churches to send thousands of fax to the State Department – faxes. We got, you know, we got congressional people to sign letters right away and send them to the Colombian government. The Colombian government initially – and actually still – said that the FARC committed the massacre.

And the State Department withheld about \$70 million in military aid for about six months because of the response to this massacre. And then the State Department said publicly that the brigade responsible for that area was not vetted and was not certified to receive any U.S. assistance. So, probably the army misjudged that. And one could call that an unexpected blunder because they thought that they could do it with acceptable costs.

And actually, probably, it was a level of unacceptable costs for that – particularly for that unit. They also might think at certain times, "Oh, there's these foreigners there. We're not going to touch them." When in fact, again, we might not be able to produce the kind of response that – yeah?

Michael: Are you willing to have questions?

John: Yeah. Yeah. You can skip that one. Great. So, just one other thing, which is that there's also a moral or emotional element to the accompaniment which is not about increasing their security. It's about being with them because they're a traumatized community, to be in solidarity with them, to connect with them, which is a very important part of the connection, both for them and for the people who are accompanying them. Can you go to the next?

Just one last thing. The community itself very much appreciates the international presence. And has said that a lot of this is because of the FOR's respect for the community that over the years we've developed an understanding of the community, that then becomes a foundation for a relationship of autonomy and respect in which we don't interfere with their decisions. We talk with them. We have a relationship with them, and they also respect our autonomy as an international organization.

So, I think you're right. I should stop there so that there's some time, a little bit of time for some kind of dialog. So, I invite like questions, comments, whatever you want.

Michael: First, some applause.

[Applause]

John: The floor is open.

Student: It sounds really great of theory, that you [Unintelligible 01:11:02]

John: Are you talking about the danger to the international person or to the...?

Student: Both. Because in a way [Unintelligible 01:11:38].

International Accompaniment and Assessment

John: So, “does it really work?” is how I would kind of reduce – simplify the question. It’s something we’re always analyzing. If – on the international side, if there is not some sensitivity – extra sensitivity to the security of internationals, then it might not work. And so, that’s something that we’re always looking at, and we’re also trying to influence. So, we’re assessing it, and we’re also trying to increase the amount of recognition and legitimacy that we have as an international organization there.

And that’s where this kind of safety – increased safety, comes from. So, if that’s there, then it’s likely to have an impact on the people we’re accompanying. Of course, whenever the threats tend to be against the Colombians that we’re accompanying. So, we’re also always working to affect the dynamic of that. So, when we’ll put out information about threats that the army has made against – to members of the peace community, for example, and call attention to it.

So far, it works. I mean you know, it reminds me a little bit of modern medicine which often doesn’t really – can’t really say what the causes are, but they treat the symptoms. And if it works, it’s like, “Okay.” And you can’t always know what’s going on inside the armed groups. But it’s working. So, we try to analyze. We try and figure out as much as we can about what the dynamics of the armed groups are. And in the area where we’re working, the main problem – I mean the guerrillas are present, and they are a problem. But the main problem is the army and the paramilitaries. And we are able to influence their behavior.

Student: Follow-up question. How do you do this assessment? How can you analyze these groups?

John: Well, we talk with them. We don’t talk with the legal groups, but we talk with the army. We talk with civilian officials. We talk with the church. We talk with the U.N. We talk with the community members. We talk with other NGOs. We use our own observation. We try to have a sense of history. I mean, there’s many, many different things that go into the assessment. But you’re trying to see what direction – what direction are things going on? What are holding some of the actors back? And just to see what’s influencing the behavior of the different groups.

And you can basically see it. I mean, it’s not – you know how people think of it as just being like, “Oh my God.” The worst situation is actually not one actor, but two actors. Because one actor you can deter. But when you have two actors who want to get at each other, they often don’t care about the civilians in the middle. They’re like – and they’ll use the civilians as, you know, hostages – directly or indirectly, you know.

Or they’ll do it in a populated area. And that’s where you want to go, “Get the hell out.” Because that’s really when the greatest danger is – when the dissuasion is much more limited because they’re like more focused on the guy with the gun who’s targeting them.

Student: [Unintelligible 01:15:46]

John: We have a total of five people. Which you think, “Oh my God, you know. Colombian army has 140,000 or 340,000 – I’m trying – you know, somewhere in there. Soldiers.” The U.S. has like about 1400 between soldiers and contractors in the country. I think it’s just like – it’s insane. It’s totally insane. You know, so you don’t work – it’s not based on numbers. It’s really based on the people behind them and what we’re able to mobilize here.

And that’s where you guys come in, you know what I mean? We’re, for example, I might want to announce this before the time runs out. We send delegations there. So, we also have moments when we’ll have like 15 or 20 people there who are visiting from the U.S. – mostly from the U.S. who then come back and talk to their communities. And there’s one in August, which I would urge you to consider because it’s an incredible door into these movements and into Colombia, which is an incredible, incredible country.

And it’s networks. It’s through the networks of people. It’s not really through just the presence of the people on the ground.

Student: [Unintelligible 01:17:11]

John: No. No international accompany either from FOR or from Peace Brigades or the other accompaniment groups has ever been killed or directly attacked in Colombia. There was a case in 1999 when three indigenous rights activists were kidnapped by the FARC and murdered. And I would say that the FARC played a significant political price for that. They were from the U.S. The United States was – the State Department was in dialog with the FARC before that. And afterwards, they cut off that dialog. It became a very, very important international case. And I think probably within the FARC they realized they screwed up. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:18:05]

John: Excellent question. What’s the training like for the five people who are there? We do a week-long training here. And then when people go to Colombia, there’s several weeks where they’re in training with the existing team. And it’s very diverse. I mean we work on issues from group decision-making to security analysis to Colombia – understanding Colombia to – dealing with the authorities, like doing meetings, doing political work, and some of it is reading. Some of it is interactive, role-plays. A lot of it, you have to learn on the ground from people there who are doing it. And a lot of it is just reading and understanding, like trying to get a better understanding of all the different dynamics.

And it’s something that we’re always trying to increase. And also, not just trying to increase, but update because our project changes, the groups that we’re working with in Colombia change, the conflict changes. The U.S. policy changes. And so, it’s an ongoing process of making that work. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:19:36]

John: No. And we decided that we did not want to do economic development so as not to kind of change the relationship with the group that we accompany and make them look to us for material support because that can then clog or cloud the discussions about security. And why is it that they want to be with us? And you know, I mean that – so we decided we’re definitely not going to go that route.

Michael: Some of us – what we call, “No fresh issue,” bringing up something in the middle of a conversation that hasn’t been there before. [Unintelligible 01:20:17]

John: Well, you bought them for me, so you can decide what to do with them.

Michael: These are very expensive.

John: I mean, you can give them out to people if you want.

Michael: I’ll give them out, and they can make donations if they want to.

John: Okay. And then why don’t we hand that out, just if people want – yeah? So, just pass that back.

[Applause]

John: Thank you. Thank you so much for your attention.

[PACS 164B Lecture 22](#)

Michael: Okay, good morning everyone. A good weekend. And we're going – in fact, that probably was over yesterday. And we're going to have a great week. I now have the pleasure of announcing to you that on a week from Wednesday, April 25th, Metta is having an open house near our office here at the First Congressional Church. And you're all invited and bring your friends, especially wealthy ones. And next week I'll actually start talking to you about who's going to be coming, so we can get the right amount of food and so forth. But there's going to be music, food, and inspiration. The latter, partly provided by you.

The box that I told you about that was on our shelf that had resources for 164B seems to have walked away. So, I'm just going to be bringing stuff in as it comes across my desk in hopes it'll be useful for us to take the pulse of what's going on in nonviolence around the world. This is [Peace News](#), which is a British magazine – newsletter. And it will show you that there is a lot, a lot of resistance to every level, every aspect of militarization/globalization from above slash, slash, slash and burn – that whole thing. Going on probably more actively in the UK than it is in the US right now. I'm not sure about the rest of Europe. But this will give you a sense of what's going on over there in that newspaper.

And there is one other resource I wanted to share with you, and that is that “The Progressive”, the magazine, has an [interview with Gene Sharp](#). I almost said godfather, but grandfather of peace research.

Cowardice, Courage, and Gray Areas Between Violence and Nonviolence

Okay, now still on the resource category, I mailed you all by CourseWeb a longish article by [Marisa Handler](#) who is a very good San Francisco-based writer and singer. And she had spent a lot of time with the Sarayaku in Colombia. I think it was Colombia. Venezuela, Colombia – somewhere around there. And I wanted you to look at that in some detail as an example of the ad hoc resistance movements that are springing up all over the world as the globalization machine gets in the face of Indigenous people. And you find varying degrees of nonviolence being practiced there.

And in this particular case, there was an interesting example for us to look at. It's very much – very much in the gray area where these soldiers came to impose their program. It was mostly about oil exploration. They were going to set off explosives in the jungle to test what's going on in the ground and those other things. [There's plenty of room around here].

And they were confronted by women from the village with spears, who took these men into custody and took their guns away. And then gave them a long speech and gave them their guns back. By which time they were converted enough to where they didn't use those guns. So, it's a sort of tempting situation, but of course, it's using wrong means. Even though you don't intend to carry through with them, you're not actually planning to spear these guys. I assume they weren't planning to do that.

But they were definitely using threat power in order to contain the threat that they were posing so that they could move on to persuasive means. So, I mean, you read something like us, and you want to say, “Yes, that's the way to do it.” But it is dicey. For one thing, as Marisa points out, the soldiers were very much outnumbered by these women with spears. If they were not, then you'd have a different situation.

So, again, I leave you with this very uncomfortable dot dot dot. Don't know quite what to say about this, but I warned you in the beginning, this is PACS164B. There will be a lot of gray areas and a lot of dot dot dots because we're dealing with the real world now. Yeah?

Student: Do you think it's better to do something like this [unintelligible].

Gray Areas of Coercion and Persuasion

Michael: On the whole, I would say, yeah, it's better to do a gray area action than to do nothing at all. It will be very, very rare that what the situation will call for is passivity and doing nothing. And, you know, at best, you'll end up losing the initiative and that's always bad for nonviolent actors.

So, I guess what we're talking about here is someone – people who did a gray area thing. That's interesting, [Arby]. I'm going to mention an example that's very close to doing nothing at all that worked out rather well, actually - when I finish this sentence. But knowing me, I might never finish this sentence. It just goes on and on – all these parentheses.

I guess what we would say about these villagers is that whatever they did and whatever kind of weapons they displayed, they did it with the right intention. Their intention was to block the aggression and then use the space thus created to do persuasion.

So, we have to give them a lot of credit for that. If your intentions are good, even if you're packing an 11-foot spear or whatever it was they had, that's going to account for a lot. That your intentions were good. You were not actually relying on the weaponry. But after all is said and done, you know, arguing out of both sides of our mouth here – after all is said and done, that's the language that the soldiers understood.

It's a lot like the stone-throwing in the Israeli-Palestine situation. It can't actually do a whole lot of damage, though there has been one person who lost his eye in the course of all these years. Most of the time it cannot do a lot of damage, but it's a form of defiance, and that's any day better than passivity.

Okay, I actually finished the sentence. Hold on to your question.

Christian Non-Resistance Explained and Defended

The example I was going to use is a very old one. It comes from the 18th century, and it's in this wonderful book called, "[Christian Non-Resistance Explained and Defended](#)," by Adin Ballou, which was one of the early old classics on nonviolence.

And he tells a story in there about the Sandwich Islanders, who were regarded by the French as their colony. The French imposed a liquor tax. The islanders refused to pay the tax, pointing out – and it is rather logical – that they weren't drinking any French liquor, so why should they pay a tax on it? But that wasn't logical enough for the colonial mentality. And a gunboat of French marines comes to the island. The people turn to their king and said, "What shall we do?"

And he said, "Physical resistance would be ridiculous. We have nothing but sticks and stones, and they have these modern sophisticated flintlock rifles," that could fire a round every two minutes – and bayonets and all the rest of it. "So, let's not try to fight them. Let's not get in their way at all. Let's pretend that they're tourists." And so, that's what they did.

You know, the marines landed and said, “[French] You know, watch your step. This is the French Marines.” And they said, “Hello, how are you?” And there was a fort on the island. I don't know who had built that fort. The Marines said, “We are going to attack this fort.” The islanders said, “[French] Whatever you want to do.”

So, they felt good because they attacked the fort and burned it and came away doing the Greylag goose dance. You know, “We triumphed. We triumphed.” So, their ego was gratified. They never did anything to the islanders. They hurt nobody. They collected no taxes. And it was considered, in the early days, a very good example of nonviolent resistance. It was pretty close to doing nothing.

But normally, it's much better, as Gandhi would say, “If you really have a choice between violence and cowardice, go for violence.” You can grow. You can convert, evolve from violence into nonviolence. You cannot get to nonviolence from cowardice. Yeah. Okay.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Cowardice vs Courage

Michael: Yeah, that's right. You weren't here in 164A. If you are a coward, and you know who you are. All cowards raise their hands, please. If you are a coward in a given situation or in a given relationship, you will not be able to exhibit nonviolence in that relationship. And actually, there are some startling examples where you would be better off fighting back with whatever you got because you can get from there to the renunciation of weapons, but you can't get to the renunciation of weapons from the non-possession of weapons. If you don't have anything to fight back with, you've got nothing to give up.

So, the anecdotal example that I used last semester was someone wrote to Gandhi and said, “A bully slapped me in the face.” It probably was the same bully that you used to see in these comic books that were always attacking people on the beach and taking away their girlfriend. And this was an advertisement for Charles Atlas Bodybuilding course, which I was sorely tempted as a scrawny teenager to sign up for but could not afford it.

Anyway, where was I? “A bully slapped me. I felt humiliated. What should I have done? I did nothing.” And Gandhi wrote back and said, “You should have slapped him right back. But” he added, “why did you feel humiliated?” You know, it was his problem. He's the idiot who goes around slapping scrawny teenagers, or whoever it was. “Why should you feel humiliated?”

But once you've gotten yourself into the subordinate position, you really have to get out of that before you can do yourself or anybody any good. Yeah, Mike?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Three Gunas - Dignity and Humiliation

Michael: So, we have three positions here. Feel humiliated but do nothing about it. That is *tamas* on the [Three Gunas](#) scale, *tamas* – inertia. *Rajas*- restless activity. *Sattva* – balanced, harmonized energy. Something like that. Talk about covering a lot of ground in a set of parenthesis.

So, the lowest possible situation is to feel humiliated and not do again. Better to feel humiliated and act however you can in that situation with your resources very limited, act however you can to restore your dignity as a means of offering dignity to another person. *Alay dangal*.

And the best thing would be not to have felt humiliated in the first place. Then you could come back in some appropriate way and say, “Are you having some kind of problem? Was my cheek in the way of your hand?” Or something like that. Yeah. So, what was your earlier question? Or was that it?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: That’s right. So, it was in that sense, a nonviolent response because it was like the Rosenstrasse Prison Demonstration. The people – the women who came and got in the face of the Gestapo, did not have overpowering weaponry. They just used the weaponry – they had nothing.

But this is, as I say, this is like the stone-throwing in the Palestinian situation because you’re using something to demonstrate your resistance and your unwillingness to accept the subjugation that’s being imposed on you. You’re not doing this in order to harm. Not really. Shannon?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Yes. I mean, that would be very different, that you say, “Okay, hand in your weapons and line up against the wall. Now we’ve got your AK-47s or whatever it is.” That was very different.

Threat Power of Violence vs Threat Power of Nonviolence

But if you’re using – this is getting more and more interesting, the more we think about it. You’re using threat power to disarm threat power.

So, there’s this very slender area in which you can actually do what Ronald Reagan and Reaganites say is the only thing that you can do to get to peace, which is peace through strength. Peace through strength. You use your threat power to disarm the opposition. As soon as you’ve got them disarmed, you say, “Let’s talk.” And they’re impressed by your courage and by your compassion that you’re not attacking them when you have a position of advantage. And so, you’ve created a platform where you can carry on the conversation by normal conversational means.

So, this is the kind of thing which I normally say does not exist. And I still say, as a generalization, that’ll work. But there are these really slender areas where you can use threat power of a kind to disarm threat power by people who are committed to it because they see no alternative. And then talk to them about an alternative.

So, first Joe, and then Matt.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Yeah. Which is why I say that it’s a gray area within a gray area. That show is – I’ve had a lot of trouble with it. I’ve become very unpopular with Trekkies which is a very

uncomfortable situation to be in. But yeah, it takes – you see how long it’s taken us to get to this question from a position where we could discuss it intelligently. And I thought this was a very intelligent discussion up to now, incidentally.

So, to think that you can start with those situations right away with people who know nothing – which is to say, ordinary human beings living in an industrial civilization and absolutely clueless about nonviolence – it won’t work because they think it’s the only way.

I think I’ve shared with you that I came up with this slogan during the Reagan era, “Strength through peace,” which I thought was really terrific and stood a lie on its head and made it turn out being the truth. And what was it? I wrote an op-ed called, “Strength through Peace.” The op-ed was accepted by some fairly considerable newspaper. You know, the Lee Hawken Gazette Daily or something like that. And so, I eagerly rushed to the stands to see myself in print, there was the title, “Peace through Strength.”

Do you see what I’m saying? If you do something a little bit abnormal, people will turn it into, what is for them, normal. So, to use this argument early on in the conversation, that we can use threat power to get people into a situation of conversion, is dangerous. I guess, thinking about it now, one of the few places that I would say that it has to be applied is in criminal justice.

You know, you have people running around committing crimes. You do not – the peace officers do not approach them with their little wallet-sized nonviolent communication card in their hand and say, “Are you having some kind of a problem? What are your real needs here?” No, you have to slam them up against the police car, handcuff them, their hands behind their back. All that stuff. Get them into a situation where you can then apply rehabilitation. And you can restore their dignity, their sense of self-respect in that situation. That would be a case, where I think, you would have to because of the lateness of the stage of the conflict and because of the danger to other people for whom you are responsible. If you’re a peace officer, that’s your job, is to apply threat power to bring about a situation where you can have conversation.

Unfortunately, what we do is once we’ve applied the threat power, we just say, “We’re on a roll. Let’s keep these guys in little cages now.” Hang on one second, Shannon. Matt?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: It’s embarrassing, as far as Nagler’s Law is concerned. It kind of puts Nagler’s Law on the shelf. Let’s see if by using clever rhetorical maneuvers, we can rescue some kind of a reconciliation here. Mike?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Matter of Intention and Principles

Michael: Yeah, I think we’ve already said that you can’t take what these women did and institutionalize it. You can’t plan to use it in other situations. What we’re only talking about is given their situation, what they did worked. And here’s the clever rhetorical argument that I had up my sleeve.

Again, we go back to the question of intention. It wasn’t so much threat power. This is maybe what you’re saying, Mike. It wasn’t all that threatening. Though as Marissa points out, the soldiers were outnumbered and that was part of it, it wasn’t all that threatening to be surrounded

by women with spears. I hope that doesn't come across as a sexist remark, but pre-Amazonian consciousness here.

So, really it was more a display of a refusal to be subjugated than it was a threat. So, in that sense we would say – and really, this is getting so cagey that I'm not sure if I really want to argue this in public. But we're just here in this small, privileged environment with people watching all over the world. I'm getting emails from Somalia and Isfahan and places.

But just [unintelligible 00:21:11] if you stick with intention, stay on that level, it isn't even really a violation of Nagler's Law because it's not really violence. It's a demonstration of a refusal to be subjugated. Very tricky. Don't plan on it. Don't make strategic manuals based on this. It's too subtle a point. You cannot use it in the early stages of your conversation with your relatives or your roommates or people that you meet in the library.

Shannon? Oh, excuse me, one second, Shannon. By the way, if you have friends who want to watch the Webcast or are in any other way, intelligent, hip, and sophisticated alert people, you can now go directly onto MettaCenter.org and the last semester and this semester are just clickable right there. Okay, Shannon?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Okay, hang on a minute. I like this very much. That what you're doing is using threat power for disarmament, not for reciprocation. Unfortunately, as we know in the real world, 999 times out of a thousand, your threat power is interpreted as reciprocation, and it has exactly the opposite effect. So, we're talking about a rare situation, possibly because it's women, because their weapons are so outclassed, they're demonstrating – in a way, they're demonstrating their vulnerability.

You know, it's like that thing we saw from the Philippines. This is the most that we've got. It's ridiculous, but it's what we've got, and we're going to use it until you guys come around. Has everybody got this by the way? This is going to be – okay, we'll get back to that. Okay. I hope this has gone out over the airwaves. Yeah.

GRIT - Graduated Reciprocal Initiatives in Tension

John Lindsay-Poland's talk got almost this complicated. I was impressed.

During the Cold War, there was a program that was put forward. It was called GRIT, which is a very good acronym. It appealed to just the right people, the kind of people who go around beating up scrawny teenagers on the beach. And what it stood for was Graduated Reciprocal Initiatives in Tension reduction. And the way it worked was, okay, you have these two moronic superpowers pumped up on testosterone squared off against one another, laying waste to the entire global economy. What should they do?

Well, one option was to disarm. I remember being at a talk with Helen Caldicott, the famous Australian doctor who started Physicians for Social Responsibility. And she said, "What do you think the Russians would do if we disarmed?" The audience was stunned for a while, and somebody raised his hand and said, "I think they'd be impressed."

So, we weren't calling for that with GRIT, but you make one step in the direction. Like we're going to disarm all of our faulty multiple re-entry hydrogen bombs. Okay, we're just going to do it

on our own hook. And you wait for them to reciprocate. And then say, “Okay, we’re going to scuttle two of our submarines.” Although, that seems to be happening automatically now anyway.

And then you do another one, which is a little bit bigger. And they do another one. And you do exactly what Shannon was talking about. You build trust by building down your threat power. So, this is like the ideal way to go about it. You know it’s the ideal because nobody did it. Anything intelligent was not to be adopted in that era. Pardon my cynicism.

But if you can’t do it this way because you’re not an answering superpower with the same level of strength, you do what you can do.

So, I think we’re getting somewhere with this. Let’s see, who else was it? Matt, did you have something else? You went already. Oh, that’s right, Ashley.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: I don’t think of women as symbols. I’m teasing. I know what you mean.

Physical Vulnerability and Spiritual Strength

But what they were embodying was physical vulnerability and spiritual strength. I think that’s kind of a perfect combination. That’s why Gandhi said when the new age dawns, and we’ve got nonviolence all over the place, women will be playing a more prominent role. Right. Okay. Mike, Arby, and Marissa.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: I’m really weak on Sarayaku weaponry. And I couldn’t tell you. But I think I remember in Marisa’s article that they showed up with these things upright. So, that’s very different. We’ve got these things. Okay, we have a certain vulnerability, but we have a certain pride. And we’re asking you to respect both. In a way, that was a tension reducing mechanism. It’s not like they threw a volley of spears over the hill and then came out and say, “Now let’s talk.” Arby?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Of course. So, to stop you before you get to your second thing, what is going to make the difference? Okay, let’s say you got into a position where you disarmed your opposition, and it’s going to break one of two different ways. Either you’re going to take advantage and roll over them. Or you’re going to say, “Okay, now you have lost your arms, and we’ve laid ours down. So, let’s talk like human beings.” What’s going to make the difference? Intention, yeah. Purity of intention and the power to hold onto your intention because don’t forget, once you see those soldiers without their weapons, the temptation dot dot dot. Marissa?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Oh, I’m sorry, Arby, you had another thing.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Well, if you have to. If that's really the only choice you've got. You have no way to implement nonviolence in a given situation. Your only choice is between violence and cowardice.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: What is it that would perpetuate the cycle?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Dehumanization and Fear vs Dignity

Michael: I think, Arby, if you confuse the non-use of weapons with fear, will be starting off on the wrong foot, if I understand what you're saying. If you want to get gang members who are relying on numbers and weaponry and stealth for their courage and dignity. If you want to get them to another place, you have to relocate their sense of dignity. You have to give them dignity through another means. And so, there's this wonderful case of an American-born Zen Buddhist in San Diego, who is in a Thai lineage. And what he does is he goes around to these Thai and Khmer and Cambodian gang members and starts talking to them about Buddhism and ends up giving them ordination as priests.

And they go back into their 'hood' with these robes. And they get a huge lot of respect for that. And this is what we've been learning from people like Harold Gilligan, a psychiatrist, and from Marshall Rosenberg and Johan Galtung. All these people have hit upon this from different angles. People who are threatening you, bullying you, what they're basically after – though, they won't be able to articulate it, most of the time – what they're basically after is some dignity, which is a totally renewable self-growing resource. It's not a scarce resource.

So, what you want to do is – here we come back to alay dangal over and over again, is to offer them some dignity so that they can renounce the artificial dignity they were trying to achieve intimidating you. So, you're saying on the one hand you can't intimidate me. All I've got is this silly spear, and I'm going to stand here and fight to the death if I need to. But on the other hand, I'm not going to intimidate you. Okay, Joe?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Oh, that's right, yeah.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Maintaining Identity and Freedom of Choice

Well, I can't summarize everything that you said for the camera, but the most important part is, I think, those two principles. And those are actually – now I've been boiling down and boiling down nonviolence to a set of very simple principles that you can put on a wallet-sized card and carry into the final exam. But these would be two of them. Human identity, who you think you are. And having alternatives. Having another way to fulfill real needs because we've talked about this in the economic context, but we're now talking about it in the context of conflict, that there really is no conflict among real needs. All conflict is a result of perception and misperception.

So, I'm very impressed that this person could say to these gang members that this line that you've drawn is artificial. It would be like saying, "The American flag is just a piece of cloth designed by Betsy Ross and modified over the years." You know, saying that to certain people. So, if you can – it's always the same thing. If you can break the bubble of unreality and ground people back in reality, you're on your way to resolving the conflict. Always. Yes, Marissa?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Yes. It's all about trust. So, you're saying – now – yeah, if they had kept the guns, it would have been completely discordant. It would be an entirely different story. Yeah. When they gave them back, they were saying, "We don't want these things." And they were saying, "We don't fear you. We can give these back to you now." Actually, it was kind of brilliant, the whole thing. Yeah. Shannon and then Alex?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Right. Right. Yeah.

Like this marvelous verse in the Bhagavad Gita that I've always liked so much, where Krishna says to Arjuna – this is God speaking to the human soul, "Okay, I've laid out the whole thing for you. This is the result of both these choices." Now, [unintelligible 00:36:37], you choose." So, this is the ultimate dignifying act that you can do to another human being is to give them a choice. That's why coercion and the idea of rape popped into my mind. The worst thing about it is denying the other person the choice to use their capacity for affection. Alex?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: What Marisa said in her article – now, of course, as we know the end is yet to come, and she's only there for a period of time, is that the women – now I'm going to use Shannon's vocabulary here. The women disarmed the men. But even at that, you know, they gave them a choice. They could have – I don't know the military terminology here, but you circle the wagons. You know, they could have all regrouped and started shooting. It disarmed them. Brought them to the village. Had a long conversation with them.

Victimization, Exploitation, and Disarming with Dignity

And then a very poignant thing comes up which we've seen in the Judi Bari movie, which I wanted to get back to. We have a lot of loose ends back there. We have to have a whole third course here.

And we've seen it in the Bringing Down a Dictator, where they say to the policemen, "You're as much a victim as we are." They brought the soldiers – oh, terrific example. Really glad I had that cookie. I'm really hyped.

Gandhi's famous talk in 1931 to the Lancashire Mill workers. Remember, he had put these people out of work. They were angry at him. And the minute he heard they were angry at him, he did what I seem to be unwilling to do in such situations. He said, "Let me go and talk to them." So, he went unarmed into their midst. You know, this guy is about 5'3". Doesn't even have any teeth.

And he says, “Look. Let me explain the situation to you. You’ve been exploited as badly as we have. Don’t even dream of re-establishing the exploitative situation that existed before.” And he said, “I’m sorry that you have 10,000 people unemployed. I have 100 million who are unemployed.”

So, one of the most poignant things that the villagers did was say to the soldiers, “You don’t want to be doing this to us.” And some of those soldiers were immediately affected. And I think I remember correctly, it’s kind of a way that I would remember something, whether it was there or now, but I think I remember they were crying. And say, “You know, people who are conscripted throughout Central/South America, throughout Latin America, people who are conscripted are not [los ricos], right? It’s the people who have nothing, just like the people who are conscripted in North America.

The people who are living in the neighborhoods where they have no choice, they have no hope. So, it’s foolish not to go to them and appeal to the fact that, look, you and I are both on the same side. We’re both being exploited. You’re being tricked into victimizing me. And they’re hoping that we will suffer this victimization to take place.

And as Patel says – no, it was one of the Ali brothers in the Gandhi movie. He says, “We will do neither.” I’ve always thought I should have been given a role in that movie. Since I wasn’t, I make up for it in this class.

I have, incidentally, another interesting example that we can consider which I think uses the same principles in a slightly different format. And this is in Nigeria where the oil companies are going in and doing very much what Pemex did in Tabasco, extracting the oil, not even giving the local people jobs. And again, it’s the women who have gone in. And they’ve been kind of forceful. They have surrounded the oilmen. You know, they have grounded helicopters. They have brought pumping stations to a halt.

But they do it without weapons. In fact, a lot of the time they do it by disrobing because that has a certain significance and emotional impact in that culture which you would not have here. I’m not suggesting that you go to the recruiting station and try this. It will be read in an entirely different way in our culture. But it’s actually a way of shaming and embarrassing those people.

So, again, it’s using a kind of non-physically injurious force to disarm a threat and then proceed to the stage of negotiation. Ashley?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Yes. Was that in Los Angeles?

Student: No, in Northern California.

Michael: Oh, so it’s Redding?

Student: Yeah. [Unintelligible]

Michael: I’m glad you’re bringing this up. We touched on this, but it’s good to remind ourselves because we can lose sight of this. What we are talking about is an emergency situation. They didn’t know the soldiers were coming. They caught wind of it. They rushed out just in time to

confront them. So, backing down from a conflict is Step Number 1. It gives you the space to proceed.

And what we have seen, unfortunately, oh, I bet if we had the way to really do numbers on this scientifically, and we stacked it up, I bet we would see that this is happening 90% of the time. People defuse a conflict, and they say, “Whew, that’s fixed.” They go home. They back into the same structural violence that they left. Another example where we’ve seen this recently is in the [Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam](#) experiment in Israel, started by a Carthusian priest, Bruno Hussar. Where they had a high school, and now it’s a grade school and a high school. Where every year they have half Palestinian kids and half Israeli kids.

And at the end of four years together, those kids are very, very close. There’s even this heartwarming episode where the end of the experience, there was a flood in a Palestinian village. And in that village there was a boy who had been in the school, in Wahat al-Salam. And he got phone calls and even visits from all the Israeli kids in the school. Not any of the Palestinian kids who were along with him. So, okay.

But what we’ve discovered after 20 years of doing this is it goes up to that point and positions you to solve the problem. It doesn’t solve the problem, by itself. I remember driving across the bridge here to San Francisco because I had been invited to be on a radio interview along with a person who had the rank of captain in the US Army, and he was part of what was then called, “The ROTC.” Now called, “Military affairs.” And so, we’re sitting in this car, and he’s teasing me saying, you know, “We get by on so little money and look at you people.” I was trying not to either weep or lash out or whatever.

And then, you know, we started talking about deterrence, and he said a very interesting thing. From the standpoint of a military person, he said, “Deterrence is not a policy. We gave you deterrence so that you could come up with a policy.” And now, for 25 years you’ve had deterrence, and we still don’t have a policy. So, we’re stuck with this. And it will be similar on our side. If we have a way of disarming and backing down from a conflict, but we then don’t ask ourselves what caused this conflict to come into existence, let’s use the strength we’ve just discovered to roll on one more step. You know, we’re just going to have to repeat it and repeat it.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: I suppose that would be another way of saying the same thing. Yeah, it’s all OP and no CP. And you know, you can’t blame these people. They’ve had no exposure to it. It doesn’t feel right. They have no faith in it. Okay.

I mean just so you know, I’m not complaining, but I just want you to know. These were my notes for today, and we’re up here. We haven’t gotten very far. So, let’s see. Let’s move on. But you know, I don’t mean to rush things. If you have questions, we can come back to this. I felt that was very rich.

Globalization, Resources, and Wealth Distribution

So, before we had John Lyndsay-Poland’s presentation on FOR, I had this – took the bit in my mouth on Tuesday and ranted on and on about globalization from above and from below and how nonviolence figures into it, in particular. And you guys didn’t have a chance to even make a

peep. So, I'd like to say one more thing about that situation to kind of get us back into it a little bit. And then see if you have any questions and then move on.

What I want to move onto, incidentally, is John's talk and then the readings, and then want to take a look at some of the nonviolent resistance movements within industrial societies, which is in the belly of the beast, so to speak. And then, though I doubt we will get to it today, I want to start talking about the largest social movement going on in the world today, which is called –

Student: [Unintelligible 00:48:09]

Michael: Si. Say that again.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Yeah. Movimiento dos Trabalhadores Sem Terra It's actually, Movimiento

dos Trabalhadores Sem Terra MST. Okay. I'm going to need you while we roll into this. Okay, so the one thing I wanted to say about John's talk about Colombia. And incidentally, there is other things going on in Colombia also that I want to talk about very briefly if we get around to it. But I remember having an eye-opening experience. Many years ago, when we were starting Peace and Conflict Studies – it was so early that we didn't even have classrooms on campus in those days. We were renting, or borrowing, shoring space from other buildings on the other side of Bancroft Avenue. And I was always saying, "Someday we're going to pick up a rod and walk across Bancroft Avenue and the traffic will part, and then it will come back together and overwhelm the Egyptians, and we will be in the promised land."

So, those are very emotional times. Especially around this time of year. And I had invited a colleague of mine in from Nutritional Sciences, interestingly enough. We were having talks. Our best talks came from engineers, nutritional scientists, and military people. Certain other social sciences which I won't mention by name were a complete washout. We got nothing out of them. They had learned the wrong models, whereas these people that were very useful hadn't learned anything, so they could have a lot.

So, this particular talk that I found so eye-opening was about the exploitation of agricultural products in history. And I had automatically assumed that the biggest problems would have been around the most important crops. So, we're talking wheat, and maybe since I was a vegetarian, that was what I was mainly talking about. You know, wheat and grains and rice, you know, very important to keep you – these basic subsistence needs.

And from Angela's point-of-view, she said in the history of exploitation of this kind of product, it had had almost nothing to do with those products. It had been about sugar, coffee, tea, and now of course, cocaine and heroin. Not about needs, but about wants. So, you can see the brilliance of Gandhi's basic, basic fundamental – think of some more synonyms – ultimate principle for restoring a sustainable economy was to get away from an economy of wants onto an economy of needs. And there would be a lot less exploitation.

However, I'm beginning to wonder whether that situation is now changing. While you still have – and of course, let me remind us all now that we're celebrating the end of slavery, that the entire slave trade was based on sugar. That's why you have Afro-Colombians in Colombia and so forth.

So, but I'm wondering if maybe the global economic situation is shifting now. And I'm wondering how that would influence us who are trying to come at this nonviolently. And that is the biggest struggle right now is about oil. And everybody is saying – and I'm sure they're correct, that in a very reasonably short period of time, like maybe 20 years, it'll be about water. It will be about basic, basic, basic. This is something that we ought to be thinking about.

So, with that little introduction, was there anything that you can recall or anything you've been thinking about, about the globalization talks that you'd like us to get back to before we roll on? I realize this was a while ago. And it's much harder to talk about globalization than it is to talk about what the Sarayaku women did on that one afternoon, is much more specific. So, don't be too disappointed if you don't have anything.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: What could be done? Wow. I was hoping that's what would come out of this semester at the very end. I think partly what you're saying is completely correct, that globalization is an acute, intense mixture of opportunities and dangers. And the problem with it now is that the people who are most positioned to exploit it were the exploitive people. They had the institutions and the money and the power and the ideology and the culture all stacked up on their side.

And so, you have the trickle-down theory. And the trickle-up reality. And that's a deadly combination because everybody is saying, "We'll have wealth accumulate in the hands of the most capable people, and it'll trickle down to the least capable." And for some funny reason, that doesn't happen because something called human nature gets in the way.

So, I think we can start to sketch an answer, and you even started yourself when you talked about fair trade. And another thing we haven't mentioned yet here is green business. Where is Nick? Yeah. Green business. There are people who run very large corporations in an extremely fair way. So, think of [Anita Roddick] for example. I think most of these people will turn out to be women for some funny reason.

But a friend of mine was at a meeting of high-level managers and Anita Roddick gave a brilliant speech about what her business, [The Body Shop](#), does to try to redistribute wealth and be fair to everyone. And some very irate businessmen got up and said, "Your main responsibility is to your stockholders. You should be maximizing profits." And what she said I would not repeat in mixed company. In fact, I wouldn't even repeat it in a smoke-filled barroom with nothing but scrawny teenagers all over the place.

So, within the business establishment there are people whose intention – if we come back to that again – is not to maximize profits and accumulate power and centralize things, but to distribute resources. The problem is – one second Ashley – I think the problem is that although the structure has no intention, the structure is more tempting, I guess. It's more susceptible to exploiters than it is to – what shall we call ourselves? Progressives?

Student: Lovers.

Michael: Lovers. There you go. Who said the summer of love is over? It's more – they gravitate towards it naturally, and they know exactly how to use it. Whereas for us, we tend to feel more comfortable in less-centralized units. So, what is to be done? I don't know. But I think maybe both. Continue to develop less centralized units. Go to the World Social Forum. Every year, it's

gotten to be kind of rusty, but we'll put it back together and continue on. And, you know, be just people and have neighborhoods and build it up from there.

But at the same time, I personally have no objection if someone wants to do – to use corporate structures and mechanisms in a fair way. Even in a mostly fair way. Ashley?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Some of them are. And I have a friend who was very well off. He was the biggest peace funder, to my knowledge, in the world. I hung out with him quite a bit. Got absolutely nowhere. He started something called, "[Businessmen for Social Responsibility](#)." But he confided in me one time. It was one of those many talks when he told me he wasn't going to give me any money, that what we are is cheap hawks. You know, instead of spending billions and billions for weapons, we want to spend somewhat fewer billions for weapons. That's the further they had gotten at that point.

So, even in Starbucks itself, you have both good and bad. I suppose the coffee is not that great, actually, between you and me. [Unintelligible]. [German] It's just a matter of taste. But A, okay, they do fair trade. They do green bakeries. That is "green bakery." The products are turning green. You understand? Also, they're very – it's all very uniform. And they take over smaller businesses that had a kind of humane character to them.

I remember – I never shall forget visiting Noam Chomsky at MIT. Is everybody impressed? And we decided to go down the hall and get a cup of coffee. And we're walking down the hall, and he tells me this sad story. We come around the corner and there's an alcove and there's these two coffee machines where you put in two dimes or whatever it was in those days, and you get this paper cup of tepid coffee. It was terrible.

And he said, "You know, there used to be these two ladies who had a little coffee concession here. And they would hear me coming down the hallway. They would hear my steps. They would say, "Oh, here comes Professor Chomsky." And they would make me exactly the right coffee that I like and have it ready for me when I got there."

But the university calculated that it was too much money to pay the salaries of these two people. So, instead, they fired them. They brought in these machines. Guess what? The maintenance cost of these machines is 140% what it cost to pay those two ladies in that concession.

So, it's a system that has to be played, if at all, very carefully. And you have to be very strong in yourself. You have to be Anita Roddick who can get up there and say unprincipled things to these high-power businessmen when they try and pull you off your course.

But that's why I mentioned [Mondragon](#) last time because this is something which is capitalistic in a sense, but it is a humane implementation of capitalism. And as I said, I said it then, and I'll say it again, though I would not have dared say it in the '70s, I'm not opposed to capitalism, per se. A friend of mine said, "I'm not opposed to using foreign expressions, per se."

Student: [Unintelligible]

Gray Areas of Intention and Motivation

Michael: Oh, okay. This is a really good question. And I think it has to receive a PACS164B sophisticated deep into the gray area, real-world answer. And that is to say that in most of us, intentions are mixed. So, when we say that the Sarayaku women had good intentions, we're saying that their good intentions dominated at that point. I mean, I can tell you something about Starbucks because a member of my family worked for them. Up to a certain point, they have very good employment practices. And if you went to any city in the world, there's bound to be a Starbucks every 50 yards, right? You could always apply for a job. At the same time, this person made one slight mistake, and she's blackballed forever. Can never be hired by another Starbucks. Yeah.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Yeah. And that took a lot of greenwashing because if you remember Nestle was the most hated corporation by lovers in the world because they were literally taking mother's milk away from babies and enslaving populations with this formula. That was like the beginning of what we see now in the terminator seeds being done by Monsanto.

So, I don't – I mean I would be – don't get me wrong. You haven't gotten me at all yet, so you don't – I would be perfectly okay with it if there were no corporations at all in about 40 years, let's say. Not a single one. If you could totally reorganize the world on the basis of affinity groups, ashrams, things like that, I would be perfectly happy.

But I can also visualize a world in which – and this will be the next and final topic in our course, you can change the culture to the point where enough good intention predominates in enough people, so they could use the corporate machinery for good purposes. I live about half an hour's drive from the first green dairy west of the Rockies. It was started by a family of holocaust survivors, Strauss Dairy. Completely organic milk. No hormones, no nothing. If the cow gets sick, they won't even treat it with hormonal remedies. They have a fleet of electric cars. And yeah, they make very good ice cream. It can be done.

But we're not talking about a mega corporation. You know, we're talking basically about an extended family business. So, it gets, for some funny reason, it gets hard. The bigger you get, the harder it is to keep your good intentions in play. Don't know what that reason is. Zoe?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Good. Let's hear it for Strauss's yogurt.

Yeah, I hang out with them every Saturday in the local bakery because I feel it's my contribution to the green environment, you know? Yeah, very good products. Matt?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Yeah. That is similar to what Mathias is saying, that you do have to do some fairly careful investigation of where products have come from and what firms our doing. And as you say, Matt, it's not possible for one person to do all of that research. In our community, at our ashram, there's one person who got very interested in doing this and has tried to go through and line out products that we shouldn't buy because there was something exploitive either in the manufacturing or the delivery or the profit chain or what have you.

And what she soon began to realize that we'd be running around wearing grass clothing and eating roots and apples, you know? That there's a certain amount of harm involved in all of them. And so, ultimately, you have to draw the line and say, "They are certain – I'll draw the line here." And it becomes an end matter.

If I could sum up a lot of what we were saying, I think it would be this, that when we are confronted with an exploitative institution, take action but remember that it is the exploitation and not the institution that's the real problem.

And if we only disestablish the institution, the same people will just roll over and do it again in a different way. If you've seen that wonderful series of Dr. Zhivago – I think it's Dr. Zhivago that I'm thinking of, there's somebody who is very close to the czar and serves him very faithfully. And you're worried about him when the revolution comes. You think he's going to be shot. But you find out that he's an important bureaucrat. He's an apparatchik in the revolution.

And he simply says, "No matter who you are, you need bureaucrats." You always need to use bureaucrats. So, I'm just saying that, again, it's not a different kind of people in power. It's a different kind of power in people. And I'm not saying don't try to disestablish institutions, but don't think that by doing that, you've solved the problem because as long as you have the same culture, people will just rebuild it.

So, we have to do both. And it requires a lot of canny intelligence in how to proceed. If it's all right, with you, I'd like to use the next eight minutes to talk about a few things that John brought up in his talk. Four things, actually. Yeah, Sashi?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Drive of Exploitation

Michael: I guess, Sashi, that's a very good question and I guess what I'm saying is that in reality, exploitation is a drive. It's an emotion. It's a human drive. And an institution cannot be the source of that drive. It can only be the mechanism through which it is delivered. And the example – I think you missed a class when I was talking about this. But in running over some of the features of globalization from the point-of-view of nonviolence, I talked about this very poignant remark made by a woman who was very active in the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa.

And I remember in those days people were saying that if South Africa could get over apartheid, the entire continent would be fixed. And that did not quite happen. But one of the things that she said was, "We rose up to seize the state, only to discover that the state did not exist." Because the institution that was delivering their exploitation was the South African apartheid regime.

So, they hated it. All their intention went on changing that regime. The South African constitution guarantees – well, very simply, food, clothing, and shelter to every single South African. And none of that has been delivered. Why? Because of the [Bretton Woods](#) institutions that are supranational, that have more power than the government and demanded that they make certain structural readjustments. That once again, it's more trickle-up where wealth is siphoned up to the people who are already wealthy.

So, I'm not saying – first of all, I'm not saying that every situation is the same. There's some where you might want to be mostly against the institution and only partly against the motivation.

And some where it would be the other way around. But generally, speaking, our tendency is to get fascinated by the institution and not to see that these are human beings like us. Their negative drives are operating through these mechanisms.

Okay, yes, we do have to disrupt that process. But unless we do it in a way that helps them recultivate their intentions, it's not going to solve the problem in any permanent way. We've seen that over and over again. Okay, the hell with my eight minutes. Go ahead, [Palo].

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Yeah, but I think – I mean, mind you, I never patronize that particular chain. And we have fought very hard to keep it out of our town nearby us. But I think it would still nonetheless be possible. I mean my – call it a faith position, if you will, that in every person there is both good and bad. And if you can get them to step back, contact what's good in them. I mean, here's an example I just used in a preface to a book that I was asked to write. In the tsunami in 2004, US Marines were called in to do flood relief work and distribute food.

And this marine in Sri Lanka was interviewed at the end of a day – very long, hard day. Very dangerous work. He said, "I have been serving my country for 30 years. And I never got any fulfillment out of it until today." So, I even argue that you wouldn't have to disestablish the military. Just disarm it. Contact those people in the military who are like this particular marine, in whom the consciousness of service was always really there and use it for different things.

I mean, there used to be a US Army brigade. I don't know what they did with it. It was called, "The First Earth Battalion." And these people were all about protecting the earth. Jordan, did you have a question?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Responsibility and Alternate Institutions

Michael: Well, you said a lot, Jordan. And the main thing that I'll pull out, I think, is about the responsibility piece. And it's like the choice thing that we were talking about before with the Sarayaku women. That part – the thing that made corporations so bad was the decision in the 19th century which wasn't – like most decisions, most of the most important decisions were never discussed. They just happened. Funny thing about our very talkative civilization here.

But this decision, that corporations have rights. Because you take responsibilities away from people and give rights to corporate collectives, you've made such a huge mistake that it's not recoverable. And this is at the very heart of the damage that's been done by the corporate system. So, I think we would have to go that far – and I hope we will in the years to come.

Building down that system and reorganizing it, while I would not insist that there be no corporations, they somehow have to be corporations acting as corporations. Not corporations pretending to have consciousness as people because it's people who are giving away their consciousness to those corporations.

So, Joe, you're going to have to come up and tell me your comment after class. So, I'm going to try to show you a clip from an MST film. And it's part of an interview from a Gandhian who visited Metta a while ago. Repeat Jordan's announcement that next wonder in La Pena, in the

evening, there will be an actual presentation by someone from MST. Okay, this was a great conversation. I enjoyed it very much. Hope you did also.

[PACS 164B Lecture 23](#)

Michael: Whoa. We're running late and I'm starting late. And half of you aren't here. But we have a lot of announcements to get through today. I think what I'll do is I'll pile stuff up here on the corner and draw your attention to the fact that we've got these talks coming up. And we have these very beautiful postcards for the Metta Center Open House that's taking place in two weeks. Yeah, come on up, Jordan.

I have about three or four paper – a paper prospectus. Actually, five or six, which I'll also leave here. So, if you haven't gotten yours back yet, come up and get it at the end of the class. And to remind you, those papers are due the last class meeting, which I think is the 7th of May. Something like that. So, there was some confusion. Some people thought that they were due on the final exam. And unfortunately, that's not true.

One announcement I'd like to make to everybody – Sashi, do you mind if I tell people what you're writing on? I can do that? I didn't give him much of a choice, did I? This is very heartwarming for me because Sashi comes here from Togo, which is a country that has had a long-running dictatorship. One of the most longest and least pleasant dictatorships in Africa. And when he left Africa to come here, he thought that the only way to dislodge it was through armed struggle.

And now guess what? He's beginning to think that this stuff might make some sense. So, saying this might be the most important paper that you ever write and the most important one that we ever get in this class. And I have a resource for you. Next door to you, country of Benin, they're having some interesting experiments with democracy. And you have a long border with Benin. There's two long thin countries. It might be easy to move some of that stuff over.

So, this is in the [New Internationalist](#), which is a journal that I recommend anyway. If I could get back when you're finished.

