



University for Peace



# Teaching Model: Nonviolent Transformation of Conflict

Mary E. King and Christopher A. Miller







University for Peace



The mission of the University for Peace is to provide humanity with an international institution of higher education for peace with the aim of promoting among all human beings a spirit of understanding, tolerance, and peaceful coexistence, to stimulate cooperation among peoples, and to help lessen obstacles and threats to world peace and progress in keeping with the noble aspirations proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations.

Charter of the University for Peace,  
Article 2, approved by the UN General Assembly  
in Resolution A/RES/35/55

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Cover photo: United Nations Development Programme

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Printed in Switzerland

ISBN: 9977-925-45-3

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Nigerian labourers march against an increase in the cost of petrol in Lagos in 2000. Action methods of nonviolent protest and persuasion—such as picketing, rallies, parades, and demonstrations—send a message and are primarily symbolic expressions of peaceful opposition or efforts to persuade. As discussed in Topic 4, they are the most basic and widely used tactics in the large repertoire of nonviolent struggle. Photo: Eldson Chagara/Reuters.

## Preface

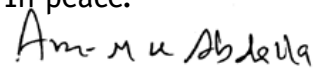
*Teaching Model: Nonviolent Transformation of Conflict* is the first publication in a series that furthers the commitment of the University for Peace (UPEACE) in sharing knowledge for achieving peace world-wide. It represents the collective effort of scholars, academicians, and professionals of peace and conflict studies to make widely available cutting-edge, user-friendly curricula on peace-related subjects. UPEACE resident and affiliate faculty members spearhead the creation of such teaching models in collaboration with their colleagues world-wide during curriculum development workshops. These gatherings provide a forum for sharing knowledge and experience on various subjects and for designing comprehensive curricula adaptable across cultures.

It comes as no surprise that this teaching model focuses on the nonviolent transformation of conflict. UPEACE's commitment to spreading knowledge about nonviolence and the peaceful resolution and transformation of conflict permeates all its academic and regional activities. The development of this particular model also reflects UPEACE's collaborative approach to curriculum design, its commitment to emphasizing gender aspects of conflict, and to multicultural competence.

I am grateful to our colleague Dr. Mary King, professor of peace and conflict studies at UPEACE, and to all who contributed to this teaching model. I also extend my gratitude to our diligent Africa Programme team for their relentless efforts at perfecting our workshops in coordination with our colleagues in Africa. From the work of many this teaching model emerged for Africa and will be replicated for other regions of the world.

In closing, I must thank all who use this teaching model and would greatly appreciate suggestions and recommendations for making future models even more conducive to achieving our mission of sharing knowledge of peace world-wide.

In peace.



Amr Abdalla

Dean for Academic Programmes

## About This Teaching Model

This framework teaching model evolved from the curriculum development workshop 'Developing Teaching Resources on the Nonviolent Transformation of Conflict', held in response to requests from academicians and leaders of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) after visits by faculty and staff of the University for Peace (UPEACE) Africa Programme in 2002. The University of Natal's Conflict Resolution and Peace Studies Programme hosted the workshop in Durban, South Africa, 27–31 October 2003. Its sponsors included the University for Peace, affiliated with the UN, and the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD). It was the first of a series of activities aimed at developing materials and an institutional network for peace and conflict studies programmes throughout Africa. The forty-three conference participants included scholars and administrators from various disciplines representing seventeen African universities and relevant NGOs.

The primary goal of this framework teaching model is to increase the teaching of peace and conflict studies across the African continent, in particular teaching the nonviolent transformation of conflict. This model can be used as the basis of a course within an existing peace studies programme, as the nucleus of a new peace programme, as a supplement to an existing course in history or political science, or as an independent subject. The topics discussed lend themselves to the development of additional courses. The readings and photographs presented here are copyrighted, but all other material may be freely reproduced.