Sarayaku Situation Review

Okay. Let's see. First of all, I really liked our conversation on Tuesday. And I'd like to just take a minute and see if there's any follow up. Anybody done anymore thinking about the situation with the Sarayaku?

That was a situation with a kind of momentary or situational resistance people hadn't prepared for. And as somebody pointed out – I remember it was roughly in this part of the room, but I don't remember who it was. Somebody pointed out there wasn't much continuity after the successful resistance. They brought the soldiers in. They talked to them. They changed their minds around. Gave them back their weapons and sent them back out. But by and large, there's not much that is structurally different.

So, by the time I'm finished today, I'm going to talk about and show you some material about a movement in a similar part of the world, working on a similar issue that constructed itself a little bit differently. But it's been going on for more than 20 years. And that's the MST. But before we get there – and the part I'm not going to be able to cover, I'm afraid, is going through the readings that were in the Reader. I had a few things I wanted to point out about that, and maybe we'll get back to it next week.

So, any follow up from Tuesday's discussion? Any issues that we touched upon that you've been thinking about? Okay. A dramatic introduction for your question. That will be your theme song. If not, let me – and of course, you know, you can come back on later if it occurs to you.

Comments on John Lindsay-Poland's Lecture

I wanted to respond to a few things that John Lindsay-Poland brought up in his talk about FOR presence in Colombia. First of all, I wanted to emphasize something that he almost wasn't going to mention except somebody asked him, which is, "How many people constitute the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the Latin American task force presence in Colombia? And the astounding fact, as you remember, that it's five people.

And I feel, in a way, really good about this because this gives us a way to measure, if you will, the power of nonviolence. If you remember from PACS164A, I was fond of quoting that remark made by the last viceroy of India who said that, "When a city erupts in rioting, I have two choices. I can send a brigade of 10,000 heavily armed troops. Or one little brown man who doesn't even have any teeth. And they both have exactly the same effect." From his point-of-view, that is quelling violence. So, do the math. One NV equals 10,000 V. V equals one over – I don't know. You'll have to take it from there.

Similarly, and we've done several of these comparative examples before. We stacked up the Indian Freedom Struggle against the Algerian one. All of which is starting to remind me that I also had some other announcements to mention. One of them was about two resources that I'm going to send you by CourseWeb very soon. Soon as I get back to my office, in fact. One of them is a documentary film called – no, sorry. Neither of them is a documentary film. Cross that out. It's a study called, "Does Terrorism Work?" Two people who have stacked up a whole series of armed versus unarmed resistance movements which are comparable from one way or another.

And who wants to take a quick guess at what the answer is? No. Very good Katherine. Yeah. This is what they would call in Greece, "ὄχι day." It's our no day. No, terrorism does not work compared to unarmed resistance. The other is a very interesting carryover from the – you remember when we studied the Otpor uprising in Belgrade, I said this was unique from a couple of points of view. One, this is the first time the United States government has supported a nonviolent anything. In this case, a nonviolent insurrection. So, that's an eye-opener.

Maybe even more importantly, there's a direct flow through of educational process in this movement. And that has been rare up until recently, and this could make a tremendous difference. This could be a qualitative quantum leap forward for nonviolence in the world where people found themselves in a struggle, didn't know exactly what to do. They went and found out. What a concept. You can go get some material translated and learn how to do it. Once they learned how to do it, they figured they could package that. Actually, they didn't do that themselves. The International Center for Nonviolent Conflict in Washington, D.C., packaged this.

CANVAS

There's a group called CANVAS.

And I found out from the second article I wanted to tell you about, that CANVAS has a website, which is [Canvasopedia](#). And that's appropriate because -pedia is actually from a Greek word,

“Paideia” meaning education. So, that’s appropriate for us. What they’ve done is first they packaged what they had learned there and started to take it to all the color revolutions in different parts of Europe. But now they’re taking it all over the world. And it’s recently been applied in Papua New Guinea, where there’s a long-term struggle going on against Indonesian and against U.S. interference of various kinds.

I can’t imagine where that little yellow thing went with my other announcements, but I remember one announcement I wanted to make was that I might have to miss Tuesday’s class. In which case, I’ll get it covered. But the point is, that there’s going to be probably during that period, a showing, a premiere of a new [documentary](#) on Abdul Ghaffar Khan. And you know how the people of Los Angeles feel about film premieres. So, I’m probably going to have to wear a tuxedo and be driven up in a sedan – a limo and other things, you know. The lights.

And if that’s true, I will get it filmed and bring it back here, and we’ll spend the day watching it. But seriously, if I do have to go down there, I’ll let you know by CourseWeb, and I’ll arrange for something else to happen. Okay.

So, the second piece of reading I’m going to send you is rather long, I’m afraid, but it’s a detailed report of training that’s been carried out by an organization called, “Peace Workers.” I’m actually, for better or for worse, I’m the chairman of their board. And we’re having a meeting this afternoon. But they have been encouraging and systematically training the Papuan people to carry out the resistance, discovering that they had to resist.

They had to carry out horizontal nonviolence before they could carry out vertical nonviolence. Which is roughly what we mean by constructive program versus obstructive program. They had to get their own act together before they could have an effective presence. Okay?

So, I can’t at the moment remember why I was talking about that in this context.

Effectiveness of Nonviolence

I started to talk about things that I wanted to cite from John Lindsay-Poland’s talk. And one of them was that you had this – oh yeah, I remember the connection now. You can put together these examples to show how incredibly more effective it is in terms of personnel, money, and injury, risk factors, to do things by nonviolence than it is to do the same thing through violence. And I suppose by now we’re pretty use to that idea, but it’s really good to have some of these cases at our fingertips because most of the world still is not like us. After this webcast, of course, everything will be different.

And did I mention last week that – or Tuesday – that the Webcast can now be gotten to directly through the Metta Center? Okay. Okay, so yeah, five people making such a tremendous difference in Colombia.

Bearing Witness and Creating Space

At one point, in Guatemala, where you had one of the more dramatic results of nonviolent intervention because it led to establishing a space where opposition groups could function. And that, in turn, led to a peace process.

We’re not saying that the peace process is still in effect and that Guatemala is a happy country right now, but at least it was given the chance by Peace Brigades International. I think that most

PBI ever had was probably six or eight people. And at one point, I know for a fact, it was down to one guy who was able to do that.

Another thing that John mentioned struck me very forcibly because he said that he had gone to some of the people in this peace camp. I think it was San José de Apartadó, which is the best known one. And they said, “We want you to come here, not to protect us.” They said, “We’re going down, and we don’t want to go down alone. We want somebody there to witness this.” That struck me because when I met John Lindsay-Poland was at a meeting in the early days of Third-Party Nonviolent Intervention. We did not have – Nonviolent Peaceforce was not even a gleam in Mel Duncan and David Hartsough’s eyes at that point.

We had a meeting in Santa Cruz. One of the people there was Mubarak Awad who was a Palestinian who started the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence. And we asked him, “Do you want us to come?” We knew he was doing some very intense stuff. People were getting killed. “Do you want us to come and be with you?” And he said, “Yes. We want you there. Don’t tell us what to do. Just come.” He said, “We definitely want you there. We are not afraid to die. But we do not want to die alone.”

So, this struck me on the emotional level. Sometimes you kind of stumble into the power of protective accompaniment and other dimension of Third-Party Nonviolent Intervention. You go there just to be a moral witness for somebody. Just to sort of hold their hand, if you will – metaphorically. And you discover that your presence has a protective power. That’s exactly how PBI got started in Nicaragua. They went down there to document the results of what was being called in those days, “Low intensity conflict.” It’s one of the nice euphemisms for killing people slowly enough that it wouldn’t get up over the radar. Big deal.

And they went down there to document that. And they stayed in a village like Jalapa, which is almost on the border with Honduras. The contra were coming over all the time. Then when they got back to their comfortable homes in Marin, sitting around drinking their lattes, they realized that while they were in the village nobody had been killed. And they came to the realization that they had to turn around and back there.

Not for the purpose of documenting, which is sort of a formal way of saying, “Witnessing.” But for the purpose of protecting with their presence. And I’ve written about that in “Search for a Nonviolent Future”. So, we’re at such an early stage with the awareness of nonviolence that people are stumbling upon it through serendipity. And we could accelerate things a lot by making more education available, which is what a lot of us in this class are already doing.

Great Chain of Nonviolence

Then he also touched on a topic that’s useful for us to be aware of. You go to these remote villages. Remember, he’s talking about bouncing and bouncing on this jeep going into the mountains for hours. You come to this village. The people in that village have zero opportunity to influence policy, even in Bogotá, not to mention the United States.

One of the things that third-party interveners can be is a chain or a big chain – sorry, a link in the chain of nonviolence. We’ve mentioned this phrase before, “The great chain of nonviolence.” Often, people on the ground who have no representation at the policy level can concatenate their way up there through a series of connections. So, remember when we talked about Hildegard Goss-Mayr having that function, among others, in the Philippines?

So, that's a very important thing that you can be by being down there, is you can carry the message up to the policy level. I've seen a film. I don't propose to show it to us. One of the early films that PBI made shows PBI workers going into a village and talking to the army personnel, to introduce themselves. Say here's who we are. Here's why we're here. But in the course of doing that, they immediately give the villagers and the others who are under threat, connections to the wider world.

Okay. Then the one remaining thing. I think I'm forgetting one. So, if I leap up and shut off the video and say, "Sorry guys." I'll bring it up to you.

Protective Accompaniment

But there's one other – this is really sort of the main thing. You may remember that at one point, John said, "Michael isn't going to like this." You might have wondered what that was about, you know, one of these deep bitter conflicts in the peace movement. No, it's not like that.

What he was referring to is he was about to give you an explanation of how protective accompaniment works. And whenever I hear PBI people – and originally, I knew him when he was in PBI. When I hear PBI doing this, I say, "Yes, but" and I add another dimension. So, they've come to think that I don't actually like their explanation. It's not like that at all. Hey, I mean, my sister was married to one of their explanations.

No, it's perfectly reasonable to treat people as – and I'm going to use the social science term for this – self-interest maximizers. You can treat people as though they were rational. No advertiser is fool enough to do anything like that. And no politician really is fool enough to do anything like that because they know that we have this very narrow surface of rationality and self-interest calculation. Underneath that, we have much deeper motives which are both better and worse, you know?

We have deeply selfish, vicious drives going on down there. That's why we all have to meditate and stuff. But we also have, and science is just beginning to discover this. We have these incredible selfless impulses that nobody knows how to tap into. Nobody knows how to sell us bubble gum on the basis of these things. So, they don't get advertised.

But the example that's come back to my mind recently, and I've been thinking about, is after the tsunami that hit Southeast Asia in 2004, there was a marine who was in there doing relief work. It was dangerous. He was seeing a lot of horrible stuff. And he was interviewed at the end of the day. Literally, at the end of a very hard day of rescuing people and handing out food and stuff.

And they asked him how he felt about what he was doing. He said, "I have been serving my country," that's how you refer to military practice. I'm not going to quarrel with that part. "I have been serving my country for 30 years, and I had never got a day's fulfillment out of it until today."

So, John says that – I'm partly plugging in details from other conversations I've had with him. The hit squad comes into a town, a village, they've been told to get somebody. They knock on the door. They're ready to break in. The door opens. Uh-oh, there's a gringo standing there. Or a gringa. And the jefe didn't tell them that this was going to happen. They don't know what to do. They don't have orders for that. So, they go back.

So, that's sort of just on the rational level, you see? Now, the jefe who's sending out these hit squads, they come to know that what's happening is being observed. Like for example, even in Colombia where it doesn't seem like there's any limit to the damage. Oh, that reminds me. Aha, I got it back. Thanks, guys.

Okay, we'll get there in a second. If I forget, just go like this because it has to do with the number 20. Okay. The people who are sending out these hit squads, they are comfortable operating in darkness, undercover. They just have their people drive up on a motorcycle, two people. One of them jumps off, bang, bang, bang, back on the motorcycle, you disappear. That's all fine.

But if somebody knows who you are and what you're doing, if this is witnessed, then you can really lose standing as a country that is eligible for human rights on the basis of its human rights record for international funding. So, it is U.S. law that we can not fund organizations like the paramilitaries in Colombia. That's not legal to do according to U.S. law, should anybody care to look at the legality of this.

So, we fund the government and the army. And it takes about five minutes for the money to get over to the paramilitaries. But even that constitutes a kind of deterrence. That if everybody knew that this was happening, the government might lose funding. I started in my chapter in "Search for a Nonviolent Future" with this episode about Karen Ridd, how she was picked up along with four others. And it turned out that El Salvador had trade agreements with Canada. Karen Ridd is a Canadian. Canadian government gets on the phone and says, "You have one of our people. Give her back, or we have no trade agreement anymore."

So, all of this is true, and it is happening, and I don't deny not. And it's not true that "Michael doesn't like it." It's just that Michael isn't satisfied with it. Michael is a hard person to satisfy. Michael wants to say that even in these – try not to use a four-letter-word. Even these people who have been so dehumanized that they can jump off the back of a motor scooter and shoot you ten times and drive away without thinking about it, even in such a person there is a conscience. If there were not, we would not be really in business in this course.

So, I'm saying that while all of this rational calculation is going on, under the surface there's also a human response that's going on. And the dynamic of that is very simple. If you have a target, if a person has become a target in your mind, you're going to do something to that person, there's another person there. Suddenly, it's not just a duality anymore. This introduces a disturbing element. And if that third person is there risking their life to protect the person that you had been about to kill, it awakens your humane awareness that that was a fellow human being.

No, I am willing to go this far with the self-interest maximizers of the world. This doesn't always "work." You are not always in a position to reach people enough to waken them up, so they won't pull the trigger. But it will always do work, right? It will always affect things and change it for the better. So, all I'm saying is, why don't we acknowledge both of these levels of human motivation and build on them?

Mike, did you want to ask something before I get to my remaining point? Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Well, sometimes, for example, when this – probably the most notorious massacre that took place at Acteal in Chiapas, people – John actually also mentioned a case where the paramilitaries were attacking somebody. And there was an Army helicopter circling overhead. Now, if you come out – you observe that helicopter, you write down the number, and you simply call it in on your cellphone to headquarters in Bogotá. They release it to the press or what-have-you. So, it goes.

It's not that there's a lot of accountability where they catch the people who have actually done the murders. If you make the mistake of victimizing a North American person, like those five nuns in El Salvador, then you might get in trouble. Yeah. Zoe? Okay. Okay, so now my one remaining thing. This is so satisfying. Can't tell you.

State sanctions vs Community Subsidies

I heard a talk – and so did John Lindsay-Poland, actually. We were at the same event with the late lamented Senator Paul Wellstone who had spent some time in Colombia. Had a lot of interesting stories to tell. One of the things he told us was that they had done a study of how much money it would take to persuade a Colombian peasant not to grow coca. And it turned out that if you gave a peasant dollars not to grow cocoa, it cost 1/20th of what it cost to eradicate the coca after he or she had grown it.

So, we could be getting 20 times more non-bang for the buck and not be doing those horrible things to the ecosystem that John was talking about. Which is futile anyway because as he was saying, they just move over to another field and plant it. And there's horrible cases of what these chemicals have done to plants, animals, and people.

And even the economy of it doesn't make sense. We could be 20 times more effective if we would go in and just give the peasants a subsidy. But of course, you never, never do that. Never give an Indigenous person a break. That's the name of the game. Palo?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: You can get that – yeah, you know, the fact is that Senator Wellstone is no longer with us. I don't know how we could track that down. But I do think that John Lindsay-Poland might know it because those two went on and had a deep conversation after that. Yeah. So, you could ask him. He has an FOR office in Oakland.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Well, I don't think that if you gave them the money they wouldn't grow coca, but they wouldn't grow it as an export cash monocrop. That's what we're saying. Right now, they're depending on it to get above subsistence. That's all. Matt?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Okay. Well, I guess there would be two things that I would want to say about this situation in Colombia. As Matt is pointing out, the government is for one reason or another, usually both, is incapacitated. It's not able to stop, step in and intercept the drug trade and everything goes on from there. I think for the first time I'm beginning to notice that voices are being raised much more publicly in Colombia, in Mexico, saying, "You cannot fix the problem

here. You've got to get Americans to stop wanting cocaine." Which to me, means you have to give them a purpose for living, which is a place we will never go.

The two things we will never – three things you will never, never do. Never give an Indigenous person any money. Never report on a nonviolent episode. And never ask what is the purpose of life. Absolutely foundation pillars of our culture-dot-com.

But that's where it would have to be stopped. And then you wouldn't need the government. Demand side economics. As for extradition and punishment, this again, as we were saying in connection with restorative justice, it's not the most effective way of going about stopping any behavior. A former chair of Peace and Conflict Studies who had also been the Supreme Court Justice of California – it was in our great, glorious days of PACS – had come up with a scheme in terms of international law. Said, "Okay, you can have your law court in the Hague. Everybody likes to go to The Hague. It's a very pretty place. Let's have it there. But if you really want to be effective, what you should do is economic sanctions.

So, you don't get into the business of Nuremberg ambiguities where you're accusing people of doing things that you yourself have been doing and all the rest of it. Don't make it an abstract justice issue. Just say, "If you wage war on a country, you're going to have to pay such heavy reparations that it will not have been worth it for you." And that will be more effective in ending the behavior than trying to capture and criminalize the people afterwards.

So, again, I'm not saying that the International Court of Law doesn't have a function. And, you know, I wish [unintelligible 00:31:21] were there instead of hanging out somewhere in a villa in the hills of Montenegro or wherever he's hiding. But – where is he? South America by now. Oh, by. We'll never get him back. I'm not saying that there isn't a certain amount of deterrent effect though justice operations. But it's not nearly as effective as going further down the causal chain. Zoe?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: I'm not actually an expert in this subject. I think it's either from or coming through Colombia. I think so.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: I think so. Yeah. And we haven't even started to talk yet about certain government agencies that are actually importing the stuff.

When we go to the [Ella Baker Center](#), they'll tell you all about that, but I don't even want to go there. Although, I just did. Okay. So, should we – do you want to move on?

Movement of Landless Workers

Want to talk now about the [Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem Terra, MST](#), [Movement of Landless Workers](#). They were actually given their name, sem terras, by someone who was opposed to them, a military commander in a particular region. The background is this – that when this thing started, you all are very aware that Brazil is one hell of a big country. It's got this extremely long river going through it. And it's culturally, I think, almost as mixed as Colombia. Probably as mixed. You have African population and mixed African. And of course, you have these Indigenous people who are still living way in the upper reaches of the Amazon.

Okay, when this thing got started, 60% of the farmland in Brazil was idle, okay? 25 million people had no land. These were the sem terras. 5% of the people owned 90% of the wealth. Some of the farms, the term in Portuguese is [lata-fonio]. Is that how you pronounce it? [Lata-fundjio]. It's from the Latin [Lata-fundium]. I can't tell you anything about contemporary world but get you back there. There were some landholdings in Brazil in the early '80s, the period that we're starting with, which were larger than Belgium. Yeah. One person would have a farm.

I mean, you think it's bad in Texas, you know, the old joke about, "Y'all come down and see my spread sometime. But my spread is so big if I get in my truck." I'll stop the accent here. Drive around all day, it takes me all day to drive around my ranch. The other person says, "Yeah, my truck is like that too."

But if you think we have quite equal land-holding problems in this country, just imagine a country of 25 million people on the edge of destitution living in these favelas, which have been considered probably the lowest grade of human habitations on the planet. I remember a colleague of mine, Professor Sternberg from the geography department, going down to – back home. He was from Brazil, going down there one time with an entomologist who was studying ants. Ants. And the guy came back, and he said, "You know, the ants spend more time on their housing than the people do. And they're doing better with it."

I also have some nice stories to tell you about favelas, but we're running out of time here. So, here you have on the one hand, 25 million people on the edge of destitution, they have to access to wealth, really, of any kind because it's such an agricultural economy. And on the other hand, 5% of the people owning all this land, 60% of which is idle. So, there was a stipulation, a statement in the Brazilian constitution which states that if you are not working your land for a certain period of time and someone else comes in and starts to make productive use of that land, they can apply to the government for title.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: The period – okay. If it's been idle for ten years? Okay.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: So, you have this set up in the constitution, and it makes perfectly good sense. And it's like, you know, we were just talking about the sorrows of government, Matt, you know, you can make it into a law, but that doesn't mean that people are going to carry it out. And of course, nobody had dared really try this.

But this is a movement which got started almost within the Catholic Church just as the Mondragon movement did in the Basque region. Start with one priest, Father Arizmendi. Here also, there's some people who started talking to the peasants and they got this idea which is, you know, this is not rocket science. Okay, we need land. They don't have any. They have land, they don't need it. Duh. Dot dot dot. Let's just go and occupy it and plant on it and see what happens. So, this happened in Rio Grande do Sul, at an encampment that was called, "[Portuguese]."

I'm going to have to leave the Portuguese to you, Palo. Okay. We got a deal. Encruzilhada I know, it means the crossroads, right? So, it's like our famous crossroads in the Philippines, in Manila. EDSA. And they occupied the land and it seemed to work pretty well. I'm just going

quickly so that officially in 1984 landless rural workers, that was sort of their name, had a meeting in a town called Cascavel, in the state of Paraná, which I believe is in the south. Good.

And the following year, the MST officially organized itself at the national level, which is a huge undertaking. And they had a meeting called, “The First National Congress of the Landless.”

MST - Operation, Resistance, and Building Parallel Institutions

In a little while, we're going to see some images of how these people actually operated. You'll see them having meetings. You'll see them going into a territory and occupying it. But this is basically how the resistance, if you want to call it that, works. Do note, this is perfectly legal. The resistance is not going to come directly from the government. It's going to come from – are we okay? That's not what I'm thinking, is it? No.

Incidentally, I read a very interesting study on earthquakes. And it said, forget everything that you were told in school. Don't get under a desk. Because when the ceiling lands on the desk, you will be flatso. But will happen is next – when it lands, you know, like this, and it'll go like that. And it will create what's called, “The Triangle of Life.” This is for real. I feel it's my responsibility to tell you this. So, if it is an earthquake and we can't get out of the building time, get down next to your chair, okay? Or next to your desk. Okay, never say you did not learn anything in PACS164B. Okay.

So, here's the basic situation. It is legal. You are applying the law. And of course, the resistance is going to come, as it does all over South America, from landowners and people whom they hire. You see this very, very clearly in Venezuela and many other places as well. And in a way, that's worse than being against the state because the state, you know, you can change the laws. You can hold them accountable. These people are operating in the dark. They cannot be held accountable. That's why you create a paramilitary, because the military is too visible.

And as these people began to occupy land and they began to realize that this could become a movement of social significance that would go way beyond just getting a livelihood for some destitute people. They began to understand, for one thing, that winning the land, even when you did succeed at doing this -and I'm going to give you some of the statistics later. Very soon, actually. Even when you succeeded at doing this, it wasn't enough. Because you'd get the people living there on the land, but they also needed credit. Because you needed to buy tools. You needed to buy seeds and so forth. You needed housing, technical assistance, schools, and healthcare. All of these things. None of which would be supplied by the state. So, you're going to start building these things yourself. And what are we going to call this? Parallel institutions. Excellent. Yeah. It's a very important subset of constructive program.

So, what we're seeing is that this lack is being turned to advantage, being turned to a great advantage. Because while you're going and building a school, what are you going to teach there? What kind of school is this? You're not going to say, “Well, let's teach people enough calculus so that they can go to Rio and set up shop as neoliberal economists. That's not what you're going to do in these little schools. You know, it reminds me of this famous thing that Peter Kropotkin, the old anarchist, used to say, “Decide what kind of a world you want to live. Decide what kind of skills you need to build that world. Get your teachers to teach you that.” Which, I assume, is why all of you are here.

So, what's happening is – the long and the short of it is, that they're creating the whole culture, the whole new paradigm culture with a new kind of decision-making, which at this point in time

is extremely slow and clumsy. I can tell you that because I've been trying to get them to translate my book and do some nonviolence training for a long time and they say, "We're thinking about it, but we're working on it by consensus." This has been going on for years. So, sorry, that's just my personal little grievance with this whole business. You don't have to worry about that.

But this is an incredible opportunity. It's like WWII wiped the infrastructure of the Japanese and German industry, as a result of which, they have the strongest economies in the world because you get to start over again. In an even deeper way, here are people who are building the kind of world that we want to have with democratic decision-making, relevant but not superficial, not employment-oriented education. And they're building communities of a kind – I mean, this is amazing.

Gandhi had communities in place. All he had to do was bring them back to life. Bring them back online. But here were people who were just living randomly in encampments or in slums, in favelas. And you had them actually starting a community. So, you can imagine on the one hand how difficult, but on the other hand, how exhilarating this is. And they discovered in the course of time, in other words, what they were going against is not just one landholder here or one [latifundio] here, but they were going against the whole neoliberal model.

They had – they are doing things to eliminate fields of GMOs, genetically modified organisms. They carry out marches and hunger strikes and other political actions. In April of 1997 marked a year after 19 workers had been massacred in the state of Pará. And I am – I guess I should tell you right away that at least 1000 people have been killed in the course of this movement by police, paramilitaries, shadowy henchmen, whatever.

So, they had this March in April of '97 which brought people to this for the first time. What it did was it collected people from all over Brazil. We're still talking mostly about southern Brazil, where this has been most active.

There it goes again. I think we've decided that's not an earthquake, right? It's just a bad pulley on some lever or something? I don't know. If anybody goes under the desk, I'm going to be the second one down there. Given the state of the equipment in this building, I think it's much more likely that it's a faulty fan belt than an earthquake.

So, this, for the first time, people participated in a concerted mass movement that involved landless workers from all over the country. It's only taken about 10 years to get to that point. Today, this is about one year ago, this report that I'm reading. Today, the MST is active in 23 out of 27 states in Brazil. It involves more than 1.5 million people. Involved in the sense that these people are members of the MST.

About 350,000 families have been settled on their own land through this program. So, this makes it probably the largest social movement of anything resembling its kind, as far as I know, anywhere in the world. Certainly, in Brazil. 350,000 families are settled, awaiting – have already gotten land title from the government. And another 80,000 families as of this time were living in encampments awaiting government's recognition. This is a process that obviously can go on for a couple of years.

But see, this is really a contrast to the Sarayaku struggle that we were talking about on Tuesday. This is huge. This really is bidding fair to rebuild – well, it's doing what we always say that we have to do in this great struggle of ours, which is to create a new world in the shell of the

old. Haven't you heard that expression? You've got to build a new culture, a new economy in the shell of the older economy. We go against the older economy where we absolutely have to, but basically, we ignore them and do our own thing when we can. The hope being that it'll kind of be like a snake sloughing its old skin, and we'll have a new world, and everybody will be happy. There will be no more earthquakes and so on and so forth.

So, if you look at the numbers, it's really pretty impressive. There are 400 associations in areas of production, commercialization – that means taking food crops and selling them – and various services, 49 agricultural and cattle-raising cooperatives. This is exactly what Gandhi was trying to do in India. And now that I think of it, that might be the only really comparable example that we've had of widespread, from the ground roots up, rebuilding of a society and a culture in the shell of an older system.

They generate employment, income, and revenue that indirectly benefit about 700 small towns in Brazil's interior. Now, the education thing is huge. 160,000 children are now enrolled in classes from the 1- to the 4- grade in 1800 public schools and MST settlements. All being done totally under the official radar. The teachers are trained, certified, set out entirely without government assistance, unquote.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: 1800 schools. 1800 schools. 3900 educators. Mostly paid by the towns nearby, who have developed a pedagogue specifically suited for the rural MST schools. Very decentralized, which is super. I'm just really loving this. On the other hand, UNESCO has come into the picture, and they've gotten involved. And there is involvement in more than 50 universities in Brazil. In fact, I have an instructor from one of those universities is taking the meditation class. Do you know Renalto?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Yeah, they have studied the MST in the university. And it's a mutually beneficial situation where they're able to give technical assistance to the MST people, and they're also able to study this movement which is springing up spontaneously. And the MST has developed a literacy program for approximately 19,000 adults and teenagers in the settlements. So, I want to give you a sense of, you know, the scale of the thing that we are dealing with.

Another dimension. MST families tend to be conscious of the need to preserve the natural environment and human health. Seems to go along with living on the land and using it for food production, you develop a certain respect for it as opposed to going through, monocropping, sweeping everything off into trucks, and selling it at Andronico's up in Berkeley.

So, in September of 1999 they started a project called, "[Bionatur Seeds](#)." And they produce seeds without pesticides, herbicides, or other chemicals. Big deal. They have taken action to preserve forests in certain areas. And to produce herbal medicines. Here we are in the Public Health Building. You are probably aware that this field of eco-pharmacologists – that's not what they call it. There's some technical name for it now. I'm usually good at technical names. A technical name for Indigenous medicinal properties. I forget what it's called. Ethnobotany. Thank you. Yeah. I should have thought you would have been the guy to do that. Yeah.

Ethnobotanists – and if there are any of you here in the room, you know who you are. Ethnobotanists have calculated that we have discovered maybe 1% of the curative properties of

species of plants in the Panamanian, Ecuadorian, Brazilian jungles. So, they're working on that also.

Still, another dimension. The MST has eventually come to recognize that even though they are a big movement in Brazil, Brazil is not the world. And there are similar movements going on all over the world. They have expressed solidarity with all oppressed people living in poverty. And they have an organization called, "[Via Campesina](#)," you know, the rural way. Via V-I-A. And this group went – get this. Now, this is really neat. They spent three weeks with Yasser Arafat in his mountain redoubt, in – I guess that was Bethlehem, where he was surrounded during the month of April, I think, of 2000.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: That's right.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: From the language, I might think it started in Mexico.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Yeah, I had actually said that slightly wrong. It wasn't the MST that started the Via Campesina, but they have participated in, for example, this delegation to Yasser Arafat. Yeah. It's very big. And qualitatively it's different because – I guess we've said this a time or two, but it's a very big fact we ought to keep in mind that the big drawback for most Indigenous people has been their isolation. And that has limited their effectiveness. And this is the first time in world history where they're beginning to come in contact with one another. And that could become an unstoppable force.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Yeah. And it was hitting rock bottom, except for people in this kind of self-conscious attempt to recreate it. And you have people like that famous writer who's also a farmer – Wendell Barry. Wendell Barry has this farm in Tennessee where he – you know, he's a world-class poet and novelist and critique. But he and his wife still work a farm where his great-grandfather lived. So, we have people doing this, going back and reinvesting these ways, which probably is the only way that it's going to be made to work.

This is all extremely encouraging and very sort of new and interesting. In Brazil, the landless MST families had activities to show their solidarity with the Palestinian community called for an end to Israeli attacks and was able to send 100 soccer balls produced by MST members to Palestinian children. I hope they were signed by some of those really, really good Santos players before they got over there.

In addition to Via Campesina MST is part of CLOC which translates to the Latin American [Coordination of Rural Workers Organizations](#) which started in 1992. It is fighting for agrarian reform, of course, for a free sovereign and egalitarian Brazil. Haven't even mentioned that yet. And for a continent, this is another thing we haven't mentioned yet, a continent free from the fair-trade agreements of the Americas. So, very much in solidarity with our Costa Rican [unintelligible] who came here a while ago.

I want to tell you about one – well, maybe two episodes, and then we'll see some images of this. This is May 1st of – gosh, I'm going to have to check, but I think we're talking about 1999. No. No, no, no. Much more recent. This is after Lula was in power. There was a 10-year or much – no, longer. 15 or 20-year military dictatorship in Brazil. It was one of the worst.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: I was born, but not in Brazil. So, between the two of us, we're a complete washout. But sometime in the early '80s. And when that was over, that was when the MST really got started because they thought now that we've got somebody to talk to. And of course, when Lula da Silva was elected, it looked like things were really going to be sweet. There were a lot of people who think the way Matt does, that governments are going to solve the problem. I'm only teasing you, Matt. I know you don't think that.

May 1st, I think 2005, 13,000 landless workers set off on a 200-kilometer march to the federal capitol Brasília, to demand that Lula implement his own rather limited agrarian reform plan. All they wanted him to do was to carry out what he got elected to do and said he would do, rather than a disastrous project on servicing the national debt for the benefit of the WTO and Bretton Woods institutions.

When they got there to Brasília, they decided to go to the U.S. embassy and the Brazilian Finance Ministry instead of "targeting," the government and Lula. But they sent a delegation of 50 who went and had a warm 3-hour meeting with him. At one point in this meeting, he did something which was to set off a media storm. He put on an MST cap. This shocked everybody, either for better or for worse. To see the president of Brazil wearing a Landless Worker cap.

He agreed to – he committed himself to settling 430,000 families by the end of 2006. 430,000. But unfortunately, while this very cordial meeting was going on with 50 people, the peaceful demonstrators were set upon by mounted police, charged into them, swinging batons. And at the end of the melee, 50 people were wounded. That includes both sides.

Okay, so I'm – yeah, Arby?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Yes, this is what I was hoping that you would pick up on. Exactly. Yeah. This is the point. So, because – I'm not sure how long this segment will take that we're about to start. Thank you very much, John. There's one point that I want you to get out of it, which I better just tell you because this might go by quickly.

MST - Constructive Program

What we have here is probably the most developed constructive program operation in the world in terms of any nonviolent movement.

We've talked about all the areas that it's reached into and how it all grew up organically. They discovered they needed this to take care of the land. They discovered that their problems were much deeper than just one landowner, but it goes right to the heart of neoliberal economies. So, it grew up naturally. You just could not ask for a better constructive program. This was doing perfectly.

But in terms of knowing how to deal with conflict through nonviolence – John?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: We won't start there. So, if we don't get there, I will tell you about it next time. Okay.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Where are we going to start from? Okay, let's start from the beginning and then do some fast forwarding and something. Okay. We'll discuss this a little bit more next week. I hope and expect I'll see you on Tuesday. If not, I'll be letting you know.

[PACS164B Lecture 24](#)

Michael: I did not feel secure when I went into Darnell Hall this morning and there were two bomb-sniffing dogs outside. But I did show them this new DVD that I got in my box, which was [Nonviolence Includes Animals](#). So, it's this, incidentally. It's from PETA, one of the organizations that we discussed as having a somewhat ambiguous approach to things. And it is here if somebody wants to borrow it. I haven't had a chance to listen to it yet – see it.

Let's see, today, if nobody is in my office around 12:45-12:50, I'll probably leave because I have to go to San Diego this afternoon. Part of a whirlwind tour that's going on. So, if you need to see me in my office hour today, and you wouldn't make it by then, give me a call so I'll hang around and wait for you. Okay.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Sorry? Oh, you know, that also might happen, and I'll have to go to that. No, we haven't heard about it that yet. We're getting a wonderful turnout for the Metta open house. Including a friend is coming all the way from Germany. So, those of you who have sent out emails, who did the invitation for us – they worked. We have a few more copies here if you'd like to put them around or frame them or donate them to the Museum of Modern Art or something like that. And how many of you are thinking of coming? Okay, very good.

And tomorrow I want to be sure that you know about the event at La Pena which is going to be a presentation by someone from the MST, the movement that we were talking about. And that's the last thing that we are saying. You, of course, will be there, Amy. You actually –

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Does someone remember? I forgot to pick up the poster. Is that 7PM? Does anyone remember that? Well, anyway, it's at La Pena and you can call them and find out – yeah, I don't have it here.

Also, there is an organization called, "[The Friends of MST](#)." Most very large local peace organizations like Sarvodaya in Sri Lanka, which is very, very large, and which is one of the few that I consider to be very well balanced between constructive program and obstructive program. They have Friends of Sarvodaya based down in Southern California. And here's a phone number for the Friends of MST. 831 – in case you want to go further, or you're writing a paper on it or something. Ask for Juan. Juan Reardon.

Actually... Reardon@yahoo. That stands for Yahoo.com. If you want to find out more information of the MST.

So, the last thing we said about it – let me see if I can go there quite yet. Yeah, I think so. I got to get back to two quick announcements.

MST - Analysis of the Landless Workers Movement

But the last thing we said about the MST was that I had shown you that clip so that you could see that they don't really have their act together when they are attacked. And they have been attacked a lot. Last I read, a number on this, about 1000 sem Terra landless workers have been killed. When David Hartsough, you remember, who was here talking to us a while ago, when he was at the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre he was taken out to visit some MST camps and he saw people living by the side of the highway who had never gotten into a camp, much less gotten a title to it.

And those people are particularly susceptible to being attacked, even though they're not doing anything very obstreperous yet. And so, they didn't know what to do. They throw sticks back. The police are calling them cowards. They run around. So, I would give the MST an A, possibly an A+. I have to think about that. Somewhere between an A and an A+ for constructive program. And somewhere in the low D range for knowing how to deal with actual conflict when it happens. The obstructive part of the program. Obstructive or the conflict management part of it.

This is not to say that certain events haven't occurred where nonviolent principles haven't kicked in. In one famous case, the police came to arrest some men who were in a camp. And the women just got in their way. I know a case very much like this that actually happened in Northern Mexico recently. But the women just stood there and said, "If you're going to arrest the men, you have to arrest us first." And macho though they may be, they – or perhaps because they are so macho, they felt that arresting women was not their thing. And they were defeated by that.

So, it's not that they haven't had some sort of visual visceral experience that nonviolent interactions can happen, but nobody has sat them down and said, "Do you know what that was? It's called la no-violencia. Here's how it works. Here's how you can enhance it and institutionalize it. And because of – okay, we had this – we talked about this in a positive light, the fact that the movement has developed entirely new grassroots democratic structures of consensus building and so forth.

The negative part of that is you can't go in and say, "I have something I want to share with you," and you get their attention. So, we've been trying and trying. David Hartsough has tried. We have somebody who lives down there who offered to translate my books. I've sent them emails. We have people who come here. But it's hard. It's like a big spongy kind of thing where you can't get one message to them. At times, I can see why President Bush said, "It would be a lot easier if this place were a dictatorship." Just remember during the gas crisis in the '70s, the first one, the warning sign which went ignored. So, they immediately cut their gas consumption by, you know, 30%. And similarly, overnight they stopped smoking. Why? Because you had Stalin says, "Net. No smoking." The whole country has to stop.

So, I'm not in favor of this kind of system and calling it nonviolent. But the flip side of that is when you have a very non-centralized system, it's hard to get even good information into it sometimes. So, that's their story.

Now, a couple of announcements more and we can get started. I mean we're started already. This is all fascinating. I know that.

There is an outfit which has got this very interesting constructive obstructive program going which is to rebuild homes on the West Bank in Gaza – of course, Gaza is a different story now – rebuild homes in the West Bank that have been destroyed by Israeli military authority. And the first house that they're going to rebuild is the house belonging to this family whose name I can

remember. But it is the house that [Rachel Corrie](#) lost her life trying to protect. Are you all aware of that episode? It was a 24-year-old American activist from Washington State with ISM, the International Solidarity Movement. She was standing in front of this huge, enormous bulldozer and it – the driver just rode over her and killed her. Actually, passed over here and then he reversed and passed over her again.

And my guess is that this was a deliberate murder because it was immediately followed by two other murders, one of an Australian and one of an English man, who were both part of the ISM. And I think there's reasons to believe that this actually was an order that went down that killed those internationals. However, that may be, this young woman lost her life and has become a martyr and a symbol.

And the first home that these people are going to rebuild is that very home that she was trying to protect. The home is actually going to open on May 22nd if you're looking for a place for the summer. And here's the point – yes, there was a point. And I am getting to it. The point is that the organization that is building these homes is using a new technology to have a telephone conference. And the first conference will be May 2nd, probably at 9:00 AM Pacific Standard Time. And there'll be a panel consisting of a professor or Dr. Eyad El-Sarraj who is a well-known Gazian psychiatrist, who's very much in favor of nonviolence. And some American professor that they've gotten from Berkeley who also has nonviolence as his subject.

So, those two people will be on that phone call. And they're planning to have 500 people listening in and then calling in with comments and so forth. So, I'm going to be giving you the phone number next week. And I'm asking you now, you might want to block out that date – May 2nd, 9:00 AM. Okay. So, I think this is a very good mechanism and a very interesting way. This is something which suits me very well because it has that blend. It's a blend in two ways, really. It's a blend of symbol and concrete action, in concrete – ha, ha, ha. No pun intended. But yeah, literally.

And it's also very symbolic. Of course, it's a concrete thing with symbolic resonance. Which for me is the powerful way to go. And it's a blend of constructive and obstructive because they're building something. A person needs a home. But also, it's illegal to do that, so they're in their face.

Holy Land Trust - Symbolism and Concrete Action

And this brings us to my next little pre-lecture point. I hope some of you got to see that clip that Sámí Awad sent out. It was very moving. And as I was watching it and actually getting pretty emotional, but I got that under control. Don't worry, I won't do anything embarrassing up here. But as I was watching it, it suddenly struck me, we have a very interesting gray area here again for us to talk about. And we've gotten pretty good at the sophisticated distinctions.

Okay, here are people taking this steel girder – okay, for those of you who didn't see it, what's happened is the town of Bil'in has been having a regular almost unbroken series of demonstrations to prevent the IDF protected construction crews to come in and build the wall. Which in that particular town is very illegal and cuts off the town from their agricultural land, which is devastating. 70% and Palestinian villages in that area are going to be affected in that way.

But apparently, it's been spreading to other towns, other communities. And this is one that's happened south of Bethlehem, which is handy because Sámí Awad and the Holy Land Trust, or

whatever they call it now, is headquartered in Bethlehem. And he's the nephew of Mubarak Awad. And so, this is a very nonviolent heritage that comes in here. So, they had this demonstration. They walked down to a part of the wall that had just been poured, and they un-staked from the ground a huge I-beam. A steel girder about 15-feet long, it looked like. And a whole bunch – and they picked this thing up and they just used it as a battering ram and smashed it into the wall until finally the concrete started to break up. You could see the rebar poking through and everything.

And then, of course [William Tell Overture] over the hill comes these IDF soldiers. And they get into this melee. So, here's my question – this is a form of property destruction, okay? Are we okay with it? What are the considerations we should be thinking about here? Okay, we'll start with you, Mike. Unless – okay, Mike?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Okay. It's okay to burn down Nazi camps. I would not say that to an Israeli, actually. They're a little touchy on that particular point. But I mean seriously, what you're saying is if an institution itself has a purely destructive purpose, then it becomes a double negative to destroy it. And so, it's a positive. Andrea?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Yes. It would be self-defence. You're protecting your own property. Yeah, the way that's about how I would put it. The wall itself is an incursion onto your property. It's, in a way – in a way, it's your property. It's like when they were burning – in the Indian Freedom Struggle when there was a big boycott against imported cloth they started burning – people started burning their trousers. They would take them, of course. And then throw them on a pile and burn them. And we decided that back then that that was not really property destruction. It was renunciation because it was your property. So, this is what the issue hinges on here. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Yeah. That's a very good point. I haven't thought of that. But to call it symbolic when you got chunks of concrete falling out, it's not – it's certainly not symbolic in the sense that we object to, that it is only symbolic. It is a physical act. What they meant is this itself is not going to slow down the wall materially because the IDF will just come up and rebuild it again. But still, if you recall 1942, Gandhi wanted to launch satyagraha. The timing had come for that, but the British were occupied somewhere in Europe with some other little thing that happened. So, he decided to have a satyagraha of one.

So, again, it was Vinoba Bhave who went out to do it and get arrested. Again, it wasn't going to shut down the regime by itself. But it was a way of saying, "This is what we can do. This is our attitude. And we feel this is the appropriate action. But we're letting you off the hook for right now." So, yeah, I think it would be wrong to call it symbolic in our sense. Shannon?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Okay, I'm very happy with this discussion. We really have covered the whole exactly what I think we should try to get out of it and very efficiently. On the negative side, we're not too worried about it. I think we can probably think of seven or eight acts of violence that are more

offensive than these Palestinians trying to block the destruction of their own property with an illegal wall.

But what Shannon is saying is while this maybe the best thing that you can do in the circumstances, it's not ideal because – I'm going to take what you said, Shannon, and escalate it a little bit and say, "Not just converting the object into some kind of constructive use which would be ideal." I'm not saying it was possible now. You know, the Palestinians could not say, "Oh, we'll make this into a chicken coop," or something like that. Because they just don't have the means to do that.

But because of time constraints, the best is not achievable. What they're doing is probably the best that was achievable. But ideally, you would want not only to convert the object but the people. So, ideally you would want to exercise persuasion, not coercion so that they themselves would say, "You know, to hell with it. We don't want to build this wall anymore." That's the best way. And the difference between being able to do the best thing and being able to do what you have to do in the circumstances is, once again, often one of time.

You know, here's the wall. If they sit around – by the time they convince the Israelis not to build that wall, they will have starved to death several times over because of the – you know, it's a lot – concrete, as you may know, gets harder and harder as it sits. So, it's good to destroy it now before it's a couple years.

So, this leads – hold on just one second, Michael. My last – I had this thought this morning I'd like to put before you, which is we've been at this now – in some cases you've been studying nonviolence pretty intensely for about a year. And for others of you, you caught up very quickly. I'm going to suggest that as a thought exercise – a couple of seats right here. I'm going to suggest is why don't we tackle what is probably the mother of all nonviolent confrontations going on in the world today which is the Israeli-Palestinian one because if it could get resolved, everything would be easier in the Middle East.

My friend Paul, who we're going to hear from in a little while, would not have to go back to Iraq if we could get that situation resolved because we would be then saying a whole new story to the Muslim world. So, it's a critically important conflict. And you could look upon it as a conflict that escalated all the way up to the top and got stuck. So, it's just this endless back and forth and back and forth. No re-humanization is happening. It's life and death going on at this piddling level, you know, in terms of numbers. But it's still life and death.

And so, the situation there looks from the Palestinian viewpoint about as hopeless as it could look. You have very little international recognition, right? Where in fact, you try to have formal international recognition and a certain country – I'm not going to name any names here. I don't want to embarrass anyone, but a large country north of Mexico will pop up in the U.N. and say, "No, no." You can't even scold them. You can't censor them. You can't censure them.

So, there's no way of getting formal diplomatic recognition. Informal is very difficult also. There's a group called, "[If Americans Knew](#)." And this group has studied media coverage of that conflict. If you are an Israeli child and you are injured, you are between 16 and 23 times more likely to have that reported in the West as would be the case if you were a Palestinian child. I'm quite sure that if you did a DNA test, both the Palestinians and the Israelis would prove to be members of the same species, but the media would never know that.

So, that's perhaps why the Israelis have reacted with this very nervous twitch to the presence of ISM. And they were planning to have something called, "The Summer of Love," in Israel, Palestine, the summer when those people were shot. But anyway, conspiracy theories are not the point. But the point is we're dealing with a conflict which probably looks about as hopeless as it can get. And I wouldn't have asked you this in the beginning of last semester.

Last time I met with Sâmi Awad in this country he was saying – you know, we were giving him advice, like "Why don't you organize blah-blah?" And he said, "How are we going to organize when we can't even make a phone call? You know, we have no phone service. We can't go out of our house. There's a curfew." Even the basic infrastructure of getting some kind of a nonviolent movement going is very difficult or not present.

So, here's my challenge – let's think over the next couple of weeks how we could go about solving that crisis. And to make our life a little easier, don't even bother thinking about what the politicians should do. Never mind. I mean you might want to come up with a policy that you would present to them. But the fact is, there's been a series of pretty good policies. Any one of which would be better than what we have on the ground right now.

So, the question is not what should the negotiating teams be talking about, but rather how can we prepare the infrastructure, if you will, so that they have to talk about it? What would we do on the ground if we were, A: a Palestinian? B: an Israeli? C: Other – a member of international community? Let's do some actually thinking about what mechanisms there might be. Of course, some of them will be not relevant because we're not there on the ground and we don't know what's happening. So, we might just run that risk. And we can do some background study.

But I remember saying to Mubarak Awad that he shouldn't make such a big fuss about waving the Palestinian flag because it was just a symbol. He laughed. He's very polite. All he did was laugh. But in fact, I was completely wrong because it's a defiant mechanism that's created a lot, a lot of energy and focus. And my not being there, I didn't realize that. Okay, did you have some other comment? Okay.

Theory of Nonviolence Overview

All right, so I'm going to try to do is in about 25 minutes get through an overview of where I think the theory of nonviolence has come to. And then we're going to hear from our friend, Paul, on a variety of topics. The last part of our course – this is Unit 5 in case anyone asks you. If your parents say, you know, "You're making good use of this money?" Say, "Oh, yes, mommy. We're on Unit 5 in the nonviolence course." We're calling it, "Nonviolent culture." And it really covers the whole thing.

So, there'll be a certain amount of repetition, right? For example, in the reader, you'll be reading an overview of the Color Revolutions. We've already looked into those revolutions, what caused them to happen and so forth. But now, okay, re-read that stuff from the point-of-view not just of what happened, but what people are saying about it. You know, how is it being conceptualized? How is it being framed? And that'll bring us into the culture area.

So, I'm going to be talking about the theory itself, how we understand nonviolence today. And about how it fits into the great turning project which is, you know, the attempt to conceptualize how we would completely turn this thing around and have a whole new culture, economy, and so on and so forth. And I don't think that that's the big picture and we're the small picture. What I think is, that this is like a holograph, not like a photograph.

In other words, if you pick up nonviolence and use it as focus, you can get to everything. Similarly, if you pick up the economy and use it as a focus, you can get to everything. You will eventually discover if you want a just economy, you have to have nonviolence. But, you know, my thing is I start with the nonviolence part. I don't know why. I just do. Because I hated violence because I was the smallest kid in my school. I don't know what caused all of this because this is my approach, anyway.

Okay, so where are we?

Ahimsa and Nonviolence

I'm going to try talking about what is the state of the art in terms of thinking about nonviolence. And then we'll go into training and organization and things like that on Thursday. So, as we know from reading my book and being intimately conversant with every paragraph in it, you are well aware. But it bears repetition that as far as the English language is concerned, the word nonviolence was introduced into our language in 1926. I know to you that sounds like, "Oh, that's a long time ago." But bear in mind that the word violence has been around as long as English has been around. And by another kind of contrast, ahimsa has been around in Sanskrit since the ancient period. So, this is very important.

Of course, the thing is more important than the word, we know that. But in order to grasp the thing, partly, we need a word. We need a handle to get a hold of it. So, there's a very important development. Now, the way human beings learn, and the way human groups learn, is really not well understood. Human beings have been defined as that species that can learn anything. I think that's true. I would say the human being is a species that can learn anything, but there's some things that it won't – and I wish it would.

In the Rhone Valley in France, there was a drought that lasted for a long time. It last long enough that five generations of beavers came and went. And the water – I told you once before, the water level in the Rhone was so low that they could not build dams for five generations. And then, lo and behold, the rains came. The river rose. And the beavers immediately started building dams again. So, how did they know this? You know, they did not google it. They did not, you know, look up and take out their manual, Dam Building 101.

As far as we know, there is no little dam shaped gene that goes around in beavers that says, "Here's how you build a dam." There's some mysterious way that those critters knew without being told after not doing it for five generations, this is how you build a dam. And there are many, many examples of that kind of thing in the animal world.

But what we've been emphasizing here is because of the rapidity of the change, we can't wait for nonviolence to percolate up on evolutionary time. See, we're not on evolutionary time anymore because of peak oil and everything else. So, we have to intervene much more consciously, much more deliberately. So, Martin Luther King said, "We've got to put our attention on this." This is absolutely urgent. And that's why I emphasize with the Otpor uprising in Serbia. It's one of the few documented cases where we know how they learned it and we see how they're teaching it.

You know, they learned it with a piddling amount of money. Piddling by their standards. By me, it's more money than I've ever dreamed of in my whole life, but it's a very small amount of money by military standards. \$20 million or so. These students were able to learn how to do a nonviolent overthrow from mostly translating Gene Sharp's books into English.

I don't know if I mentioned this, but my book is being translated now in Bosnia. So, of course, I'm anxious to – how would I not mention something like that? So, we know how the information got to them and we know that the same group, the [International Center for Nonviolent Conflict](#), has taken those very people and the lesson that they learned and put this into a group called [CANVAS](#) and exported it to Uzbekistan and all over Eastern Europe.

For another example, that we touched on last semester, we now know, although nobody knew it at the time, that the Civil Rights Movement in America was strongly stimulated by the Indian Freedom Struggle, and not just notionally. But people came over here. People from here went there. People from there came here. And they said, "Here's how we do it. This is what you watch out for. This is what makes it work." There were far more people than anybody knew about that had actually done that.

And similarly, the Civil Rights Movement in turn now becomes a learning process and a throughput. And I think the reason that we have people sitting in trees in the Oak Grove today is partly because of that movement. It created a culture of resistance in America. It created [* 00:31:01] radical pacifism into civil rights, into this culture of resistance that we now have, which has been mobilized against the WTO institutions and so forth.

Now, having said all of these wonderful things, you do have to be careful about the learning. The learning has to be smart and not just imitative. Some of you were at a dinner party with me last night were teasing me because of my incessant reminisces of the '60s. And I admit, it is kind of silly. But there I am. So, we had this wonderful movement in the '60s called the Free Speech Movement, the FSM. And it was glorious. It went all over the country. But if you were actually here, you know about eight or ten months after that FSM 2 happened. Now FSM – same acronym, but slightly different language. It stood for Filthy Speech Movement. What it was, was people wanted to get up and use four-letter words on Sproul Plaza and they wanted the administration to give them microphones to do this with. And if they wouldn't do it, then they were abridging our freedom of speech and the constitution.

In other words, they imitated the mechanism, but for a cause which was trivial – at best. Actually, kind of obnoxious, at worst – if you happen not to like that kind of vocabulary. So, you have this – it's not just the case that something happens and gets noticed that it automatically will be learned.

What we're also trying to acquire is the ability to see under the surface to the basic principles, relocate those basic principles in our setting and apply them in an appropriate way. Okay? So, that is the name of the game. And I freely admit that there's some mysterious processes going on here. You know, it's like the punctuated equilibrium that they talk about in evolution where suddenly all over the planet species decide, "Okay, now let's try fur. So, we've done feathers. We've done scales. Let's go for fur. PETA isn't around to stop us." So, you know, all the different continents, creatures are not in contact with one another. You can't account for it in the ordinary way by mechanistic means, but these things spring up.

So, there is all of that. But we have to use our cognitive faculties in a very sophisticated way. So, as this learning picks up and you have more events taking place that are of a nonviolent nature. You're having more organizations coming into existence to foster those events and perpetuate them. And some of those organizations, but not enough – in my opinion. It's starting to improve now, but not nearly enough are working on the theory itself and working on the interpretation, which means getting the general public to understand what just happened.

You know, if you remember from the very beginning of that Otpor movie, “Bringing Down a Dictator,” the first thing that Martin Sheen said was, “There was a war that took place and I bet you never heard about of it.” I know that I didn’t. It was an incredible successful overthrow, and nobody ever heard of it. So, we’re starting to strengthen that part.

And as this is all slowly accumulating and growing, I’m reminded of something that I read recently, that you know, the Wright brothers in Kitty Hawk, New Jersey, got into this contraption and fired it up and flew this airplane for a few hundred yards. That was the beginning of aviation. People were standing around saying, “This is impossible. Can’t work. Human beings are not supposed to fly.” 65 years later, we put a man on the moon. So, that’s why I say we are not in evolutionary time anymore. Things have accelerated very, very rapidly.

Now, I would say that we’re not at Kitty Hawk with nonviolence, but I think we’re at the Red Baron stage. You know, the early years of WWI, biplanes. It’s not nearly as developed as it should be. Still, pretty romantic, I would say.

Two Schools of Nonviolence - Aspirants and Overview

And what we’re seeing, I think is, roughly speaking, there are two schools of thought in the world of nonviolence awareness. And in actual fact, there’s probably a lot of people who haven’t thought this through, so they don’t know which school they would come out on. But those who have thought it through seemed to be in roughly two camps.

There’s one which I call, “The aspirant school.” And they’re saying, “Hey, this stuff works, so why don’t we use it?” And then there’s what I call, “The overview school,” which is saying, “Hmm.” I want you to notice the subtle distinction between hey and hmm. The hmm people are saying, “What is going on here? This stuff seems to work, and that says something about human nature which we didn’t know before. So, let’s figure it out.” And then the aspirant types – and of course, the language that’s usually used for that is strategic nonviolence. And as we’ve said more than once, it tends to be a negative approach. Take away the violence and what you’re left with is strategic nonviolence. Whereas the overview people tend to be looking for a positive definition of what is going on here.

Similarly, the aspirant folks tend to say we can use it for this application without thinking about its applications to everything. Whereas the overview people say, “Hey, this could be the core of the whole new paradigm. Everything would be different if you would understand what this thing is and start to put it into practice.” Okay.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Science of Principled Nonviolence

Michael: Principled. Yeah, principled. Thanks. So, there’s a rough consensus emerging among the latter group, the principled group. Which is saying that this is huge. This is part of a paradigm shift. It’s not just behavioral. It’s not something that you learn to do and then you go back to the same-old, same-old. They are saying that life is way more interconnected than it appears. They’re saying at the very least. I mean some people are saying that life is a quantum reality. It’s absolutely a unity. And all difference is a question of appearance. It’s not to say it doesn’t exist at all. In some cases, appearances matter a lot. It matters what you do and so forth. Whether you do cut down a tree or don’t cut down a tree, it matters on our level.

But there's a deeper level where everything is one in some way that our conscious minds cannot grasp. So, since our conscious minds cannot grasp it, it will not be on the final. I'm not going to spend a whole lot more time with it. And I think we can be – we can work with the proposition that life is much more interconnected than we thought. And it becomes much more easy to see that as soon as you start looking at the world beyond the material level. Because on the material level, it is not interconnected very much. I mean molecules bump into each other. They don't even apologize. They just go their way.

And getting above that material level then as I see it – now, this is – I'm going to try a new idea out on you and I hope you like it because if you do, then I can use it in San Diego this evening. And if you don't, then I got to go back to the drawing boards. I think that science is really starting to come onboard. It's starting to be very useful. And we can see this on now three levels. This is going to be a little bit beyond the presentation that I made in the beginning of PACS164A.

Okay, on the material level, the culmination of the human attempt to predict how we can account for human experience on the basis of the motion of material particles, that project came to an end with the discovery that you can't. Because in fact, guess what? There are no material particles. There are intersecting probability waves of force fields, or God knows what those things really are. But one thing they certainly are not are standard Newtonian billiard balls, okay?

Now, the fact that the project came to an end, and it came up with a negative answer doesn't mean that people immediately recognize the significance of this. A lot of people just go on practicing science as though that had never happened. I was deeply embroiled – involved in a conversation with nuclear weapons lab scientists some years ago. And I said, "Well, what about quantum theory?" And one of them said, "Well, you know, if I were driving a quantum, I would need a quantum mechanic to fix it, wouldn't I? Ha, ha, ha." And that was about as far as they were willing to go, folks, in the discussion of the implications of quantum theory.

So, this is, you know – what am I trying to say here? I'm just trying to emphasize that you can go on practicing science as though Newton was right and there's little black balls or the yellow balls. But on the level of people who think, the implications of this discovery were absolutely world-shattering. So, then we tried it again with the biological sciences. Let's see how we can generate a human being with everything that entails from a fixed set of genes. And in order to do this they calculated that they would need, I don't know, 340,000 genes or something like that. Somebody here from MCB can correct me on the numbers.

But when the genome project was over, it took much less time, a lot more money – when the genome project was over, they came up with an astounding discovery which they were all ignoring for the most part, that you cannot build a human being on the basis of genes. Because for one thing, there's only 80,000 genes instead of 340,000. There's not enough information, no matter how you cut it, even if you go down to the molecular level, you cannot get enough information into those 80,000 packets.

So, we were barking up the wrong tree. Well, now most biologists will say, "Oh, let's keep barking. They're paying us, we bark. No problem." But some are saying, "Whoa. You know, then what does create a human being?" And so, here we get to the third experiment which is going on now. And I'm going to call this cognitive science. But I don't necessarily mean the Cog-Sci department at Berkeley. It's a little bit broader than that.

But all of these experiments that I started sharing with you last semester about human determinism and how human beings are affected by their own decisions and how those around them are affected by those decisions. And here we really are at the beginning of what looks like an extremely exciting breakthrough. It looked pretty good about 20 years ago. They were calling it, "Psychoneuroimmunology." But now with these new magnetic resonance techniques where they're able to map the brain dynamically so you can tell what part of your brain lights up when you have which particular thought, it's becoming much – the field is really opening up.

And I think people are going to be – at least people who are comfortable with this kind of thing at all, are going to have a vocabulary for explaining that in the words of a famous bumper sticker, which I photograph in Tomales, California, we are not human beings having a spiritual experience. We are spiritual beings having a human experience. By all accounts, my favorite bumper sticker. And that's saying a lot because really, I like a lot of bumper stickers.

So, in the context of this breakthrough, I'm going to now lay out just a few simple points, what I think are the basics, that nonviolent theory is groping its way towards. And this will be partly familiar to it, but partly not. The proposition is that – now, I'm thinking now of a situation of conflict or at least disagreement, okay? So, they could rise from disagreement to dispute to conflict.

In every human being, there is a core of awareness of that interconnectedness that we were just talking about. The person may be acting as if they had no such awareness, but no matter who they are, that awareness is there, okay? There's – strategic nonviolence, this is not critical. But for the cutting-edge principled nonviolence, if you're going to become part of the great turning, I think this is absolutely critical. So, no matter how conditioned the person is, no matter how blockaded they are against their own inner feelings, that awareness is there.

So, all division then, all – not just disagreement, but division, is based on an occlusion of this awareness, right? I have somehow lost awareness of my connection with Samantha. So, then I can come to the view that in some little way, or in some big way, my happiness could be furthered by making her unhappy. No worries. This is not going to happen. Just taking you as an example. But that's how violence unrolls. From that big mistake where the person cannot contact their awareness of that interconnectedness.

So, enter the nonviolent actor or actress. And that person in some very pertinent way reawakens or deepens his or her awareness of that interconnectedness. And finally, this new awareness awakens the other person. That is basically the psychological roadmap of how nonviolence works. Now mind you, on the big group level there is strategic nonviolence – you can corral people into doing things that they don't want. We've discussed many cases of this. You know, how we got Pinochet out of power. We got Milosevic out of power. How the Iraqis got the British and their own sheikh out of power in 1948. You can force them out even if they don't want to go. You can do that.

But to make a permanent change, you're going to want to do it in a different way. And what you're doing is you're expanding your own awareness, usually it's not very easy, not a very comfortable process. You go through some struggle to do this. It's suffering, in a way. And in doing that, that communicates to the other person or awakens them. In a way which we have, up to now, not been able to document or explain scientifically.

So, let me close and bring it right on to 10:30, just by reading you a quote which I often have handed out on midterms as part of an analysis passage, but I don't have to do that now

because I found some fantastic quotes for your final. I can't wait for the final exam. I'm really eager to give them to you. But I won't use this one. It's by Marshall Frady who wrote a series of articles on Jesse Jackson. And in the course of that, he touched on Martin Luther King.

And he said, "King started from the essentially religious persuasion that in every human being, Black or white, deputy sheriff, manual laborer, or governor, there exists, however tenuously, a certain natural identification with every other human being." This is exactly what I was just talking about. He's calling it a certain natural identification.

"That in the overarching design of the universe which ultimately connects us all together, we tend to feel that what happens to our fellow human beings in some way also happens to us." You know, it can be closer or further away. What happened in Virginia affects us very deeply because it was, in a way, it's our demographic, you know?

And so, what also happens to us – you know, people don't write sentences like this anymore. That's why I like Frady so much. This is all one sentence, "So that no man can continue to debase or abuse another human being without eventually feeling in himself at least some dull answering hurt and stir of shame. Therefore, in the catharsis of a life confrontation with wrong," which is called what in our vocabulary? Nonviolent moment. Thank you. Name of a famous DVD. "Therefore, in the catharsis of a live confrontation with wrong, when an oppressor's violence is met with a forgiving love," all oppressors are male in this paragraph, "he can be vitally touched. And even at least momentarily reborn as a human being." This is wonderful language. "While the society witnessing such a confrontation will be quickened in conscience toward compassion and justice."

Maybe I will CourseWeb you this quote because it's just so good. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: This is Marshall Frady. Okay, Michael?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Michael: Okay. This is one way or another. Come on up. This gets right to our very life.

Paul Chappell - Peaceful Democratic Solutions

And I'd like to introduce now a new friend of mine, Paul Chappell, who has a military background. He has actually been on a tour of active duty in Iraq. And when I asked him if he was going back, he said, that's up to the American people. So, he's going to talk to us what happens in narrow nationalisms and also [unintelligible 00:51:19].

Paul: Hi. [My name is Paul Chappell](#). I'm actually active duty in the Army. And I have a particular fondness for what I call peaceful democratic solutions because that's what's allowed all of us to be here today and have this discussion. If you looked at this country 200 years ago if you weren't a white male landowner, you had no rights, it really wasn't a good country to live in. But the fact that we're here now, men, women, people from different religious backgrounds, people from different ethnicities, it shows how far we've come. And that didn't happen through war. It happened through peaceful democratic solutions. And it brought us to where we are today.

I'm a West Point graduate. I was actually a White House intern under the Bush administration. And I wrote a book. It'll be published early '08 called, "Peaceful Revolution." And I have a long history of reading – Thoreau, Gandhi, Martin Luther King, all the major religious texts, Western Philosophy. And you understand that nonviolence, or what I call peaceful democratic solutions, are very, very old. And they're very, very cherished in many cultures and many countries all over the world.

But right now, our country is in a very turbulent time because people are divided. And we're divided along political ideology. We're divided along wedge issues. And unless we can come together across political boundaries, how can we ever have peaceful solutions? And I'd like to talk about how we can open up dialog with people in the middle, people on the right, even people on the far right. I think it's a very realistic solution. And I think we can all do it together.

So, whenever you talk about the government or try to critique the government, people will say, "Oh, well, you're un-American, or you're unpatriotic." And so, what I always tell people is – let's say you have a child. If you love your child and find out your child is murdering people or doing drugs or doing anything immoral or dishonest, you try to correct your child. If you don't love your child, you let your child get away with murder because you're just blindly apathetic.

In the same way, if you love your country, then you want to make your country a better place to live. If you love your country, you want to make America a better place as people did for the past 200 years, which is what is allowing us to have this discussion today.

So, if Martin Luther King would have just said, "Well, I don't want to be unpatriotic. I don't want to question the government." Or if Susan B. Anthony would have said, "I don't want to be un-American. I should just let things go," where would we be today? Nowhere near where we are right now. And so, 200 years ago, if you were a white male landowner, you had it pretty good. If you weren't, if you were a Native American, Chinese, Black, Hispanic, female, homosexual, handicap, even Catholic or Jewish in many cases, it was a very difficult country to live in.

We've come a long way. Through those democratic means, it has made our country great, in which our democracy is founded upon. And so, when my father was drafted in the Army in the early '50s – he was half-white, half-Black. My mother is Korean. The Army was segregated. So, governments make mistakes. Governments aren't perfect. They're elected and they're run by people.

And so, another thing we need to discuss with people is you need to differentiate between your government and your country. Your government is 300 million American people, the Constitution, and the ideals of democracy. Your government is an elected few representatives who make mistakes like everybody. So, if you want to be loyal to your country, you need to question and improve your government. That's what Martin Luther King did. That's what Susan B. Anthony, Mark Twain, Henry David Thoreau, Woody Guthrie, Helen Keller – all these people did this.

And now if you do that, "Oh, you're un-American. You're unpatriotic." All nonsense. As Henry David Thoreau once said, "I'm not asking for no government, but I want a better government." And that's what we all need to ask for.

Now, when I was growing up in elementary school, we have government classes and they're always taught about the checks and balances between legislative, executive, and judicial branches. But what they don't teach you in elementary school, what they should teach every

kindergartner in every grade, 1st grade through 12th grade is the most important check and balance to the government is the American people. The American people are the most important check and balance.

Judicial, executive, legislative branches are typically reactionary. They respond to social and people's movements. And our democracy is founded upon congress being subservient to the American people. The president being subservient to the American people. And since the military is subservient to the president and congress, the military is also subservient to the American people. And that's what we have to keep in mind.

And when I discuss this with people, they say, "Well, that's all in good. But right now, we have a presidential candidate who's a female, Hilary Clinton. We have a presidential candidate who is Black, Barack Obama. So, everything is good. I really don't see a problem with what's going on." But what we're dealing with now is not injustice. We're dealing with our very survival. If you look at Eisenhower's warning about the military industrial complex, which has, unfortunately, come true. And if you look at the environment, we're dealing with our survival here. Not just injustice.

And the fact that people can't see that, it is our responsibility to help bring that to their attention – in a way where we can unite people and not divide people along these wedge issues that really won't guarantee the survival prosperity of the human race, hopefully, for many more millennia.

A way that I go about speaking to people, I personally don't like the term "Nonviolence" because it's the negation of something. To me, it's an empty term. It'd be like calling the ground, the non-sky. Or a female, a non-man. What I like to refer to as peaceful democratic solutions. You appeal to people's sense of democracy. You appeal to people's sense of – the reality that our democracy is founded upon the fact that we can make changes peacefully through changing elected representatives, through civil protest. That's what democracy is founded upon.

So, nonviolence, if you say that term, people – they don't understand what it means. Just like if you said, "Non-ground." I don't know if you're talking about the sky. I don't know if you're talking about the trees. I don't really know what you're talking about. If you talk about peaceful democratic solutions and how that has made our country great, you really appeal to what I believe most Americans have, and that is a respect for the values of democracy.

And if you look at how we're driven into narrow nationalism, it's typically "well we have to protect the democracy." And "people are trying to destroy our democracy." That's why you have to be nationalistic. If you're not nationalistic and America will be taken over by a dictator and we'll be invaded. So, people do have that sense of democracy that gets taken advantage of. And we can appeal to that.

Another thing too, is you can appeal to people's religious and philosophical background. If you evoke Jesus, who obviously supported nonviolence or peaceful solutions. And if you appeal to the Jewish prophets, Buddha – Hinduism has a wonderful tradition of peaceful solutions as Gandhi has shown – and many other people have shown. Taoism. Socrates probably – well, according to Martin Luther King, the very first example of civil disobedience in European history. And Socrates had a great deal, a great influence in inspiring Martin Luther King that we can be active citizens and correct the government through peaceful protest, through questioning, through challenging certain policies.

So – pardon?

[Unintelligible 00:59:01]

Any questions at all from anybody. Yes?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Paul: Well, my father was in the Army for 30 years. He grew up in the Great Depression. He was born in 1925. He had me when he was 56. And he fought in the Korean and Vietnam wars. And my mother is from Korea. She was in Japan during WWII. She was in Korea during the Korean War. And neither of my parents went to college. They didn't have any money to send me to a – really, a school. And I had really good grades, so West Point is a very good education. Most people go into the military from impoverished backgrounds, from poverty. And you get your education paid for. And that's why most people do join the military.

Michael: [Unintelligible 00:59:54]

Paul: Well, I'm actually concerned about desertions because the way our military is set up, is we're completely subservient to the American people. If the American people are asleep at the wheel, the military can't do anything. For example, people in the military have limited access to the Bill of Rights. The reason for that is not that we can't speak against war, but so that we can't speak for war. So, for example, if the American people – and it is up to them – decide that we should leave Iraq, General Petraeus can't say, "Well, no, we should stay. This is a bad decision." Or in 1970, a general couldn't have said, "Well, let's invade the Soviet Union."

And so, it's actually a good system right now, if the American people take charge. But what's happening is the military is becoming more and more privatized. Right now, you have civilians in Iraq with weapons. And I – I really think that if we had 10,000 soldiers refuse to fight, you'd have all those positions filled by government contractors and we'd never get them back. And people someday might go, "Remember the good old days when the military was subservient to the American people? Now it's owned by Coca-Cola." So, I really think that the American people can do anything, which we have a lot of evidence for that.

It's just not – sorry, go ahead.

Student: [Unintelligible 01:01:16]

Paul: Well, if you look at – people really don't want war. For example, if you look at the Iraq war the appeal was, well, imminent destruction. We're going to be annihilated. The national security advisor at the time, Condoleezza Rice said, "We don't want the smoking gun to be a mushroom cloud. He's developing nuclear weapons. Weapons of mass destruction." And then links to Al-Qaeda, September 11th. And we had the appeal to – well, the poor Iraqi people are under a dictator. We're trying to liberate the Iraqi people.

And so, what people didn't really want was war. The way everything was phrased is people want survival. They just – if you think your family is going to be annihilated by a nuclear weapon, people really want survival. We're at a point in American history – the Roman Empire and the British Empire, they can just say, "Well, we're going to" – for example, Cato the Elder in the Roman Empire, whenever he would end a speech he would say, "Carthage must be destroyed."

And when the Romans invaded Carthage they killed every man, woman, and child. Destroyed all the buildings and sowed the ground with salt, so nothing would ever grow there again.

The British Empire would just say, “Well, we’re going to use these people for economic gain.” But in our country, if we were to say, “Well, we’re going to invade this country for economic gain,” the American people wouldn’t stand for it. So, you have to have this appeal of imminent destruction, we’re liberating poor, oppressed people. That’s the only way you can convince the American people to go to war. Which says something very good about the American consciousness right now. We don’t really want war. We just want survival, and we want people to be also accessible to democracy. So – sorry, go ahead.

Student: [Unintelligible 01:03:11]

Paul: So, you’re asking if – just to rephrase the question. Yeah.

Michael: [Unintelligible 01:04:39]

Paul: The fact that we’re not a real democracy. Well, we weren’t a real democracy 200 years ago. A real democracy isn’t what I would call a country where only white people have privilege. But we have become far closer to a real democracy through peaceful democratic solutions. And we can keep going in that way. So, I’m not under the illusion that we’re this perfect government. But within that government, we have a system where we can make things better and approach the ideal of democracy. So, 100 years ago we were closer to a democracy than we were 200 years ago because at least we didn’t have slaves.

Now we’re closer to a democracy than we were 100 years because, for example, women can vote. And so, 100 years from now, we might be even closer to being a democracy – a real democracy. So, democracy is really a gray area, and we need to go along that line.

And in our country, the thing about democracy is in a dictatorship, you’re on autopilot. You don’t have to do anything. But democracy, you have to drive the vehicle. So, the American people have to be at the wheel driving. And if you fall asleep at the wheel, then it can quickly not become a democracy. Go ahead.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Paul: Well, in a democracy we need questioning. Even if we’re going to fight Hitler. We need to question even if we’re going to participate in the most just war you can imagine, we need questioning. We need discussion. We need people debating. We need people conversing, dialoging. That’s what democracy is about. Democracy is about people dialoging and discussing and not just pulling out swords and killing each other. Go ahead.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Paul: Well, if you look historically, empire always marks the destruction of a democracy. If you look at Athens, if you look at the Romans. And democracy and empire cannot be compatible. Because with democracy you have that debate. You have that dialog. You have that civil struggle. And democracies don’t lead to war. Lack of democracy does lead to war because in a democracy it could lead to war, but it’s up to the people whether they want war.

And in most situations, in a real democracy, for example, in ancient Athens, if all the public is going to actually be involved in fighting, they're all going to get killed. And so, they take war very seriously. If all the Athenian citizens are going to go fight, they go, "Well, wait a minute. Should we actually be doing this? Because all – our husbands and all our sons are going to be killed. Is this actually a good idea to go to war? All the men might be dead in our city state." So, in an actual democracy, it's actually anti-empire. Oh, go ahead.

Michael: [Unintelligible]

Paul: Democracy and violence are compatible? Oh, right.

Michael: [Unintelligible]

Paul: Right. Or to oppress the people or to shut down protest or to break up a – I agree completely. Oh, you had a question?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Paul: Well, there also can't be a war if the American people don't let the war happen. And nowadays, I think we can have a war with very few soldiers because if you look at the way things are being privatized, it's so profitable for companies like Black Water and KBR to have people in Iraq. When people complain about the cost of the war, it's actually cheaper to have contractors than soldiers because contractors typically don't get any healthcare. Their family don't get any health benefits. And they don't need all that training that soldiers do. And people complain about dead soldiers, but no one counts dead contractors.

So, when there's all this public outcry about 3000 dead soldiers, if you had more contractors, there'd be less opposition to the war. There's a lot of forces pushing for more privatization in the military. And there's generals complaining about, "Oh, my army is too small. I don't have enough people. I need more support personnel." There's plenty of contractors looking to fill that gap. So, times are really changing.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Paul: That's what I'm trying to do. That's the point of the book. And I interacted with Michael Nagler and Michael Lerner and Daniel Ellsberg. And I came here to meet my publisher.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Paul: Well, I think that me staying active duty does put that in the American people, because I tell them. Whenever they ask me when I'm going back to Iraq, I tell them it's up to the American people if I go back. And it kind of puts a human face and really shows what the military is supposed to do and how everybody in this room is my civilian master – all of you determine what the military does. Go ahead.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Paul: Well, I think that through the 90s, after the Cold War, people really believed that – you had a term called, "The end of history." Everything was going to be peaceful. And I really think that through the '90s people were pretty apathetic. People really weren't – they were not involved. So, when there's no involvement for a decade – and it's, you know, the lesson from

that is if a war were to end and there's another decade where there's peace, people still have to be actively engaged because you have to maintain peace. It's like a vehicle. You have to do maintenance. You have to preserve it.

You can't just say, "Oh, we've won the peace, and everything's fine." And so, the American people through the '90s really weren't paying attention.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Paul: Well, I think that there's a long track record of what people can do. If you look at Martin Luther King. If you look at Susan B. Anthony. If you look at what they wrote. If you look at what Mark Twain did. Henry David Thoreau. I think that the answers are there, but we don't have them – there's not enough people to really have an impact. And I have what I call the 10% rule. If you look at civil rights or if you look at women's rights, it didn't come from the majority of the population. It actually came from a small percentage of the population.

Martin Luther King didn't win freedom for his people because 90% of the people were in the streets protesting. There's actually, you know, more or less 10% of the population actively engaged. So, you don't need everybody. You actually only need a small percentage. But right now, if you look at the environmental crisis, for example, we're nowhere near 10%. Not yet. But we don't want to believe that we have to have everybody. But also, we don't want to believe that people can just wish for it to happen. We have to be actively engaged.

And a very small, active minority has a lot of power. As Carl Jung once said, "A million zeros don't add up to 1." When a reporter visited Gandhi, he said, "How many people do you have to defeat the British Empire?" And Gandhi said, "Well, I have roughly 70, but I think my numbers will drop to 30." And then Gandhi – the reporter looked at him like he was crazy, and Gandhi said, "Well, I believe in the power of the individual. United individuals, if they're small, but they believe in what they stand for, then they can change even the most powerful empire in the world." Go ahead.

Student: [Unintelligible]

Paul: Very good question. The way I look at the military, if you look at Marshall arts in China. If you look at the Shaolin Temple, for example. Martial arts in China grew. Martial arts in China were an outgrowth of Buddhism. They're actually an extension of the principle of nonviolence. So, the Buddhist monks believed that peace, love, and compassion are the most powerful force in the world. But as a last resort, if a brigand or a raider or a robber breaks into their monastery and tries to kill them, they have to defend themselves.

And so, the problem is not a Buddhist monk knowing martial arts. If a Buddhist monk knows how to defend themselves, being responsible and supporting the ideal of peace, they're not going to go out and wage imperial war. You know, the Shaolin Temple wasn't going into India and trying to conquer things. So, the problem is not people knowing self-defence, but the attitude that would prevent violence.

So, how can we apply that to our own country? If you look at our country, it's already been applied. Our military is completely subservient to civilian authority. And although the founding fathers didn't talk about peace, love, and compassion is the most powerful force in the world, they did talk about democratic values as the most powerful force in the world, which to me is every bit as noble as peace, love, and compassion.

And very similar, actually, to peace, love, and compassion if you look at what democratic ideals are supposed to support. So, we could have a country where democratic ideals, peace, love, compassion guide the country. And the military – I mean our military is – a lot of money goes into our military. I remember I had a West Point professor – he was a Rhodes scholar. He was a major. One day he said, “We spend more on our military than in the next 18 countries in the world combined.” And we all sat there with blank looks on our face. And he goes, “Did any of you just hear what I said? Isn’t that absurd?” But we were more in shock. And as China, Russia, the NATO countries. And so, as Eisenhower said, when you buy a bomb you take food away from a child. When you buy an aircraft carrier, you take away a hospital or a school that people could have had.

So, we need to reorganize the military. Make it more efficient. Sorry. Go ahead.

Michael: [Unintelligible]

Paul: Well, you’re really pointing to the critical flaw of democracy. There is one critical flaw with democracy. When you have a country that values freedom and liberty and prosperity for its people, you can convince citizens – this is most evident in ancient Athens. You can convince them to do extremely brutal things to protect their freedom. So, for example, Athens had high philosophy. You had the beginning of science. You had poetry, drama. You had open debate. But they could tell the Athenian people in order to preserve that, you have to do extremely brutal things overseas and annihilate your enemies.

So, democracy is actually so valuable to people, you can actually convince them to do those things. And then what we can do today – Iraq is a very difficult situation. Extremely difficult. And it would take a long time to discuss a solution. Where we could – it would take an extremely long conversation to talk about that. It’s just so complex right now.

Michael: [Unintelligible]

[Applause]

Michael: Thank you very much. Well people, that is – that’s it for today. I found that very stimulating. Let’s rejoin it a little bit on Thursday along with the rest of the stuff.

Part 5 Toward a Nonviolent Culture

[PACS 164B Lecture 25](#)

Michael: I don't have a whole lot in the way of announcements to make. I did put a – I have got an interesting link to give you, if I can find it, for a radio program on – that took place in San Francisco. It was called, "What happened to non-violent resistance?" And it's a very good discussion with [Jack DuVall](#) from the International Center for Nonviolent Conflict. And a woman who is now the director of the Ruckus Society. And we're going to be talking about both those organizations in a bit.

So, if I run across that link, I'll put it on the board. Oh yeah, here we go. Thanks. It's... yourcallradio.org. And the archive. When I send these things to you in CourseLink it doesn't seem to work very well. You don't get the link. You know, so I'll write it out here. 011507...

Yeah, it looks like it's the last word is ram. I didn't plan it that way. Maybe I wrote it wrong. But probably even if it isn't ram it'll get you there, I'm sure.

So, that's a very good interview. I think Jack DuVall does a terrific job of coming at the culture of nonviolent resistance now from a strictly strategic point-of-view. But coming out very much on the same page as we're coming out from the principled point-of-view. He has a very, very good definition of Nagler's law, though he calls it by some other weird name.

And it would be a good introduction to what both of those groups do.

So, before I start, you remember last – on Tuesday we talked about – we did an overview of the theory. And today we're going to try to talk about training and organization as the state of the art in nonviolent movements today. I know a lot less about training and organization than I do about theory. But not knowing about something has never prevented me from lecturing about it. I don't think I should start now. And we're going to get into that very soon. But before we start, I wondered if you had any thoughts or any comments about our guest speaker on Tuesday, Paul Chappell from – courtesy of the United States Army. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible]

Sacrifice Trap

Michael: Yeah. Confusing and pleasant at the same time. I think that's a good way of putting it. Yeah. He's a very pleasant guy, and he's very, very well-spoken and very sincere. What I got out of that was two things. It was both along your line, Palo.

That on the one hand, it shows you how our system has become a trap for all of us on different levels. He enlists in the army because he's very poor economically. And because he's a recognizable ethnic minority – he didn't say this, of course. But because he's an ethnic minority, it's an entrée into legitimacy in American society to join the military. But once you join it, it closes behind you, and it's very, very difficult to get out of it.

And the other thing that struck me, is here he is appealing to us, the American people, to get out of the war. And then requiring of us a certain amount of courage and sacrifice and risk, how much stronger his position would be if he would step out and be a conscientious objector and say, "Okay, I've done my part. Now I'm calling on you people to do your part." This is fundamental in nonviolence.

In fact, it's fundamental in everything. That you call upon people to do something that you have not done yourself, the appeal is very weak. So, it would be much stronger. I didn't suggest this to him, and I decided not to unless he's listening to this webcast, he's not going to hear me saying this. It's his decision to make. But he doesn't have to do exactly what we are being called upon to do, but he has to do the equivalent. In a way, it's harder for him, of course, because he's got that whole institution.

And as I think I mentioned on Tuesday, desertions have been – are up 300%, multiplied by a factor of 3. Come on, Sasha – in the last few years. And as a result of that, the Army has been cracking down on desertions. But it shows us, I think, how militarism and violence can become a trap on so many levels. One of the most effective is – this is a term from Kenneth Boulding. He called it, "The sacrifice trap."

And I think I may have mentioned it before. That once you have sacrificed for something, especially if you've sacrificed human life, it gets very difficult to say, "Oh, we made a mistake. It wasn't worth it." So, having thrown away some lives, you then feel a pressure to throw away a lot more of them in order to demonstrate that the thing that you were doing was worth it. We have talked about that, I guess.

Okay, any other comments about – yeah, Andrea?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:06:12]

Michael: Yeah. It's true. It's all strategic, and you should protest and stop this thing, so it'll save me from going back. I mean, one can hardly blame him for wanting that to happen. But you're right, he hadn't. There was no real engagement there with the principles. And if we were to ask ourselves compassionately, why not? The answer is very obvious. It would immediately throw him into cognitive dissonance at a very, very deep level. We had someone in the A course – oh, they do all sort of run together after a while. I think this was two years ago. He was a chaplain in the U.S. Navy. Just came back from a tour of duty with the Marines.

And I said to him over coffee – we were speaking Dutch, incidentally, just so he would feel at home. He had somewhat – something – had been several years in Holland. And I said, "I hope you're not experiencing cognitive dissonance." And he said, "Professor Nagler, I'm experiencing cognitive chaos." Dissonance doesn't begin to say it. Because even to begin to come to grips with the idea that A, there is an alternative. And B, it represents human nature more immediately and more accurately than the war-fighting part, is to just throw yourself into confusion if you've made that kind of commitment.

So, that again, on the cognitive level, it's how the trap works. It is nearly impossible for a human being to say, "What I'm doing is wrong. But that's okay. I'm going to keep on doing it." It's very difficult for a person to say that. So, when you reach this cognitive dissonance, they usually say, "What I was doing was okay for the following reasons." I hope you won't feel this is cynical, but I wanted you to hear his reasons, knowing full well that I didn't believe them and wouldn't believe

them, but it's interesting to hear where these people are coming from and what they have to do to make themselves feel reasonably comfortable with what they're doing.

So, we have been advised – we, the peace movement, have been advised by Kenneth Boulding for many, many years now. I mean, he's passed on, but he used to say, "We have overlooked our biggest opportunity in not finding a way to approach the military." I told you that story, didn't I? About my friend in an elevator in Washington. Yeah. I think probably one out of every four people in military service is desperately looking around for a way out of it. And that's huge. I mean, you need really 5% to make a big change in a situation, to a system like that.

So, if we've got 25% who are ready and willing to step out, if we show them something to step onto. Remember, Gandhi's – remember Toynbee's famous thing about Gandhi. "He made it impossible for us to go on ruling India, but he made it possible for us to leave without rancor or humiliation." Now, if you look at anti-war protests during the Vietnam era, it was 100% rancor and humiliation. We were just so infuriated, and we took it out on the people who were trapped by the system at the lowest level. So, we should learn that lesson and find a way that we can present them with a comfortable, secure – I mean emotionally comfortable and secure steppingstone to step onto. Think of other ways that we can use their courage, their dedication, their discipline, and so forth. Amy?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:10:04]

Michael: Yes. That was the part that I thought could really be most useful to us because he's coming from that camp, so he can share with us how to talk to conservatives and people that we – that don't agree with us. I wish he had said a little bit more about that. As far as –

Student: [Unintelligible 00:10:54]

Michael: Uh-huh. Will help for a certain type of conservative. Yeah. Yeah. Just hang on one second. This comes up all the time.

A Difficulty with the Word of Nonviolence

People encounter the word nonviolence. They recognize it's not a very good one, and they start – they start offering substitutions, but in the end, I've just come back to nonviolence in the hopes that we can explain. But at least we've gotten rid of the hyphen. That helps a lot. When it was non-violence, it was even worse. It was really clunky. Now, at least we're sort of hinting that there's a thing there. Not a non something. So, until something better comes along, let's forge ahead with that.

Unfortunately, Americans are not like Japanese. Now, why do I say that in this context? They're not like Japanese in that we don't import a lot of foreign words very easily into our own vocabulary right now. We're also not like most Europeans, with the exception of the French in that regard. So, it's going to have to be an English word. We can't go around saying satyagraha. First of all, people can't pronounce it. Second of all, we're only – we're defeating our purpose because we're trying to show that this is something that's native to us. And here we are saying it comes from some foreign language. Yeah, Arby, what did you want to –

Student: [Unintelligible 00:12:23]

Michael: Yeah. That's true. That's what we have to deal with. Just one second, Shannon. A friend of mine pointed out – not without a certain amount of bitterness, that here he is writing a book on the peace movement and had absolutely no exposure to it. I mean, the reason that I met him, and all these other people met him was he wanted to meet some people in the peace movement after writing a book on us.

Now, he can't be blamed for that because this is what we've been saying all along. The word is just not out there. It's partly what we're about. Shannon?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:13:16]

Michael: You have to be a little bit louder.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:13:19]

Michael: He was self-laundering, and I wanted you to hear that because this is a kind of a person – if we can't reach him – and in a way, we already have, but we need to enlarge his understanding. At Metta we talk about inspiration, education, and support. So, he's past the inspiration point, but we need to – we would need to educate him. But we would need to be quite sensitive and respectful of the difficulties and the dangers of his position and not, you know, yank the stool out from under him. Yeah, you had your hand up?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:14:26]

Michael: It might work much better for them. Yeah. So, it's a strategic choice. We've got to decide. And do we give them something they're familiar with and gradually lead them to expand it? Or do we give them the whole thing and try to help them cope with the shock of the unfamiliar, and then bring them over? And I think it's just a judgment call, depending on whom we're talking to. John?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:15:18]

Michael: Well, there is that.

Difficulties within Democracy

There is, you know, you can misuse – that's why I brought up my point. Which is actually a point that was made by Emanuel Kant in 1795, so it's been around for a while. That in a way, when democracies go to war it's worse because you have this spongy nondescript decider. You know, it's much better when you have some person get up and say, "I'm the decider." That person also has the responsibility. But when you say, "It's the American people." And then you turn around – there's no way to find out what the American people are really saying.

I'm an American person, by the way, and I was not in favor of this thing. I was not in favor of the massacre at Mỹ Lai, but Lieutenant Calley said, "I will care out the will of the American people forever," which he later repudiated, incidentally.

So, you know, it's a little bit like this ancient sacrificial practices where when they were going to kill a person, they didn't just designate the priest who is going to stand up and do it. They somehow spread it out among the whole community.

So, there you really cannot – and then I noticed to my shock that when we carry out executions – the former method used to be a gas chamber, there used to have three people pulling three levers, and you didn't know which one actually dropped the pellet into the vat. So, you were doing exactly the same thing that these ancient ritualists had done. And exactly the same thing that we hide behind when we say, "Oh, it's the will of the people."

But A, you haven't really canvassed all of them. B, there are some issues which are not questions of majority opinion. You know, as Martin Luther King said, "In some cases, I don't care what the majority says." You know, even – wasn't it the governor of Indiana? No, it was the governor of New York. The majority of New Yorkers, by a slight margin, were in favor of the death penalty. And he said, "I'm sorry. This is a moral issue, and it's not a question of numbers. There's not going to be any executions under my watch." So, there's those two things.

And then thirdly, a big issue which he didn't address and almost never gets addressed is what if the American people have been lied to? Just theoretically. Then, you know, really what is the value of that moral judgment of theirs? Yeah, Shannon?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:18:19]

Michael: Yeah. That's where we – yeah.

Disentanglement from the Cycles of Fear

You know what that reminds me of? That people don't war, they want survival. It's like St. Augustine said, "Nobody wants war. Everybody wants peace. But they think that war is the way to get there."

We're going to hear next week from someone who is a representative of nonviolent communication. And they're whole approach is based on discriminating between needs and strategies. And this is not unlike things that we've come out through the nonviolent economics route and through other routes. On the level of real needs, there is no conflict among human beings, between human beings and the planet, between human beings and animal life. It's like, I have no problem with the squirrels we just saw over in the FSM Café.

But there's a distortion that comes in where we think that our method of achieving those needs is what we need. And it's on that level that we get into conflicts. So, it's just a question of disentangling – for a person. You know, we have to do that in ourselves and then help the other person to see that. Well, all I can say is it could have been a lot worse. I have had people who were from the Military Affairs program here come in and talk about what they're doing.

You remember some – and really, they did a much worse job of explaining what the purpose of militarism is, than Paul did. So, he's really – I was amazed, actually, to tell you the truth, at the things that he felt that he could say. Because we've had people come into this class, and we say, "What about this?" And they say, "I'm not allowed to talk about that."

Okay, there's one issue. Hang on one second, Palo. There's one issue we haven't discussed yet, and that is the legitimacy of putting yourself – I suppose we have touched on it, but it's worth repetition. As T.S. Elliot says, "You will say that I am repeating myself. Very well. I will say it again."

It is not okay to surrender your – I'm going to use the term here. I hope you'll not misunderstand. It is not okay to surrender your moral judgment to another person or a group. There are certain things for which you as an individual have to retain responsibility. And life and death, killing or non-killing, is one of them. That was what the Nuremberg principles were all about. Mathias? You and then Palo.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:21:08]

Michael: I remember one of the people – you have a choice. That's what we always have to bring home to them. But we have to be able to do it gently and respectfully so that they could – but we have one person who came in here to this class and said, "Well, if the war is legal, and it's been declared by constitutional authority, then I'm supposed to carry it out. But it turns out that the president had not been elected in electoral fraud, and the war was illegal. And he was still carrying it out. That's the thing. They say, "We will only do it within this legal framework." But once they get into the system, they're just going to do it. They're trapped. Yeah, Palo?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:21:56]

Michael: Oh, very good point. This is terrific.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:22:06]

Michael: Well, not anything very pleasant. The person I'd recommend to read on this subject is Naomi Klein. She's a journalist from Canada who has documented in great detail. She wrote a book called, "No Logo," about globalization. And she has documented in great detail two things about the experiment in Iraq. And this is why I've been convincing a lot of my colleagues in the peace movement that we have to stop that experiment. It has to fail because if it fails, we may have gotten the leverage to stop globalization.

And if they succeed with that globalization, it will be very – from a – globalization from above, of course – it will be very, very difficult to stop. So, one of the things that she showed is that what they're doing in Iraq is like a perfect laboratory case of how you do neoliberalism. How you eliminate the competition, downsize the government, and privatize everything. In Iraq, human beings had been sharing water from the Tigris and the Euphrates for 7000 years without much difficulty. But we move in there – we, being [Unintelligible 00:23:36] and saying, "Oh, you're wasting this terrific opportunity. This is water. This is a source of profit."

And they privatized it and start selling it to people. The whole catastrophe, as Zorba the Greek says. But the other point that she was making is that the army has been corporatized and privatized. The army is described now in corporate language as having a core competence. This is how CEOs speak. In CEO speak, they say, "They have a core competence. Namely, combat. Everything else should be supplied by profit-making private institutions." So, everything from getting your haircut to sending a letter home, in some cases, getting armor. And now – now you're having these private militias, which if you remember, our lecture from John Lindsay-Poland, this again is a way – it's a shell game. It's a way of hiding the responsibility.

Do you remember? The Columbian Army is responsible to the government of that country, which is ultimately responsible to global opinion and American money. The two being almost synonymous in this case. So, they can't carry out human rights abuses. So, what do they do? They set up a private militia. They funnel all the money and the weapons to them, and they carry out the abuses. And the army looks clean.

So, similarly, this is why, if you look back at Roman history, there were these Praetorian Guards which served as the bodyguards for the emperor. Now, once you had a bodyguard, the temptation was to use them for purposes other than protecting yourself from bandits and terrorism. They used them for everything for which you can use threat power. So, these private militias, the Presidium, got bigger and bigger and bigger. The abuses got worse and worse. And on the road to democracy, one of the most important steps was not to have private mercantilistic – mercenary militias. They had to be under the control of the state decision-making apparatus, however flawed it was.

So, we have now gone backwards about 1800 years in setting up Blackwater and all of these private companies. Yes, Alex?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:26:11]

Michael: Not to mention if you read Kathy Kelly, who has spent a lot of time in Iraq – and you have a bit of a thing from her writing in your reader, which as usual, we'll never get to. But I hope you read it and enjoy it. She points out that the average Iraqi who is facing destitution can earn \$7-8000 at some enterprise within Iraq, or he can be paid, you know, \$60-70,000 for working in some capacity within the army or one of these private corporations in security or some other capacity. In which capacity, he is very likely to be assassinated by his fellow Iraqis. It creates, somehow, injecting a huge amount of violence into that country has not made it better. So, maybe that should be our last comment on what Paul Chappell shared with us and that situation.

Nonviolent Training and Organization

Talk a little bit now about training and organization. The way I see the training is on three levels – and that will not surprise you because by now you know that for me, reality comes in three levels, and I see everything in three levels. But for better or for worse – hope you all got this. I'm going to start with the deepest level, which is also the part that has to be the most individual. And that is getting yourself to have – whenever you need it, and not just when the occasion will call it forth – the capacity to convert negative drives to positive drives in yourself.

And I was very pleased that in the section that you're reading from Kevin Danaher on the Seattle WTO protests, "A Global Uprising," Page 249 for those of you who didn't bring your Reader with you today. He says, "One of the tricky skills to develop is to take the anger and the pain and transform it into positive energy." As I've said from the get-go, from the beginning, this is the fundamental nonviolent act. When you've done it, you can induce it in other people, and you're on your way. Amy?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:29:08]

Michael: Very good. Released it under discipline for maximum effect. So, he – King, incidentally, I hope you got the King quote that I sent out on CourseWeb. He is saying a little bit more about the active, you know, carrying it out. Releasing it under discipline. But Kevin Danaher here is talking about the actual conversion, which is like a millisecond before that happens even. And he goes on to say, "In those dark moments of the soul you have to say, 'Do I really have the right to wallow in self-despair because maybe we won't succeed?'" Which is – you hear that a lot, you know, "The problem is hopeless. Alas, woe is me."

Or you have an obligation to little kids dying in Africa or somewhere else, and have to say, “Come on. Let’s get back in the ring.” We have to convert positive – start acting, no matter how hopeless the situation may look. You’ve had your few moments of wallowing. I can’t quite finish this sentence because we’re on the air. But he uses a word that I don’t want to use in public. It’s right here in your book. Page 249. Okay.

Yeah, so unless you can bring this about, the best that you’re going to be able to do is carry out a behavior which you hope will signalize to people that you’re not threatening them. But on the other hand, you insist that they change. But when that is backed with this actual spiritual conversion, it has a much deeper impact.

Now, so what are the techniques for training yourself to do this? Does somebody else want to say it? Save me from the embarrassment? Meditation. Thank you, 8 o’clock in the morning or 6:00PM in the evening. What you’re actually doing is you’re doing this on a small scale with every thought that comes up in your mind. Palo?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:31:29]

Michael: Zoe, take care of this man after class. Yeah.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:31:36]

Michael: Yeah. So, more on this later. We know this is seditious because every single year, International and area studies forgets to put this in the catalog. You have to discover at the last minute and put it back in. So, that’s our signal that this is a really useful thing to do. But yeah, I won’t say a whole lot more about it here because I could teach a whole course on it. And it also is going to be webcast. And because as I say, it’s kind of an individual matter. But the important point – I guess there’s two important points to make about it.

One is that this doesn’t work very well if you do nothing in particular. You do your same-old, same-old, and you hope that when you get into a tense situation, that it will be there for you. That’s dangerous folly. That is probably not going to work. This is something that you have to do when you’re not in danger, repeatedly, so that it’s there for you when you are in danger.

There’s a funny saying in India that when you’re going across one of these dangerous rope bridges that are swinging across this chasm. You have makaras, you know, crocodiles snapping away down below. They say, “On the bridge, it’s Rama Rama. Back on dry land, it’s kama kama.” Rama being Rama, and kama being selfish desire. So, that doesn’t work very well. So, you need a systematic way to respond all the time to negativity as it comes up in your consciousness. Then when you’re faced with a dire situation, the negativity will start coming up, and you will transform it so that you can release it under discipline for maximum effect. My favorite King-ism. And that’s saying a lot. That guy was very, very good. Very eloquent.

So, but the second point I wanted to make is the fact that we read about this in a statement by Kevin Danaher who is the co-founder of Global Exchange. Global Exchange or GX as we call it in the field, is a wonderful organization. It’s a good example of a stable, financially viable nonprofit that is not explicitly dedicated to nonviolence. That’s why they’re stable and viable financially, but which actually does nonviolence in various ways. They don’t insist on it, teach it, demand it, but they do things that fit very much into our framework, and they’re very much open to it.

And Keven Danaher's wife is Media Benjamin, who I'm sure you've heard of. She's a co-founder of Code Pink. And she's been arrested innumerable times. Which is the first step on the road to being declared a saint.

So, there's this question of spiritual practice, and also it has to permeate your lifestyle. That's why the most common definition of principled nonviolence when we're trying to contrast it with other types is that it is a way of life. That's not how I go about it, but it's a reasonable way of doing it. Because if you get it deep enough to where it pervades your whole life, then you're operating on it as a matter of principle, okay?

So, note that we've started with a kind of training which is very difficult to document and which often people don't even associate with social change. But which the world, in general, is gradually coming to realize is an essential element. Elizabeth?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:35:42]

Michael: That's a very good point. Isn't Step 10 in the 12-Step program is meditation, I believe.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:36:20]

Michael: In fact, you'll be happy to know that our meditation center has just written a booklet in conjunction with somebody who came through that program, just written a booklet on meditation for AA people – AA or NA. This is a very good way of reaching out. Now, it is possible for a human being to harbor inconsistencies and contradictions. In fact, it's not possible for a human being not to harbor inconsistencies and contradictions. And so, I think we should not say that anybody who goes through the 12-Step program will be a nonviolent activist at the end of it. But it's definitely a method that people are recognizing that they need to capture negative energy and convert it into positive energy, and we could use that. Great.

So, while this is the most important level and without it we won't really have anything to mobilize, I don't think there's a whole lot more we can say about it here.

Handling Emotions and Nonviolent Communication

And I'll go to the next level, which is – I'm calling it right now, "Handling emotions."

This is very similar. There really is an overlap and I think it's in this level, at this level, in this area that the nonviolent communication comes into the picture. So, we're going to hear that next week. And this is not primarily about – now let me start that again. This is not operating directly on the forces within your own psyche, but rather on their expression. You'll hear this very eloquently from Miki Kashtan next week. How can you interact with a person in such a way that you're responding to their needs in a way that helps them see their needs and your needs, and go on from there?

So, this is a hugely successful program. I'll just – Nonviolent Communication. It's one of the deeper and certainly one of the most successful ways of doing that. There are programs of a similar type, like when we talked about restorative justice. Remember that interesting topic? We said that there were groups going out into prisons. One of them is called VORP, Victim Offender Reconciliation Program. But another is AVP which stands for the Alternative to Violence Project. One of the main things that they do is they take offenders who have been incarcerated, and they get them to – they teach them how to express themselves in language because a lot of the

violent behavior comes from the inability to get respect, make your needs felt, and express yourself in words.

Learn how to do that, you don't have to hit somebody upside the head with a knuckle duster or whatever it is that you're going to use. Which is a very crude way to get respect. Maybe even counterproductive. Okay.

Technique of Role-Playing in Nonviolence Training

So, again, to pass on very quickly, but you know, each of these things is, you know, useful to explore further if it's any help to you in your papers and so forth. But there is a technique which has been relied upon for a long time, specifically within social change movements. And that's role-playing.

I would say that this is – because it deals directly with behavior and only indirectly with attitude, this is maybe a step more superficial than nonviolent communication which is, in turn, a big step more superficial than meditation, in my humble opinion. John?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:40:39]

Michael: Yeah. I don't think we should rule out the efficacy of behavior altogether. But because it is possible to act out of one set of motives and conceal another – even from yourself – in itself, action is not the place I'd like to start. That's why I'd like to start it with the inner conversion. Then the action is bound to have its effect. But it's also the case, and psychologists have proven this, to the extent that you can prove anything in that field, that if you act as if you felt kindness towards a person, it will resonate with the potentiality, at least, of feeling kindness towards them. It does have some effect. But it's just because the body is so much grosser than the mind, it's a very much cruder and an indirect way of going about changing the mind.

Arby, was it you?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:42:02]

Michael: Yeah. This is, I suppose, our whole – the point that we call coercion versus persuasion. That if you can own something, even if you don't fully own it, if you act on it, it will have some impact. Whereas if you're doing it because somebody is ordering you to, you'll just be looking for a way to get out of it as fast as possible. Yeah, that's true.

So, this role-playing, I have to confess that I was very snobbish about role-playing. I thought, you know, I'm a meditator, I don't have to do this. And I went to a training camp one time for the early days of nonviolent intervention. And they were doing these role-plays and I said – you know, I didn't think it was very valuable. But on the other hand, I'm way too chicken to sit out and say, "I'm not going to do this." So, there I am, being dragged in just as Arby said I should not have been, against my will just because of social peer group pressures. And I entered into this role-play.

The thing – we were acting out what happened to David Hartsough in that lunch counter. I was one of the people sitting at the lunch counter. There was a young woman sitting next to me. And then there was this crowd of people playing the role of rednecks who were attacking her. And the point of the role-play was what was I supposed to do? What should I do in this situation? Well, of course, you know, being a complete ham, the minute they started attacking this young

woman and reminding myself that this isn't real, I stepped in front of her and said, "No, no. Take me instead. I'm a nonviolence professor."

I'm not saying this is very likely to happen in real life, but be that as it may, I did that. And they said, "Okay, we will attack you instead." Now, here's the point that I want to make. I mean, I've already made one point that I'm a hero. Okay, we got that. Got that all down. But the real point I wanted to make is the fact is, those people were very angry, and I was very afraid. When the emotions are triggered, whether the event is real or you're just acting it out, it does trigger the same emotions, and it does give you the same things to work with.

And now, of course, we have this stunning Zimbardo study. You know, Phillip Zimbardo, a psychologist from Stanford who took people and divided them into prison guards and prisoners to see how long it would – you know, they would run the experiment for a while, see if it changed their behavior. They had to stop the experiment after one week because the "prison guards" were being sadistic. The sadism was real even though the role was artificial. So, yeah, Mathias?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:45:17]

Michael: It works. Let's use it. We're spinning all these very ideas here and congratulating ourselves that we don't need to do this. Of course, I'm a particularly bad example of that. I was really snobbish in that regard. But it's true. The military has overcome the resistance to kill by getting people to play it out in their fantasies.

And a very good friend of mine – Nouwen, Henry Nouwen, Belgian theologian. You take care of that whole area of the world, as far I'm concerned, [Inga]. A Belgian theologian was sitting on a plane one time talking to someone. This was during the Vietnam War. This fellow was an active combat duty in Vietnam. And so, Henry Nouwen says, "How can you do this?" He said, "You know, when I went there, I had seen so many cowboy movies that I actually thought that the people I killed would get up and play again in another scene." That's how the fantasy had imposed itself on the reality.

So, why not use it for positive means? And originally, it was strategic. They do a thing called "Hassle lines," where you're being a demonstrator, and you're standing there, maybe locking elbows. And other people who are pretend policemen come up and try to harass you, get you off your stable emotional base. And by practicing with the emotion, then you're able to do it better when you go out on the lines. But if you saw the PBS documentary, "A Force More Powerful." The first or second segment is about the Civil Rights Movement. And you'll actually see black and white film footage of James Farmer, who is still alive and well – thank God – doing role-plays in the basement of churches in the South before they went out onto these demonstrations.

So, this has a relatively long pedigree in this field. And it also has been incorporated into institutions. It's not just something like you go to a local church and say, "Can we use your basement?" But there's a well-known institution – the Highlanders Folk School, which trained people. And it's interesting that it's a folk school. [Unintelligible 00:48:25] Not quite. It trained people to do this and to understand why they were doing it, and study oppression and things like that. And, you know, people think that Rosa Parks was just some random woman who happened to be sitting on a bus. And just one day, she just said, "I've had it. I'm not going to move anymore."

But in fact, she was a graduate of Highlander Folk School. So, this does matter. You can train people and inject them into the world of social change activism in a more effective place than where they started. Okay.

Now I'll put one other thing up here in this category. But if you can think of others, please let me know. There is a whole institution – I'm going to call it an industry – around conflict resolution or conflict mediation or conflict management. Sometimes people don't like the idea of going out and resolving any conflict that comes along because some conflicts are necessary. You need it to build out to your nonviolent moment. So, you get people to stop struggling and call that conflict resolution, it's very, very suspicious. I even have a colleague at this university who will not touch conflict resolution with a pole for that reason.

But whatever we call it, conflict management or whatever, there's a very well-developed science now which operates in Phase 1 of the escalation curve, you know? As long as people can still talk to one another, we've got mechanisms for helping them to talk more effectively. Amy?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:50:08]

Michael: Yes. Yeah. But whatever you – however you're particularly approaching it, there are skills that people have learned.

Getting to Yes

And I guess one of the earliest and most influential works in this country was a book called, "Getting to Yes," by Roger Fisher and William Yuri at the Harvard Negotiation Project. So, I don't spend a whole lot of time talking about that simply because other people do. You know, we've got Phase 1 pretty well covered. That's the easy part to work on. We've got to launch out into deeper areas.

Okay, then there's the strategic level. And I'm talking mainly about social change activism here. Learning that there's a smart way and a dumb way to do stuff is, you know, in this game. There's been – militarists have known that you have to – in fact, the word strategy comes from the Greek word 'Strategos' which means a battle commander. Stratos means army and [Unintelligible 00:51:25] means to lead. So, they knew centuries ago, once again, and we are finally catching on that yes, the point is not to understand things, but to change them. Yes, we all recognize that Karl Marx was correct about that. But he was too angry to be correct about a lot of stuff. He was correct about some stuff.

But there's also such a thing as expressing your actions in an intelligent way that you've thought about beforehand.

And in this connection there is actually a person who is widely regarded as the dean of nonviolence strategy in the world today. His name is George Lakey. He comes from – he's based in Philadelphia, so as you might have suspected, he has shadowy Quaker origins. But he has an organization called, "Training for Change." And he is actually – he gets contracts. You know, like when Nonviolent Peaceforce got started, they recognized they needed to do a lot of training. Maybe not as much as I thought they needed to do, but they needed to do a lot.

And so, you know, you google "Nonviolent trainers" and you come up with George Lakey, "Training for Change." And they hired him, brought him out to Indonesia to have a training camp for two or three weeks with people before they were sent to Sri Lanka. So, I'm very happy about

the fact that these things are getting systematized and organized and institutionalized. John, did you –

Student: [Unintelligible 00:53:04]

Michael: Yeah. John is – I mean, George is a really good guy. There were people who worked with him who used to call him Flakey Lakey, but I think it was just for the sake of the rhyme. I don't think there was really anything serious to it. So, you know, he will take role-play and a whole bunch of other stuff. And in a few weeks or however much you can afford time wise and money wise, he'll train you how to do this. And he's far from being the only person. He's just sort of the most recognizable name right now.

I'm happy to say, incidentally, that I got an email from a schoolgirl in some middle school somewhere back East who said her teacher asked her to write an essay on Gandhi. So, she googled 'Gandhi expert' and came up with me. Which we're going to talk about the new technologies, if we get around to it. Okay. So, then after the strategic level, there's the technical level. And you know, I'm not saying that these things don't overlap, but it's handy to look at it from these perspectives.

And here, there – a lot has really been happening in the last couple of decades. You remember my saying that when you're training people for nonviolent intervention, TPNI, one level of stuff that they have to learn is how to behave appropriately in the target culture that they're going to. It's so easy to make stupid mistakes and get misunderstood.

Remember my son-in-law who was invited to teach medicine in Japan. They had to coach him on how you say yes and how you say no in Japanese. Because, for example, no is [inhales] and things like that. And so, people will never – they will never say, "Yea," which is the Japanese word for no. They will – because that's way too impolite. They will let you know that the answer is no, but they won't say it. But if you're a European or, God forbid, an American where everything is on the surface, straight up. Let's sock it to 'em. "He didn't say no." So, you go out and sign this billion dollar contract only to find out that it was based on thin air.

So, that's just one sort of amusing example. But it's also possible to do things which you don't realize are threatening. And so, it's also necessary to learn the language and the culture in a given area. So, that's one part of the technical training that has to go on for nonviolent intervention. And it has to go on also for other aspects of nonviolent training. One important aspect – and I'm running out of space, but maybe you can jot these down for yourself, is meeting and facilitation skills.

I can't tell you how many times – it's happening less often now, which is a good thing. But how many times I have gone to a meeting where people sit around, looking at one another, not knowing what to do. And what happens in that case, of course, is that the biggest egos come to the surface first because, you know, they're the ones who are motivated to get something going here. So, we're crossing a very difficult bridge from – I'm making this as a very general statement now. We're trying to transition – I know, okay, that's not really a verb. We are trying to cross from an area where we have had almost no organization to an area where we can have appropriate organization in which – in a world in which most of the models of organization are not appropriate.

You know, the most effective way to organize something quickly is top down. Unilateral. And we discussed last semester how Gandhi got around this, where he was able to capture the

efficiency without sacrificing democracy. Mainly by saying, “Okay, provisionally, I’m the dictator.” He said, “I’m your general. Do everything that I say. But the minute you don’t want me here, I will leave, which is not how generals and dictators traditionally behave.

Consensus and Facilitation with Decision-Making

So, we’re really sort of groping with these new forms of organization, fully aware that there are very powerful forms of organization that would not work for us. And how to make that kind of blend. So, there are – you can buy big, thick manuals now on how to run a meeting. And these things are – they save you an enormous amount of time if you’re learning how to organize stuff.

The Quakers, once again, have been leading the charge here. Way back in the colonial period, I mean, when the United States was still a colony, or a set of colonies and Germany was not a nation yet. And they were speaking about 136 different dialects in Holland. Way, way back then in [Unintelligible 00:58:51], as they say, in the dark past. The Quakers were having meetings in New England – what is now New England, where they worked out this consensus process, which is really much more effective and much more articulate than you might think.

I mean, I remember going into meetings and saying, “We won’t do anything until we have a consensus.” End result being we did nothing because, you know, the old saying, “Six Jews, seven opinions,” is almost as true with non-Jewish people as it is of Jewish people. You get intelligent people together, they are definitely not going to see everything the same way. If they do, they are probably President Johnson’s cabinet or something like that. They are not really using their intelligence.

So, you have to check that at the door. So, it turns out that the consensus system was really much more articulate in a couple very simple ways that made it much more effective. And what they did was they identified – they tried as far as possible not to go forward with any decision until they had consensus. And that kept the community together.

Look at how divisive it is to have elections. Especially the present era when candidates are so similar that there tend to be like 51 to 49. You got the country split down the middle into winners and losers when the process itself divides the country.

So, they didn’t want to go forward with anything until they had consensus. So, wherever possible, they would talk and talk and talk until they reached consensus. Now, in the 18th century, the early 19th century still, you could afford to do that because America was about, you know, 400 miles wide. And to get a message from one part of it to another part took a couple of weeks by walking or stagecoach or something. But that is now the way life is anymore. I remember the first time I sent an email to a student of mine who was working for the World Bank – that’s a whole interesting story in itself. Did very good things there.

But I sent him this email and I didn’t get an answer for a couple of hours. And then I got an answer saying, “Oh, I’m sorry it took me so long to answer. I was in Azerbaijan when you wrote.” So, the world is so different now. It’s so speeded up. In fact, even without caffeine here I am rattling long at 100 miles an hour. I hope it’s not caffeine.

We’ve noticed that – Sri Easwaran and other contemporary meditation teachers place a lot of emphasis on slowing down. And if you look at the previous eras, you don’t find that emphasis. The goal of meditation has not changed. But suddenly, there’s this emphasis on slowing down.

So, why do you think that is? My guess is it's because the world is speeded up. And it's still speeding up so fast that have to – sic – “A mind that is slow is well. A mind that is still is God.” That was his very nice – Mathias?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:02:08]

Michael: Yeah. And multitasking and rapidity of thought tend to go together. And I think people have discovered that multitasking is inherently stressful because the mind cannot focus on two things at once. So, what you're really doing is you're hopping back and forth. And every time you hop, there's a little expression of stress hormone. So, they say – this maybe should be contained in the morning course, but they say that – Gandhi did say that undo haste is violence. So, he had an inkling of this. Undo haste is violence. The speed or multitasking actually leads to the degeneration of brain cells. Arby?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:03:05]

Michael: Well, this is what I was actually getting at. Thank you for pulling me back to the track I was supposed to be on. Just have you help me out in my next meditation. Yeah. So, what I was saying was that was a practical solution then because things were slower. But it often does not work now. So, you need to be able to come to some kind of effective decision while alienating the fewest number of people. So, what they actually did was they identified three positions.

“I go along with this consensus. I like it. This is alright with me.” Or, “I stand aside,” in Quaker language, which is to say, “I don't particularly like this, but I'm not going to stop you.” Or you say, “I block this consensus. My conscience will not let me go there.” And you hope that this will not happen very often. You hope that if it does, you will have enough time to work out some kind of an understanding with that person. But the commitment is not to go forward as a group as long as there is anybody blocking the consensus.

A single person has veto power, if you want to put it that way. But it's not just like a vote that they cast. You know, they press a button. The light is red instead of green. It's like, “I can't go along with this yet.” We need to talk further or abandon it or something. So, that really echoes – you know, it was 150 years ago. It was a more articulate system than we think. And this is an example of one of the things that you'll learn in these manuals on facilitation and meetings.

Then there are even more technical things like – one of the earliest was how to go limp when you are arrested and what that means. I remember getting pep talks about this during the Free Speech Movement. I know, it's kind of, “Here he goes again.” But let's face it, it was my moment of glory. I can't just completely forget about it. But you know, we would actually be instructed how to go limp. You know if they pick you up by the wrist, you don't jerk your hand away. You don't do nothing. You just let them do all – sorry, that was a New Yorkism – you just let them do with you what they will. You're not going to cooperate, but you're not going to resist. There was those techniques.

And now, when nonviolence has become so much more imaginative, they will teach you things like how to scale a building, how to hang a banner from the 110th story of an office building in Chicago, how to go up on the Golden Gate Bridge and spread out something that said, “No more blood for oil,” and things like that. All kinds of techniques which, let's face it, you have to have these techniques if you're going to go on certain protest actions.

You can't just – like, even Sproul Hall. I'm not suggesting anything. Don't get me wrong. But you can't just, you know, stand there and say, "We're going to scale the building." You have to know how to do it, which I do not. So, I think that would – so, I think we've covered the whole range. I just want to mention from meditation to how to scale the Campanile, all these things are being taught now. And how to meditate when you get up to the top of the Campanile.

Peace Law

I want to mention one other thing that probably fits into this category. And that is how to use peace law. One of the things that I wanted to say – and it really took a certain amount of discipline on my part not to say it to Paul Chappell when he was here because he kept saying how we're so much more democratic than we were 100 years ago. And I wanted to point out that we are a lot less democratic than were 25 years ago.

And 25 years ago, there was a recognized body – I'm speaking about the USA – there was a recognized body of peace law. And activists learned some of it and used it. So, it's not the case, you know, you can go in and hire an expensive lawyer. There's certain things you need to know. For example, it is the law that if you feel, and you have reason to feel, that your security is threatened by something which is nonetheless protected by civil law, you have the right to undertake civil disobedience against that thing.

So, there were people who actually appealed to this piece of legislation, this concept in legislation when they went in and banged on very expensive pieces of military equipment with hammers. Like the nose cones of rockets and things like this. And with an ordinary 16-ounce claw hammer that you can buy probably for \$8 or \$9. I haven't bought one for a while, but when I used to buy them, they were like \$3 or \$4. This real slick fiberglass handles and all the rest of it. You can destroy a \$10 million piece of equipment by just banging on the nose cone because they can't fly with any kind of imperfection.

So, people were arrested. They were charged with malicious destruction of equipment. And the penalties were very, very serious. But they argued – and notice I'm using the past tense here. They argued, "That my security was more threatened by the existence of that object than it was protected, and so I had the right to do that." And there were cases that were dismissed, much to the frustration and disgust of the military.

However – and there's similar kinds of legislation that protected Dan Ellsberg when he released the Pentagon Papers. Just a little bit like what we were saying about the Israeli Separation Wall. Since what the government was doing was itself illegal, our obstruction of it becomes legal. And you know what happened to him. He was completely exonerated. His case was dismissed.

Again, I'm using the past tense, and you know why I am because I seriously doubt that anyone would get away with that today – with either of those things. So, peace law has fallen into disuse and law does not work when it is not used.

But nonetheless, this has been and may be again, depending on how well we do our job, this may again become a viable mechanism for peace activists, nonviolent activists to know about. Okay, so I've mentioned that you can learn stuff from manuals. You can go and take courses from the Ruckus Society. They tend to emphasize the technical part. You know, how to climb bridges without killing yourself and stuff like that. There are organizations that help you do media work and fundraising and so forth. Okay?

Okay, so now we're in this funny position where I finished one topic, and I was going to go onto another one and there's only five minutes left. I was going to say from training to organization. I don't think we're in a terrific hurry. Does any of you have any comments on this or other stuff before we go ahead? Kind of suspected this might be, perhaps – this is kind of the nuts and bolts part of stuff. So, this is maybe a little less inspiring than the principles of nonviolence, and it's a little less challenging than the gray areas of nonviolent ethics.

But it's definitely something we need to know about. It's one of the things that's changing the picture for nonviolence in the world. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:11:50]

Michael: That's a really good question. And I guess the really not so good answer is, "I don't know." Kathy Kelly would be the one to ask. She's the most arrested person that I know of. She's slightly more arrested even than Media Benjamin. I don't think it worked out very well for them when they were in Iraq, for example, trying to deliver humanitarian aid. I can give you one example, which is kind of a negative one.

Their outfit was called, "Voices in the Wilderness." And they delivered, well, maybe even millions of dollars of humanitarian aid – medical and food – to Iraq against the law, breaking the blockade. And whoever it is, State Department or whoever sued them, came after them. And they won their case. And Voices in the Wilderness had to pay more money than they could possibly have owned in a hundred years. So, what they did was disband the organization and reinvent it as Voices for Creative Nonviolence. It was kind of a subterfuge, but they were able to keep on going. And they're very effective, still going today. But law did not protect them. Only kind of a subterfugacious mechanism to evade the law was all that protected them.

Now, I don't like to be bitter and negative about this, but I think that one of the worst things that's happened to the country since the year 2000 election is that the judiciary has been swept in along with the legislative under the umbrella of the executive. So, it's not working nearly as well. I remember there was one episode when people in a town called Jacksonville, Oregon. Much smaller than Jacksonville, Mississippi. Where just all they were doing was protesting. President Bush was up for re-election. He came through their town. I think I told you about this. Anyway, there's a group of people standing on one side of the road saying, "Four more years. Four more years." And this other group was standing on the other side of the road saying, "Four more weeks. Four more weeks." It was one month until the election.

And so, the presidential cavalcade or whatever it is comes along. There's the president's vehicle with tinted inch-thick bulletproof glass windows, followed by unmarked vans with practically no windows at all. And evidently, he got on the horn and said, "Get them people out of here." I should not say that, but I'm sorry. "Get those people out of here." And the van stopped. The doors open up. Fully armed riot police came pouring out of the vans, corralling these people. Yelling commands at them – or yelling orders at them through bullhorns which they could not even understand. Falls on these people and start beating them, knocking a 75-year-old man to the ground, and so on and so forth. And nobody even tried to bring a case because that's where things have come to.

And I remember saying this in a talk when Marianne Williamson was there, and she said, "This is not okay. We have to do something about this." But what exactly to do about it is not entirely clear. But there was a feeling, even during the anti-Vietnam war protests, that although people

were very angry and obstreperous, there was a limit beyond which police brutality would not go, and the law would apply.

And I'm afraid that you now have what's called, "The Miami Syndrome," or Miami something, where, you know, you had the WTO protests in Seattle – were very effective. I think the next similar thing that was tried in the U.S. was Miami. And there, they were ready for us. So, they, you know, used barbed wire, and they controlled the crowds very, very tightly so that they could not get out of hand. They couldn't do anything. And that's the style that they use now around the world. Melissa?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:16:13]

Michael: Okay. Yeah. That was a terrible pun, that this is a high point of political activism to climb a 60-foot redwood tree. Or oak tree, in this case. But yeah, I mean that's another thing that's been learned. And you saw – we saw that very dramatic film clip in the history of Earth First where people learned from experience and worked it out through partly consensus, partly voting. That they would not do tree spiking and things like that. So, learning from Julia Butterfly Hill, how to live in a very tall redwood tree for two years is another technical skill.

Well, technically, I have – I'm out of time. And at some point we'll talk about new forms of organization. Please do keep up with the reading, even though I don't have a chance to talk about it very much.

[PACS 164B Lecture 26](#)

Michael: Just going through these things in no particular order. On May 2nd, I will be participating in a telephone call with myself, and a man named Dr. Eyad el-Sarraj from Gaza, who's a psychiatrist well-known in the Israeli-Palestinian peace circles.

And this is a new technology they're trying out. The phone call is going to have 500 listeners. And you can be among them.

So, this is a week from tomorrow. 9 o'clock our time. And at 9:00AM our time, I believe. Yeah. Yeah. It'll be some horrible hour over there. And I'm going to try and get the phone number for people to call in. I'll try and have that on Thursday. If not, I'll CourseWeb it out to everybody. And I've just officially made CourseWeb into a verb. I have CourseWebbed you.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:00:59]

Michael: 7:00PM over there? It's not too bad. That's not too bad. Thanks. It's good to have someone from the Middle East on hand for these occasions.

So, that's those two things. Tonight, here in Berkeley at the [Berkeley Buddhist Monastery](#) on McKinley and Bancroft, there is a talk from – and this is somewhat – no, not somewhat. This is actually relevant to the topic that we have embarked on now which is nonviolent culture. There's an element in that topic which is storytelling. It's well-known that people get their ethical guidelines from stories more than from anything else.

There's a book called, "Why Johnny Can't Tell Right From Wrong" by a man named Bill McClintock, I think. [William Kilpatrick]. He proves that young people in particular, but not so young people also really get their moral compass from narratives. It's why they had to use mythology in the old days. Today, we use television.

So, storytelling and deliberately injecting a new ethical position into the world has become one of the techniques used in nonviolent culture creation. And somebody who does this for a living, I suppose – I suppose you can make a living at this. At 7:30 tonight in the Berkeley Buddhist Monastery, he's going to be there.

Okay. Moving on from there – yeah, Palo?

Student: [unintelligible 00:02:38]

Michael: It's McKinley and Bancroft. So, you want to go straight down Bancroft, but Berkeley High School gets in the way. You have to go around. Unless you want to climb over the chain-link fence, which I have done a number of times.

Now, Paul Chappell who spoke to us last week, who was in the Army, as I suspected he would do, he watched the webcast of our discussion of him. So, he's probably now watching my comment on his webcast. And so, on it goes. He has sent me two very long emails. He's keenly interested in getting involved in a longer dialog with us. And I haven't really quite thought of how that would work. But he's an extremely interesting guy. He told me the only reason that he has not become a conscientious objector now is that it would not have any meaning because he's finished his tour of duty. So, he would just be stopping. He would not be quitting.

But he had so much to say that I wasn't able to respond to and I do think it would be a wonderful idea if we stay in touch with him somehow. If you can think of a way to do that, set up a special blog space or something, we should continue talking with him.

Years and years ago, Kenneth Boulding said if we don't reach out and figure out a way of contacting the military, we're losing our best asset in peace creation. I mentioned when he was here, that desertions have tripled in the last five years. And he pointed out that more West Point graduates have left the military – are leaving the military now than in any time in the last 30 years. So, there's a real dissatisfaction there. Partly for the right reasons, partly not. And we should be talking to those people.

Next – let's see. I spoke at Tomales High School last week. A very, very nice audience of young people. They got completely – if I can use an old 1960s expression, they got turned on. And they now want to turn around and teach nonviolence in the local elementary school. And maybe move out from there and teach it to the cows.

So, I rashly suggested to my friend who's a teacher there that some of you would be interested in meeting and talking with these young people. So, I guess, again, just want to say that that's – until they get over the open house, I can't really plan anything. But I can still throw out ideas. So, think that over. Tomales, California. Lovely place. It's about an hour and a half drive from here. About ten minutes drive from there to the beach. If you take some high schoolers out to the beach for a picnic, try to avoid that elephant seal that's been going around killing people.

But seriously, or at least more seriously, I think this is a wonderful opportunity to create a sort of vertical dialog. They're keenly interested in football. So, any of you have NFL backgrounds, be prepared to use that.

Good news is that Michael Lerner will be coming to talk to us next week when we shift even a step upward into spiritual nonviolence. We start today. And finally, two other things. Those of you have been handing in your papers early, this is wonderful. And we completely encourage this. But I'm a little bit tied up right now, so give me a couple of days to get them around to Maria to get them back out to you.

And the other thing is, I hope you did have a chance to listen to the interview with Jack DuVall. I gave you the link last time. It was on YourCallRadio.org/archive, plus a whole a string of numbers. I can CourseWeb it to you if you need. It was a very good interview, and I'm happy to say that Jack Duvall, who was the Director of ICNC, [International Center for Nonviolent Conflict](http://InternationalCenterforNonviolentConflict.org), they did the film that we saw on Otpor, "Bringing Down a Dictator." Before that, they did the PBS series called, "[The Force More Powerful](http://TheForceMorePowerful.org)."

He will be coming out to speak to the teacher's conference in July. So, if you get a chance, do listen to that. I think it's a good barometer of where different people are at now with the development of nonviolence.

Okay. I want to get off the stage as quickly as possible, so we can hear from my friend Miki who represents in East Bay – one of the most successful, and from many different angles, one of the most successful nonviolent organizations in the world, nonviolent communication. Would you tell us a little bit when you get up here, Miki, about how big it is and how many people? Okay.

But let me say a little bit more about organization because we started to talk about that, and we'll only be one lecture behind if we can say a little bit more about it here before Miki comes on.

Consensus Process

I had said a few words, I think, about the consensus process that was developed by the early Quakers and how it was a much more articulate process than just we're all going to sit around and talk about it until everybody is happy and those who aren't are willing to keep their mouth shut. It's much more articulate than that. It does provide a systematic way for the community to make decisions and move forward without dividing itself into winners and losers.

Sometimes even people who get up and say, "I am a uniter and not a divider," turn out to be dividers. And you knew that all along if you had more than about a 54 IQ that you were actually willing to use. But anyway, pardon my bitterness.

But the standard political process is very divisive. It keeps on breaking down community. We call it democracy, but it's an alienating and segregating process. And there are worse things about democracy that Gandhi had to say that we pointed out last semester in the readings from "[Hind Swaraj](#)". So, if this is a particular interest of yours, get a hold of that little booklet called, "Hind Swaraj" or "Indian Home Rule". And in it he critiques democracy as a system, not as an ideal. As an ideal, we're all totally onboard with it. But as an implementation, especially by the British parliamentary system, he has some critiques.

And he had to have because they were using democracy as a club to beat India down with. "We have democracy. You don't." If you're thinking to yourself, "Hmm, that sounds familiar. We're going to come and carpet bomb you into democracy." That's still going on. So, it's good to know that democracy as a political structure has certain shortcomings with regard to the implementation of loving community.

And I talked about one of them when Paul was here, right? As Kant and other people have pointed out, when democracies go to war, it's worse because it's like the whole community is taking responsibility which means nobody is. Okay.

So, that much we had said so far. I think about the Quakers. And I wanted to mention a new idea that's come into this whole concept. And that is the idea of looking even deeper into nature than the Quaker community. And looking at the way what they call living systems self-organize and ask if there isn't an analogy which human systems can build upon to organize in a natural way that would enable us to maintain living community and still make decisions and so forth.

And in the '70s there was this attempt to reorganize the world. Mostly, it was being done in New York, which needed some reorganization at that point. And it was okay. But it was all on paper. And there was a project, for example, called, "[The World Order Modeling Project](#)." It has a very nice acronym. "WOMP" And they would have tons of blackboards. They didn't have computers in those days. All these blackboards and white – you know, newspaper – newsprint paper.

And they kept reorganizing the world. And no matter how they did it – there were two things wrong with it. It just kept on being hierarchical, for one thing. And second of all, it just stayed there on those pieces of paper in New York. It had no relationship to reality.

Well, people are still trying that. Here's a very pretty picture. I don't know if you can zoom in on this. I think peace should be pretty. And this is an organizational diagram of the world. I mean not a standard hierarchical diagram where you have the \$300 million a year CEO at the top and all these little boxes going down and down.

But just, you know, in terms of real interactions, who's talking to whom and who's doing what? And then a step beyond this, I think, is what we've come up with now with this Gaia hypothesis, the whole world is a living entity. And related to that, the idea that living systems have a

marvelous capacity to organize themselves. And somehow, we ought to be learning from that, if not imitating that.

Well, in the world of nonviolent organization, the form that's been cooked up and used recently, as most of you know better than I – because you've actually probably been in one, and I just talk about this stuff. But it's this wonderful concept of the affinity group.

Affinity Groups

And it turns out that if you rely upon that infallible source of wisdom known as Wikipedia, you will discover that the term “affinity group” actually goes back to late 19th century Spanish anarchists. They did not fare very well in the Falangist takeover of Spain in 1940. But they were very passionate about anarchism.

Anarchism, as you know, is something that we here in the nonviolent world feel sort of okay about. In other words, there really are two different kinds of anarchism. They all have in common that they don't want central hierarchical authority. And as far as that goes, I feel that we're mostly on the same page with them. I'm going to continue that sentence in just a minute. I'm interrupting myself.

On May 10th, 1886, a court clerk made a mistake, and he wrote down in the records – again, there were no recorders of a mechanical kind in those days. So, this was human error. He wrote down a ruling that, “Corporations are persons within the intent of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, equal protection of the laws.”

So, just one guy out to lunch – I don't know, had a fight with his wife that morning or something. Wasn't thinking, made a mistake, and we've been condemned to this whole regime where corporations can come in and say, “It's my right to exploit you and utilize your water for my profit,” and all this.

Now, this is a slight exaggeration, clearly. If we weren't so out to lunch, we would not have seized on this ruling and made it into the practice of law. But it is interesting to know that there is really no 100% Kosher legal basis for this concept that corporations are persons which is the opposite of the organizational patterns that we're trying to develop now.

So, you had these [Spanish] which is I think reasonable Spanish for affinity groups. And they had a very great strategic advantage, which was that there were no – two advantages, really – on a strategic level. You could not arrest the leadership because the leadership was diffuse. And even with Gandhi we saw that last semester. And the other great advantage was it was impossible for security services to infiltrate them because the affinity groups consisted of people whom everybody knew, everybody knew and trusted.

This is a serious question. I remember when I left New York, a week after I left, somebody who had infiltrated the hippy/beatnik/whatever we called ourselves movement in Greenwich Village, arranged for – it turned out to be a narc and arranged for a raid. And a week after I left town, most of my friends were behind bars. It was the grace of God that got me out of there before they sprung the trap.

But depending on what you're doing and how much secrecy it depends on, you know, how vicious the regime is that you're creating an opposition to, it can be very dangerous to have your identity betrayed. So, affinity groups were very hard to penetrate. Even the FBI could not get in there. All kinds of funny stories, but I'm going to pass them over so we can get finished.

So, affinity groups are more or less spontaneously formed. They're democratic. They come out of what would be called in German [German]. That is the organic community of a people and not the formerly documented social structures. And they're not centralized, and they come into existence in the context of action.

And sometimes, which is very important, we've touched on this in so many different ways, they continue after the action. Partly because they like each other, if they do. And partly because they know that we are in this for the long haul. And if you have to reinvent the organization every time there's an issue, at least every time there's an attempt to respond to an issue, it'll be very inefficient. You'll have to start this all over again.

Well, I guess – let's see. Now one more thing about what affinity groups do. And I guess Seattle was the classic example of this. There were something like 50,000 people who had shown up for that action. It was very, very successful. It led to what we now call, "The Miami Model," so we can't do that anymore, quite the same way.

Structure of an Affinity Group

Affinity groups are not just free-floating clusters. Affinity groups have a structure within themselves. They have different responsibilities. There's one person who's called the spoke. And that is a pun. It's a spoke as in a spoke of a wheel. And a spoke as in spokesperson. So, this is the person who's going to talk to other affinity groups. It's about as funny as I'm going to get this morning, so I hope you all appreciated that.

If there's enough, they'll also have a media person. They'll have a facilitator. So, they could have meetings that are efficient without brutalizing everybody. That's very important. Now, this is new that other organizations don't have this in an informal way. They have a vibe watcher. So, when people start – they have little machines, you know, when people get too uptight, they'll say, "Whoops, you're over 50,000. We got to crank this back down." And they'll suggest that everybody stretch.

There was one meeting in Seattle, a very big meeting. Not an affinity group meeting. Somebody got up and was ranting and raving. Probably he was the other kind of anarchist. I didn't quite finish that sentence. But there are those who are okay with violence and there are anarchists who are not. He probably was part of the okay group. He got up and he started ranting and raving. And somebody just stood around and looked at the group and said, "Ommm."

It was quite a large number of people all going, "Ommm" together. And just this guy was all chilled out and he was fine. And they could continue the meeting. Then you read these very funny emails that were flying around saying, "They all stood up and made this noise. I don't know where it came from. But for some reason, the meeting calmed down."

Okay, so there is a vibe watcher and there's also – now this is going to be a little bit tricky. There's a quick decision maker. Not to be confused with the person who prances and preens and says, "I'm the decider and you don't count." That's a different kind of person altogether. But if you're coming to a quick decision, are we going to lock ourselves or are we not, you've got like 20 minutes to get out there in the street and nobody – there isn't a consensus, you'll turn to this person who's reasonably trusted. He's taken the census of the group and he'll make that decision – he or she.

So, within the affinity group this is a structure that's grown up. And I don't know whether they found documents from the anarchist movement in Spain and copied this or whether it just grew up in practice because this is what you need, but that is what a typical affinity group looks like.

And then the affinity groups will relate to – they will report to a cluster. And the cluster will report to a spokes council which will be in charge of the entire campaign. So, that's roughly how those things work together. Internal organization of the groups and the way that they feed their decisions to other groups.

So, we will see whether this form can be perpetuated and adopted beyond the movements that they come up in and actually provide some sort of a new basis for organizing society itself and possibly even the world.

Okay, so at least we've said something about new organizations. And we can come back to it later, but I've very eager now to turn the floor over to my friend Miki who's going to talk to us about nonviolent communication. Please welcome her.

[Applause]

Miki Kashtan and Nonviolent Communication

Miki: This is going to be a bit of a challenge because I tend to be very interactive and not lecturing at all. I don't like to lecture, so I don't know how we're going to work the Web, but I understand that the way to do it is that I will repeat what you say, which will be a great opportunity to model one of the skills of what I'm teaching.

So, I want to start by inviting you to reflect for a moment on what nonviolence means to you. What is nonviolence for you? Where does it sit in your heart? What are the values or principles that lie at the heart of it that are meaningful to you? So, let's take a moment to reflect and see if anybody wants to venture forward and say what it is for you. I depend on you. Anybody wants to respond? What makes an action or a movement or a speech nonviolent? Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:24:48]

Miki: Okay, so a metaphor of embracing what is instead of resisting and fighting it. Yeah. Mm-hmm? Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:25:02]

Invoking Mutual Empathy by Addressing Human Needs

Miki: So, nonviolence involves mutual empathy. Now, I'm going to ask you some provocative questions.

What do you do when the person at the other end is not ready to respond empathetically? It's very – I've said many times, it's extremely easy to be nonviolent when everybody does exactly what you want. The problem begins when people act in ways that you don't like. One of which can be that they're not empathic back to you. So, do you have a response to that?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:25:46]

Miki: Okay. So, what – say your name? Mathias? So, what Mathias is proposing is a model. Now have you studied nonviolent communication before? You have. Okay. Well, it's just too close. What Mathias is proposing is a model in which I try to establish a relationship of mutual empathic care with another person. And then if they are not responsive, instead of dumping on them, instead of making them be the bad guy, the person to get rid of, I look to myself or to others to seek support, renew my fuel, so that I can come back to this person with an empathic

presence that will allow us ultimately to make the connection. Yeah, I like that model. What else? What makes it nonviolent for you? Yes?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:27:09]

Miki: So, what I'm hearing as the foundation for you is to do no harm. No matter what. Even if you really don't like what the other person is doing, to do no harm. And then try again at some other point to create connection. And I'm hearing in some ways from all of you, something about the foundation being connection. Either connection to life, connection to another person, connection to your own values. Connection to your hope, but something of connectedness instead of separation. Yeah. You want to say something?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:29:07]

Miki: So, I'm hearing what you're saying, kind of like an article of faith. That somewhere in each human being, no matter what they have done, there is a core humanity. And that if we can – even if the person never shows it, if we can connect to it and reach for it inside ourselves, then our stance is a nonviolent stance.

I'm reading a book now that I'm finding it really impressive. It's called, "A Human Being Died That Night." Any of you have heard of it? It's a South African woman who was part of the truth and reconciliation committee. You all have heard about that? The truth and reconciliation? Yeah. She's doing a series of interviews with one of the masterminds of apartheid murder, killing – I don't know other words.

And she is describing in great detail her inner process of encountering this man who has done so much harm. And how she is trying to piece together what it means to be that human being who has done all these things. And something that I found very moving is how she puts it together that no matter what he has done, there is something in him that is trying to work on making him still be part of the human fabric. And it is something along those lines. I'm still reading it, so I don't know who done it yet.

But something along the lines of even when you've done terrible things there is inside an attempt to recreate a sense of humanity and dignity of yourself. And it is that that we can connect with.

Now, the process of nonviolent communication that I am teaching translates this particular article of faith into a very simple assumption which is that anything that any human being ever tries to do is an attempt to meet needs. It is radically simple, this proposition. It is not provable. Assumptions never are provable. No matter how much everybody tries to be convinced that their own assumptions are actually facts, assumptions are not provable.

And yet, I find it amazing how the world changes when I live in that assumption. Now to say that somebody who has killed thousands or hundreds of thousands of people – now this is very different because the person that she is talking with in those interviews personally killed thousands of people, it appears. Which is different from sending other people to kill, which is much more removed. He himself was involved in the killing of hundreds or thousands of people.

What does it mean to say that this person has the same needs that I have? There's something about it that looks completely incomprehensible. How can I resolve that puzzle? What do I mean? If you have any ideas what I mean, to say that this person is acting on the very same needs that I'm acting. And I believe that. And would not go and kill anybody, so how can it be? What does that mean to you? Yeah.

Student: They both need security.

Miki: Okay. So, we both have a need for security. Mm-hmm. What other needs might we have? Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:33:50]

Miki: Yeah. So, we both have needs for respect and dignity. I want to push you a little further. In the moment of going out there and killing all these people, what might be the needs that are leading someone to do this? For me, if I can't relate to that, if I can't find it. Then he is still other. And if he is other, then I am recreating a violent world. So, what could be the needs that somebody might be acting on in the moment of going out there and killing people? Dragging them, torturing them? What could be the needs?

The basic human needs that this person is acting on? Anybody have any clue? Why did he do it? What was he hoping for? Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:34:56]

Miki: Self-validation meaning? I'm not sure I know what you mean by that term.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:35:13]

Miki: So, maybe you're saying protecting his own life? Or protecting his –

Student: [Unintelligible 00:35:28]

Miki: So, you are recognizing in him fear. Fear is more of a feeling than a need. For me, the belief that people do everything as an attempt to meet needs means in a very rigorous spiritual way for me, that they're trying to create something in doing whatever it is. They're not just trying to destroy, even if they're destroying. They're destroying in the name of something they're trying to create. What might be the dream that is motivating him to do something that is so abhorrent to all of us, and ultimately to him too? As is becoming slowly clear through reading the book. Still, there's something extraordinarily powerful in the name of which he's doing it. Yes?

Student: [unintelligible 00:36:40]

Miki: Okay. So, that could be it. That is moving it away from kind of like analyzing him as, "Oh, he's acting out of fear," which still keeps him separate. So, yeah, he wants some kind of a peaceful stable society, which we all want. If we separate the dream from the actions, then it's easier to relate to people no matter how different their choices and strategies are. Yeah?

Michael: [Unintelligible 00:37:28]

Miki: Okay. So, desire to create order out of chaos. If I take out the "out of chaos" just talk about a need for order, I have not met a single human being who doesn't have some version of a desire to have order to be able to make sense of what is around you. I'm very careful with words because words is my practice of nonviolence. If I say, "Driven by," it's a subtle way of making him other, still.

Driven by, is something like it's bigger than him and therefore he kind of disappears in it. I'm not even sure that you meant it that way. It's that the words carry so much meaning. In other words, here is how I test it. If I say to someone, if I check with someone, "Are you driven by," they will likely have a slightly defensive reaction. But if I ask them, "Are you looking towards? Do you want?" There's not likely to be reactivity there.

So, if I'm wanting to establish an empathic connection with someone, I want to present my guesses as to what might be going on for them that is so hard for me to comprehend. I might

want to present it in a way that they could recognize themselves in. Even if they were to disagree, they would still recognize themselves as human in how I try to make sense of them. Any other needs that you could imagine this person having?

So, we talked about a peaceful, stable society. We talked about order. We talked about maybe some sense of self and recognition of self. Something like that. Which again, we all have. Did you have another one?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:39:40]

Miki: So, a sense of belonging with one's peers or one's reference group or something like this. Now, I am aligned with you. I believe that that is going on. Of course, we don't know. We can only make guesses. Until they actually check with him, and he affirms it. But in the name of belonging, a lot of things have happened. And it is a powerful need that we all have.

And for most of human history, the strongest avenue to belonging that we have been given is making ourselves different from some other group so that we can belong to this group. It is a very, very, tricky path to find a way of belonging that is also completely inclusive. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:40:55]

Miki: Okay, so a sense of security in being accepted and belonging in the group?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:41:20]

Miki: I'm worried that that is a little bit analytic and again, from the outside. I want to help me recover the full sense of the humanity of this person. How can a human being essentially similar to me be doing something that is so incomprehensible to me? I want to bridge that gap. And for me, that is one of the deepest tenets of nonviolence is to bridge the gap inside of me between me and someone whose actions are so foreign to me.

Now, I started with a very extreme example. I'll get to you in a second. This also applies in the most personal of relationships because often our biggest enemies are the people closest to us. Internally, how we make them, you know. You do one false move and suddenly I scream and yell at you and you've become my worst enemy. Tomorrow, I will love you again. But right now, I treat you like you don't care about me. Like I don't matter to you. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:43:12]

Miki: So, what you're saying is that you are imagining that his fundamental experience of living in the world is one of alienation, separation. And so, then would you be saying that the killing is kind of like a twisted attempt to create a sense of connection inside of him?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:44:24]

Miki: So, what you're saying is that in your thinking, in your looking at acts of violence, you're inferring that it is a state of disconnectedness that makes it possible to do violence. And so, I want to kind of like take a leap on what you're saying and say this much. I don't believe that people who have their fundamental needs met will resort to violence. Violence is always going to be a response to a state of unmet needs.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:45:33]

Miki: Unmet needs. If I am happy and all my needs are met, there's no reason there would be for me to act violently towards anyone. So, there's a – I'll get to you in a second. To me, there is kind of like a striking radical implication to this which is if you want to reduce violence in the

world, work towards getting people's needs met. Because if people's needs are going to be met, they're not going to do violence. It's very radical and simple vision. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:46:11]

Miki: So, what do I see as basic human needs? We'll find out. What are some of the needs that you consider basic to being human? Do you have any? We've named some.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:46:37]

Miki: Okay, so we've named – so far, we've named respect, dignity, community, connection, belonging, acceptance. Any others? What others? Yes?

Student: Autonomy.

Miki: Autonomy. Very big, intense human need. It's one of the most striking things that if you are told what you should do, most humans that I've ever encountered, the first thing they want to do is not do it. Regardless of whether you see value in it or not.

The very fact that somebody else tells you you should do it, you instantly don't want to. Hmm? You recognize this? Oddly enough, to me, the biggest manifestation of autonomy is to be able to make my own choices whether or not somebody tells me what to do. To me, it's one of the biggest spiritual challenges to stay connected to my sense of choicefulness when somebody else is putting demands on me. Because it's very easy to confuse rebellion with choice.

Rebellion is still – I'm not talking about rebellion in the political sense. I want to leave that aside for a moment. I'm talking about just kind of – you know what I mean by rebellion. It's like, "No, I won't." That feels very powerful, and it feels like choice. And it's still operating on the terms set by the other person. It's the flipside coin of submission, but it is not in of itself choice. You wanted to add something?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:48:42]

Miki: I like what you're saying very much. Some kind of a tension between community, connection, and autonomy. I don't see it as there being an inherent conflict between them at all. It's that we've created for several thousand years a society that creates oppositions between needs. So that in order to be part of you have to give up on yourself. And if you don't want to give up on yourself, you have to not be part of. And there's this tension back and forth and it's extremely challenging to find a way to be in full integrity. There goes another human need – integrity.

To be in full integrity and maintain fully authentic connections. It takes a lot of skill that we don't usually get. So, again, you know, like okay, I will be honest. I will lose your friendship. So, I have to choose between friendship and honesty. But there's a way of being honest that nurtures friendship. We just don't learn how to do it. Are you getting some of your answers about what are basic human needs?

What other needs do people recognize? What other needs do you see that you have that other humans have?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:50:25]

Miki: Love and affection. Yeah. Support. There is a big loss that especially our modern Western culture has about really not feeling what it means to be interdependent. There is such an idea that you are supposed to be self-sufficient and meet your needs on your own.

And we've created a very massive structure to make it look like that's possible. And that massive structure is called capitalism. It makes it look like bread grows in supermarkets. And because it grows in supermarkets, it doesn't take other human beings for you to get your bread. It just takes money. So, money, one of the functions that money serves in our modern culture is to mask our connectedness to other people.

But the reality is that we are constantly in need of other people in order to get any of our needs met. Michael?

Michael: I'm back a step [unintelligible 00:51:50].

Miki: Yes. And I would say that the more vulnerable your honesty is, the more chances it has of reaching the heart of the other person. There is honesty that alienates. If I start telling you what I think about how bad and wrong and awful you are, it is not going to create connection. But if I tell you with great vulnerability what is going on in my heart in response to your actions, it has a much better chance of opening your heart back to me.

And the tragedy is that when we are afraid, we protect our vulnerability. When we protect our vulnerability and mask our fear, we look aggressive. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:52:59]

Distinction Between Strategies and Needs

Miki: Yeah. So, you're wanting to create a movement from conflict to the belief that we can both get our needs met. And there's a whole process of nonviolent communication which I can't get into a lot of the details. We get to have only one hour with each other.

The key to that process is making a distinction between strategies and needs. And strategies are all the actions that we take to meet our needs, all the people that we line up and all of that. But the needs underneath that is what is not in conflict. So, when we work with two individuals or two groups or anything like that, our goal is to get people to see each other's needs as continuous with their own, not as opposed to their own.

And when you get to a place where both parties can hold all the needs, not just their own, but I hold your needs and mine. You hold my needs and yours. And we both do it, there is an amazing creativity that gets unleashed about finding strategies that both of us can work with. My favorite example of that is a few colleagues of mine, a few years ago, went to Pakistan. And into one of the refugee camps where people from Afghanistan were, of various different tribes and subgroups, and did a three-day training there.

The last day of the training was Friday, which in Muslim society is the sacred day. And as the – a few hours before the end of the training, the people started getting really excited about this and very grateful for their training. And so, some people said, "Why don't you come with us to the mosque?" And then a few other people said, "How can you say that? How disrespectful are you? They're Americans. They can't get into the mosque." And within seconds they were at each other's throats after three days of training.

And so, my colleagues started really guiding them through dialog, like live dialog to identify and connect with all the needs that were present for them. And it looks like there's no solution. They either go to the mosque, or they don't go to the mosque. How can it work for everybody?

And through very careful connection with all the needs and slowing the process down until everybody was on board holding all the needs, the strategy emerged. It was very carefully

crafted. They were put in some particular place in the mosque that wouldn't interfere with anything else. There was a curtain around them or whatever. I don't even know what all the details were. But they were together crafting the strategy. So, the energy that goes into defending and protecting gets transformed into a well of possibility that we put together into creating something that we know together will work for both of us. You wanted to say something? Is it still?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:56:50]

Sense of Community and Interconnectedness

Miki: So, you look – you're trying to imagine what it is that goes on in our society that creates that disintegration of a sense of community. And one of the possibilities that you're proposing is creating rituals or ways of marking life that allow people to feel their interconnectedness. One of which is rites of passage. There are many ways that people can experience their interconnectedness.

If that is a goal that people have, it's very easy to find ways. The counterpart of interconnectedness is self-connection. We are also not brought up to be connected with ourselves. We are brought up, you know, here's just one example. You're still fairly close to being raised – maybe you remember more than some older people do. Do you remember often being asked by your parents or teachers how you feel and what you need? Is that a common memory of yours? Yes? You were asked how you feel and what you need often? Lucky one. Raise your hand if you were often frequently regularly asked what it is that you want, what matters to you in your school and at home. Boy, there's some lucky people. Most of the audiences that I speak to, there's hardly anyone.

Michael: [Unintelligible 00:59:01]

[Laughter]

Miki: You know, this is interesting. It is interesting because in a research that was done about who saved Jews in the holocaust, one of the things that they found is that the people who saved Jews tended to come from nonpunitive households. And it makes total sense because if you come from a nonpunitive household, you're going to be less fearful. And if you're less fearful, you have more access to checking inside, "What matters to me? What are my real values?" Yeah, Mathias?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:59:41]

Example of a Conflict

Miki: Sure. Why don't we – somebody come up with an example of a conflict. Let's make it simple, not like some big international conflict. But something small from your own life. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:00:43]

Miki: They want to be more involved. Okay. And you don't?

Student: Well, for us, in our perspective, [unintelligible 01:01:05]

Miki: Okay. That's a very simple one. So, the key here, my guess is that they are saying something like, "We want to be more involved. Why aren't you involving us?" And you say in response, "Because we're not doing anything." So, what is not happening, unless there's

something that I'm not hearing because you're telling only a little bit. What I don't hear happening is hearing them. Just being able to hear them. So, often the first step of a nonviolent dialog is to hear the other person and what they want.

So, would you be – you're in – it's your fiancé's parent? Your future in-laws. Pick one of them and be that person for a moment. Yeah. Is that really with your willingness, or are you uncomfortable?

Student: Well, I haven't had a lot of [unintelligible 01:02:35].

Miki: It doesn't matter because it doesn't even have to be accurate. It's just for modeling purposes.

Student: [Unintelligible 01:02:53]

Miki: So, I will be your fiancé. Okay.

Student: [Unintelligible 01:03:12]

Miki: Okay. So, the first thing that I might want to do in a moment like this is connect with myself inside. Because when somebody tells me, "You need to. You have to." Remember what we said? My autonomy buttons are pushed to the max. So, the first thing that I can do is give myself a little bit of empathy inside. Silently. And it might look like, "Phew, this is really hard. I am just so longing to be trusted and to have the autonomy to make my own choices about what my wedding is going to look like. I so much want that." And somehow, in recognizing that and naming inside, there's a little bit more space because I've connected to myself. I'm not in reactive mode, connected to myself.

And then I can come back and hear. "Okay, so what does my sister want?" What does she want? What matters to her? Apart from the strategy of dad does this or that or the other, what is it at the core, what basic human need of the ones that we've named is on the table for her?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:04:41]

Miki: She wants to be heard. Okay. I'm about to do that. What is it that she wants to be heard about? What are the needs that live there? Yeah? She wants connection. Any other needs that you're picking up?

Student: Participation.

Miki: Participation.

Michael: The word we used before was belonging.

Miki: Belonging. Inclusion. So, I'll pick one. And in this moment, the one that kind of like speaks to me. And I always can only follow my own intuition until I've made the connection.

So, "Sister, I kind of – I just want to check with you. Is it that you really want to be included in this event?"

Student: Yes.

Miki: So, I know that you are just playing a role. But tell me, how did it feel to hear this?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:05:33]

Miki: Okay. I haven't agreed to anything. [Laughter] Yeah. One of the keys to being able to be empathic is to separate understanding from agreement. We tend to mix the two. We tend to

think that we understand someone if we agree with them. Which doesn't necessarily mean that it's so. And if we disagree with someone, we will hold back understanding.

As if understanding – if I show understanding it means that I agree. Because we live in the agree/disagree paradigm. The agree/disagree paradigm is a paradigm of separation. It's the same paradigm as right and wrong. Yeah.

Michael: Coercion vs persuasion [unintelligible 01:06:39]

Miki: So, instead I want to focus on understanding. Now, that experience of being validated will now give her a little bit more space, just like I had space in me from empathizing with myself. Now she has a little bit more space. It may require a couple more rounds of reflecting until she, you know, really settles enough to hear me.

Now, if I speak to her, there's going to be more room for her to hear me. But I'm not confident yet that it has settled enough because I heard a lot of charge. So, you said, yes. So, I'm guessing that you're really happy about this marriage and you want to have a sense of connection with it.

Student: [Unintelligible 01:07:41]

Miki: Don't guess her response. Just give it as it's coming from you right now.

Student: [Unintelligible 01:07:48]

Miki: So, now what is happening is I am now hearing something that is sweet for me to hear. Instead of hearing somebody intruding and stepping on me, I am now connecting with her joy about my marriage. It's much more fun. Much, much, much more fun. Yeah, what?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:08:19]

Miki: Yeah. It is much easier to connect with one person's feelings and needs than with their ideas about other people's feelings and needs. Now, if it was – if you were insisting, "No, it's not about me. Why are you making it about me?" I would say, "So, it's more that you just want the whole family to be included?" But it's still you wanting. And just trying to connect with the energy of what it is that you want because when you get heard about what you want, you calm down.

So, then what I want to express, here's what I might like to express. I'm going to jump ahead because very soon I'm going to be kicked out of this room. "So, sister, here's what I want to convey to you. First of all, I'm really touched to hear of your joy." Thank you. "Of your joy and happiness for us. And I really experience a sense of support from that. And then I want to convey to you my real confusion and dilemma. I don't know what to do. I'm happy to, you know, think strategically about how to include you later when we start working. Right now, you know, my fiancé is focused on her studies. We're not doing anything. I want to know if you trust what I'm saying."

Student: [Unintelligible 01:10:08]

Miki: Ah. So, now I'm connecting with something completely different. It's not about inclusion. Now it's about something else. So, you have a little bit of worry because you really want this event to go smoothly.

Student: [unintelligible 01:10:32]

Miki: Okay. So, we continue. Is that what you were hoping to see? So, as long as I am able to easily flow between expressing what is in my heart and checking in with her about what is in her

heart, we will converge towards connection. And it will take less time than you imagine if you can really stay unprotected and curious. If I'm protecting myself, less of me will be available to connect with you.

Martin Buber defined dialog as a conversation with an unknown outcome. And I love this definition. It's so simple. And it really points to the fact that most of the conversations that we have, somebody could guess what each person would say. And a large part of it is because when we start the conversation, we have an attachment to what the outcome has to be. So, when you – I know that you have not been involved in these conversations, but maybe your fiancé. When he's talking with his sister or with his – anybody in his family, he starts that conversation with already – it's [unintelligible 01:12:03] that you're not going to be involved until I'm ready for you to be involved.

That's a closed heart, in a way. Sister starts the conversation from, "I'm going to be involved now." That's a clash. If I persist in maintaining a position it's going to be harder for me to connect with you. If I can really truly let go of the outcome and be available to the dialog, to be affected by what you say, to be affected by what your feelings and needs are, then I might be changed. If I'm not willing to be changed by our dialog, on what grounds am I asking you to be changed?

And so often we go into a conversation even with a lot of nonviolence training, even with a lot of dialog skills, ultimately wanting the other person to change, wanting the other person to hear us. Why would they want to do that if it's one-sided? I want to come in equally willing for me to be changed, equally willing for me to come out of the dialog, going along with your strategy instead of mine because we've connected. Thank you.

[Applause]

I want to conclude with one of many stories about my nephew who has been raised using this system from Day 1. And then do what you asked me to do, which is to talk about the scope of the work.

So, couple of years ago when he was about 6 my sister was going to go with him somewhere. And they had half an hour before their time to go. And he started doing something. And then she remembered that there was an errand that she could run on the way. And I know that most of you, maybe all of you have not been parents, but parents, combining errands is like great – great boon.

So, she goes to him, and she says, "I know that you just started doing this thing and I just remembered this thing that we could do on the way, and I really would like to do it. Are you willing to complete what you're doing sooner so that we could leave earlier?" Watch the difference between that and the normal parenting paradigm of, "You know, I changed my mind. We're leaving now."

And then he says, "I really have a preference for completing because I'm really engaged in it. So, I would rather not go now." And it was not a big deal for her, so she said, "Okay. No problem. So, we'll leave at the original time." And she starts walking away. And then he calls after her. "Are you sure? I want it to work for you too." Now, that is because he has trust that his needs matter. And when he has trust that his needs matter, there's more room in him to care about her needs. So, that's one story.

Are any of you parents? No. There have been parents in previous years sometimes. Yeah. And the other thing is I want to – and I want to pass these things out as we are finishing. But please don't try to read them now because you will have them later. It's an article that I wrote that was

[published in Tikkun](#), actually, a couple of years ago. And just an introductory handout that contains kind of like in condensed form all the information about nonviolent communication.

So, the scope of the work, here locally we have trainings that happen just about every day of the week, there's something going on. The only place in the Bay Area where there's more nonviolent communication classes than in our office is San Quentin. We have a project of bringing these skills to people in San Quentin, which is very, very exciting. Internationally, this process is now taught in, I think, 40-50 countries. There are more than 200 trainers like me that are certified around the world, and an untold number of people who are just teaching it without being certified.

And people – we do public workshops, the trainers all over the world – public workshops, NGO training. A former student of mine lives in Sri Lanka. She's originally from Sri Lanka and she travels around Sri Lanka and teaches it, including to members of the Nonviolent Peaceforce, including – she's Tamil – including she's teaching in mixed groups of Tamils and Sinhala. And it's very exciting to see what is possible, even in the midst of great rifts. And many other places in the world, both public sector, private sector, public workshops, conflict resolution, attempt at a different form of restorative justice and various other things like that.

And the last thing that I want to say before parting is if any of you are interested in internships and have been interested in what you heard today, then come talk to me for a few minutes. Thank you very much. This was a total pleasure being with you.

[Applause]

[PACS 164B Lecture 27](#)

Michael: So, I have one announcement before we begin, and that is that Jeff Halper is the chair of something called, "[The Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions](#)." And they go around blocking the demolition of houses and rebuilding houses that have been demolished. So, he will be speaking in San Francisco on Monday at the First Unitarian Universalist Center on Franklin and Geary.

It's kind of an interesting project for us to think about – I'm thinking of creating a new category called, "Obstructo-constructive program." What they do and what some other groups do – actually, another group I want to tell you about in a second – is they go and rebuild houses that are knocked down. And then the Israelis come and knock them down again, and they rebuild them again. It's an interesting approach. It shows, of course, tremendous amount of determination to do something like that. It's completely constructive.

The only reason I'm hemming and hawing here, my only hesitation is on the level of efficiency. I remember when Mubarak Awad was beginning the Intifada, the First Intifada – he wasn't the only one, but he was involved in it. One of the things they looked at was how efficient the Israeli occupation was. One IDF soldier could control five villages. And they said, "One of the things that we can do is make this harder for them." And to start being obstreperous and hanging out the flag. All you need to do is display the Palestinian flag, and they have to come and rip it down or bash down the wall if you painted it on a wall or something.

So, what they were able to do in a very short period of time was make the occupation drastically more expensive. And that's something we haven't mentioned yet, but it is a consideration that one of the things that you do in nonviolence is make it harder for your oppressor to oppress you. It's just on any level. So, that's the main – my only – just a feeling of grief rather than an objection about these people who are going out there. It's like Milarepa. You know, being sent out there to build a house for your guru, and then he says he wants it moved to the other side of the hill. And then you got to move it somewhere else.

It's sort of Milarepa without the good karma, I guess. Rebuilding a house is a lot harder than tearing one down. That's my only objection. But it's an incredible project. It's that project, Rebuilding Alliance, which is doing the phone call next Wednesday. I'm going to try – I've asked them to give me the number, so I can give it all to you. But if I fail to do that, you can probably get it on their website, [RebuildingAlliance.org](#).

And then the third operation I wanted to mention for us to just keep an eye open for – I'm sorry, I couldn't quite remember the website, which I was told last night that there were about 150 people milling around. And I was in a state, anyway. But there's a group that is planning to break the illegal blockade of Gaza by starting a flotilla of ships. It will be – actually, starting from Cairo, probably. But then it'll be regrouping and joining others in Cyprus.

And they're just plain going into Gaza. And Metta has been consulting with them about what they should have, what they should not have. Originally, they were going to try to bring humanitarian aid because it's nice and squeaky clean, and it makes the Israelis look bad if they block it. But what they were really trying to do is to get some people, some Palestinians, back in there who are not allowed in.

So, we counseled them to do one or the other. You know, nonviolence as conversation. You want to keep it one-pointed and clean. If you're doing humanitarian aid, which we did not advise because it's not necessary. The Israelis do a lot of that anyway. Just do that. But if you wanted to bring in people that they don't want in that area, make that the issue and don't pretend you're bringing in humanitarian aid.

Anyway, it's an extremely interesting project that's getting launched, I forget when exactly later on in the summer. So, that's an obstructive program going on. And another one to keep in mind is the one that you probably heard on that webcast radio interview with Jack DuVall which is a very interesting uprising that has started in the Maldives – these islands off the coast of India which I guess are politically independent, and they've been ruled very despotically for quite some time. And the people are starting to raise up and say, "We don't want despotism anymore."

So, it really is like I sang in the song last night, it really is popping up all over the world. That was the high point, wasn't it? So, you know, because our class is coming to an end, I thought I'd like to start mentioning things that are going on around the world, sort of keep your radar attuned to.

I want to say a little bit about the presentation that we had last time on nonviolent communication, which has been a very, very successful piece of the action. So, we want to ask ourselves what piece is it? How does it fit in? What does it do? What's left to do elsewhere? And then basically, I'm slowing down in terms of presenting new material from here on out because I feel enough already. You won't get it covered no matter what you do. Even if I were from Chicago and I talked nonstop for six hours, we still wouldn't get it all covered. And leave plenty of time for questions and stuff.

And another reason that I'm slowing down is we're now approaching a very difficult subject to come to grips with. And that is culture. It's hard to talk about because we are in it. It's hard to talk about the woodwork that you're in.

Now, it's very clear to me some of the dimensions of what's wrong with the present culture and what we're going to need to have in the new one are very, very clear. But the process of how you create a culture and get it adopted has never been clear. It's kind of mysterious. And it's never been clear, even before we got to the information age. Okay?

Definitions of Peace

So, here's my agenda, unless you people want to do something else. I'll talk about little bit about [Miki Kashtan's presentation](#), a few loose ends about what we said about organization, and then start talking about culture however one talks about that. Okay?

So, here's one of the things that I wanted to take out of Miki's talk was her definition of peace because it is complimentary to my definition. And it's sort of interesting to put them side by side. And we should put them side by side. Not one on top of the other, okay?

So, my definition, which possibly you never even heard of because I think only mentioned it in [PACS164]A, is that peace obtains in a system where all parties spontaneously desire one another's welfare. That covers a lot. Spontaneously means that it's gotten to be – it really is what you want. It's not something that you're forcing yourself to work on anymore. You may start out that way, but when you come to feel, really, that the other person's happiness is important to

you, and you're going to work on it. And we're not saying yet that it's more important than your own. We're not saying anything yet about the relationship of your fulfillment to the other person's fulfillment.

What follows pretty naturally – I mean if you really, really deeply believe that your fulfillment is contrary to and in competition with somebody else's you will not be able to get to this state because nobody can stop seeking for their happiness. We're just sort of wound up to do that. All life is doing that. We get pretty stupid about where it's going to be coming from, but we're all seeking it, no matter what. Buddha said that.

So, I have just now taken a very simple sentence and made it into a very complicated one. It's called being a professor. Let's go back and do it in the simple version. Any social group in which all parties are interested in the other's happiness is at peace. Any other problems that come up, they will be able to work out based on that understanding.

Now her definition was a place where all parties can hold all their needs. You can be aware of what you really need, and you can let the other person be aware of what he or she really needs. And that's peace. It strikes me that these definitions are quite complimentary. You know, I have absolutely no problem with hers, and I don't think she had a problem with mine. If she did, I would just put on my best New York accent and say, "What, you got some kind of problem with that?" [laughter] But that has never happened.

So, it's interesting, because it's kind of typical of what's happening now with this groping for a new world order and a new culture, is that different people are coming up with different pieces of it. And we sense that they are in sync. You know, they resonate with one another. But very few people have been able to sit back and say, "Oh, I see the whole picture. And this is where your piece fits in, and it's actually just a different version of Michael's piece. We're looking at it from a different angle."

That's the part that's really missing, is to see the whole thing clearly enough that you can start positioning the different parts. But right now, we have hundreds and hundreds of parts. And they're just beautiful. All kinds of different parts. I've got a file back home on my computer called, "Flowers." It's from this thing – I let 1000 flowers bloom. And every time I hear about one of these neat things, I just throw it on there. It's going to be this huge, long list. Incoherently beautiful at this point.

At some point though, it does have to be reduced to a formulation that you can grasp with your mind. And then she went on to say that when this happens, amazing creativity is unleashed. I really like that idea. Amazing creativity is unleashed – what you were talking about yesterday, Zoe, in your talk – around the joint strategies to meet these needs.

In Common Predicament

Now when I heard that, this seemed to me to be an ideal case, a very effective case of a principle that was discovered by a couple of sociologists – a married couple, actually. [unintelligible 00:11:25] His last name was Sherif. So, there's a book by Sherif and Sherif called, "[In Common Predicament](#)".

And this is about an experiment that took place in a camp in Canada, where they first decided to see if they could create hostility among the campers – a stupid idea if I ever heard one. But it turned out that, guess what, it was not hard to do that at all. They divided them absolutely

arbitrarily into two groups. They were called absolutely arbitrary symbolic things like, “You be the eagles. You be the sun.” Have I told you this before? Okay.

And in a short period of time, these two groups of children, young people, they would not eat at the same table. They wouldn't play with another. They started short-sheeting each other, the things you do at camp. I'm not sure if I even remember how to do that. And it got worse and worse, and it was starting to be serious. Real fights and real conflict.

So, it turned out that, okay, that part of the experiment was concluded, and it came to a successful conclusion. It is very easy to get human groups to be hostile to one another. All you have to do is say, “Hey, there's a difference.” And bang, off they go. This is not all human groups. We're talking about human groups that come from an urban, industrialized setting in the modern west. Did you have a question, Janelle?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:12:51]

Michael: Oh, okay. So, it was a little bit more serious than that. So, my completely cynical interpretation is maybe not justified. But nonetheless, it is strikingly a model for what happens in adult human groups at the built-up level. Look at the Balkans. Look at Uganda – I mean Rwanda. You can also look at Uganda. Look almost anywhere. And you'll see this – arbitrary differences, especially when resources are involved.

And this is what Jared Diamond has pointed out in his book, “[Collapse](#).” But not only then. The hostilities are pretty easy to polarize. So, then comes the next part of the experiment, which is how do we get these people back together? And they tried various things. They tried having – all go to movies together, and they actually thought that this would be very effective. It was not.

They had them play games together. They had them eat together. Nothing really worked. So, Janelle, do you want to tell us what finally did?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:14:12]

Michael: Yes. The broken-down truck. I forget whether this was one of the created problems or was an actual problem. An actual problem, thank you. They had to get back to town to get something and the truck broke down. And it needed everybody's resources to fix it. And they noticed that the groups were much more cordial after they had worked on the truck together. So, they said, “Hmm.” Sociologists say that a lot. “Hmm,” they said, “maybe something is going on here.” And they started creating problems. Like, “Oh, the well isn't working. Who knows about electric motors and ropes and pulleys and stuff like that?”

And so, they did a few more of these things, and they found in a really encouragingly short period of time, the groups got back together, and the differences were pretty much forgotten. It was a very useful finding. Reconciliation and other forms of amity and community-building. It seems like they happened most effectively around common projects. Hang on, just one second.

So, here we have a common project which is more or less the reconciliation itself. And, you know, the joint meeting of needs. It strikes me that this thing that Miki was describing would be like the most effective kind of joint project to bring groups back together again or strengthen bonds. You can say, “I'm interested in your needs. You're interested in mine. I no longer define my needs as in competition with yours and vice versa.” Once you can reach that point, you know, conflict is pretty much arbitrary. It's going to be outgoing. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:15:57]

Michael: Well, you have to read the book. I don't remember. The only thing that I remember is it got past the hostility very quickly. But it would be interesting to know, could they then still retain their group loyalties and not define them in a negative way. Like, you know, "Hi, I'm a blue. Oh, you're a green. That's interesting." Yeah.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:16:20]

Michael: Spontaneously, you mean? Yeah. I hope so. All right, was there anything else from the presentation about nonviolent communication? Incidentally, they do a lot of trainings in this area. Bay Area is one of the bigger worldwide nonviolent communication center. And they are worldwide. Mathias?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:17:05]

Nonviolent Communication - Review

Michael: I agree. I think the strongest part of their work is how they're able to put you on a different footing, where the differences that you have with another person become problems to solve. And that's all you need to do. And especially if you can work those problems out together, so the process itself is bonding. And implicit in what she was saying? No, explicit in what she was saying. Very much like where we started in 164A, that there is no such thing as an irresolvable conflict that can only be – only come to a win/lose conclusion. There is no such thing. You just have to stop believing in it. You can build it up from the smallest one on one confrontation, as Mathias was just saying, to the biggest problems in the world.

And that's why I keep bringing up this little discovery – little big discovery of Johan Galtung, that the clash of civilizations is because the West needs access to their oil reserves, and they need respect for their religion. So, where's the conflict? You know, if we would just get down – get our egos out of the way and get down to the point where we recognize that, I think anybody with a third-grade education – not beyond, but up to a third-grade education should be able to solve it.

Yeah. So, it is awesome. And I think – at lunch afterwards, I asked Miki what the trainings really were, and she said, "It is not too different from what she was doing here with us." Just getting us to the point where we recognize what our needs are. And then the second part of that which you began with, Mathias, was once you do that, it really is shocking to take a look at your culture and see how it is preparing you to be in conflict always.

Yeah, just like the Kaiser said, "We do not desire war. We only desire victory." So, if you go around desiring victory all the time, you're going to be in perpetual conflict. It's the only way you can get there. So, that was very good. And it would be interesting to compare – I'm not proposing we could maybe finish it now but be thinking about this. What piece of the action is this? They do primarily training. They don't do much theoretical work. They figure they know what they need to know. And as far as that goes, they're probably correct for the work that they're doing. And what they try to do is train people to think in that way so that they can implement those insights.

Then you have something like the Ruckus Society on the other extreme, which is teaching you how to rope your way up a building and what to say to the police when they arrest you. And then

you have groups like mine, Metta – and I was very happy to see all of you there last night. That was a lot of fun. I haven't got to play "A whole lot more Jesus" for a long time.

And what we do is, again, there is almost no overlap between what we do and what nonviolent communication does. We do almost no training. And we try to study and conceptualize what nonviolence is and get it into different packages and deliveries that people can benefit from. There's a now famous formula of inspiration in education and support.

And other groups too, that you look at, you know, victim/offender reconciliation programs. And in a minute we're going to be talking about truth and reconciliation stuff. Just start thinking about – I don't know, there must be some computer program which allows you to conceptually map the entire universe and put different pieces in different colors and different levels and stuff. It's a very important project. Be thinking when you're doing this about the model of Joanna Macy's that I've shared earlier, where she says we need to do three things, basically. It's kind of a triage, if you will.

We need to stop the worst of the damage. That would be pretty much our obstructive program. We need to create alternatives, which would be pretty much our constructive program. And then we need the cognitive work, which we're trying to address now here. And why are we trying to do this? What is the meaning of it all? How does it fit in and so forth?

And she divided cognitive very wisely, I think, into – I'm forgetting now what terms she used. There was something else. She was looking at culture, I think, and she divided it into cognitive and spiritual. So, I think those are very useful categories, and I'd like to see her put nonviolence at the center of it. But that's between me and her. Yeah, Mathias?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:23:02]

Michael: Okay, that's good to know. Probably be a small meditation retreat for her because she went to one in Sri Lanka a couple of years ago that had 600,000 people. She said it was the most awesome experience of her life. 600,000 people meditating in one place. Yeah. Well, yeah, Michael?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:23:32]

Michael: Yeah. Just jot it down.

Technology in Organization of Action

So, we were talking about how actions get organized and how spontaneous forms of organization are arising. And I wanted to mention something that I hardly touched on, partly because of my age group, which is the new technologies. Some people think this is going to change everything. And when they first started coming in, I remember the excitement with which a very intelligent person, like Hazel Henderson, a self-taught economist who wrote a book called, "Paradigm Regained." It's a very obvious title. I even thought of that title myself, but you have to actually write the book. That's where I slowed down.

She was saying that now that we have computers, we don't need to have regular elections anymore. Everybody can just vote from their home computer. And it'll be absolutely populist. There will be no electoral college. Could you do that with a less squeaky? Yeah. Yeah. It's not violent. You can do that. Thanks, Mathias.

So, this is not the first time here in the West that people have gotten extremely enthusiastic about a new technology only to find that there are shortcomings. When atomic energy was discovered, there were real scientists who went public saying that on five cents worth of energy you're going to be able to send an ocean liner across the ocean and back. We had gotten the key, and it was going to be that simple.

So, this is prelude to saying that there are those who think that now that we have the internet, a lot of these problems are going to solve automatically. As you can tell, I'm not totally persuaded. I don't think the problem is entirely a question of who's talking. I think it also matters what they have to say. I have been impressed with how well certain things work. Like Wikipedia. I mean think someone like me, coming from my background, spent half my parent's money getting a PhD so that I could be an expert in a subject, but not a subject that anyone cared about, it turned out. But anyway, an expert.

Then, you know, somebody else came along and said they knew something about that subject, I would just slap them down. That was part of the whole thing. But now suddenly you have Wikipedia and I thought, you know, this thing will never work. No valid information will go up there, and you'll never know. But it turned out that even experts can be wrong. Yes, I say this. I know I'm a trader to my class.

George Bernard Shaw said that there are some subjects about which you can learn more from the man on the street than you can from an expert in that area. Because there's a funny thing about expertise. It somehow traps you into smaller and smaller compartments until you can't see where your thing fits in anymore. And then as Socrates pointed out, you may know how to make a shoelace, but you won't know why you're putting your shoes on. For that, you need a philosopher.

So, it remains to be seen, but there are already some encouraging things that have happened. And even way back in the early '80s when the Tiananmen Square disaster happened, the fact that people had fax machines meant that that massacre was much more public. And in fact, we don't just have to be theoretical about this because the massacre of the students in Rangoon happened a year before. In fact, it's said that the Chinese regime was watching that very carefully. And when they saw that you can massacre students and get away with it, it removed the last of their inhibition in moving against their people in Tiananmen.

But be that as it may, nobody knew about what happened in Rangoon. If I hadn't stumbled on that movie, I think probably wouldn't know about it. The movie namely, "Beyond Rangoon." But that was just one year before. And the difference was there were no fax machines.

However, if you have a regime that's enclaved into itself the way the Chinese regime is, it doesn't make that much difference to get the word out on the political strategy level. As we know, because we've mentioned it several times from the direct testimony from people who were involved in drastic situations, on another level, it matters a lot whether people know that you're suffering. But on the strategic level, it actually doesn't seem to have helped that much.

But on the other hand, you have these incredibly populist things happening. I remember this is absolutely the first in my whole long experience in the peace movement. A group wanted to run a full-page ad in the New York Times. Something simple like impeaching the president and the vice president, or something that anybody could go along with. It was a no-brainer. In the morning they sent out an appeal, "We need to raise \$600,000 by such-and-such a time. Please,

please send us money.” That happens like, you know, three or four times a day. I get messages like that the last – all these many years.

Four hours later, we got another message saying, “Okay, folks. That’s it. Thanks. We got all the money.” That has never happened before in my entire history of activism. So, there’s no question that there is a way of contacting like-minded people very quickly. And very quickly is important in the modern age, you know, because it’s no longer the case where if we want to send a letter back to London we have to put it on a packet boat, and it’ll take about eight weeks to get there. You know, so we do have to move quickly sometimes.

But the negative side of it, it seems to me, is that these are impersonal groups. These are virtual communities. And yes, human beings have very active imaginations. These virtual things can be important. But on some level, I think we need to be in the same room with one another to be a real community.

I had a student who was interning with me who got very interested in Dennis Kucinich when he was making his first run for president. And he was at a meeting. She went to hear him. She followed him out. He was racing around – if you’re running for president, you’re really running. I mean I saw him one time in San Francisco. He was talking to us between 9:00 and 11:00PM. And said, “Where are you spending the night?” And he said, “On United Airlines. I have to give a talk in Maine tomorrow morning.” So, that’s how it was with him. He ran out of the meeting, and my student followed him out and said, “I want to intern with you.” And he said, “Okay, why don’t you send me an email,” he said without turning around. And she said, “Because I want to look you in the eye first.” He stopped dead. He turned around.

It was a little bit odd because you know Dennis Kucinich. You know, he’s like about up to here on me. She’s 5’11” and half, I think. So, he turned around and looked up at her. And they made eye contact. And she worked for him for two years. And I think that’s sort of typical of the way people like us think and operate. There has to be some kind of human contact.

And obviously, in a nation state with close to 300 million people, that isn’t going to happen with everybody. But we need to build up to it from personal communications in some way.

Organization of Oceanic Circles

So, although I’ve told you this before, let me run it by you one more time. Gandhi’s model for how to organize the world. It’s called, “[Oceanic circles](#).”

And I’m sorry, I have switched to a different concept of “organization” than we were talking about earlier. We were talking earlier about organizing actions and movements. Here we’re talking about it in a more static concept of how to organize the world. His model was we have to get away from the parametal structure that we’re in, where things are hierarchical, and they don’t work. We were just – Amy and I, when we were starting this latte a while ago, we were hearing from our friend [Monsieura] who was talking about somebody who worked in the World Bank for 20 years. And he’s now started his own nonprofit. And he said, “I know the system inside and out. I’ve tried and tried to make it work. I’m here to tell you it does not work.”

This is the really stark fact that we have to face. The big organizations do not work. And I’m afraid that includes universities. And I don’t know if that means that we have to, you know, dismantle them. Do we reform them? Do we build alternatives? Ignore them? I’m not sure where

we go from here. But to use his language, we have to build it offline and in a hope that there'll be some kind of accommodation.

So, anyway, here was Gandhi's approach. You want to start from the individual. That's whole thing. That's where all of these systems have gone wrong. And you want to start from natural bonds and extend them. You have to expand them or extend them rather than creating a structure de novo. It does no relationship to anything. And then give it the power to impose values on the natural group, which is what television is.

So, his model was the individual serves the village. The village serves the district. The district serves the state. Like state within the country. Kerala. The state serves the nation, and the nation serves the world. In that way, the power is flowing outward, if you will, from the most basic unit, the real psycho-neurobiological unit of the human individual out to the world and not the other way around.

"So, then," he said, "you would have a circle which embraces everybody and does not dominate anybody." Now the key, of course, is in the word service. You're capturing that service energy to run the world on, rather than the exploitation energy to run the world on. The trickle-down theory, which is trickle-up in practice, as we've often mentioned.

Okay. So, I'm just sort of leapfrogging from point to point here. So, fill in anytime you want to. I'm going to share another interesting concept with you that came from Paul Hawkins who's a well-known grassroots economist in the model of and in the line of E.F. Schumacher and Hazel Henderson who I just mentioned. In other words, someone never got formal economic training, so he came out of it with his mind intact and could think about what really happens around material resources.

I realize I have now dissed every field in the world except my own. I'll get around to that next week. But he was talking about this incredible expansion of NGOs. If you talk even in terms of NGOs, nongovernmental organizations that have been formally recognized by the U.N. You know, so they have a seat in the U.N. I remember hearing from at least Boulding, that during a certain period of time – I heard this from her about three years ago. Those NGOs went from 5000 to 20,000 in a couple of years. There was this enormous explosion of this stuff happening. And he referred to it as, "The planetary immune system."

You can sort of see how that works. The planet is very sick. It's coming apart on many different levels. It has a chronic fever at this point, which is not going to be fixed right away because? Why is it not going to be fixed right away? Because it has a really cozy, fuzzy euphemism. Once you've got a euphemism, you don't need to fix anything. And the euphemism is global warming. You know, it should be called planetary fever or something like that. Although somebody would shortly make that the name of a rock band, I'm sure.

So, his term is, "Planetary immune system," that all of these different units are springing up to heal the planet in various ways. One other thing I wanted to touch on here very quickly is, you know, part of culture in the very general sense, is people and groups who are opting out of the centralized consumerist economic system. And this also – I once did a little bit and research on this. It would have been much faster if I had used Wikipedia, but I didn't know about it at that point. This also is happening, I guess, you could say spontaneously, though a certain amount of imitation and learning goes on and spreading very rapidly.

And one of the simple ways that this operates is people getting off the money system. They just don't issue money, and they don't use it, at least within that system that they operate in. They instead – they exchange energy credits, like you need somebody to paint your fence. And here I'm thinking of American fiction. Someone to paint your fence, you give them a dead rat on a string. Something like that Tom Sawyer kind of thing. But seriously, people come over to your place, they work on it, and you give them a chit. Like, you know, you put in ten hours work. So, you know, this is worth a certain amount that I can do for you on another occasion.

So, it's really – it turns out that there is no law that says that you have to use legal tender public and private. It's there for your convenience. But the Treasury Department says, "Hey, if you want to use pinecones, that's okay with us." You know, I give you four pinecones for your basket of eggs or whatever. As long as you can agree on how much a pinecone is worth, you'll have a perfectly functional system.

And this is happening all over the country. It's not just small, isolated units. But in some cases, whole communities are having at least part of their economic tracking is not being done by currency. And that's kind of handy, isn't it? Because it's harder to tax. You owe the government 17 pinecones and 1 fried egg, it's going to be hard for them to collect.

Similar to that, and very basic now, is to try to reverse the drastic commodification of agriculture. You know, agribusiness has been a disaster for the planet, for small farmers. And when small farmers fail, whole cultures fail with them because, you know, I don't know how many of you grew up on a small farm. I saw one once. They didn't have any in Brooklyn. It's a very different way of life. Very different people with very different values.

And you have a sense of custodianship and stewardship with the land. If you've lived on it for four generations, you feel its value at a very deep level, and you take care of it. It's not so far from your imagination that this could be a living thing that you have to keep alive.

So, there is this experiment now. Which was – like the last few pages of my book, I touched on it. CSA, or community-supported agriculture where people will grow what the community needs, what their customers want. So, that gets you away from the gut-wrenching anxiety of being a farmer, where you grow a crop only to find that it suddenly is worthless because everybody else is growing one of the same thing and so on and so forth.

So, in community supported agriculture, you bring people together, and they give you their order at the beginning of the season. This season I'm going to take, I don't know, let's say 24 bushels of kale. Let's not be realistic at our community. We basically eat kale and chard all winter long. I'm surprised we don't become pale green by the time the semester is over.

But then that's what you plant. And then very often you go on from there to where the customers come and work on the farm. And I have spent some time on these operations. They're very nice. It's just much more of a real human bonding with nature.

I remember hearing from my spiritual teacher who came here from India, every now and then he would make some very poignant comment about the absence of animals in this country. You really feel like there's only half a world there. It's like when I go back to New York, I say, "Where all the Asian people? What kind of a world is this anyway?" So, having that closeness with nature, it slows you down, it brings you in contact with reality and so forth.

Next topic – but should I say anything more about local economies before we move on? Is there anything else I wanted to add to that? Yeah, Mathias?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:41:55]

Michael: You know, the basic problem wherever you look seems to be approximately the same. And Socrates actually said this a long time ago. Every human function has a basic function which it serves. And as long as you let it serve that function, it will self regulate, and things will be pretty okay. Nobody will be rich, but everybody will have enough. We should talk a little bit about happiness too at some point. Everybody will be rich. No one will be rich, but everybody will have enough.

But what happens is the minute you come and try to use that basic function for something that isn't basic to it, it's going to be – it's going to go awry in some way. So, the classic example, health care. Health care is, at the very least, to fix people when they get sick. You might also, if you're really smart, you might help them not to get sick. If you want to have a healthy life – but let's not go there. That's for philosophers and things like that.

But let's say people are getting sick, and they're having accidents and stuff, and you need to have a health care system. As long as the system, to the degree that the system is delivering health care, it will work fine. It will self regulate. But the minute someone else steps in and says, "Aha. People really need this. Therefore, we can charge them for it."

It's like, you know, the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates and all the rest of it. In India, for example, where they have a well-developed ancient system of medicine called Ayurveda, which means, "life science." It's a good name for it.

Viśā Vaidya - Poison Doctors

There's a special class of physicians called [Visha-vidos] which means, "Poison doctors." In India, there are a lot of serpents. And occasionally these serpents bite people. If you get too close to them or step on them or look like something they want to bite.

And then in many cases you have a very limited amount of time to save your life. And if you panic, it's less because circulation is faster. And you cannot believe how much fear people have in village India about serpents. There's parts of Africa which are just about as bad.

I remember walking on a path with someone who had just come from India, and we saw a little snake. Now, when I see a snake in the ashram, my first impulse is to grab it and bring it down to the garden because it's the only nonviolent way that we can get rid of gophers. Arguably, nonviolent anyway. These are gopher snakes.

So, I said, "Oh, look, a snake." I regret it to this day. He shot up in the air about four feet, and he was half-way back to the barn before I could say, "Wait, wait. It's all right. They're not poisonous." So, there's a deep, deeply instinctual fear almost. And so, what are you going to do? You have a little herb garden where you have antidotes for these poisons, you could charge anything.

Someone comes in, "I got ten minutes to live. Get this stuff out of me." You say, "Ah, you know, I always liked that elephant of yours." So, they did a very clever thing on the cultural level. This is not legalistic. It's not documented. This is family traditions that go on for generations. They

never charge money, anybody, for anything. If you make a living at one thing, you're a [Vishavidya] for service.

So, that was a recognition of this basic problem. And I would say anything, even education, if you start doing it for money, immediately you're going to go off the rails and give people what they want and what they will pay for, and you won't have education in the proper sense of the word anymore.

One of the places – I'm finally getting back to your point, Mathias. Thank you for your patience. Your point was that this is happening to agriculture. If you grow a crop to feed someone, be it someone else that you're in a cooperative relationship with. Remember, Miki talking about interdependence being a very beautiful thing. If you're growing a crop to feed somebody, it will iron out. You know, no one will get rich off this, but everybody will have enough materially. So, then you can go on and live the rest of your life and try to get happiness. Which turns out, has nothing to do with the amount of money beyond a certain point.

However, the minute you start charging people for it, you're going to go into all the difficulties that you mentioned. Monocropping, poisoning the land to make it react faster, and eventually, right here at UC Berkeley, the GMO specter. Shannon?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:47:47]

Michael: Well, let's think about that.

Technology, Work, and Meaning

How does technology get in the way of local groups? I once thought about this in kind of a stepwise process. Okay, you have these human beings. We're growing up on this planet, you know, living in these caves. And there's certain dangers and insecurities associated with that. Occasionally it turns out that we've bought a nice cave, and we move in, and it turns out it's already inhabited by a family of cave bears and things like that, where suddenly the predator-prey relationship gets reversed.

No one is saying that life was easy in the Ice Age, okay? So, it does make sense to invent tools to make the material aspect of life a little bit easier. And I think up to that point, I, for one, would have no objection to technology. I'm not the hardest person to dissatisfy, but I think even a Eugene anarchist who doesn't want to wear a wristwatch or carry a check book or anything like that probably would not object to using a forked stick to roast a marshmallow or whatever. Of course, that's a little bit anachronistic but, you know.

So, to use technology to reduce drudgery and increase security so that human beings can go on and discover what their destiny is. Personally, I'd be totally in favor of it. And I think probably none of us would have a problem with that.

But then the next step is to use the technology to replace human work. That gets tricky. Because as it turns out, unbeknownst to us consciously, human beings derive their sense of meaning and importance from their work. There was a study done on, I think, job satisfaction a while back by some well-funded psychologists, and they rated – they said very few people had job satisfaction.

They went and redid the study. It was done in Sweden, I think. They went and redid the study, and it turned out that it was mainly about people feeling that there was no meaning in their life. We must have talked about it in the seminar. And this is probably why that Sherif and Sherif phenomenon works.

When you're working on a joint project with somebody, you are building community with that person on a very deep level because that's where your meaning comes from. So, once you start using technology to substitute for work, you're on your way – it's on a slippery slope of making a mistake.

Similarly, if you look at communication. Let's say I find out about a terrific nonviolent insurrection that's going on in somewhere in the world over the weekend. Well, imagine if I – okay, imagine if I didn't even have a car. I know one person who could do this by bicycle, but it's not me. Start up in Tomales and bicycle all the way down here to Berkeley and come around to every one of your living units and say, "Nubi, I want you to find out about the Maldives. Would you pass the word?" Obviously, that would not work. CourseWeb is terrific. It does work rather well.

For people with whom you cannot communicate in any other way. So, if you have the good sense to use it that category, it has enhanced communication. But the minute you use it to substitute for a personal form of communication, a letter, a telephone call, God forbid, personal contact, then you're letting the technology replace you as a person. I have a slide that I sometimes show, except people have told me it's too depressing. It's an ad for a brand new bright red sports car, which attracted my attention. Okay, admit it. I looked at the ad.

And it shows – it's an oscilloscope readout which is an absolute sync, and the topline says, "Heart rate." It's the driver's heart rate in diastolic, systolic, diastolic, systolic. And on the bottom it says – it's the engine RPMs. And they're absolutely in sync, and then they join. It's one beat. And then it says, "Don't just drive the car. Be the car." Personally, I think this is where we have been driven to this point of letting machines play such a large part in our life that on a certain level we think that we are machines. And that happens to be drastically wrong. Mike?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:53:11]

Michael: Yes. This is essentially what I'm saying. If you use the tool with your intelligence to fulfill a legitimate function, it will not cause any problem. But there will come a point where you'll – human beings have apparently some kind of what they used to call, "target fixation." It's the thing that happened in WWII. You would go to dive bomb somebody, which you shouldn't be doing in the first place.

But you would get so fascinated you would forget what you were doing, and you'd just crash into them. That often enough happened that they had a name for the syndrome – target fascination.

In the Bhagavad Gita it says, "Whatever you dwell on you will have a desire for, and eventually you will identify with." It's a very profound principle. So, to use anything with detachment, I imagine, would not get us into difficulty. But when you start – when the thing starts dictating its own purposes, then it gets difficult.

So, I remember now. This was Shannon's question. Okay – about technology. So, this is clearly part of our task which is I think the only way we can go about is to reconnect humanly on such a deep level that machines will be boring. Which is what they basically are.

And even for someone who has a somewhat immature approach, like me. Even a very, very glitzy machine will look like just a machine. I remember in the early days of computers when they weren't all that glitzy, Easwaran, who I just mentioned, was being shown a room full of computers. And the person showing them to him said, "These computers can do everything that you can do." That was a mistake. Easwaran immediately said, "They cannot meditate."

So, we have to get away from that fascination with technology, which ultimately is fascination with the material world. And I don't think there's any other way of doing other than reconnecting with ourselves humanly. And I was very struck by something that Miki said. "Connection is the key. Reaching for the core of the other person within myself." She said that almost without realizing what she had said. The core of the other person within myself. I meant to bring that up to her over lunch. Okay? I'm sorry this is one of those days where we have a number of little different things to fill in, but we're just, you know, trying to sketch in the picture.

Reconciliation and Reconstruction

So, there's another conflict reducing mechanism which interestingly straddles the constructive and obstructive lines that I wanted to bring up here as a possible element in the whole picture of a new culture. And that's, again, something which was discovered – oh, sorry. Discovered by serendipity. And when it was discovered that it works very well, it has started to spread.

And this is the [Truth and Reconciliation Commission](#), which was started in South Africa because you had a situation of appalling dehumanization. Absolutely appalling. One of the worst in the world – up to that time, anyway. And it had been voted out of power. At that time, people were saying that if South Africa could solve its problem, the whole continent would be solvable. And I think in theory that that's still true.

But they discovered that once they had changed the power structure, that it did very little to change the human dynamic on the ground. So, I mean for us this is now big surprise, right? But they have to discover that experientially. And it was a revolution that came about through largely nonviolent means. It had gone through several phases. From nonviolent, relapsed into violence after the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960. But by the time Mandela was released, he was able to get it back on a nonviolent track. And it was mainly done through boycotts and things like that. So, the basis was there.

And there had to be a way of bringing those two communities together. And, you know, there's more than two communities in South Africa, but for convenience we'll say Europeans and Africans. And the dehumanization had been drastic. And you needed some way of bringing them back together.

What they came up with was basically a kind of [Victim Offender Reconciliation Program](#) on the large scale, political level. If you have to go, Carrie, I won't say anything intelligent after this. And the system was pretty simple. Interestingly – incidentally, there's an interesting film about this called, "[Long Night's Journey Into Day](#)." It's a very moving film.

What they did, was they allowed people to publicly admit their crimes, and they would then be pardoned. So, all you had to do was get up and say, "Yes, I did it." It was amazingly helpful in many ways. I mean you had mothers who had no idea what had happened to their children, to their sons. And here you have somebody who had been a police captain, and he would say, "Yeah, we lured those children into a kombi and drove it off into the country and blew it up."

So, it's not like you're giving them a whole lot, right? But at least they can go to the spot where their child died and at least somebody got up and said, "Yes, something happened to you." This is very minimal, right? They're not saying – they're not even saying, "I did it, and I'm sorry," in many cases. All they had to do was say, "I did it." In fact, in some of the scenes in this movie, you'll see on both sides, black and white people saying, "Yes, I participated in this crime. That's what it seemed like we should be doing in those days. Here's why."

And not even really expressing any remorse. Hang on, just one second. And so, then this enabled them to get the country functioning together enough that it could write a constitution and start moving forward. And in some ways, it's been very encouraging and very inspiring even, and progressive. I remember hearing from a famous Jewish white South African who was a lawyer. He actually had been bombed in his car and lost one arm. And he's now on the Supreme Court in South Africa. And he's saying, "We are writing pro-human rights decisions every day of the week in that court."

It used to be that the United States, South Africa, and China were executing more people than any other industrialized country in the world. And South Africa dropped out, leaving us neck and neck with China for that signal honor. So, in some ways it has been very, very successful. And it was imitated – or replicated – in Guatemala and in the Balkans and in many other parts of the world with certain variations, matching local conditions. And certain variations just because, you know, that thing also was not perfect. We need to have a look at improving it.

So, let's take your comment, and then I want to ask everyone how could you improve this system?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:01:55]

Michael: In court. It was a courtroom. It would be public and a lot of it was televised and so forth. But it was oral.

Student: [Unintelligible 01:02:06]

Michael: Yeah. Because at this point you were now a criminal. There's one element I forgot to mention. It had to be a political crime. You know, if you robbed somebody, or you know, you kill them just because you were in a bad mood, you still were criminal and criminally liable. But if you killed someone or whatever you did in a political context, you could get pardoned for that by public admission. So, that's the truth part of reconciliation.

Okay. So, given what all know, and in fact some of the stuff that we consider here today, what else do you think might be done in this situation?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:02:56]

Michael: Well, okay. As I've already been mentioning, there is, for example, in the film, there's this very poignant episode where a white South African – his wife was killed in a movie theater. These four guys just burst into the theater and started machine-gunning people. And the four people who did it were caught, and they're sitting there absolutely impassive. And this guy, he's just trying to get them to say, "Did you notice a woman in a white raincoat while you were shooting?" That's all he wanted them to say. And they were just looking at him and didn't say anything. They were just doing the minimum. They admitted, "Yes, you caught us. We committed that act." Period, end of quote.

So, I guess what I'm saying is it's amazing how well it worked on this very, very minimal admission. But think of how much more there is to do. I can think of a case where there was – in one second – there was a case of a woman – a Black woman in the South. I think it may have been Florida. Her son was lynched by two white boys. This is in my book. And in court, one of those boys broke down and said to the woman, "I just hope that someday you find it your heart to forgive me." And she said, "Son, I've already forgiven you." That's where we want to get to.

And incidentally, the reason that I'm talking about the TRC system is because up to a point it has the wherewithal for being principled nonviolence because forgiveness is very hard. Ask Arby, who's working on stuff like this. If you can bring yourself to forgive someone who was wronged you in a very serious way, really dehumanized you, you've done emotionally what you need to do to engage principled nonviolence.

So, the question that I'm proposing that we consider is, okay, most of the time in this course we're talking about people who got the structure and the behaviors without the emotional energy. So, here it looks like here's a case where we mostly have the emotional energy. Where we got people to do – and incidentally, there are systems that do it a lot better. And they're mostly Indigenous ones, like the [Gacaca Court systems](#) in Sub-Saharan Africa, that do this a lot better.

I'm just saying in these cases where it seems to be intersecting with the industrialized world, we have people who have gone through the spiritual conversion that you need to do to furnish the good energy to run the nonviolent machine, but they haven't thought a lot about how to build the machine, you know, put the filters in, how to gear it up. And there I go again, dehumanizing everything.

Okay, so I think it was Matt, Sashi, and Palo.

Student: [Unintelligible 01:05:55]

Michael: It's like people showing their stenciled-on numbers from the Holocaust.

Student: [Unintelligible 01:07:50]

Michael: So, that really is like victim offender reconciliation. It finally worked its way up to that situation through several stages that were not sufficient. And the issue often was that all over Latin America the issue was how to choose between justice and reconciliation because the Army that had carried this stuff out, at the time they did it, they had convinced themselves and everybody told them and paid them and patted them on the back for defending the country against communism or whatever it is. And then suddenly turn around and say, "Okay, you have risked your life doing this horrible stuff, and now we're going to blame you for it." That was unacceptable to them, and they still had enough power to not go along with it.

So, the people who had been victimized and the public in general who sympathized with them needed to renounce the revenge, the accounting. They needed to renounce the pulling these people to account in order to get the stories out of the public. So, it is a real spiritual renunciation that people had to make.

Okay, I am in a position where I could blame you for what you've done to my family or my people or whatever. And I'm not going to do that so that we can get back together. What else is integrative power? And it's interesting how they went step by step towards building up to this.

Student: [Unintelligible 01:09:43]

Michael: Well, as I think I've mentioned, we had a chairman of Peace and Conflict Studies at one time who had been in the state Supreme Court, and he had actually gone down to Argentina and Chile while the torturing was still going on. And he was famous enough to make public statements and bring attention to it. He was an incredibly courageous guy. He said, "We should renounce punitive measures altogether." The only thing we could do is reparations. If people have bombed a billion dollars out of your country, they have to pay a billion dollars. Or if they've stolen it, they have to give it back as you would in any civil arrangement.

But holding this threat of punishment over people is extremely limited usefulness. Usually, it backfires. Just a second. Sashi?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:11:00]

Michael: Do you mind if I repeat what you're saying? Because otherwise it doesn't get onto the – I'm going to repeat it, Sashi, so it gets onto the camera. What Sashi is saying is that in African countries the most important thing is that when there's been an offense to get the people at least to talk.

Student: [Unintelligible 01:11:33]

Michael: This is a very interesting point. So, the commission becomes a third party. And when people cannot talk directly to one another and can't really reconcile on the level of relationship, at least – and this is a big at least – at least they get this crime out of their system. And the victims get the anger and the grief and the resentment, to some degree, out of their system by being able to talk to someone in a structured relationship where it has some connection with the other party.

Student: [Unintelligible 01:12:34]

Michael: So, during the act of violence, something happens to us, and we don't feel what we're doing. And you create a situation where they can suddenly feel what they had done, but not in a way that's going to devastate them. And it's very moving to see them crying when this happens. And that sends a message to the victim – an acknowledgement that you've realized what you've done.

Incidentally, this has been tried in two, three different ways around the Balkan countries also. And one of the tricks that they've come – that's not a good word. One of the methods that they've come up with to get the conversation going is – the same thing with Israeli kids and Palestinian kids. You can come here and say what has been done to you. You cannot say this is what you did to me, right? It's not going to personalize the crime. Not going to point a finger of blame.

You know, this is our whole thing. You're against the thing, not the person. You can bear your heart about all the evils that happened to you as long as you don't suddenly turn and say, "You did this to me." It's that person who did it to you, it's his responsibility to own it, to step forward and say, "Yes, this happened to me. I was caught up in this and such and such happened." Yeah. Okay, Palo and then Armi.

Student: [Unintelligible 01:14:22]

Michael: Hang one second. I just want to repeat what Palo is saying. There's an issue here that's been successful in some African countries of not just reconciling the victim and the offender, which we've been talking about, but to heal the whole community. Bring everybody back together again. Because we started off by saying that one of the differences between our retributive system and a hope for a restorative system is that in a retributive system the state owns the crime. So, we're now going about it the other way. The individuals own the crime, but the community has to come in on reconciliation. Go ahead.

Student: [Unintelligible 01:15:36]

Michael: Okay. So, you're bringing my question back to me. What else? What can we do? Does anybody spot it on the basis of what we've been saying here so far today? It's very dramatic because we have like 15 seconds. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:16:35]

Michael: So, if I could paraphrase what you're saying, like oddly enough, though it shouldn't be so strange to us, the victim has less of a problem than the perpetrator. This is [Perpetration Induced Traumatic Stress](#) all over again. If you get the perpetrator healed and reconciled with the community, it's going to be harder than helping the victim, in most cases. I mean sometimes the crime can be so horrific that it's traumatizing for life. But okay, in the last – 10 seconds ago, it was all over. But I have to say, think of the Sherif and Sherif experiment. To get people to do something together, build something together, possibly even physical. I remember being in Atlanta one time and four kids who had burned down a Black church. And they were charged, with the judge, of rebuilding that church.

So, feeling it is the good first step. But then you have to actually put it in practice in some way, I think, to cement it. Okay, have a good weekend, everybody.

[PACS164B Lecture 28](#)

Michael: Rabbi Lerner is going to come to talk to us on Thursday. One way you might think about this is it that I'm going to be talking about spirituality, not in connection with any sectarian orientation. I once asked a Christian friend of mine if I were, perhaps, a Christian because of my love for Jesus, and he asked me a few questions. And he said, "Absolutely not." So, I'm just me.

But jokes aside, he will be coming to the same subject from a Jewish perspective and should have some interesting things to say. He is the founder of an organization called, "The Network of Spiritual Progressives," which brings spirituality and nonviolence together. So, he'll be coming on Thursday. I wanted to tell you about a number of projects that are going on because this is called, "Nonviolence Today," after all.

There is a project afoot which is going to sail a flotilla of ships into Gaza starting from Cairo – Alexandria, rather. Collecting in Cyprus and then going into Gaza for the purpose of exposing what is, in effect, a blockade of Gaza by the Israeli government. So, that is going to start sailing on August 10. If anybody wants to have a really good time for four or five days and then be in jail for the rest of the summer, let me know.

Has everybody got this? It's my latest attempt. Peace = tranquility. My latest attempt to get the Nobel Prize for something. I mentioned to you that there's going to be this unusual event tomorrow. It's actually taking place next Wednesday. The group that's putting it on is called The Rebuild – sorry, one second here. RebuildingAlliance.org. And what they're doing is rebuilding homes that have been wrecked illegally by the Israelis. And the first home that they're going to rebuild in this manner is the very one that Rachel Corrie was seeking to protect when she was killed.

And so, a week from tomorrow they're going to have a phone conference which will be worldwide. And they're hoping to have – well, there are two panelists. Myself and a Palestinian psychiatrist by the name of Dr. Eyad El-Sarraj. He's very well-known in the nonviolence world. We both know him. It's my usual joke about the expanse of the nonviolence world.

And they want to have about 500 people listening in by some kind of telephone connection. This is a new technology. It's a new week after all, so there's bound to be a new technology. And if any of you is interested in listening in and then sending in some questions, what you do is you go on this website, RebuildingAlliance.org. And there'll be a button called, "Register Here." And you register. They give a phone number. And I think it will be 9 o'clock our time, Wednesday. It will be 7:00PM in Israel/Palestinian.

And Dr. El-Sarraj is actually undergoing some kind of treatment, so we'll be talking to him in his hospital room. Or somebody else will be substituting for him. We wanted to have it tomorrow, but there were not enough people. So, I'd appreciate it if you would all spread the word. And this should be interesting to try this new technology to see how it works. I think the setup is I talk for 10 minutes, he talks for 10 minutes – if he's conscious. And then we'll have a discussion and questions.

It's a very good group. They're doing – as we discussed last week, this is very good nonviolent practice because it's concrete. Ha ha ha. That was a pun. It's concrete, not just symbolic. And it's constructive and obstructive at the same time, right? Because they're building homes very

deeply symbolic, but not just symbolic. And it's very constructive. But at the same time, what they're doing has been outlawed by the regime that they are in opposition to. So, in a way, this is ideal nonviolent technique. But of course, we're just talking about technique. We don't have to get into talking about what their attitude is and so forth. Okay, I think that's it.

So, the remaining announcement, which I saved for last, and which I hope you got on your CourseWeb is the astounding news that this week we are probably getting to the end of something called, "The week of nonviolence in Iraq." So, this could be tide-turning. That you have people standing forth – it would be not unlike the communities of peace in Columbia.

Here you have this maelstrom of conflict with very – like most conflicts, there's much more than two sides involved. And you have a group of people stepping out and saying, "No. Let's stop the killing. We want nonviolence. No killing of civilians." So, at first, for this week anyway, it's mainly a symbolic action. They're hanging out banners and stuff.

But in that volatile environment, as a first step, I think that's okay. The question will be, "What are they going to do with it?" You know, if it succeeds, how do they build on it? If it attracts repression, how are they going to resist and so forth? So, I am like Mr. Anti-Symbol. I'm more against symbols than anybody in the entire movement. But I'm okay with this being symbolic as a start-up.

Of course, some argue that it doesn't matter whether I like it or not. That there's some sort of objective truth. But I think between now and the final exam, we want to stick with my viewpoint on things. Just kidding. Partly.

And I also – I think I sent you out a passage or – did you get a passage to look at? Okay.

With Regard to the Matter of Wars -- Rabbi Kook

So, let me read it slowly and spend a few minutes analyzing it and to review the reason that we're doing this is there's going to be a passage on the final exam. And that's what you're going to do, is you're going to analyze that passage. You're probably going to get a choice between two passages.

One may be something that you've seen before. But the other one, certainly not. And I'll be asking you to read it and tell us what are the assumptions that this person is raising. What are the principles on which he or she is touching, though perhaps hasn't named them? And other comments. Now, the point is not going to be to run up to the end of the diving board and take a big spring off into the [imperian] and say whatever you've always been wanting to say about nonviolence. You get to say that on our blog, but not on your final exam.

The point will be – imagine that you are being interviewed on a right-wing radio station which is almost the same as saying you're being interviewed on a radio station. And you've been challenged. This person is making this argument, and you have to calmly and patiently point out where that person has gone wrong.

So, let me read it. This is from Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook, who is a very important rabbi and intellectual in New Israel. And [he wrote](#), "With regard to the matter of wars," that is to say whether Jews should fight wars or not, "it was simply impossible," meaning not be warlike. "It was simply impossible at a time when the surrounding neighbors were truly a pack of threatening wolves for Israel."

Oh, I'm sorry.

"It was impossible at a time when the surrounding neighbors were truly a pack of threatening wolves for Israel alone to refrain from fighting, for then they could all gather and – God forbid – eradicate the Remnant" – of the Jewish people. "To the contrary, it was necessary to instill fear in the wild ones, even with some cruel measures, if only in the hope of bringing humanity to what it should be."

Okay, so you've had a chance to look that over in CourseWeb and read it through again quickly. This time with the correct parsing of the words.

"With regard to the matter of wars, it was simply impossible at a time when the surrounding neighbors were truly a pack of threatening wolves for Israel alone to refrain from fighting. For then they all could gather and, God forbid, eradicate the Remnant. It was necessarily to instill fear in the wild ones, even with some cruel measures, if only in the hope of bringing humanity to what it should be."

And the surprise about this letter of Rabbi Kook is that it was written in 1904. So, I thought it was – when I first saw this I said, "I can understand this in 1946," but he wrote it in 1904. Okay? So, ladies and gentlemen, the floor is yours. The microphone has been turned over to you. Rabbi Kook is sitting there, drumming the table and the world is watching, and you get to respond, and keep it very neutral. What would you say?

I purposely started with this passage. I'm going to try to bring one in every day. But I started with this passage because at least it contains one obvious flag that the minute you see it, your mind should be saying, "Tilt." Red flags should be hoisted, and you should say, "Wait a minute. I see what's going on here." Okay? Who wants to chime in anywhere? Arby?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:11:33]

Michael: Okay. He's definitely talking about using threat power to maintain peace. In this regard, he is. And about 98% majority of the world. And you remember my quoting a high-ranking military officer in Iraq saying, "With enough fear and violence, I think we can convince these people that we're here to help them." So, we wanted to say a couple of words about that? Don't be shy. Okay, I'm going to put you in an even more compelling situation.

Imagine you're sitting in the final exam. Never mind saving the world, this is about saving your ticket to medical school. Yeah, Elizabeth?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:12:21]

Objection to Threat Power

Michael: So, this is our main objection to threat power. It's the work versus "work" issue for us. You can accomplish some things through threat, but never in a stable way. Okay, so that's our objection to it. But remember, if we really want to carry people with us, we can't just tell them what's wrong with their stuff. We have to tell them what's right with our stuff, so they adopt it. So, once the word threat power has been trotted out in this learned audience, a couple of other things should immediately pop into your mind. Otherwise, you'll have trouble on the ID's. Zoe?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:13:14]

Michael: Okay, we could also say that. That instilling fear or really almost any other negative – strong negative state in people will eventually lead them to a [paradox of repression](#) because they will lash back, and we will be forced to escalate our fear instilling mechanism or cruelty or whatever they want to call it, until a point where it's no longer tolerable.

But let me reel us back to our question. By this time, I should think that like if you get up in the middle of the night and somebody says, "Threat power," you should immediately come up with two other terms, at least. Anyone? Amy?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:14:03]

Michael: Right. Exchange power and integrative power, à la – who invented these words? Kenneth Boulding. Right. I mean, he didn't invent the words, but he put them into this construct for us. Right. So, you'd want to tell him that if you're having trouble with neighbors, then you have three modes of dealing with them. Threat power, exchange power, and integrative power. And you also probably want to give him fair warning that the choice between threat power and integrative power is mutually exclusive, right?

You can't say we're going to go mostly with integrative power but a little bit of threat power because then you would be pulled over for violating Nagler's Law, okay? So, very good. We want to go in that direction. But so far, this often happens incidentally, the thing that I thought would jump out at everybody is still lying there. Ashley?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:15:06]

Michael: The dehumanization, right.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:15:09]

Michael: Yeah. That's a sign. If you really want to persuade somebody of something, don't give with one hand and take back with the other. Don't throw in these justifications. The word truly was the tipoff for that. If there were truly were ravaging wolves, well, has anybody ever met a Palestinian or an Egyptian? You know, I think they're Homo sapien sapiens, actually. So, Homo sapien sapiens [musel monus]. They're not wolves.

And that's why I said they truly were wolves because they truly aren't. So, he kind of tipped his hand that he himself did not feel very secure about it that. But right. This is classic dehumanization. It's there primarily to rationalize and whitewash the use of violence against a group. If he could he, one, step out from behind that screen and say, "These are human beings," he would not be able to cling to the threat power response. And then he either would have an alternative or he would go into severe cognitive dissonance. Kathy?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:16:53]

Michael: I hadn't noticed that. This is why I like teaching. I hadn't noticed that, that he's saying that by dehumanizing them will bring them closer to humanity.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:17:18]

Michael: Yeah. Or bring us closer. But the rule of life seems to be – and no nonviolence can ever forget this – that when you dehumanize another, you are dehumanizing yourself. When

you hurt anyone, you're damaging the big picture. As a student of mine said, or as a Martin Luther King said, "Threat to justice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." Or something like that. Yeah.

So, very good. I mean, there's more. If you had this actually in front of you in writing, and you're sitting there at the final exam and your creativity is maxed, there probably would be other things that you could pick up on, but that is the way to go about it. Just immediately, he has tipped his hand by saying, "Oh, they really were wolves." Whereas in reality he has made them into wolves and what struck me is given that step – okay, our enemies are not human beings, then everything that he said is true.

Once you've dehumanized them, you have no choice. So, that's where the error comes in. Yeah, Arby?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:18:39]

Michael: Oh, yeah. If it helps you to explain your point at any point in the exam, draw parallels to stuff going on right now or stuff that you have heard of in history. Stuff that we've studied. I want you to use the material in the course to back up the arguments that you'll be making throughout the exam. Even on the IDs. Okay?

So, as I said last week, we're trying to go a little bit more slowly now in this part of the course. It'll be hard because this is not decaf. But we're trying to go a little bit more slowly to give you more time to bring up questions, especially because we'll have Rabbi Lerner here on Thursday, and he's a very dynamic speaker, so we may have only next Tuesday for a flat-out no holds barred review. So, if something comes up for you on the ID list or anything, I think we're going to be very tolerant towards interruptions.

But we also have a guest here from Europe who would like to say a few words about the very topic that we're talking about. So, I'd like to try to get through my remarks reasonably quickly so we can do all of these things.

Connection Between Spirituality and Nonviolence

Okay, so the topic is what is the connection between spirituality and nonviolence? And you have probably gathered by now that for me these are two sides of the same coin. You know, this is like what Gandhi said about truth and nonviolence. It's a coin with two heads, if you will. Neither really could be privileged over the other. And in practical terms that means if you cling to truth you will get to nonviolence.

At the same time, if you insist on being nonviolent, you will get to significant truths about life. And that's why he was once – he had a Bengali scientist working for him who claimed to be agnostic, if not atheist. Said he didn't believe in anything. Gandhi challenged him one day and said, "Nirmal, you don't believe in anything?" And he said, "Well, I believe in truth, anyway." And Gandhi said, "That will do." That's really the whole thing.

So, similarly for me, we, in the world today and especially in the industrialized world, are passing through what can only be called a spiritual crisis. And it was none other than Rabbi Lerner who eight days after – nine days after 9/11 we had a huge meeting, a teach-in. À la Berkeley in Wheeler Hall. And the place was packed. There was almost 900 people. And everyone was talking about bombs and what religions of people got killed. And he said, "Look.

Let's face it. This is a spiritual crisis." I completely agreed with him. But to my surprise, the whole audience rose to its feet in spontaneous acclamation.

So, I think what we've got here is something that's underneath the surface of our minds. We know – we sort of know, but we don't admit to ourselves, and we don't have a way of talking about it. That we're passing through a very deep crisis that has to do with who we think we are, what we think will make us happy, and our relationship to one another at the very least.

And it's very confusing because in our emptiness and hunger for spirituality, when we reach out to gratify that hunger to fulfill that need, we get very, very poor guidance about where to turn. And some people go, you know, really off in the wrong direction. Let's talk about that again, maybe in a little bit.

So, as I say, nonviolence and spirituality are just different doors to the same room. You can't have materialism – and by that I mean materialism as a philosophy, as an economy, and as a way of life. You cannot have materialism without having violence if that materialism goes on too long. And ours has gone on way too long. For reasons that I've mentioned from time to time. Primarily, because of the mass media, which has locked us into a materialistic culture and materialistic paradigm which I think would have been dead 150 years ago if it were not for the invention of television.

And I will again remind you about this BBC film. Make sure I get this right.

HeyokaMagazine.com has a six-part PBS BBC series – BBC, I guess. Before it was PBS – if it was PBS – on Edward Bernays, the nephew of Sigmund Freud. The series is called, "[Happiness Machines](#)." And it says, "This series is about how those in power have used Freud's theories to try to control the dangerous crowd in an age of mass democracy." But it's really about much more than that. It's about how the techniques of advertising were used on the one hand to build up fascism in Europe. And on the other hand, to build up corporatism in America. Okay?

And as you know, your friend and mind, Benito Mussolini said we don't even need the word fascism. You might as well just say corporatism because it's the same thing. So, that's the downside, okay? This is bad as it gets for today. If you want to know how we got stuck in a materialist culture and how it works, go ahead and watch that PBS, BBC film. Whatever. It's a good film, whoever made it.

And as I've argued here a number of times, if you think for too long that machines are going to make you happy, you eventually come up with the idea that you are a machine. And then you're locked into this world of scarce material resources. So, conflict is very likely. And you're in a world where conflict is allowable because you're not killing anybody. You're just killing other things. We've seen many examples of this, how people get themselves into a virtual mentality disconnected with reality, and the next thing you know they're going on a rampage and killing people because they're not real to them.

So, that's why a significant element of the revolutions that are going on have at last – and I think this is a very good thing. Have at last recognized that culture is the problem. And somehow or other we've got to break out of the one we've got and build a new one. And of course, my preference is you primarily build a new one, most of the old one falls away by itself and what's left is easy to mop up. That's constructive program approach.

So, you have, for example, a magazine comes out of Canada called, "[Adbusters](#)." Which just helps people break up their fascination for advertising. It's not to say that we in the peace movement are above using advertising techniques to get our message across. I have no problem with that.

Cultural Violence and Culture Jamming

And you have a concept – this actually should be on the list of IDs. Two concepts, really. One is called cultural violence, which talks about two things. It talks about the imposition of your culture on another society. We talk about [direct violence](#), structural violence, and today we've started talking about [cultural violence](#), which we're very good at here in America.

And then there's also this concept of [cultural jamming](#), which means getting in the way of the messages of the mass media culture, so people can liberate their minds. And recognize that some of the things that they like fit into a coherent pattern of ideas and a pattern of living.

However, as we've seen many times – I'm keeping my radar switched on, by the way, so if you have any questions, I'm willing to stop this verbal rampage at any point. Catherine?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:28:21]

Michael: Culture jamming means putting out messages that in some way break up the compelling message of the mass media. So, for example – I'm thinking of this ad. You look at it and you immediately think you're seeing a Marlboro ad, but you don't see the word Marlboro. But these two cowpokes are lopping along out there on the prairie, tumbling tumbleweed and all the rest of it. Strumming on their guitars. One of them says to the other, "I miss my lung, Bob."

So, it's really – here you have Edward Bernays saying, "Let's get women to smoke. This is the torch of freedom." That starts the culture and culture jamming means breaking up the cultural message, you know, light up an unlucky strike, you know. I've seen very, very funny things done to Camel ads, which are very vulnerable to this sort of thing. But most of them are not suitable for mixed company, especially when they're being webcast.

So, culture jamming – it's a general term, I guess. As I say, a lot of these terms are so new that people maybe use them in different ways. But it's a deliberate attempt to get in the way of the cultural message that we are separate, physical, violent creatures and so forth. Okay? And this can be a lot of fun, actually, in addition to be a very valuable thing to do.

However, we need to add that once again as we've seen many times, it is essential, unfortunately, to build alternatives and how you build an alternative culture is very unclear. And moreover, it has to be done offline, as we've seen over and over again. I remember once being asked to be on a panel by a prominent television station in San Francisco.

You can imagine how excited I was, which was my downfall. They said, "Would I be willing to talk about the university?" I said, "Where's that microphone? Where's that camera?" You know, bring the brill cream, you know. They said, "Okay, what will be your approach?"

So, what I did was I started from this topic which was some very narrow specific topic about something this university is doing right here. And I enlarged the picture, step by step. I said, "You know what? It's not just the humanities. It's the entire campus." And you know what? It's

not just our campus, it's the whole university system. And you know what? It's our whole culture."

Well, it was extremely interesting to watch their response. Every step bigger that I took, they got smaller. Until finally, when I got to the end, they said, "We can't use you." End of invitation.

So, that was a blow to the ego and all the rest of it. But it was a very valuable lesson. That the media have locked themselves into being the media. And the temptation is, "Oh boy, we've got the truth. Let's go on FOX News and broadcast it to millions of people." [Spanish] It is not going to happen. Oprah gets closer than anybody else, but then she has to sacrifice a lot to even get that close.

So, I say, you know, why regret? No use crying over spilled milk. Let's deal with the cards that we have. Let's play with the cards we've been dealt – or something. My gambling vocabulary is a bit weak here. Yeah. We've been dealt a certain deck, or whatever you say. Let's play with it. We cannot change the mainstream within the mainstream, by and large. You know, there may be some openings, by and large.

And we should be prepared. Toward the end of the Free Speech Movement, there was a full-page ad in Time Magazine. It struck me very forcibly. I read it over the shoulder of one of my colleagues on an airplane. It showed a picture of Plato – actually, it was half Plato and half Che Guevara. There's a beard on one half and Plato on the other half. Half a flack jacket and half a katon.

And it said, "Okay, okay." It said, "You've taken over the Dean's office." We shouldn't do that anymore. "You've got the university. You've shut down this and that and the other thing. Now what do you want?" And you know what? It was very arresting to see that because we had fought for months and months and months to get their attention. And then when we got it, we didn't know what to do with it.

So, we should be ready at a moment's notice if somebody said, "You're going to be on Face the Nation tomorrow," assuming that program still exists. Or face the megachurches or whatever you face these days. Tomorrow we shouldn't say, "Ha, ha. Where were you ten years ago when I wanted to be on your program? No, I'm not going to play." We should have our bullet points – sorry, we should have our – or whatever they are now. Flower points ready to go. Daisy, petunia, gladiolas, whatever they are.

But at the same time, here's the trick. I think it's quite essential for us – it can't be quite essential. It's either essential or it's not. Okay. It is essential for us not to be depending on the mass media. Not to say we're sitting here with our message, and nobody is listening. You have to do it, and articulate it, and eventually you will be heard, or you won't be. But you do your thing anyway.

Rebuilding and Organizing a Spiritual Culture

Now we're going to be kind of looking at this question of rebuilding and a spiritual culture in terms of levels. And the deepest level is that the energy and the wisdom for recapturing a sense of spirituality has to come from individuals. That's been one of the most difficult things for us to get oriented to. Americans are fantastically good at organizing stuff.

When Swami Vivekananda came to this country in the 1900s, at the turn of the century, he was very, very popular. He was extremely handsome. He was a tall, strapping Bengali. He spoke about eight languages fluently. And I don't want to belabor the point, but he was very, very attractive. He was drop-dead gorgeous, as we say nowadays.

And he came home to his host's house one day and he said, "I have seen something today that I want very much, and I want to have and I want to bring it back to India." And his hosts said, "Oh, what's her name?" He said, "No, no. You don't understand." He said, "I am a monk. What I have seen here today is organization."

And so, this is the interesting thing. You have this civilization which incredibly good values, deep contact with spirituality. And no concept of how to organize it. And 6000, 9000 miles away, you have this other culture with incredibly good organizing skills and absolutely no idea what they should organize. So, somehow getting these two things together could be – what do you say? You don't say dynamite. It could be fertilizer? I don't know. Something like that. It could be very, very – it could lead to a very rapid change. It could be a tipping point.

So, this is why I've been saying that what we should be thinking about is not necessarily a different kind of people in power, but a different kind of power in people. The first level, from which this is going to be generated, it has to be from individuals. It has to be something there to organize before we organize it.

And you might say that faced with this material crisis, people are having different reactions. I think I'll go ahead and write this on the board. It's breaking the country up into different groups. And there's a very large group that says, "Why worry?" you see pictures of them. They look sometimes slightly caricatured to look like prominent elected officials. But they're saying, "What's wrong with materialism? Look, we've got 80% of the country is able to have three meals a day. 2% is fantastically wealthy and only 18% is starving in the street. What's the problem?"

And of course, part of the problem is that these are people who are living isolated from the past and isolated from the future. They are not interested in the wisdom of the past, and they're not interested in what's going to happen when we run out of the resources that they're gobbling up. But they're a very large group. And in reaction to that – and at first it didn't seem like it was opposite of this, but it is. You have an evangelical movement which is, you know, in some cases, I think, an excellent thing. It's right on target. I'm thinking of people like Jim Wallace and [Sojourners](#).

But a point that I want to get to here is that because of a problem I mentioned before where we vaguely know that we need spirituality, but we have almost no idea what it is. You reach out for the next best thing, and to a lot of people, that says religion. So, you start meeting in storefronts and things like that. We spent a lot of time last semester pointing out how deeply ambiguous religion, as an organization, becomes. And how, you know, for the first three centuries – remember my model of devolution. Where you start with a revelation and then an adaptation, and finally and co-option and it's all gone except for the prestige. And then it becomes very dangerous.

So, you have all of these sort of New Age formats. And some of it has spirituality consciousness and some of it does not. So, maybe I'm being prejudicial here. I'm just kind of telling things like I think they're at. But you have this tremendous explosion that happened here in the late '60s and the early '70s. And part of it was very silly.

When my spiritual teacher – my spiritual teacher had an interesting experience because he came here to Berkeley in 1960. In 1962, he had to go back to India. So, in 1962 I was on this campus. If you had seen me, I didn't have much of a beard. Only just a little bit to show that I had come from Greenwich Village. And every day I wore a sport coat and a tie. That's how we came to school. And I was interviewed by the Daily Cow one day. They said, "How come you have a beard?" And we had this long interview about it. At the end, I said, "I'm not the only one on campus that has a beard, am I?" And they said, "No, we got the other two guys yesterday."

So, that's the scene that he left in 1962. He comes back in 1966. The place is reeking of patchouli oil. There's beads all over the place. You know, the summer of love, fall of love, winter of love, the spring of love. The music is different. Behaviors are different. Well, they're not, really. But they're just being called something else. And the appearance of everything is totally different, and students are insisting that we teach courses on yoga and meditation and things like that. There's this explosion. But as I say, part of it was very silly.

And at one point I remember hearing Easwaran say, "If one more person comes and tells me that he achieved samadhi in Golden Gate Park last Saturday, I am going back to India. But it was an effort. It was an attempt to get at something and, you know, this is how first efforts work. So, I'm cutting these people a lot of slack. I guess this actually is what I meant to say.

Sorry, I meant to put a new age phenomena up here. And I don't think this little scheme is terribly important. But new age phenomena here and religion down here as a whole another response. Anyway, I should tell you at least a little bit what I mean by spirituality before I turn it over to your questions and our guest speaker. Basically, where I'm coming from is to say that spirituality is, awareness of the unity of life. It's really, in away, it's that simple. And so, you can immediately see the convergence with nonviolence. Now, to be aware of the unity of life in the deepest sense of the word is extremely rare. I think Gandhi was there, but as one person said while he was still alive, "God sends a Mahatma Gandhi once every 1000 years." You know, give or take a few hundred.

Interconnection of the Nonmaterial

So, what are the rest of us going to do if we want to be nonviolent and we want to somehow get out a way of overcoming that hunger that materialism has imposed? You can think of it, not as the unity of life on an absolutely spiritual sense, but the interconnectedness of life. That would be enough to get us started. If you have a sense that life is interconnected, you'll begin to hear the absurdity of saying, "With enough terror and violence we'll convince these people that we're here to help them."

And the absurdity of always trying to win a win/lose ending out of every situation, and the absurdity of ending up saying, we had to destroy the village to save it. That will be enough. And then at least in terms of behavior, if you're behaving as though you are interconnected with others, and you're open to the idea that there may be more to life than the material level, I think realistically you're on your way towards being able to rebuild a culture on a spiritual basis. Those two things fit together.

So, yeah, Zoe?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:44:51]

Michael: Let me try to repeat the last thing I just said. We may have to rewind the tape. I think what I said was, if you are acting on the basis that life is an interconnected whole, and you're open to the idea that life consists of much more than the material basis that we're aware of.

So, in other words, you're not just bodies and I have a way of reaching you which does not – means I do not have to waterboard you in order to get you to change your mind about something. I can approach – oh, and I guess the third thing I said was if you are willing to try to get out of the habit of approaching every interaction as though it had to be a win/lose outcome. At least entertaining the possibility that it could be a win/win outcome. If you do all those things and you're willing to learn from your own experiences, I believe you will get to a place where you're practicing principled nonviolence, and you are on your way towards having a spiritual outlook on your life.

The rest is a very personal matter, so that's why I can't say much more about it. People have to find a spiritual practice that works for them, but I'm not convinced that that can be done on a mass level. I wish I were. I remember somebody saying to me, "We have 35,000 people meditating every morning in San Francisco. They have entered the fourth state of consciousness." I said, "Look." I said, "I can be kind of hard-nosed about things like that." I said, "Look, if we had 35 people, not 35,000. If we had 35 people in San Francisco who reached the fourth state of consciousness, you would not recognize the Bay Area, or California, or the United States, or the rest of it.

So, I don't know exactly why I'm saying that. But it certainly sounded impressive. What I think I'm saying is – really, we've said what we can say about the necessity of contacting spirituality within us. It has to come from that individual level, but there's not a whole lot that we can usefully say about it beyond this point. So, where do we go from there? This is like person power level. Okay, let's move onto the people power level. And what can we say?

A Culture of Interconnection and Unity

And here I'd like to throw out an interesting idea for you people. And that is we've discussed this year and especially this semester, a lot of interesting innovations that are supportive of, if they are not actually themselves, a spiritual culture. A culture that's based more on interconnectedness and unity than it is on competition. That's based more on non-physical gratification than it is on physical gratification.

So, there are things that people are doing that signal to the world the possibility that there could be another basis for fulfillment and happiness. These things are very important. They can be much more influential than you think. When I was quite young. We don't need to talk about numbers here. When I was quite young, I was on the fringes of the Beat generation and I fancied myself quite a beat, actually. I bought a motorcycle and all the rest of it.

But we thought that our whole thing – I shouldn't really use the inclusive first-person plural. They thought that they were so far out of society that they could not possibly influence people, and they weren't even trying. And the next thing you know, elements of that culture were absorbed very rapidly into a very strait-laced, bourgeois, mainstream culture. And you people and I, we're sitting here a lot more comfortably than we would have if that hadn't happened back then.

So, I guess the point I'm trying to make is let's not deprecate the influence of innovative mechanisms that are based on a different concept, a different assumption about life. If they work, people who are desperate, without realizing it, to get out of the prevailing culture, may

seize onto these things. So, mention some of them. What are some of the things that we've discussed maybe recently?

Okay, you don't have to be illumined to be doing these things. But if we could get them to work, they would fit into a whole different pattern of living than what we've got now. I know I do this to you people sometimes. I get on a roll and I'm laying out this stuff and you go into a kind of stunned passivity. Amy?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:50:24]

Michael: Right. You can practice nonviolent communication even if you haven't gotten to the fourth state of consciousness. But in various ways, this is a practice which resonates which very different assumptions about the human being. Go back to our little statement that we started off with. Our little paragraph from Abraham Isaac Kook. You're surrounded by ravenous wolves who want to devour the Remnant. Put that side to side with what Amy just reminded us of.

Can you imagine being in a cage with a ravenous wolf and saying, "What are your real needs?" You know, if you're the Buddha, you can do that and say, you know, "You're hungry? Here, take it. I don't need this body. I've had thousands of them." But I think for the most of us, we cannot go about solving conflict on that basis. If you practice nonviolent communication, the underlying assumption is that everybody has a point-of-view. The minute you assume that everybody has a valid point-of-view, which is valid in the way that human points of view are valid. Not absolutely valid, but valid for them.

That if you can reach them at the place of validity for them and get them to a point where they can hear your validity, you can then move to a rational and *non-violent* mode of conflict resolution. So, the very basis of nonviolent communication is nonviolent in another way. It's this needs business. Remember what they say about needs versus strategies – that should have rung a bell with us. Anybody? Okay, let me put this out there as a trick question. I really get down to what my basic needs are, and I go to Ashley, for example. She gets down to her basic needs. And uh-oh, they're in conflict. Comment on that hypothetical situation. Zoe?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:52:56]

Conflict of Material Needs vs Nonmaterial Interconnection

Michael: Really. This is absolutely fundamental – sorry, there I go again. This is fundamental. It can't be partly fundamental. This is fundamental for nonviolence. That the world is so organized that there cannot be real existential unavoidable conflict on the level of needs. It will only be on the level of perception and therefore, if you can change a person's perception, hey, end of conflict. So, that's a faith position in the nonviolent framework.

So, if you go about resolving conflict on that basis, you're signaling to people that this hypothesis might be correct. I don't know if I've told you this story about Marshall Rosenberg, who invented all this stuff, he doesn't just do it on the one-on-one level the way [Miki Kashtan](#) did it with us. He was called in to moderate, mediate a conflict in Africa somewhere. Very, very bitter, feudal, tribal stuff going on. And he gave is workshop. It was all being translated into two or three languages. During the break, an elderly gentleman came over and leaned across the table and was shaking his fist and yelling at him in some language he didn't understand. He tried to remain calm.

When the person got to the end of his tirade, he turned to his translator and said, “What did he say?” He said, “If you had come here six months ago, we would not have had to have this war.” So, this stuff really does work. And as people get attracted to it and notice that it works, they will consciously or unconsciously, depending on if they have a PhD or they don’t, they will consciously or unconsciously assimilate the hypothesis on which it’s based.

And that will get us started on the idea that we’re much more deeply interconnected than we thought. And competition is unnecessary and harmful, and we’ll be on our way. Okay, other things? Other mechanisms? Yeah, Zoe?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:55:07]

Michael: Wow. I’ll have to look at my watch.

Tipping Points of Paradigm Shifts

How does this influence a paradigm shift? I guess I would have to say in mysterious ways. We know some things about how paradigm shifts happen. And others we don’t. We know this tipping point model is important. And that means that key individuals can precipitate dramatic change because whether they realize it or not, a whole node of other individuals which could reach into the hundreds is looking to them.

You wouldn’t necessarily see it, but in Malcolm Gladwell’s book, he talks about somebody who discovered a good restaurant. This is in the days before there was email. He immediately went home and fired off 100 faxes saying go to this restaurant.

Gladwell is, of course, only interested in commercial tipping points, but we’re interested in the kind of tipping points that television stations don’t want to hear about. You know, deep cultural ones.

So, I guess what we’ve said so far is that these mechanisms, like nonviolent communication and others I’m going to ask you to mention, they signal the possibility of a whole different conception of what human beings are i.e., a different paradigm. By signalling that conception – to take another term now from the commercial world, you have what are called, “Early adopters.” Some people will look at this and say, “[Glong]. I got it.” You know?

How many people watched how many chimpanzees reconciling after a fight and walked away without having any response at all. And finally, one person, partly because he’s Dutch, Frans de Waal. He’s standing there in Arnhem Zoo, and he sees them getting over a fight. And he says, “[Dutch]. I understand this.” These animals are practicing reconciliation. So, he rushes to the library to look up – he’s expecting to come staggering home with a huge pile of books on animal reconciliation, and guess what? Niets. There’s nothing out there. Nobody has written a word.

So, Frans de Waal is an early adopter. So, that’s another thing that we know about how paradigm shifts happen. I’ve had this experience many times. I think I told you a little bit about the experience in Tomales high school. I went in and I talked to about 65 teenagers. I would say 20 of them were, if I may use a 1960s expression, 20 of them were turned on by the concept of nonviolence. About 10 or 15 of them were infuriated, which means they’ll be turned on the next time. And the rest of them kind of [unintelligible 00:58:32]. They had no idea what I was talking about. They kind of hoped that the bell would ring, and they could go back to playing very aggressive football.

And that's how it is with every group. I think it's very difficult to predict which groups are going to have more early adopters than others. It's a funny thing. Again, we get back to individuals.

So, how about other institutions that we've touched upon that could be forerunners in the sense that they make sense in a world that has a spiritual basis, that has a different paradigm, and they don't make sense in the world we've got right now. Josiah?

Yeah. International Fellowship of Reconciliation, in the sense that they do what?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:59:24]

Communication for Collaboration vs Power Struggle

Michael: Okay. In their own internal structure, they're inclusive, which right away means that they could be building us a unity and diversity paradigm and not an exclusionist paradigm. So, right away, that's something. And then of course the work that they do is to do reconciliation in conflicts and to put people as third-parties in conflict areas and all of those things. Yeah.

Imagine if Rabbi Kook had said, "We were faced with a difficult situation. We were surrounded by people who hate us. Not by hungry wolves. Surrounded by people who hate us, and we have two choices. We can wall ourselves in so they can't hurt us even if they want to. Or we can talk to them and get them to stop hating us."

I'm thinking about one person who in this very early period. Before 1946 he was told – he's an Israeli. He was told, "Don't go into this certain area." I'm trying to think of his name. He's a wonderful early peacemaker. It'll come to me. He was told, you know, the Arabs are very angry. Don't go in that area. Immediately went in there. Found himself surrounded by a bunch of what later would be called Palestinians. They were basically Jordanian Arabs at this point – with rifles. And they said, "We're going to have to kill you. We don't allow any Jews out here."

So, he said, "Oh, okay. How did you have in mind doing this?" They were a little startled by that response. And they conferred. He spoke fluent Arabic, by the way. They conferred. And they said, "Well, we thought we would throw you down a well. And he said, "Oh, okay. Is there a well nearby that you would like to throw me down?"

And they said, "Yeah, yeah, there is. Over there." Starting to kind of lose heart through the whole thing. And he trotted over to the well. And he said, "I'm ready." I'm hamming it up a little bit. Instead of coming and pushing him into the well, they're talking and talking and talking. And finally, they came over and said, "Would you repeat something after us if we said something to you?" And he said, "Of course, I would." And they said – how does it go? [Arabic]. "Would you repeat that?" He repeated it. And they said, "Yay. You're a Muslim. We don't have to kill you now."

So, they weren't – they didn't even look like wolves. They were actually real people. So, anyone who is practicing, whether it be third-party or not, practicing communication instead of force and threat power is signalling this. So, I would put all of this at a kind of second level. There are innovative institutions where, okay, maybe you don't have intense spiritual energy moving through them, but you have the formats in which spiritual energy could move through them and they're ready to awaken people. When you awaken enough of the right people, you're on your way.

And thirdly, we dealt with the question of could you somehow organize the whole world along lines which would allow people to flourish spiritually. I think that's the most that we can ask. And I remind you that Johan Galtung's definition of violence is anything that inhibits the fulfillment of a person. And if you carry that out to the spiritual level, if you inhibit people's spiritual fulfillment, you're doing spiritual violence to them.

And our world does that a lot. Could we build a whole world order model with economic political and other structures in it that at least wouldn't do this to people? And at that point, I'm just going to leave that an open question. Write your paper on it. Write a book on it. Give a speech at the U.N., whatever. I'll give you a chance to think about this on the final if you want to. If you like thinking about that sort of thing.

So, I'm going to take three minutes now, if that's okay, to just have questions, if there are any. And then could you come up and give us – yeah. So, anybody have any questions about this or actually at this point we're going to start entertaining questions about anything we talked about all semester. Okay. So, everybody has memorized everything, and it all makes perfect sense? You're all A-okay? I'm perfectly okay with waiting a minute on this. Yeah, Nicolas?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:05:01]

Michael: I didn't actually use the beat generation as an example of nonviolence. They were not violent, most of the time. They were too stoned. But I didn't use them for that reason, Nicolas. And no, I don't think that psychedelic drugs are a good way to become nonviolent. I've said a lot of things that are probably illegal, immoral, or fattening, but at least that one I don't have to say. I use them as an example of a group which could not have been more marginalized. It's like they were asking themselves, "Is there a way that we can be more weird? And if anybody does something, I'm not going to do it."

So, and yet, as a reaction, they held up a mirror of possibility to people who were desperately, desperately bored and unhappy with the life that they were living and gave them a reason and an excuse to bust out of that life. There's a movie about this, about a lawyer in Los Angeles who suddenly becomes a hippy and – I forget what it's called. But that's all that I was using it as an example for.

No – I think, if nonviolence is clinging to truth, then the psychedelic experiences is on, I think at the very best, an extremely limited vehicle. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:06:50]

Michael: In my opinion, there really is not a correlation between hallucinatory experiences and experiences of reality. Why people think there is, is the hallucinatory experiences are different. And mystical experiences are different. Therefore, logically, hallucinatory experiences are mystical experiences, but I don't think so. It would be part of maybe a longer discussion, but I mean the short answer is I think you're departing from normality in opposite directions. Yeah. So, dare to say no to mushrooms. Okay.

Well, we're going to have more chances, I hope on Thursday and definitely on Tuesday. So, please – I'm about to turn it over to you. Look over your notes and the Idealist that I handed out. Remember, the final exam is going to have IDs. Maybe a couple more than you had on the midterm. Then they'll be a passage for analysis. And then they'll be essays.

So, strongly recommend you get together in groups to study, the way law students do, and look at how much money they make. Just kidding.

Dr. Spiegel - Constellations of Spirituality and Nonviolence

[Berkeley International and Area Studies](#) has a collaborative relationship with a university in northern Germany called the University of Vechta which invited me there for a speaking tour some years ago. And I am now in a collaborative publishing relationship with my colleague Dr. Spiegel. And when he heard about today's topic, he said he wanted to say a few words – or he could say a few words about it.

So, I'm going to invite him up to do that. And he may need some help with English, so I'm going to try to do that also. Let me give you this.

[Applause]

Dr. Spiegel: Michael, thank you very much for giving me the opportunity to talk about my persuasion and my position on the combination of spirituality and praxis of nonviolence. I think nonviolence is not postulate, but a consequence. And I will show you by giving skits. I will pin it to the table. Yes, thank you. I will make a polarization of two constellations.

One constellation, I could paint it like this. One side is one person or a party. And this party is willing to do violence. And other party too. This is a normal situation. Two parties, two persons in a constellation of violence. And this is a constellation you can choose.

The other constellation is this one. One person or one party. It's the same situation. And the other person who is doing this, put down the arms too. But what if the conditions of this constellation, the condition of this constellation is that there must be a third – a third. What? A third power. A power of might. And the name for this is [unintelligible 01:12:10] of Gandhi. Satyagraha. It means the might of truth, or the power of truth.

In another terminology, perhaps a terminology of [unintelligible 01:12:30]. It means the constructive potential. In the Jewish language, it could be, "be" or "to be." There is something I cannot define – define it. I can only say there is something. And the name for this is – and the Jewish people, they don't spell it or don't spell it out. And I will do this like the Jewish. I don't want to spell it out.

But it means, translated, there is something. And the Jewish people like to say not more than this. And this is the main point. And it's a question to all of us. What is my [status confessionus] – in Latin. [Status confessionus]

Michael: Where do I stand spiritually.

Dr. Spiegel: Yes. Is this my position or this? The question is how deal it with the number three. What is three? If there is a third power, for me, exists this power for me. And I think this is a basic – the basic of nonviolence. And you cannot be nonviolent only on the basis of this constellation. And if you can say to this constellation, if you can say to the three, third power, nonviolence is a consequence and not a postulate.

[Unintelligible 01:15:00] Attitude of this is described in following terms, in Hebrew it means himin. Important [unintelligible 01:15:23] letters. And you know this word. This word you can find

in amen. It's the same. Every time you say amen you mean, I trust in. Himin means "to trust in," not, "to believe." To believe is not the same like, to trust. It's a very [unintelligible 01:15:47] word. It's a strong word. Himin.

It means I trust in. I bow down, I stand in, to trust in, to stand in. To stand in what? To stand in this. And this, is – and there for nonviolence is a consequence of, to trust in. [unintelligible 01:16:19]. In my Christian terminology, it means God. And it's a Christian word, the consequence would be, to God. I learned it from Carter Heyward, an Anglican theologian. Yes. This is the heart of my lecture on nonviolence. Summarized in only one picture. But I think the main point is to make a difference between this symbol, constellation of life and conflict, and this complex constellation.

And the [unintelligible 01:17:23] corresponding attitude.

Michael: Come on over here. You may remember, when we're talking about third parties, that I said that this is the significance of a third party is to reflect back to the individuals something of which they have become unaware. So, the third party is not there just as a person, but as representing this attitude of trust in something that's bigger than the situation of two conflicting parties.

So, in a way, this Number 3 is in both of these parties. Well, for me primarily, it's within. But it's hidden. It's hidden from themselves. And so, what the third-party does is reflect it back to them. So, to awaken it up in them, when you have a third-party. Okay, well there's Professor Spiegel's whole life in ten minutes.

Dr. Spiegel: Thanks a lot, Michael.

[PACS164B Lecture 29](#)

Michael: From there. Maybe do a quick visit to Palestinian. We had a very, very moving talk from Jimmy Carter yesterday. How many of you were at that talk? Oh my gosh. That's wonderful. Yeah. It was probably a little more nostalgic for me than it was for you. Because as he pointed out, you weren't born when he was president. But I was walking the streets of Tomales, California, stomping votes for him. So, it was really emotional for me when he started speaking. I remembered his voice and how, you know, the things that we complained about then were absolutely absurd compared to the things we got going for us now.

But we had a longish meeting with him after the talk. About 25 of us, thanks to the generosity of Rabbi Lerner. And he made it even more poignant that he had during the big talk that while the substantial majority of people in the United States and Israel, not to mention Europe and the rest of the world, want a peace agreement in Israel-Palestine.

Something happens to make it not only difficult, but impossible to get. And I thought it might be good for us to think about that a little bit because we've been talking all along about how awkward it is to work with established structures. I once went one summer, I guess, to Washington, D.C. with the Tikkun community to talk to congresspeople. Every congressperson that I went to see – and I heard the same report from most of them, they were so glad to see us. They said, “We see nothing but AIPAC, AIPAC, AIPAC.” This is the quote pro-Israel – pro-aggression lobby. “And we agree with you, and we would love to give you what you want, but we would not be re-elected.”

So, this is a strange thing that happens where the majority of people, as people, want one thing, which is a reasonable – reasonably just solution. We're not talking a revolution here or a world of peace or anything like that. But just, you know, a reasonable adjustment. And yet, between the will of the people and the decision by the people, something happens to turn everything drastically to the right.

So, I was struck – having that in the back of my mind when I read the latest newsletter from [SIPAZ](#). This is an organization that we've mentioned before. It stands for, Servicio de paz y justicia. Peace and Justice Service. And they operate throughout Latin America. But the particular focus is in Mexico. And within Mexico, they're particularly focused on the movement in Chiapas. And we haven't talked about that movement very much.

But I'm back one topic now. I'm out of the spiritual dimension of the Cultural Revolution, and we're back to the topic we were talking about, the struggle against globalism. So, the struggle against globalism is acute in these villages and small communities in Mexico where – I mean if you think about the situation that we've created here, it's pretty appalling. We have ruined their economic hopes. So, they're now impoverished. And in many cases, pushed from poverty to destitution. And then when they try to get

out, we build this huge fence, and we have people with machine guns to keep them out. So, it's, you know, this is probably an exaggeration, and probably I'm going to be sorry that I said this in front of the whole wide world web. But it's almost like a kind of economic genocide that's going on. Where we impoverish people and then don't let them escape from the poverty that we've created for them.

So, the EZLN, the [Zapatista Liberation Army](#) has taken matters into their own hands. And one of the things – okay, I should stop myself before I go too far and say I am not saying that the Zapatistas are a nonviolent movement, purely and simple. It's not like that. They are – I would say, they are nonviolent wannabes. I think I told you that we had a message from Subcomandante Marcos. You could write a film or a novel about a message from the Subcomandante.

And we were meeting at a Quaker meeting place south of here in Ben Lomond, about nonviolence. And TPNI, though we didn't call it that then. And he sent a message by one of his people saying, "Yes, we are doing this militarily, but if you show us a different way, we will take it." So, that to me was underscoring the importance of nonviolence education. And again, to say, this is not a nonviolent movement yet. It's very complicated. There are many actors. Some of them covert.

But the point for right now is what they have stimulated is different kinds of formats of organization. So, for example, they had a meeting in a region called Oventic, which is kind of a headquarters for them. And at the beginning of the struggle, they actually took over this region, so it is actually something that would not be tolerated in the United States. There's a region in which federal government does not – its writ does not run. They can't intervene there to a very large extent.

You try that here, the results will be very serious. If you try to get a little park in Berkeley which would not belong to the federal authorities, and people died over that struggle. Now, there is one little circle, six inches in diameter in the middle of Sproul Plaza, which doesn't belong to anybody. But I would be tempted to call that symbolic. Anyway, they have an area in which they're able to really kind of recreate governmental authority on their own.

And there was a meeting in December to January called, "The encounter of the Zapatista People with the peoples of the world." I'll have this here if you want to look at it. More than 2000 people from 47 countries took part. 3000 Zapatistas in addition from support bases, 200 members of 40 autonomous town councils – that's one type. Autonomous town councils, representatives of 5 Good Government committees, several members of the general command of the clandestine revolutionary Indigenous committee. That must be a nice acronym. And they have organizations also from Caracoles. Caracoles is a snail, right?

So, I think the idea here is that it's not hierarchical, but sort of centrifugal organization. So, amazingly enough, and I don't think – yeah, they have different Caracoles, have names like [Spanish] and so forth. [Spanish] In this way, this is a statement from one of the snails. In this way, the other government was initiated. What are we going to call

this? What's our technical term for this? The parallel institution, yes. Parallel institutions. Very good. Yeah. Remember, this is the most important type of parallel institution and the most – it's the most dangerous. Palo?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:08:27]

Michael: Well, it's like this. It's not a hierarchy. It's a central kind of organization. The slowness of the snail? Could be. Not the bad taste. Okay. Well, I don't myself know – kind of my fault. I don't, myself, know exactly how it works. But the point that I want to make is that these are people who have invented alternate – we're talking about Chiapas. People who have invented alternative governmental forms. And I just will leave this here, and I'll leave it at that. And I recognize that we've had no time for review today and I haven't given you a passage for analysis. So, let's do that pretty intensely on Tuesday.

I'll mail you out a couple of passages, or at least one. And look over the ID terms, especially the ones that we haven't actually covered yet. Just, you know, go through the whole semester. Insurrectionary movements, the reform movements, the anti-globalism movements. And now, finally, the spiritual revolution that's represented here.

And that'll be a big chance for you to have questions. I will try to do something, which as I was telling people this morning is very unnatural for me, which is not talk and just be here to answer your questions.

Rabbi Michael Lerner and the Network of Spiritual Progressives

All right. Well, it's my great pleasure to introduce Rabbi Lerner who is going to talk to us about spirituality and social change and what, in particular, the network of spiritual progressives is doing about it.

Rabbi Lerner was at one time called by J. Edgar Hoover, I think, the most dangerous man in America. Very, very proud of that designation. Actually, I think Hoover was the most dangerous man in America. But you got to choose your dangers in this world. And he has started a network and a community. And as probably most of you know, a magazine called [Tikkun](#) which was necessary to form when the premiere Jewish journal took a turn to the right and became a commentary.

So, he said, "The rest is commentary. This is reality." And two years ago, in the summer, Michael and I put on a conference. He did all the work. Called, "[Spiritual Activism Conference](#)," which was a fantastic success. We had about 1400 people. And out of that, we're trying to develop a [Network of Spiritual Progressives](#), balancing the need for some kind of organization with the need to escape hierarchical organization.

So, I think that having been said, Michael, more could be said about you, but I think we want to hear it from you. Do you want to sit there?

Lerner: I might. Maybe I'll try to stand. Is that better. Having any of you seen [Tikkun magazine](#)? Anybody here seen it? Okay, not many. Do you want to – pass it around?

Pass it around and – oh, yes. This is an ad. Well, actually, it has two sides. One side is an invitation for people to become interns with us. Tikkun is located in Berkeley. And the Network of Spiritual Progressives is located in Berkeley. And so, we have summer internships, and we have internships for September to June of next year. So, that's one of that thing. But we don't have enough for each of you to keep it but look at it. You can read through the ad.

The second side is an ad that we're about to place in the New York Times. That, in a way, is a manifestation of the spiritual politics that we've been developing. What's this for? Okay. It's an interfaith organization. It's co-chaired by myself and [Cornell West](#), who's an African American, a social change activist and professor of African American studies at Princeton. And by [Sister Joan Chittister](#), who is a Benedictine sister and probably the most outspoken feminist in the Catholic world. So, it's definitely not just for Jews. It's an interfaith organization.

And the Network of Spiritual Progressives is for – not just for people who are into a religion or into God. But for anybody who has a spiritual consciousness. So, that doesn't require that you believe in God, or you're part of a religion. If you consider yourself in some way spiritual.

I think I'll start by saying how we arrived at building a network of spiritual progressives this way. I was a social change activist here in Berkeley and was on the executive committee of the Free Speech Movement. It was interesting to hear last night the chancellor saying, "Well, we've always been for free speech here. This is our tradition." And we had to force it down their throats at the cost of many of us being arrested and so forth. And then – whatever. I won't go there. But I was also president of Berkeley Students for Democratic Society, which was an activist anti-war organization in the '60s. I was in the heat of that. I was involved in that.

And then went to Seattle as a Professor of Philosophy. I got a PhD in Philosophy here from Berkeley. And there is where J. Edgar Hoover came into the scene. I led some organized demonstrations that were, at the time, the biggest thing that Seattle had ever seen and was eventually arrested, indicted with seven others as part of the [Seattle 8 conspiracy](#), they called it. And sent to federal penitentiary for contempt of court, for which I had to admit that I was guilty. I did have a lot of contempt for the way the judicial system was working at the time.

And afterwards I watched the movement itself destroy itself in a whole variety of self-destructive ways. I can talk about that more if you want to hear about. But I decided that understanding ideas was not enough. I had, at the time, I thought, and still in retrospect think, a lot of good ideas. But the ideas were not sufficient to understand what was going on because I had all these good ideas, and we in the movement had all these good ideas. Why weren't people getting it? Why weren't people listening? And why were people even in the movement acting in such self-destructive ways?

So, I went back to graduate school and got a second PhD, this time in clinical psychology to try to understand the psychological dynamics that were leading, on the

one hand, leading people inside the movement to act self-destructively towards each other. And on the other hand, I wanted to understand why the rest of the society wasn't jumping up and throwing away their crutches and saying, "Hallelujah. Hey, we got it. You know, yeah, your analysis is great. Terrific. We're with you."

So, after I got my PhD in psychology, I was very fortunate to have convinced the National Institute of Mental Health to give me a research grant. And began an organization called, "[The Institute for Labor and Mental Health](#)," which we started in Oakland.

Surplus Powerlessness: Psychodynamics of Everyday Life

And over the course of the next 29 years, we developed [a study of the psychodynamics of American society](#). And that study was, although NIMH thought we were studying something slightly different than what we were studying, that study did ask the following question, "Why are people moving to the right politically? Why are they not responding to us? What is it in their life experience?"

And very quickly we came to – well, we listened to people's stories. For those of you who think in statistical terms, the end was 10,000. We had over 10,000 people. And this wasn't what we call, "Drive-by sociology," where you put a questionnaire in front of somebody or a quick telephone interview, and then you think you know what's going on in their lives.

We ran groups that went from eight to ten weeks with middle-income working people. And in these groups what people would say, the first or second week, was very, very different than what they would say the eighth or ninth week because in these groups, as trust developed, and then as new ideas came into people's heads, they were able to talk about things that they would have never acknowledged to a sociologist or to an interviewer about themselves, things that they themselves were scared to think about in themselves, but eventually did come out in these groups.

So, let me tell you what we learned. First of all, what we learned is that when we asked people to tell about their lives, the first thing they went to was the world of work, which is probably something that at least a fair number of you aren't that familiar with yet. But let me tell you about the world of work, what they were telling us.

Most people end up working in work situations in which the bottom line of the institutions within which they work is to maximize money and power. And your value in the world of work is just judged by how much you are successful in maximizing money and power. This is not true for every workplace. It's only true for what the overwhelming majority of Americans face in their lives.

But you could have grown up in a family and even in a neighborhood where you never even met anybody who is working in such a workplace. I don't know you. So, it's totally possible since there's a fair number of upper-middle class jobs that are available to people where they do get a chance to use their intelligence, their creativity. Where the

bottom line isn't so explicit, where the workplace isn't so clearly and solely dedicated in that way.

We also found out, by the way, people say, "But I work at a nonprofit." And then it turned out the bottom line was to maximize the ego gratification of the people at the top. But for most people, they don't work in nonprofits. They work in institutions in which the bottom line is that. But what I'm saying to you might not click for you if you've never been in this kind of a workplace.

But what's important to understand is that while there are many other kinds of workplaces, and you might be lucky enough – in fact, I'm sure that most of you will end up in places different than that, but the experience of day-to-day life for most Americans is going to a workplace in which the bottom line is to maximize money and power.

And in that workplace your value is shaped by your ability to convince those who have power over you, your supervisor or their supervisor or their supervisor, that your contribution directly and indirectly – in other words you could be a research scientist. You're not expected to immediately produce something that's worthwhile from the standpoint of maximizing money and power. But indirectly, that is the whole institution within which you work, judges whether your work unit or the whole sphere of research that you're doing is ultimately going to produce something that they can sell. And if it doesn't and your unit isn't producing that even in the long run, they don't want you.

So, your value is in how much you can maximize money and power. And corresponding to that comes another recognition that people told us was central to their daily reality. Which is that the common sense of the world of work is nobody is here to take care of me, to look after me. Everybody here is to maximize their own advantage, "to look out for Number One", as they put it. And that this is the common sense that people learn day in and day out, looking out for Number One is the fundamental reality of the world of work in which the bottom line is maximizing money and power.

And as a consequence of that, that people are learning how to see each other, learning how to see each other primarily from the standpoint of what can you do for me? Can you be of use to me? How can whatever you're doing maximize my advantage? And this is not because people never went to any – you know, never had a consciousness raising. It's not because there's something wrong with the people. It's that the very structure of the work situation generates and regenerates and rewards this consciousness.

Okay, everybody getting what I'm saying? Maybe it's obvious to you, right?

The World of Work and Psychodynamics of Relationships

At one level, it is obvious to everybody whenever I speak about it – at least for people who have been in the world of work, it's obvious. "Oh, yeah, we know that. But not quite in these words, but nevertheless we knew this."

So, as a result, all day long people are learning how to look out for Number One and how to see other people in terms of, “What can you do for me? How will you deliver for me? What can you give me?” And then they bring that home, out of the world of work, in the few waking hours that people have, the few waking hours that people have outside the world of work. So, that way of thinking can’t be taken off sort of like dirty clothes, like when you were a miner you were working in a factory, and you can take off – you get one good shower, and you were out of there.

But there was some sense that in previous – the previous history of America where workers were in those kinds of situations where there was solidarity in the world of work. Today, it’s quite the opposite. There’s a sense of aloneness, everyone out for themselves. And that then generates a consciousness that is brought home into personal life. Where the Number One complaint that people have when you talk to them about this society is, “I feel alone. I don’t know who I can trust. Everybody seems just out for money and power for themselves. They’re just looking out for Number One.” And this is not a paranoid perception. This is actually a quite accurate perception of what everybody around them is doing.

And so, the common sense seems to be repeated. It’s repeated not only in their interactions, but it’s massively reinforced by television in which almost every sitcom, in which almost ever – the sort of shared assumption of every movie is this – that obviously people are looking out for themselves. And you don’t even have to preach it. It’s the motivation that is assumed to understand the characters in any of these movies or sitcoms, or at least the vast majority of sitcoms and movies. That people are looking out for themselves and trying to maximize their own advantage.

In the sitcoms, it’s who’s going to have the best relationships? Who’s going to get the best dates? Who’s going to be whatever? Who’s going to be on top as opposed to on bottom in any exchange between people. The assumption is that everybody is just out to maximize their own advantage. And that is so clear that by the time you’re three, if you’re getting what’s happening in any of the cartoons that you’ve seen, where one is beating up the other or, you know, the little animals and so forth, they all the same personality specter as America. That is, they’re all looking out for themselves and maximizing their own advantage without regard to the consequences of the other. And it’s all supposed to be very humorous and funny.

But it’s absorbed into the consciousness of children at a very, very early age that this is how it is in this world. So, growing up in this society and then entering the world of work, one gets a massive dose of this conditioning. Understand that this conditioning isn’t some content about some specific policy. It’s not about you should be a democratic, or you should be a republican, okay? You should be conservative, or you should be liberal. It’s pervasive through the consciousness of everyone. It’s a much deeper level of conditioning. And it shapes how people interact with each other. And it has a dramatic consequence of making people feel very lonely.

If – there aren’t any people in the room who old enough to be even thinking about this, but I can tell you that one part of our study ended up being around people who were in

retirement age. And many of them reported the decline in friendships. And what happens is, is that friendships increasingly become, in this kind of a society, an exchange relationship. I give to you on the reasonable expectation that you'll give back to me an equal amount of whatever. Time and energy and caring.

You might say, "Well, what's wrong with that? That's just an equal exchange. A nice little market relationship that works wonderfully." The problem is, is that as people get older or even not older, but sick, and they're not able to give back an equal amount of time or energy, they find that their friends seem to be disappearing. They're not for them as much. It's not that anybody who is not there for them is thinking, "Oh, I won't get a good return on my investment of time or energy here." It's just the whole way – the basic consciousness that people have about what a friendship is – an exchange relationship, just doesn't seem to be happening as much there.

People report at that age that they remember, or at least they remember their parents telling them, about a time when friendships were based on the principle of solidarity. Solidarity meant they're there for other people, regardless if they can give you a reasonable return on your investment of time or energy with them. You're there for them simply because you care for them.

But in a world in which what it is to be rational in this society is to maximize your own advantage. In that kind of a world, the being there for them decreases dramatically. And the amount of energy that one can give to that decreases dramatically. It seems almost irrational to be there for other people when you're not getting anything – not going to be able to get as much back.

This has tremendous impact in many, many areas of life. Let's talk about the dating world in which – now, for the dating world and relationships, we want to transform the language slightly because here when people are looking out for their own advantage, they translate it into the dominant – this dominant paradigm into the language of psychologese. And in psychologese what looking out for Number One turns out to be is, I'm looking for a relationship that will satisfy my needs. And what I'm looking for is – so, I want to have my needs satisfied.

Now, in the earlier years of dating, let's say for most people, from the ages – some place between 18 and 35, let's say, the dating world actually does resemble fairly much like a big supermarket in which you go in and there are all these attractively wrapped things on the supermarket shelf. And each competing for how they can be most attractively wrapped. And then you go, and you taste one, and you might taste that for a night, or you might taste it for a month, or you might taste it for a year and a half and three. As long as the ride is interesting. And then you can discard, and you go to the next, and then to the next, and then to the next.

So, that what we learn from the younger people who we were interviewing, that is people roughly starting from about 27 on up, 27 to 35, is that by the time you've been in this dating world for 8-10 years, almost everyone has a – now, I'm saying of the people

we're studying, which is middle income Americans, okay, has a deep cynicism about who's out there.

They've had a lot of experiences of either being used or using. Using, I say, because we found that the younger women had an ideology that they thought was feminist that said, "Look, I know that this is what's about. And I'm not going to be some passive, you know, passively used by others. I'll use my sexuality to use others. I'm going to be just as strong and just as successful in manipulating others as others have been in the past – as men have been manipulating women in the past. I can do the same thing."

But anyway, by the time people around that age, they've already had a decade worth of experience of being used and using others for the sake of having whatever is maximizing my own advantage and having what will satisfy my needs and make me feel like I'm having a good experience here. Now, don't get me wrong. I'm not putting anybody down here. I'm not making any judgments. I'm merely describing how people – that the consequence of this is that people have a deep cynicism about who the others are that they're likely to meet in this society.

And that cynicism dramatically reinforced by the media, and dramatically reinforced by their experience's, day in and day out in the world of work in which everybody is looking out for Number One leads people to appoint in which relationships increasingly, particularly when people get to the point where they're saying, "Oh, I've had enough of the marketplace of relationships." Which isn't so easy because there's always more attractively wrapped products on the supermarket shelf. And why should you stop now, when who knows what's in the next one?

But anyway, a lot of people do stop. And when they stop, are ready to make a commitment to somebody. Commitments increasingly become, based on the following kind of thinking. I want to settle down now. I want to make a commitment. I'm going to, you know, I'm going to live with the person, or I'm going to marry somebody or whatever. So, I want to find the person who will satisfy my needs more than anyone else. And so, when I find such a person, my determination or my commitment to you is this.

Amongst the people whom I imagine are likely to fall for me in the short run, because I'm no longer wanting to be in the marketplace forever, amongst the people that are likely to fall for me in the short run, you will satisfy more of my needs than anybody else I'm likely to come across. So, I'm committed. Now, you might say – first of all, you might say, "Well, what's wrong with that?" Well, let me tell you – there's nothing. I'm not making any judgment about this.

I'm saying that this is how people experience what commitment becomes, increasingly. So, that a marriage, a loving relationship is consciously or unconsciously generated by that sense of, yeah, you know, like people that are likely to fall for me, you're the best one. You're going to satisfy more of my needs than anyone else I'm likely to meet. And I say I'm not making any judgment about this. But the consequence of it is a dramatic upsurge of insecurity amongst most people in this society. Because they suspect,

usually quite reasonably, that their partner – if their partner is equally rational to who they are and they think that they're probably just as smart and so forth, that their partner also is making that same calculation. That amongst the people he or she is likely to meet in the short run, you satisfy more of their needs than anyone else who is likely to fall for them.

Why does this generate insecurity? Well, it generates insecurity because from that point on when you get this, or you suspect it, or you intuitively grasp it without ever putting it into words, you know that at any point your husband or wife, your partner, might find at some point in their life someone else who would satisfy yet more of their needs than you can.

And then, as a rational person in this society, where a rational person is a maximizer of self-interest. As a rational maximizer of self-interest, of course, they're going to try to cut a better deal. Do you see what I'm saying here? They're going to try to cut a better deal because this is just what it is to be rational. Is to find the best possible way to satisfy your needs. So, why shouldn't I go to this other person if I have some reasonable expectation that she or he will satisfy more of my needs.

And this generates tremendous insecurity. Yeah? Okay. Trust me. What?

Insecurity in the World of Work

Trust me that this – getting all of this is more important than what we can do. Because if you understand the pain that's going on around you in society, then you have – you start to get a feeling for why it is that liberal ideas don't quite get there. And that's essentially what I'm trying to talk to here, is why the liberal and progressive agenda isn't deep enough yet.

So, give me another few minutes on this, okay? All right. So, the way this plays out, it doesn't play out the same for everybody. It depends on your class position and many other factors because the basic issue about how insecure people are – and I say this transcends, but this insecurity goes through the whole society because it's not just the 50% of marriages in America that end in divorce. It's also the 50% that don't end in divorce because most people don't know which of those two categories they're in. They don't know for sure that their relationships are going to last or not.

And so, the insecurity is very strong. But how much it affects you depends on your own assessment of your own marketability, in the marketplace of relationships. If you are – to the extent that you are younger, more conventionally attractive, or more financially secure, these issues don't really weigh that much on you. Conversely, to the extent that you are older or less conventionally attractive, or less financially secure, these issues become huge, huge issues of insecurity.

So, the insecurity is stratified through the society, depending on these factors that shape your own consciousness about your own potential marketability. And you may feel strong in your 20s and 30s and think anybody who worries about that, they're just a

fool, right? And then when you're in your 50s or 60s, it's a whole different ballpark in which you may be obsessing about this because your potential marketability has shifted dramatically. I don't expect people here to quite get this until it's ever happened to you. You get it? Okay. But your marketability is strong, you know?

Okay, okay. So, now I am not here to, you know, put anybody down or make a moral condemnation of any of this. I'm trying to tell you that when people are thinking in these terms about other human beings, it's almost impossible to not think this way and grow up in this society. To think about other human beings through this framework is so deeply embedded in the mass culture, and in the experience of living in capitalist society with the generation of – it's generation in the world of work, of the consciousness of looking out for number 1 and maximizing self-interest as the only rational way to be.

So, I'm certainly not going to want to judge anybody for this kind of consciousness. It seems like it's the only possible way to be. Now, it isn't the only possible way to be.

Spiritual Consciousness and Finding Meaning in the World of Work

There is another consciousness that we call a spiritual consciousness. A spiritual consciousness is a consciousness that looks at other human beings and sees her or him as fundamentally valuable, not just for what she or he can deliver for you. But because he or she is an embodiment of the sacred. Or if the word, "sacred," or "created in the image of God," of all that just generates a new resistance and say, "Oh, gah, I don't believe in that." Whatever. Fine.

Then these the terms that [Martin Buber](#) said. That there's an I-thou relationship rather than an I-it relationship. Or if that sounds too mystical too you, then go back to Emmanuel Kant and his language of seeing other people as subjects and not as objects. However, you want to language it, this is a very different consciousness than the dominant consciousness. And it's what we call a spiritual consciousness.

And similarly, when looking at the physical world, a spiritual consciousness is one that doesn't simply say, "Gee, we're not using our resources in a totally rational way." We can use these resources in a better way. It's one that looks at – it doesn't look at the physical world and say, "I wonder if there's something I could sell here. Maybe I could turn this tree into something that would make money for me.

Instead, it looks at the physical world from the standpoint of wonder at the grandeur of what is there. That's a spiritual consciousness. Now, what we discovered was the following, about people in this world – the world of work, that I talked to you about a moment ago. That when people spend all day long in the world of work in which they are focused primarily on – in a situation where they have to maximize money for those who have wealth and power – that they come home feeling very upset about this. Even as they simultaneously believe it's impossible to change.

And what they're upset about is, that they want a framework of meaning for their life. They want to connect to something that has higher power, has higher vision, that connects them to something they can believe in. And when we first started discovering this, we thought, "Oh, this is baloney. This can't possibly be true. Because everything that we had learned in academia and everything we had learned in the left, or in the liberal and progressive world and in psychology was that we, the elites, have meaning needs. But they, the rest of the population, they only have material needs.

Hunger for Meaning and Spiritual Crisis

And what we were discovering in our actual research was that this hunger for meaning and purpose was pervasive throughout the society, and that it was a tremendous crisis in people's lives that they had no opportunity to connect to meaning and purpose for their lives in their world of work. Now, so you have people coming home from work with this hunger for that. And at the same time, simultaneously, a sense – we talked about it with people. And their first response is, "Yeah, but there's nothing you can do about it. That's just what the real world is. That's how it is. There's just no way to change that."

And then on the other hand, they have personal lives, in which they feel they are never seen in the spiritual way that I talked to you about a second ago. That a huge number of people report that they are never seen as being fundamentally valuable. They're always seen in what I'd call instrumental or utilitarian terms. What can you do for me? Even husband and wife? Or partners, lovers. Always thinking in terms of, "Well, what are you doing for me? What's in it for me? How much am I getting back from you?" And even with children, "What have you done for me lately, dad? What have you done for me lately, mom?"

And people who live, who are in this situation in which they neither have recognition of the sort that I call a spiritual recognition, which people can see you for who you are, but instead are saying to us, "Nobody recognizes. Nobody ever sees me. They only see me about what I can do for them, but never – they don't get me as a being. I never get that experience of being perceived, or at least very, very rarely if not never. Very, very rarely do I ever feel anybody seeing me outside of the framework of how I can be of use." And that's your personal experience in life, your personal life.

And then in the work world, you're doing work that has no meaning and purpose other than to maximize money or power for somebody else. When these two things coincide, you get a spiritual crisis in American society. A deep spiritual crisis. And the terrible news for liberals and progressives and those of us who want to change the society is this, that the right, the political right was the first group to recognize and articulate this.

And just as the Women's movement gained tremendous power, when it was able to articulate the pain that women were feeling, but it had no name. But it had no name, until the feminist movement came along and said, "Oh, that's sexism. That's the results of patriarchy. That's the results of chauvinism." And way before the women's movement was able to deliver significant change, just their ability to name it earned them

tremendous respect and commitment on the part of many, many women who felt such a relief at understanding this.

So, the political right has done that for a very large number of people in this society. It has given them a language to understand that there is something deeply wrong in their lives. And that language is the spiritual crisis and the excess of materialism and selfishness. Now, the terrible thing is that the right then goes on to blame the materialism and selfishness on the demeaned others of the society. And so, this is a universal formula, wherever you go in the world, when you find a right-wing movement, whether it be political or religious, that is successful, it's one that correctly articulates the spiritual deprivations that people are feeling on the one hand, and then unfairly blames whoever is the demeaned other of that society on the other hand.

And so, in the 20th century, for the first half of the 20th century, that was Jews in Europe. Today in Europe, it's increasingly Muslims who are the ones who get in this position. But if you go to Muslim societies, some Muslim societies, while it's the Kurds. Whoever is, you know, wherever you are, whoever is the historic demeaned other, is the one that gets the blame. In the United States, of course, the primary demeaned others of our society, historically been Native Americans and African Americans.

But in the last 30 years, the right in its magnanimity has tried to extend this category to include in it, feminists, gays and lesbians, and increasingly liberals and – all liberals and all secular people, actually, in the last few years.

Now, the irony, of course, is that the right is the primary champion of the ethos of selfishness and materialism in the world of work. Because in the world of work, the right is always the force that is championing the right of every corporation to pursue its own self-interest without regard to the consequences for others. And saying that we want less government to regulate, to restrain, or to demand any kind of social responsibility, right?

So, how do they get away with this? On the one hand, champion of let every corporation pursue their own self-interest. On the other hand, championing and articulating the pain that people have when having spent all day in a world of work in which they're learning selfishness and materialism. They bring that home into personal life. It's a huge contradiction. How do they get away with it? They get away with it because the liberal and progressive forces aren't even in the relevant ballpark. They don't understand that there's a spiritual crisis in the society. And very often, because of the long history of the left having emerged in struggle with the feudal society several hundred years ago, in which the central underpinning of feudalism was religion and various beliefs in God, the left is filled with anger at God.

And that transmits into anger at and putting down of people who are into religious or spiritual consciousness. So, that then makes it easy for the right to become the champion of the spiritual issues. Now, it's more complicated than this. I'm giving you a very simple part of this stuff. And I have a much more sophisticated articulation of it in

this book that's just come out in paperback. It's called, "The Left Hand of God." It was in hardback last year, a national bestseller.

It tells the story in a lot more detail. I'm recognizing that I'm telling it in a very, say, vulgarized way in order to get it all out.

Network of Spiritual Progressives

But this then has led us to say, "Okay, if the left has been unable to recognize the spiritual crisis in the society, we need a spiritual progressive movement." And that's why I and Cornell West and Sister Joan Chittister, started this new organization two years ago called, "The Network of Spiritual Progressives," which came out of some of the work we had been doing in Tikkun magazine, which is going around.

You can find us, the Network of Spiritual Progressives, on the web at www.spiritualprogressives.org.

Okay. What's the Spiritual Progressives about? Well, I'm not going to talk about all parts because I do want to get to questions and answers or whatever. So, I'm just going to tell you one part, which is the central thing. We want – our central demand is this. We want a new bottom line in American society. A new bottom line. In more technical terms, we'll put it this way. Today institutions or social practices are judged efficient or rational or productive, both on the individual and collective level, to the extent that they maximize money and power.

We are saying that institutions whether that be corporations, whether that be our legal system, our medical system, our health care system, I mean our education system, whatever the system is. Whatever you're judging about efficiency, productivity, rationality, that they should be judged that not only to the extent that they maximize money and power. But also, to the extent that they maximize love and caring. Kindness and generosity. Ethical and ecological sensitivity. Enhance our capacities to respond to other human beings as embodiments of the sacred.

And enhance our capacity to respond to the universe with awe and wonder and radical amazement at the grandeur of all that is. So, that's a very different bottom line. You want me to repeat it? Okay.

That institutions should be judged rational, efficient, or productive, not only to the extent that they maximize money and power, but also to the extent that they maximize love and caring, kindness and generosity, ethical and ecological sensitivity. Enhance our capacities to respond to other human beings as embodiments of the sacred – or however you want to language that – see them as fundamentally valuable for who they are. And enhance our capacity to respond to the universe with awe and wonder and radical amazement at the grandeur of all that is. Okay? Got it this time?

Okay, now if you think about this as a new bottom line, you'll quickly see that all of our institutions are irrational, inefficient, unproductive. They don't tend to produce loving and

caring people. They don't maximize people's capacities to be ethically or ecologically sensitive. Or to respond to the universe with awe and wonder, or any of that.

You might say, "But wait a second. Are you saying that nobody is loving and caring in society?" No, we're not saying that. We're saying that people are loving and caring and have these qualities despite the institutions in which they live, not because of them. And it's always a fight. People have to feel like they're idealistic to go for these values and that they're struggling for them rather than to be nurtured and supported in them.

A New Bottom Line

So, we're saying that a spiritual movement, a progressive spiritual movement is one that's calling for a new bottom line, a fundamental rethinking of all aspects of the society based on this criterion. Does it produce more love and caring? Does it produce more generosity? Does it produce more ethical and ecological sensitivity? Does it enhance our capacity to respond to other human beings as fundamentally valuable? Or to the universe as embodiment, as something we respond to not just in a "use" way, but just seeing it as inherently valuable. Does it do that?

Now, this is a general principle, okay? So, this is what we're about. New bottom line. But then you might say, "Oh, very nice. But how does that translate into anything real in politics?" And so, that's where we've developed in the book and also a shortened version of it online, the spiritual covenant with America. It has eight points about how you do this, translated into health care and how you do it in relationship to families and how you do it in relationship to a whole variety of different issues. I'm going to take one because the one that is most pressing at this historical moment, and that some of you have already seen, is translated here into an ethical way to end the war in Iraq. And it's going around.

But it's this. In relationship to foreign policy, what is a spiritual approach to foreign policy? A spiritual approach to foreign policy says the following. Our new bottom line is love and caring, right? So, we start with the following. That in the 21st century, the only rational way to be in this planet is to recognize that our wellbeing as Americans depends on the wellbeing of every other person on the planet. We no longer will accept a president who gets up and says, "God bless America," and doesn't simultaneously say, "And every other nation and people on the planet." Because it is fundamentally irrational to look at the world that way.

But what's our strategy? How are we going to deal with the danger in the world? What's our strategy for Homeland Security? What should foreign policy be based on? Well, what we argue, and again, I'm saying it in very vulgar ways here, but I say in the book it's laid out in much more detail and more sophisticated way.

We argue that for the last 5000 years human beings have bought into – or at least governments and people with power, bought into the idea that our most effective way of providing Homeland Security is domination and control over the other. Viewing the

world from the standpoint that the world is a fearful place, and that other people are likely to take advantage of you and get power over you.

A consciousness which seems totally reconfirmed by our experience every day in this society, right? In which for all the reasons that I took such a long time to lay out before about why people would think that the world is like that when why wouldn't they think that when they're daily life experience is constantly based on that very same principle of everybody taking advantage of everybody else or maximizing their own advantage without regard to the consequences for others in every sphere. Of course, that then seems just so obvious, so common sense, so to speak.

We're saying that strategy, the strategy of domination, has failed. And that that appropriate strategy for Homeland Security, to protect the United States, is a strategy of generosity. It's that we want to replace domination with generosity. And this is something you will not hear from any of the presidential candidates, no matter how enthusiastic you get about that. Because none of them are willing to challenge the fundamental assumptions on which it all rests. Even, I might say, Carter. Even Carter, okay?

What? Even Kucinich. Okay. Even Kucinich. They're not willing to get to the fundamentals. They'll talk about we should replace militarism with diplomacy. But diplomacy is simply a word for non-military ways to coerce the world into our – into following what's in our interests. Not, a paradigm shift in which what we say is, "We are part of this world as a totality in which it's not our interests anymore that are the determining factor."

Or another way of putting this, which is, I think, more accurate, is to say that the irony of the 21st century, ironic reality, is that these old spiritual values from 2000 and 3000 years ago, are no longer just pure idealism, they are actually the practical necessity of the 21st century. That is, that our best interests are served by not focusing on our best interests. Can you get that?

Okay, that our best interests are served by focusing on what's the best interest of everyone. That we are going to be more secure if we are able to overcome the nationalist or – nationalism is only self – looking out for number one, writ large onto a whole society. It's that same consciousness that I've been talking about all through this presentation. It's we're first. Our needs are first. And if other people get anything out of it, that's great. But really, what we're about is, you know, let me get what I can from myself.

So, okay, strategy of generosity as the core new notion of what a foreign policy should be about, okay? Not only – just because I like to step on anybody's feet I can. Not only nonviolence, okay? Not only nonviolence. A whole fundamentally different paradigm of what politics should be about. Why should I be nonviolent if the next one is going to screw me? You have to challenge the assumption that the world is like that. Or that the world has to be like that and it cannot be different in any fundamental way.

And that's why we are working together because Michael share's the spiritual consciousness as part of – which leads him and me to being nonviolent. But the one last thing and then I'll stop, because you'll see in the ad, that what we then say as fundamental is, okay, let's translate that concretely.

Global Marshall Plan

We're calling for a global Marshall plan.

[A Global Marshall Plan](#) to use between 1 and 2% of the gross domestic product of the United States, each year – now I'm not talking about the budget. I'm talking about the gross domestic product of the United States, which is considerably larger than the budget. The GDP. 1 to 2% of the gross domestic product of the United States. I need water. I'm about to go.

Each year for the next 20 years, to once and forever eliminate global poverty, homelessness, hunger, inadequate education, inadequate health care, and repair the global environment. That is our program for politics, okay? A global Marshall plan. Global means we're part of the globe too, okay? So, it's domestic and global.

And the Global Marshall Plan – now, some refinements and then I'll stop. We're not talking about dumping money on countries that are corrupt or that are going to siphon all the money off to their dictators and sort of. If we're going to do a Global Marshall Plan, it's going to be done in a way that is thought out in terms of how do you reach the best interests of the people in the society?

Step Number 1 is to involve them in the planning. It can't be us figuring out what's best for them. It has to be creating some international mechanisms through which the people in that society, and not just their governments, actually participate in what would be best.

Number 2, it has to be done in a way that is cultural sensitive. Number 3, it has to be done in ways that are environmentally sensitive. Number 4, it has to be done in a way which overcomes American arrogance. We don't want to approach this from the standpoint of saying, "We know the best answers for your society because we're so successful. We're so rich and so forth." We want to say we're starting out from," and this is while you'll see in Point Number 1 of the ad. We start out from this. We are apologizing to the people of the world. With all our money, with all our power, we have just dramatically screwed up and done something that is terribly immoral in the war in Iraq.

And we're starting with repentance and atonement. And our Global Marshall Plan can also be understood as taking that repentance and atonement not just as words, but as translating it into actions. But when we do that, we're saying to the peoples of the world, "We want you to come and bring your cultural specificity and your wisdom to our society because we know that we have deeply screwed up. So, approaching the world with a spirit of humility, not of arrogance, is another central part of this Global Marshall Plan.

Okay. This is one example of what we're talking about with a new bottom line and a spiritual politics. We have them in all the different spheres. But I'll stop here only to say that we're trying to build a national movement. We've got about 5000 members and about 100 chapters around the country. We'd love to have you come and be an intern with us in the summer or intern with us next year to help us build this reality.

It's not yet a – it's going, and it has some real energy behind it. But we'd love to have some help, particularly in reaching out to younger people where we have not yet found – figured out the way to do this because it turns out, for whatever reason that you can explain to me, that it's been very hard not just in these terms, but in almost in any of the movements around to reach deeply into the people under 40 in this society. That's another issue. But thank you.

[Applause]

Student: [Unintelligible 01:05:11]

Lerner: She said that she has a lot of friends who would – why don't just give it to her?

Collaboration to Defeat Isolation

Student: So, I totally agree with everything that you've said. And I feel like I have a lot of friends who would agree with these policies and the idea. You know, just the ideas of the personal isolation in our society and the competitiveness. But you say the word spiritual and they're going to stop listening to you. And I don't know if you can change that. So, what is the potential for collaborating with secular movements?

And have you heard of [cosmopolitanism](#)? Which is the idea of every human being has equal moral value and there are policies to outline that. And it's very, very similar to this, but the rhetoric is entirely secular. So, do you see potential for collaboration with movements like that?

Lerner: Well, the first thing – I want to talk on two different levels. One is, absolutely, yes. We want to do that. We would love to work with anybody who shares every other part of the program except the word spiritual or God or religious or whatever. Fine. I'd be happy to have a movement that talked in these terms that was really about the same thing. But is it really about the same thing is very important because – for example, when looking at a question of how to value the planet, are they going to be looking at in not in reductionist, materialist terms?

If they are – if they're willing to go to a consciousness that sees the planet as having some fundamental value apart from what it can do for us as human beings. If they're able to see other human beings in that way, then absolutely. And I'd be perfectly excited if you would organize that, you know? If you would create such a group here on this campus or amongst your friends if you're graduating or whatever. That's one level.

Now, the second level is we're also interested in actually winning in this society. And in this society, 80% of Americans say that they believe in God. And 60% say that they

pray once a week. 60%. And for all the talk in liberals and progressives about their commitment to democracy and their belief that, if we're going to change this society, we need a democratic movement to do that, they are not willing overwhelmingly to recognize that this society has a lot of religious people in it.

Pardon me, I have a little problem here. So, when they approach the world, the left has created a culture that pretty much reflects what you just said. If you're religious, or you're spiritual, I close my ears to you. I can't hear you. You're obviously on some trip. And so, what was reported, what we learned in our study was that a lot of people who would be with the left in terms of its economic and political programs have had an experience, either in their unions or going to an anti-war demonstration or going to a women's movement meeting or going to an ecology meeting or whatever.

They picked up the following message, "We need you. We need your support. We want you to be with us. We don't care if you're religious, or you're not religious. But basically, we think you're in a lower level of intellectual or psychological development if you believe in God or if you have any religious or spiritual practice. We think that if you hang out with us long enough, you'll probably evolve to our level where you'll never no longer think in God terms or spiritual terms. And that would be good for you. It'll really be good. So, I hope you'll be with us."

Now, for a lot of people who take seriously their own spiritual or religious life. The message is, "I'm only welcome here as an inferior being, as somebody who they need at one level but whom they actually think is at a lower level than they are. And I don't feel good here. It doesn't make me feel like this could be my home."

Now, what does that mean? Does that mean that I want you to become religious or spiritual? Not at all. I want you to overcome religiophobia. I want you to just as – and when I say this, most people on the left don't even know what I'm talking about. Just as most men had no clue about what sexism was when women started to raise that. They didn't know what the women were talking about. They couldn't figure it out.

And all the more so, heteros could not figure out what gay people were talking about when they talked about homophobia. It just seemed completely, "What are you talking about? I like everybody. I value everybody." In other words, you can't get this unless you're – at first, at least, until you are a victim of it. Until you're one of the people who has been treated that way, you don't get that it's happening, including in your own thinking. You don't recognize how much you put down and push away people with a different consciousness. A social movement that wants to win in this society cannot do that.

So, the question I have to many people on this level is on the one hand, yes, I want to ally. But on the other hand, I also want you to ask yourself when building a larger social movement, would you rather hold onto your religiophobia, or would you rather stop the war in Iraq? Would you rather end global capitalism, or would you rather be in a position of being able to look down on spiritual and religious people who constitute the vast

majority of people in this society and stick your tongue out at them and show them that you're so much smarter than they are and they're so irrational?

Now, in the book, I begin to also – and in the next book I will also do this – try to explain to people why besides all that, they're also wrong. That is on the substance – not that you're wrong about secularism, but that you're wrong about secularism being on a higher intellectual level. You still might be hearing this and saying, “There's nothing I can do about it. I just do think that.”

And I mean what I try to show in the book is why the view that I call, “Scientism,” that is the view that holds that what is real is that which can be validated through sense datum or measured. And anything else that cannot be validated through sense datum or measured is simply non-sense. Okay? Is a view that is actually the view of the capitalist class that struggled against feudalism, and it has no higher intellectual status than any other religious position. It is itself a religious position. That is to say, that the view that that which is real, or that which can be known, is only that which can be validated through sense datum or measured, is a view that itself cannot be validated through sense datum and cannot be measured. That's the short of it, and I can make this argument more if you want to go to it.

But whatever your view of rationality is, this is what's really rational and that's what's irrational, I'll show you that you have no more foundation for your belief system than the other religions have. Now does that mean I want to put down your belief system? Not at all. I don't want – I'm not here and the Network of Spiritual Progressives certainly is not committed to putting down other people because, truth of the matter is at least half of our people are secular people in this Network of Spiritual Progressives.

The only thing that makes them different from other progressives is they're committed to not putting other people down who are religious or spiritual and who – and to not have an attitude of, “I turn off the second you talk about anything that's important to you around the world of spiritual or religious.” But instead, recognize that yeah, I have my religion. You have yours. And both of them are – I'm able to tolerate both and create space for both. Others want to go?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:14:46] Okay, so really briefly. Early, you talked about the rhetoric that the right-wing uses. And I didn't quite understand whether they – you said they championed the cause for either side and I didn't understand whether they were bashing the other side, blaming it, or whether they are championing both sides. And so confusing.

Lerner: [Unintelligible 01:15:21] Well, yeah, they are championing capitalism. And they are saying that what's bad is – the bad part of capitalism is that it allows for this extreme individualism in which women go for their own interests. Gays for their own interests. African Americans go for their own interests. They don't care about everybody else, is what they're saying. That these groups are only looking out for Number 1. And so, I should have gone into that more. I'm going to try to explain what women – yeah, it's true that women have been seeking to focus on advancing their own interests.

But what they leave out of the picture is 10,000 years of patriarchy in which women's interests have been systematically denied. They attack gays and lesbians. Why gays and lesbians? Well because they're not raising the next generation, which turns out not to be true in any society where gays and lesbians aren't oppressed. But anyway, leave that aside.

The point is they say, "Well, you're just having sex for the fun of it and it's not fair to the rest of us because we have to have the consequences. We raise children and you don't, so you're selfish." So, I say back to them, "Well, first of all, probably if you believe that God created you and so forth and made sex pleasurable, maybe that wasn't a divine oops but rather part of the plan that it should be pleasurable.

Michael: That's a wonderful note to end on.

[Applause]

Lerner: Let me just say one last sentence, which is, if you want to contact me about an internship, it's Rabbi Lerner@Tikkun.org. And if you want to work with us in any way, as you said, you want to write for Tikkun, whatever, connect with me.

Michael: Thank you. Before you all go, if you happen to have a minute, we're sending this poster to Iran. And we would like to sign it as a goodwill gesture from all of us. Are you going to take care of that?

[PACS 164B Lecture 30](#)

Michael: Fortunately, a number of other announcements. But in a sense, fortunately, because a lot of good things are going on. Tomorrow morning there's going to be this international phone call by [Rebuilding Alliance](#). Rebuilding Alliance is a group that's rebuilding houses that have been destroyed in Palestinian. And the first house and the first phone call is about the house that was being protected by [Rachel Corrie](#) when she was killed by a bulldozer about three years ago. So, she's become a real icon in the peace movement. And they're rebuilding that very same house.

And the idea is is that there'll be a panel discussion with myself and a psychiatrist from Gaza by the name of Dr. Eyad El-Sarraj. And then anyone in the world, literally, can join that conversation after a bit. So, this is the phone number. And the arrangement had been that you needed to register and pay. But now it's been thrown wide open, so anybody can just pick up the phone and dial this number at 8:45, if you'd be so kind. And then you can get the details on how it's going to work. And the conversation actually starts at 9:00. So, we're hoping that this will be a first of a long series and this will be a way of breaking some of the isolation that the Palestinians have been suffering from.

The other announcement I want to make concerns today at noon, you will have handed in your papers. You're going to need a break. And a woman from the [ICNC](#). Remember, we talked about this group. They sponsored the film, "[Force More Powerful](#)" which is a PBS series. And they also sponsored "[Bringing Down a Dictator](#)" which we saw here. So, this is the International Council on Nonviolent Conflict. And the person that they're sending is Maria Stephan, who did not answer when I left a message on her cell phone, but that's neither here nor there.

And she's talking about some of the statistical patterns about movements which have used violence and movements which have used nonviolence. So, this will be at the Institute of International Studies. I'm very glad that they're doing it there. And that's 223 Moses today at noon. And as if that were not enough, get this. Light refreshments will be provided. So, bring your own latte, and you will be in very good shape.

Here's Carrie. The co-director, I think, of ICNC, Jack DuVall, has recently pointed out that not one single movement that used violence resulted in an improvement in human rights anywhere in the last century. If you use standard measures for human rights, not one single movement that used violence led to an improvement in human rights. It might have led to a difference in who was abusing whom, but in terms of human rights, there was no gain.

Okay, okay. I want to remind you, if you'll be around for this summer, I have put in a grant proposal. It's gone in yesterday. So, press your thumbs or whatever you do for paid interns to work at the Metta Center this summer. There'll be six of them if we get that money. If not, we'll have six unpaid interns. Same exact work. Does it have peace power? Yeah.

In 2008, we're thinking of having the second annual – or not annual – the second spiritual activism conference. This is the conference that drew almost 1400 people a few years ago. And I wanted to ask you real quick which do you think would be better timing, to have it in the spring when the semester is still going? Or have it in the summer? Palo?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:04:15]

Michael: It was a four-day conference the first time. I'm not sure what it'll be this time.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:04:34]

Michael: Okay, so that's split right down the middle, and I have absolutely nothing to report to Michael Lerner. That's okay. We'll have to decide whether we want mostly to have students there or not and how long it's going to be and so forth. Okay, well, you've got your papers. Why don't you hand them in? You've got the evaluation form going around now.

I've often thought we should have a box of these magnetic superlatives to these for evaluation forms. Just, you know, like fabulous. Best class ever. Stuff like that. And just plug it in. I'm not suggesting that you necessarily need to do it now. I'll try to stop a little bit early.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:05:23]

Michael: Yes, that's right. There is a group called, "[The Phoenix Alliance](#)" that has been taking up a number of actions. And one of them is that there's a fast that's being participated in on at least three campuses, which is about the weapons labs issue. Okay. If you want, Michael, you can write some stuff on the board about that.

So, I'd like to – I said that I would not introduce any new material. And just open it up wide up for your questions and stuff. But then, over the weekend, this occupational hazard strikes professors sometimes. I got all these great ideas. So, going to try and hold back on most of them. And wait until we get the conversation rolling.

But one thing I did want to share, or maybe two quick ones, if you don't mind. One is in a newsletter called, "In These Times," which is from – I want you to be sort of familiar with these organizations anyway. The "[Signs of the Times](#)," I mean. In these times is something else. "Signs of the Times" is put out by Christian Peacemaker Teams. So, they're one of the third-party nonviolent intervention groups which is avowedly religious and even sectarian.

They work in five-six main areas in the world. One of them is the Middle East. And they talked about a conference in a town in Palestine called at-Tuwani, where a woman came – a man rather, came to that town from Africa, from South Africa, who had participated in the [Truth and Reconciliation Commission](#), the TRC. So, I was struck by this because it's another example of how civil society globally is learning, they're picking up information, lessons, experience, from different parts of the world.

And as I've said many times, I'm very inspired by this because I think this is qualitatively new, almost. It was very, very rare in the past that information could be transferred from one nonviolent movement of one kind to another of the same kind or a different kind somewhere else in the world. But now this is happening.

The latest issue of [New Internationalist](#), which I mentioned one before – this is their 400. edition of New Internationalist. I continue to be impressed. And they have a long section on the Middle East. And it's called, "[40 Years is Enough](#)." It's about how the world is waking up to what – and Jimmy Carter has been very helpful with his book, using the word, "Apartheid," for what's going on there. And I was struck by an article by another Palestinian psychiatrist from Gaza whose name was Samah Jabr who writes the following.

I know she's a psychiatrist, and she's working with Gazan people. "I know enough about oppression to diagnose the non-bleeding wounds." This struck me because I had read an article in the newspaper, violating my own suggestion, never to read the newspapers, but I snuck one in. And this was a comment by one of these – I call them, "Hate radio hosts." What is it, 3500 radio stations of this time called, "Talk show hosts," around the country, of which about 3450 are extremely reactionary and vicious. And this is a person who is very upset by one of his colleagues having lost his position because of using a racial slur. You probably have been reading about this story.

As I mentioned several times, racism is the only form of violence which is not okay. Nobody accepts it. So, he lost his job for using these hurtful words and his colleague said, "Look, this is all nonsense. Words do not hurt." And that really struck me. Because here's another little insight that we can gain, the denial of mind is an acceptance of violence. In itself, it could probably be considered an act of violence.

But I had a flashback to an event at the academic senate when, once again, we were arguing for getting rid of the weapons labs, breaking – it's called, "Severance." Break the connection between university and the weapons labs because we don't really control what they do, but we give them a patina of moral legitimacy – a fix leaf, if you wanted to use – more anatomically correct language.

And one of the people who was arguing that the connection did not hurt the university said, "Show me one student at Berkeley who's been injured by this connection." And I got up there, and I said, "Every single student at this university has been injured by that connection, but you can't see it because you look only at their physical bodies."

This would be like Heidelberg, you know, and they'll show up with dueling scars and say, "Ah, yes. They've been hurt." But every single student has been demoralized by what this university is lending itself to, you know, this form of intellectual prostitution. But I didn't get anywhere. I sat down next to a friend of mine, and he said, "Wow, you fixed it. This will finish their argument." But it didn't work.

And it struck me that these two things are very closely intertwined. That if you want to operate a violent regime or accept it or use it in any way, you are naturally going to have to drift to materialism and materialist interpretation of what a human being is. And conversely, if you accept that we're all just material bodies, separateness, competition and violence are absolutely inevitable.

So, here's a psychiatrist who's not doing that. I know about the non-bleeding wounds. And he says – this is very interesting, "Despite everything, my impression is that mental illness is still the exception, not the rule in Palestine. Resilience and coping are still the norm among our people. In spite of all the home demolitions and extreme poverty, it is not in Palestine you find people sleeping in the streets or eating from trashcans." Which you see right on our campus every day.

This resilience is based on family foundations, social steadfastness, and spiritual and ideological conviction. That struck me as being relevant to our final topic in the semester that we're going out on, that something about human spirituality has got to be at the core of getting us out of a violent and into a nonviolent regime. If we can figure out what that is and how to do it.

And then he goes on to say, “This is crucial.” It talks about their recuperative powers, which is crucial if they are not to crack when peace finally comes. As is often the case in a postwar period. So, this is another case of learning across cultures. They see what happens to other civilizations where they have had a resolution. You know, it reminds me a little bit of the Dalai Lama, bringing on a bunch of Jewish people to talk to because now the Tibetans are living in exile. The Jews have been doing that for about 2000 years. So, maybe we can learn from each other. So, here’s cross-cultural learning, but also the recognition – this is a point that I made in a number of booklets. And I think I shared it with you last semester. Success can be very dangerous for a nonviolent movement because it can lead you to think, “We succeeded, and the problem is over.” And you go back to the same old, same old.

So, I came up with a new technical term. Isn’t that wonderful? How often do you get a new technical term? It’s probably worth the tuition right there.

Reconstructive Program

So, we’ve talked about constructive program, of course. I talk about it more than almost anybody because I think it’s that important. And we’ve talked about obstructive program, which is what most people think nonviolence is, purely and simply obstructive.

But I think we should also talk about reconstructive program, which is what we were just – I can’t talk and spell at the same time. Reconstructive program. Or RP. So, who knows? I mean, it could show up on the final exam. It’ll be a little bit hard on the people who aren’t here today, but you know, it’s a dog-eat-dog world out here.

Reconstructive program is the recognition that you have to rebuild relationships after a conflict has expended itself. If you don’t do that, you’re just preparing the stage for the next wave, the next phase of the same conflict. And because this is getting to be something of a growth industry, since the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa spread to Central America, especially Guatemala, spread to Eastern Europe, all over the Balkans.

I think it probably deserves a new technical term by this time. Okay, so you’ve just watched history being made right here on the blackboard. This is very exciting. Before we get to your questions and I finally do stop talking, which I promised I would do on Tuesday, how about we take a quick look at that passage that I emailed to all of you by CourseWeb. And I’m not actually sure that I have a copy.

Does somebody – did somebody print it out? Maria? It was in a book called – oh, can you give it to me? Thanks. Thank you. It’s from a book called, “[War and its Discontents](#),” and it’s by Yehudah Mirsky. And he is the person who invented the concept – people who invent concepts are really valuable people. In fact, Nietzsche said, “[German] Real original people are the nomenclaturists.” Anyway, enough self-congratulation here. Let’s get to the point.

The Nonviolent Moment

Yehudah Mirsky is the fellow who came up with the term, “[The Nonviolent Moment](#).” So, here’s the quote, “Where the oppressor or evildoer seeks to vanquish or eradicate his victim pure and simple, there is no call for nonviolence. No space for it. Indeed, in that situation, nonviolence would do nothing but further empower the oppressor and force the oppressed to acquiesce in his or her own destruction, forfeiting human dignity in the process by ceding to the oppressor the validity of his aims.

“Nonviolent resistance aims to push the latent contradictions of an oppressive society to the surface.” We have no quarrel with that statement. “Hence it is inapplicable in societies whose violence and oppression are not contradictions, but rather of their essence. The nonviolent moment, if you will, arises only where the oppressor does not seek annihilation, but submission.”

Okay. Very – lots of tie-ins for us, in this one. I better hold onto it, actually. Who would like to begin? Take our blue pencil and start flailing about here. Michael?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:18:28]

Michael: You don't buy it? Okay, okay. That's a B+ already. Katherine?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:18:34]

Michael: It's so amazing. We've seen this over and over. The minute you label somebody as a jackal or a ravening wolf or a hippy or God knows what, you've immediately shut down the whole possibility. You've closed the door to the nonviolent interaction. Okay, we have some stuff up here, people. Okay. Yeah? Melissa?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:19:11]

Michael: Well, he said that if – now there have been movements – let's be honest about this – where the oppressed – the oppressing party, whatever we shall call those people. Notice people. Has not been intent on converting or getting the acquisition of the victimized group, but rather of wiping them out, driving them off the territory or what have you.

And this person is arguing – and Michael is very correct in not buying it, that when you're faced with that kind of situation, you have no entre for nonviolence. So, that's where we really – this is where the rubber hits the road for us. We've got the preliminaries down pat. So, what were you getting at Marissa, because you might have been going where I want you to go?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:20:13]

Michael: Very good. That really, I think, is the most important point. And this, if you could surface this point, you could have – you'd have a way of rebutting this person's argument. You don't have to say, “No, the oppressor is not out to wipe you out.” It could be. I remember this being argued even in Panama, that the people stood up in resistance and the regime didn't care. Stand up, stand down, stand sideways, we're going to do what we want to do, no matter what. We have American money, and you don't, so there. Elizabeth?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:20:59]

Michael: Yes. That's another very good point.

Recognition of Interconnection

That if you do your nonviolent resistance, even if it doesn't persuade the oppressor, it will do some good work and put some good energy into the system. And the next move, you'll be in a better place. That's very true.

But to get back to this main point for a minute. Another thing that occurred to me over the weekend – and I am sorry, it was such a productive weekend. I really wanted to keep my mind shut. But it wouldn't do that. Take this old Quaker expression that we used last – we heard last semester. “There is that of God in every man.” Okay? And what if we were to modernize that? Bring it up to the 21st century. The 21st now, right? Yeah.

The 21st century and say, “There is a capacity to recognize interconnection in every person.” That's what Marissa was just talking about. So, the other person can say, “You know, I don't care. I just – I don't want you around. I want you dead or away from here.” Still, if you're really a nonviolent person, and I hope the ICNC people will go along with me here. If you're a really nonviolent person, you will not allow yourself to believe that this is the essence. There has got to be that spark of humanity in every person which can be awakened.

And the only way it can be awakened is through nonviolence. So, on the contrary, that's the ideal situation for nonviolence. Because it really shows the stuff that nonviolence is made of. It's not an ideal situation in the sense that you won't get hurt. At one point, Gandhi was asked, “Do you think that the Jews could overcome Nazism through nonviolence?” And he said, “Not without great suffering.”

But implicitly, yes, there is no situation where you can't use it. John?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:22:56]

Michael: We ought to have a contest. Invent a term for the fact that nonviolence can be applied in any situation. Let's start off with a few Sanskrit words and then, you know, migrate over to Hebrew and just see what we can come up with. No, I just – I like to go back to something that Gandhi said, which was that nonviolence is not the inanity it has been taken for down the ages.

Inanity, meaning empty, vacuous, silly, nonsensical thing. It's a universal force, and it can be applied anywhere. I suppose universal might be the closest thing to it. It's not the sexiest word I've heard of. But that might be at least a working definition. Your punishment, Mathias, is you have to sit in the front of the room and get filmed on the way in and all the rest of it. You dealt with that very well. Yes, Alex?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:24:06]

Michael: There has to be contradiction. The brute contradiction is probably the one that Marissa was pointing about, that they're contradicting something that's still alive in them even though they're denying it. But no matter how much you go on with this, you'll find incredible contradictions.

Like it's the people who say that there is no mind who are spending \$141 billion a year on advertising. \$141 billion a year is what it has become. Yeah. And so forth. We've seen lots of other contradictions, but that also is a very good point. Ashley?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:24:55]

Michael: And that has to be done from the very outset, or you won't really have a nonviolent operation going. Yeah, that's true. No dehumanization in any direction. The way that you awaken the capacity to empathize in another is by awakening it in yourself. And that usually means a struggle with negative drives that are telling you to demonize and reject that person.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:25:35]

Michael: Well, I wouldn't – yeah. I guess using the word oppressor or evildoer is – no, I see what you're saying. That if you assume that the person, right down to the very core of their being has no capacity to recognize you as a human being, that is a totally dehumanizing thing to do to another person.

One last thing before we leave this analysis – and this is very good by the way, the only problem on the final is you'll have to do it by yourself. We won't get to all do it together. But this is exactly the kind of thing that you want to do with these statements.

One thing to add is what about some bibliography? Here we are sitting in a major research university, the darling of the world's major corporations, come here to do all their research. How about an article we can show this person? I'll give you a hint. If you took PACS164A, you are an A student, it was the first article in the Reader. I'm pretty sure. Does anybody remember back that far?

It was in the fall. We were in Wheeler Hall. Remember, it was a different camera person.

Nonviolence and the Case of the Extremely Ruthless Opponent

The article was actually a chapter in a book. It was written by Ralph Summy who is an Australian theorist. And it was titled, "[Nonviolence and the Case of the Extremely Ruthless Oppressor.](#)" [Pages 24-39] Remember that? And he argued that this – opponent. There you go. Okay, I get B+. You get A. Yeah, that's right, I dehumanized that. Very bad. Okay, so "The Case of the Extremely Ruthless Opponent." You would say superficially ruthless oppositional person to be completely correct here.

But yeah, he argues very well. In fact, he even uses these very, very fancy sociological graphs. I was extremely jealous. It had curves and lines all over the place. Definitely Nobel Prize material. I have a cartoon on my bulletin board which shows this professor opening up his mail, and it says, "You may already be the winner of a Nobel Prize." I'm going to write in, "For Nonviolence."

Anyway, there is that article, and he does show using the tools of social science, that nonviolence is not limited by the determination of the opponent. In fact, in many ways, the more determined, the quicker and cleaner you're going to get to a nonviolent moment and really show what you are worth.

Okay, good. So, I'm now at your service. I don't want to spend a lot of time on the format of the exam. I think that's pretty straight forward. I just want to reiterate that those of you who may have had a time problem on the midterm will probably not have a time problem on the final because the final will have 100% more time and only maybe 20% more – 25% more material. So, that should be fine. Okay? And when is the final, by the way? Tuesday. Okay. I'll be there. I'll look it up. Yeah.

So, we have talked about the application of nonviolence universally, until a better term comes along, to insurrectionary movements, then anti-militarism and other reform movements, then the struggle against globalism, early environmental struggles. And finally, we talked about the building of a nonviolent culture and what part spiritual development would have in that. So, yes, John?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:30:08]

Michael: I tend – final exams are cumulative, but they do tend to emphasize more of the recent material. Yeah, because it wasn't on the midterm. Yeah. But that's not reliable. Just, you know, depends. Like I may dream about something over the weekend. Okay. So, enough for the substantive, for the technical questions about how the exam will work.

Reconciliation and Reconstructive Program

What is there this semester in your mind that you'd like to talk about, that needs clarification, or you just thought was a good idea or a terrible idea, where we should go with it, whatever?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:30:56]

Michael: Who would like to talk about some of the ones that we mentioned?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:31:09]

Michael: It is Rwanda, I think. Muchacha.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:31:25]

Michael: What you're thinking of is something – it isn't among the Bemba peoples in Sub-Saharan Africa. They don't just welcome the person. What we're seeing here, by the way, is a kind of overlap between restorative justice and reconstructive program, which is fine. Restorative justice is the application of these principles within a society against individual offenders. And reconstructive program writ large is about post-war reconciliation. Is what's often called.

But what you were talking about, Palo, is where the person who – the offender, is made to sit, and the whole village sits around him. It's usually a him. In a circle. And they go around the circle, and everyone has to say something good about that person. Sometimes you have to stop and think. He exists, anyway. But everyone says something good about him. And it never seems to fail. Around halfway around the circle, the person breaks down and feels emotionally able to say, "I'm sorry for what I did." They take responsibility.

I'm involved in a group, incidentally, that's writing a whole book on atonement. You know, how when you discover that you've done something wrong, individually or collectively, you don't want to go into this trap of guilt which is paralyzing, and you go into denial, and you don't get anywhere. What do you do about it? How do you build up reconciliation? Yeah, Mathias?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:33:11]

Michael: Where? Birthday parties? Yes, I can see it's a lot nicer than charades. Yeah. So, I'm sorry, I stole your puppy when you were 10 years old and stuff like that. THAT would make a wonderful birthday party. Yes, Palo? Oh, saying something – oh, I see what you're saying. I'm sorry. I was thinking, "Whoa, that would be one weird kind of party." But, you know, this is Berkeley. Yeah. That is a very good idea. You're 20 years old today, and I remember the time you did thus and so. And you're such a nice thus and so. Yeah. Fun party. Ashley, and then Palo.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:33:53]

Michael: No, there's no inside or outside on this. I mean provided – if you bring in some kind of weird example I don't know anything about, you're going to have to spend some time telling me about it. And so, no. But clearly, anything that you know of that I can be made to know of that will work will be fine.

So, we talked about the paradigm case of reconstructive program on a grand scale, which was the TRC, Truth and Reconciliation Commission. And I pointed out that I think it has a missing dimension because it's treated legalistically and somewhat emotionally, but not what I would call concretely. And ironically enough, that would also be spirituality, namely getting a person to work off what they have done.

I think I used this case before with you that – again, this is on a small scale. It's restorative justice. But four white youth burnt down a black church in the South, and the judge ordered them to rebuild the church. That's like perfect conciliation work. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:35:09]

Michael: Yeah. It would fit within reconstructive program because what we're trying to identify here are the types of dynamic. This is focus on your own community, and it's positive and constructive, as it says. This is oppositional towards the other community. And this is means of bringing both communities together. So, it's neat. It's nice. Palo?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:35:37]

Michael: Well, I don't want to say too much about it because I've just invented reconstructive program this morning. So, you know, the field is pretty new. But what I was thinking of was the large-scale application of reconciliation techniques to hold societies that have been involved in armed conflict. It doesn't necessary mean nation state against nation state, but as in Africa, for example, one whole section of the population ethnically divided was oppressing another. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:36:25]

Michael: I think that until the millennium comes or the rapture, whichever comes first. And everybody loves everybody and people who don't love everybody have been burned at the stake or dealt with in some appropriate manner, there will be scope for – there will always be friction and tensions and separateness. And therefore, there'll always be scope for reconstruction.

So, constructive program is where you're, let's say, institutions that you need are not being provided by a group that's in charge. You provide them yourself. Obstructive is where you block the oppression and not the oppressor or no such thing. But you block the oppression and constructive is where there has been – this is post conflict, mainly, is what I'm saying. Post conflict. Yeah. So, that's true. That's another great way this is breaking down. I'm really liking this more and more.

This is pre-conflict, though it can also go on during and after. But if it's not pre-conflict, as our friend Dr. Jabber was just saying, it's going to be very difficult to do it after the conflict because that's when all the disenfranchised people become, "Oh, I was victimized before you were," and

the next thing you know, you have these nice Bolsheviks who are being just swept off the stage by these nasty communists.

What was I saying? This is pre-conflict, ideally. But it can be done anytime. This is the conflict. And this is post-conflict. So, this is very neat. Pre, during, and post. The longer this goes on, the more I think this is a correct technical term and should enter the vocabulary, and we should put it on our blog. Jenna?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:38:40]

Michael: The Marshall plan? As you can tell, I'm a little bit hesitant about it because it was all on the material level. There was nothing in there about let's take these poor kids who when they were 15, 16-years old. They were inducted into the Hitler Youth. They had no idea what they were doing. They were idealistic. And they got so screwed up. Let's take them and help them. As far as I remember – and I'm not that old to really remember. That was not part of the Marshall plan. It was just economic reconstruction.

So, that could be a big piece of it, but I think we're talking about something deeper and more spiritually. Getting people to face off against one another and apologize, make restitution and so forth. So, while the final will tend to emphasize the latter half of the semester, it's not all going to be about today. So, do think about some of the terms, people, events, and so forth. Alex?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:39:48]

Forms of Violence

Michael: Yeah. The set is – these are the forms of violence. So, we have direct violence. We have structural violence. And we have cultural violence. So, direct violence, I think, nobody in America needs to ponder over what it means. I just was hearing from a friend of mine, a young friend of mine who visited New York, my hometown. And he was walking around saying, "What is this? I heard such terrible things about New York, and here everybody is smiling and happy." Then he went down into the subway and some guy came barreling down the stairs, knocking over old ladies left and right. And a few paces behind him comes somebody waving a gun. He said, "Oh, okay. This is New York." It's not New York. But what I'm saying is we all know about direct violence.

What is structural violence? This is an important actual discovery. I think we owe it mostly to Johan Galtung. Joann?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:41:03]

Michael: Yes. Where you don't have to walk up to a kid and slap him in the face and say, "You're no good." But you just create a program that cuts off his funding for school lunches, and he's undernourished and gets sick and becomes violent. And remember, Galtung's definition of violence is any unnecessary compromise of human fulfillment. Something like that. So, you inhibit somebody's growth, that is violence. And if you build something into society, so it's part of the structure, then that is structural violence, and you go around and say, "I'm not doing anything. I'm not carrying a gun." But you're passing laws which make it impossible for somebody to thrive, that's structural violence. Got some seats up here. Okay. Do smile when you walk past the desk.

And cultural violence – ah, good. Oh, I meant to say, incidentally, that I'm really sorry I won't be on campus on Thursday. I have to go to Boston to conduct a meditation retreat that was planned a long time ago. So, if you want to see me today in my office hour and not see Maria Stephan – if you wanted to see me before the semester is out, it'll have to be today.

Cultural violence is, well, okay. There is an organization in this country of which I have long been deeply suspicious. And today, or yesterday, my suspicions were confirmed. It's called the "National Association of Scholars." And when I first heard about this thing, I said, "Hmm. I'm a scholar. I earn my livelihood writing these turgid articles that nobody can read. I tend to see reality divided into sets of three. [Laughter] And my job description is taking simple ideas and making them complex enough so that intellectuals can understand them."

So, I said, "Why don't I join this society?" And at first, it looked like they were talking about something quite serious, that there's been this Eurocentric culture that we've built up. And now it's suddenly being threatened. So, I said, "Okay, I'm not using the word threatened. I'm using the word opened." But yeah, this is interesting. And in fact, I was teaching comparative literature in those days, so I said, "Wow, we are in the catbird seat." An expression which means we are in a very favorable position," because we're comparative – you know, we're not the English department. No offense, but we're not the English department. We're comparative. We can do the whole world.

It didn't happen. Nothing that I suggest seems to happen – at this place, anyway. But the more I found out about this society, the more I realized that what they're trying to do is re-establish the hegemony of European culture and fence it off and reject the threat of these other cultures that have different ideas. So, that is what I would call cultural violence. Everybody should drink Coca-Cola. Everybody should wear what they call an IQ reducer. You know, have a baseball cap with the bill going back. Elizabeth?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:44:49]

Michael: That would be one thing. Generally, you do structural within your own society, but even that is breaking up. You know, WTO style globalization is structural violence on a world stage – world scale. There's another definition of cultural violence also that I want to share with you in a second. Mathias?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:45:18]

Michael: The worst example always was Nestle because you had all of these mothers who were breastfeeding in Africa, probably had been doing that for about 300 million years. And suddenly you rush in there, and you say, "Breastfeeding is no good. We have this powder that you mix with clean water and give it to your baby. It's much better." Immediately, everybody wants to do that. They forgot to mention there is no clean water. So, you have babies dying of diarrhea by the hundreds and thousands.

There was a worldwide campaign against them. There's a Swiss-based company, I think. And they did reform a little bit. So, that would be an example of globalized structural violence, but I think with cultural, Elizabeth, it's more about ideas. And with structural it's more about products or legal systems and so forth.

Like the old saying, “The law is impartial. Neither rich nor poor are allowed to sleep under the bridge.” That’s structural violence because the rich don’t have to. Poor people have to sleep under bridges. Even in Japan, I saw them.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:46:53]

Michael: Not to me. I don’t do cultural violence. No. I don’t know who came up with that term, actually. The other definition of it that I wanted to mention is using your culture to make people ready victims of violence or perpetrators of it. And as I’ve been saying every time I get a chance, I think advertising – this is what it does. You know, like President Bush has \$141 billion worth of free advertising every year because every time you advertise to a person that you’re a material body, you’re helpless, you need happiness that you get from outside, you’re leading that person down a path which inevitably will create even direct violence. So, we’ve been trying to trace out those connections all semester. Yeah, good question. John?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:48:05]

Review of Lecture 21

Michael: San José de Apartadó is indeed part of a set, but you have to realize it’s not a person. It is a peace community. And [John Lindsay-Poland](#) from [Fellowship of Reconciliation](#) spoke about this a bit. That there are something like 50ish of these communities. And again, this is something that’s spreading all around the world, where people just say, “Nobody can bring weapons into this turf. This is our town. We don’t want any guns here.”

And those communities are not doing terribly well. I just read about another case. But I did read another case. Hang on. It was in Columbia where all the armed factions, for once, agreed. They were on the same page. Peace communities are no good. And they started sending armed groups into the pace community to terrorize and round people up. And a large contingent of people just got together and took something like a long journey, 100-120 miles, about 200 kilometers into the jungle to talk to the camp commanders of these paramilitaries.

They ran out of transportation and walked the last 10, 12, 15 miles in the mud. And then just stood there and said, “You have no right to do this to us. Don’t come back to our communities as long as you’re carrying guns.” And the FARC or whoever it was they were talking to was so impressed by their courage, which is like Nonviolence 101, so impressed by the way they overcame their fear and the trouble they had gone through to do this. And I must say, by the fact that they were talking to them instead of, you know, surrounding them or fighting them or something like that, that they agreed. They gave their agreement, “We will not harass your community.”

So, if you do it right, you can create an island of peace. Kenneth Boulding used to believe that there were zones of peace around the world. Like Northern Europe. In 1805, I guess it was the Swedes who were – swedes and Norwegians were duking it out with the Danes every couple of years. Suddenly, for some reason that nobody knows why, they said, “The hell with it. Let’s stop doing this. It’s stupid.” And they haven’t had a war since.

So, they create a little zone where there’s no war going on. And his thought was to identify those zones and strengthen them, hook them up, have them metastasize. You could add Holland into the north countries pretty easily, I think. And before you know it, there’ll be a majority, and you’ll have a world of peace.

I mean, I don't think that's going to happen that way, but it's – I think we should try everything and that there'll be a more reasonable way of doing it. Okay. Apartadó is a name of a river. I thought it was Saint Joseph of the Post Office Box when I first saw this, but it's not. It's the name of a river in Columbia.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:51:41]

Michael: In Columbia, yeah. Now, as I say, I'm not really sure as we speak now, there still are 50 and them. In some cases, people have been chased off the land and need to relocate. Yeah.

Student: [Unintelligible 00:51:59]

Michael: The set is – well, it's really sort of an institution, if you will. Which is the self-declared peace community. A group of people who are, you know, a geographical, social group in a war zone of some kind of or another. Columbia is probably one of the worst that we've got. Simply declares itself a weapons-free zone. I took a different route through Petaluma to get to my van pool this morning. I saw a sign that said, "Drug free zone." And I said, "Oh, we must be coming to a high school." And sure enough. We were.

But it's that idea that you can create peace in an area and have it be inviolable. Arby?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:52:46]

Michael: Well, actually it creates division right then and there. But what I think it creates, a good kind of division because the division is between those who want peace and those who don't. And let's get it out in the open. I think if we could do this in the Middle East, which I think more and more is the world's premiere conflict, if you could get the peace people in Israel and the peace people in Palestine to get together and say, "It's us against the right-wing in both territories," you have a good, clean fight. I mean horrendous – there would be nothing clean about it. But at least the line of conflict would be drawn in the right place.

So, yes, it's true that in a way you're putting up a barricade, and you're saying, "We've got peace in here. You don't have it out there." But I think that's recognizing a truth. And I think the fact that all of the armed paramilitaries and the government paramilitary, known as the Columbian Army, they all agreed that this was a bad thing, was a good thing. Because it showed where the split really lies, between the desire for peace and the absence of that desire. Shannon?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:54:09]

Navdanya - Conserving Diversity and Reclaiming Commons

Michael: Navdanya? Oh, yeah. That's right. We didn't get to talk about that very much. Anyone know what this is? Marissa?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:54:29]

Michael: Yes. Vandana. The first syllable. Vandana. Good, good. Vandana. [Vandana Shiva](#) is a brilliant Indian physicist who has dedicated her entire career to fighting globalism at the agricultural, ecological level in India. And she travels around a lot. Has been to California several times. But I don't think we've ever got her here, which is a good thing for the Peace

Studies Student Association to work on next year. Shannon? You're going to be – it's not called Peace Studies Student Association anymore, is it? The PACS Student Group?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:55:18]

Michael: Yeah. Whatever that is. I can pronounce Vandana Shiva, but I can't pronounce that thing. But you're in charge of it next year, right?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:55:27]

Michael: Okay, great. Okay, we have complete nonviolence takeover. That's the kind I like. So, try and get her here. Her organization is called, "Navdanya. And in Hindi that means, "The new dispensation." Da means to give. Danya is gift. Nava means new. New dispensation. And it's a think-and-do tank. In fact, I think very highly of this organization. It does very good concrete work. When I was talking about the reconstruction alliance – rebuilding alliance. That is a classic example of how you do something concrete which has powerful symbolic significance. You're rebuilding a home. Nothing could be more direct and obvious other than that.

So, they have been instrumental in a number of campaigns. I think they've been involved in the dam – they're connected with that other group which is [Narmada Bachao Andolan](#) Save the Narmada campaign or movement and so forth. And I guess the main thing that she's been working on is the most horrible structural violence that the globalized world is carrying out these days, which is terminator seeds.

Where you take farmers – and incidentally, farmers are committing suicide in the tens of thousands in India today. If you take farmers who, you know, have been using their own seeds year after year after year forever. And, you know, we do this at our community. This is very, very real to me. We have a special lettuce patch. We let it go to seed, so we can take the seeds, and we don't have to buy anybody's seeds. So far, the rabbits have not discovered our garden. So, we're doing pretty well.

But what these companies do, and it's mainly been Monsanto, is they modify the seeds so that they only reproduce once, and then they die. There's a phenomenon in biology. I forget which of you are MCSB majors, but there's a phenomenon called Apoptosis. Which means dying off. Which means that genes seem to be programmed to last for 50 generations, and then they die. Which is probably a good idea.

I mean, I had a colleague who always kept his lecture notes in bluebooks because they would fall apart after three years. And they'd have to see if he had any new ideas for that subject. So, that's probably what nature had in mind. You know, keep on working until you get to the Berkeley student, and then you can cast it in concrete.

But anyway, this is a very, very harmful psychologically in every way. It pushes people from poverty into destitution very quickly. And she's been trying to rouse consciousness among the farmers that they – get them not to buy these seeds, not to accept them. The tragic thing is that the government is not helping. The government of India is kind of against its own people and with the multinationals, generally speaking. Señorita?

Student: [Unintelligible 00:58:47]

Michael: I think the ideas around it are so powerful that you could easily call it cultural violence. It's probably the deepest case that we're going to have of attacking life at its ultimate essence and, you know, abolishing the personhood of people and everything they've built their society on.

Another example that's just popping into my mind for some reason was during the raids, the air raids on Cambodia, I read one day that we were bombing elephants from the air. And I thought, "You know, this is unforgivable. This is an affront." Because elephants are sacred to those people. I mean, everything is sacred, right? But to those people, elephants are, you know, temple animals. They're sacred. To bomb them from the air with explosives – I could not imagine anything more against life than that. I knew it was going to be over soon.

And at that point, we shut down the university, incidentally. Yes, Marcella?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:00:22]

Michael: Yes. Yes, that's right. It had the same kind of significance for the Native Americans, who culled them and dealt with them in a balanced way. And it was sustainable and could go on forever. And pretty soon you had these tourists shooting them from railroad trains just because, you know, for the fun of it. There's a lot of violence out there, people. I think we have to be very, very determined, getting this thing done. Yeah?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:00:55]

Michael: Well, it depends which direction you're running it in. You know, globalism where you have a nonviolent activist going to another continent or these examples that I was just telling you about where somebody from the TRC in South Africa goes to a meeting in Bethlehem. Globalization, the process, globalization from below, is the antidote to globalization from below. [above?] What we're objecting to is centralization and exploitation. When that's done on a global scale, then we have globalization from above.

Okay. Other – I know you've been what would be the equivalent of burning the midnight oil, keeping the internet hopping all night long, googling everything in sight. You must have other questions from earlier on? John?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:01:59]

EZLN - Zapatista Army of National Liberation

Michael: EZLN. [Spanish] Let's see. There's two or three people that are writing papers on this movement. [Spanish]

Student: [Unintelligible 01:02:25]

Michael: If my Spanish is holding up, that means it's the army of national liberation. The Zapatista Army for National Liberation. Right. If you don't know who Emiliano Zapata was, go see Marlon Brando's best movie, which is called, "[Zapata](#)." That is a heartthrob. After Los Tres Amigos, that's the best movie that I would recommend. Black and white, old Brando film.

But this is – okay, why are those letters up here on our sacred blackboard? What does that have to do with nonviolence? I think anyone but Sam should answer this question.

Student: [Unintelligible 01:03:11]

Michael: I think we felt good about it being constructive program. And in terms of whether – see, what’s going to really make the difference in terms of are they violent or are they nonviolent, would be here. And so, I think what we are saying – and I probably would stick with that, is that they are a nonviolent wannabe. Maybe after I read Sam’s paper, I’ll have a different idea. But they were – it’s an interesting case for us.

We’re gotten a lot of mileage out of these gray areas. This is very gray. Because they used violence not to hurt the opponent, but to gain attention. They knew perfectly well, and unfortunately, it was true. That you can be a nonviolent movement until the cows come home, or however you say it in Spanish. [Spanish] And nobody would pay the slightest attention. This is the tragic case of the matter.

Take a look at the Albanians, the Kosovars. Incredibly courageous persistent, every day at noon, being out there in the main square in Priština, starting to succeed, getting their university back. Zero recognition from the mass media. One person comes to a funeral with a gun, and he says, “We’re the KLA,” and it’s all over the newspapers. And sure enough, to resolve that conflict by violence.

So, knowing all this because the subcomandante is no fool, several of our graduates from our program have actually been in love with him. He’s got to be a pretty decent guy. He said, “We’re going to have to get attention through a successful violent resistance.” And they actually succeeded in turning a large portion of Chiapas into an autonomous region where the federal government doesn’t really control stuff. Then they tried to renounce their arms and do things through civil practice.

So, parallels that suggest themselves would be the IRA and the – all the initials are kind of tumbling through my brain. Don’t let this happen to you on the final. The South African group that Nelson Mandela belonged to. What am I thinking of? Now I’ve done it. ANC. The ANC. I knew that. Yeah. These are groups that used violence up to a point and then converted themselves into civil society groups.

And I think by and large, that’s what the EZLN has been doing. However, as I say, I haven’t read Sam’s paper yet, so I’m going to know much more about this in a few hours. Arby?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:06:38]

Michael: Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional. Nice acronym. [Spanish] Shannon?

Student: [Unintelligible 01:07:02]

Ruckus Society

Michael: Ruckus Society. Good, yeah. Who wants to raise some? Tell us what that’s about. Let’s see. Anybody? Somebody? Okay. Elizabeth? You go ahead.

Student: [Unintelligible 01:07:22]

Michael: Yeah, they do teach you how to live in trees, but they also teach you how to hang banners from bridges, how to scale office buildings, even though you’re not Spider-Man. Boy,

did that make me mad. \$59 million the first weekend for Spider-Man 3. Oh, I was furious. Gandhi only made \$25 million. Human man, one.

Yes. We brought them in under what rubric? What connection? Why were we studying them? Training. We were talking about if you look at the whole enchilada. Where all is nonviolence happening? We talked about organization, new forms of organization. We talked about training. Under training, if you recall, we talked about different levels of training. Like very deep personal spiritual work at one end of the spectrum. And the other end, just how to conduct yourself when you're being arrested. How to use window cleaning equipment to scale a skyscraper in Chicago and things like that.

But they are – I mean, the interesting thing about Ruckus Society is that this a kind of training which always had to be ad hoc. You know, you would hope that you had somebody in your affinity group who had been at Seattle the previous season, so they would know a little bit what to do. But now you have people studying this formally and offering trainings in it. Sort of like a nonviolent boot camp. Very much like – yeah.

Student: [Unintelligible 01:09:16]

Michael: This is a good question. I think we would be talking basically about obstructive program, except if they get into the area of culture jamming, you know, where they try to put up alternative messages to commercialization. Maybe it would shade off into something else. But yes, it's about what you're going to do when you are up against.

Three years ago, when the attack began on Iraq there was a group that was planning to go into Vandenberg Air Force Base here in California which, it turns out, was the CCC, the Command Control Center for the war in Iraq. That's how modern warfare works. It's all being done on computers and being sent over there. And Vandenberg is a big base. It's impossible to keep people out to defend the whole perimeter. People were getting ready to go in there with balloons and strips of aluminum foil tied to the balloons. They would release these balloons, it would mess up the radar, and it would screw up the war in Iraq.

However, two things happened to deter that particular operation. I'm just mentioning it because this is the kind of thing that Ruckus gets involved in. First of all, they realized they could end up killing American troops. And that might not play very well with this particular country. Second, the base commander issued a statement saying that anybody entering the base without authorization will have to be regarded as an enemy intruder and will be shot on sight. So, that also deterred people. So, for either of these reasons or both, they decided not to do it. But this is by way of answering your question, John. Yes. It is obstructive. Definitely. Yeah, it's a bad obstructive program.

And that's a good way to think about these things. How can we – in which categories can we put stuff? Okay. Your last chance to ask the question that may be the difference between you getting into medical school or not. Put it that way. If you don't have any other questions, what we could -

Student: [Unintelligible 01:11:46]

Michael: No, no. I can do with three minutes, John. So, you take the first two. I'll take the last three.

Student: [Unintelligible 01:11:56]

Ariyaratne and Sarvodaya - Uplift of All

Michael: I think I hear what you're saying. Okay. First of all, what country are we in? Where is this guy? It's a guy, by the way. So, this is Sri Lanka. I'm surprised I didn't talk about it more because that's where Nonviolent Peaceforce has its first operation, it's pilot project. Ariyaratne is a distinguished Buddhist leader. He's quite elderly now. And his son has taken over for him. Ariyaratne, in case you're interested, means "Nobel jewel." Just for whatever.

And the organization is called "[Sarvodaya](#)" which means "Uplift of all." And it's a very good example of mostly constructive program with some very courageous obstructive features to it. Two years ago, they had a peace meditation which was attended by – are you ready for this? 600,000 people. Probably the biggest meditation ever. Sounds funny to say, like a big meditation, small meditation. It's like a Hollywood version of what meditation is. But I know people who were there, and they said it was an experience that you could never forget. Being in this place with 600,000 people.

Just to be in a place with 600,000 people who aren't making any noise, much less meditating, would be amazingly powerful.

So, it's been very early. It was influenced by Gandhi. The term "Sarvodaya" is a Gandhian term. And they very cleverly used Buddhist values and Indigenous practices in Sinhala villages to overcome the war. They created a 500-year plan for peace, which you can see on their website. We're now at year 473, I think. I mean 473 to go.

And they have done some wonderful things. Like, knowing the symbolism of food, they have had Sinhala villagers go to Tamil villages and sit down and feed people. Very powerful, symbolic. Where would we put that? Interesting. Kind of pre-conflict. I don't know exactly where we would put that.

But – and he himself is an extremely courageous man. He did something similar to what Gandhi once did when somebody threatened to kill him, and he immediately went to see that person, talk to him, and say, "Here I am. Do your worst." And the guy was, you know, so impressed he couldn't do anything to him. So, it's the scope of the program, both in time and in space, is very, very impressive.

It's kind of unfortunate that it has not prevailed, and the conflict has spun out of hand and there's three or four groups all on one another, and it's been very ugly. But yeah, his name is Ariyaratne, and he's a Gandhian who carried all that stuff into Sri Lanka. If you wanted to google it, I think you'll look up "[American Sarvodaya Institute](#)." I think that's where you'll find it. Anyway, Sarvodaya should do it.

Okay. So, I think what I will suggest is why don't we stop now, take a couple of minutes to do your evaluation. Need any help with those, just let me know. And you have been a wonderful group, and good luck next Tuesday.

[Applause]