## Acknowledgements

Professor Geoff Harris of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa, prepared the initial version of this model, pursuing broad themes identified by participants at the workshop. Special appreciation is extended to the following for their comments, encouragement, and research: Professor L. B. B. J. Machobane, Department of History, National University of Lesotho; Professor Jannie Malan of the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD); Dr. Balwant Bhaneja of the University of Ottawa; Carl Stauffer, who has for several years taught nonviolent resistance in Zambia; Professor Christophe Heyns of the University of Pretoria; Ameena Payne, executive director of the UPEACE Geneva office; and the entire UPEACE Africa Programme team. Appreciation is also extended to the lecturers, researchers, and students whose contributions over many years have influenced the thought processes and knowledge reflected in this framework teaching package.



# LECTURERS' GUIDE

## LECTURERS' GUIDE

### 1. Assumptions

As this is a framework teaching model—rather than course material to be handed out to students—lecturers may want to reproduce some of the material presented. In doing so, please bear in mind the doctrine of fair use under copyright law for such distribution and norms of attribution.

As with any teaching materials, this model reflects the knowledge, background, teaching antecedents, and convictions of those preparing it. Lecturers using this material are free to change the sequence, topics, references, or resources found here and may introduce their own sources.

#### Twelve-week teaching term

This framework teaching model assumes a twelve-week term (one topic, or module, per week) and is geared towards final-year undergraduates. Although the lesson plan covers one topic per week, it can, however, be modified to fit other purposes. For example, the model can be offered as a graduate or post-graduate course by changing the assessment tasks and reducing or expanding it to accommodate shorter terms. No guide fits the needs of every university, so adaptation is encouraged accordingly.

If lecturers adopt the teaching model for a twelve-week course, the option exists to treat each module separately. It is, however, important to help students connect the various parts of the course to maintain its internal logic. If used for a course, the model assumes lectures of perhaps one hour per week, supplemented by additional sessions in which contributions from students provide major opportunities for learning. Such a course benefits from student involvement in the form of readings, reflections on personal experiences, formal and informal discussions with other students, and integration of sources to meet the requirements of the assessment task. Topic 8 involves encouraging students to go into their home communities or neighbouring areas to document, in small case studies, ongoing nonviolent campaigns or struggles. Innumerable NGOs are eager to have their successes documented and made known and therefore would welcome help in recording their activities. The case stud-

ies are designed to help students become more fully engaged in reading, reflection, discussion, documentation, recording, and critical thought. If any of the suggestions conflict with the common practices or requirements of a university or department, lecturers should feel free to make creative adjustments.

### Meanings of terms

Ambiguity in meanings of the terms *nonviolent* and *nonviolence* must be addressed by anyone teaching in this field, especially since many languages have no words for these terms. The focus here is the field of nonviolent struggle, nonviolent direct action, or nonviolent strategic action—also called active or militant nonviolence—as a method for social and political change that utilises political tools rather than military weaponry. Nonviolent sanctions may attack the power of the opponent, yet they never harm the well-being or lives of the adversary. Such a method of fighting for social justice is often adopted because legal or parliamentary methods of seeking redress have failed, resulting in acute conflicts.

## 2. Resources

Students' experiences of conflict and violence (as well as those of lecturers) comprise valuable resources for this course. At the same time, however, such personal knowledge and common sense must be combined with other elements to be useful within the framework. The personal experiences of participants need to be analysed, filtered through the readings, and integrated with the experiences of others in the class.

A number of references are provided for each of the twelve topics, or modules. Some may be reproduced and distributed directly to students, while others might need to be made available through reserved reading collections. The suggested readings are general in focus, but nonetheless relevant. Africa-related materials have been included where possible. The framework is designed so that lecturers can freely add resource material concerning their own country. The books and articles reflect the exchanges of the group of academicians who attended the 2003 workshop

and are not exhaustive. Though another group of individuals might have included some different references, those here solidly support the framework teaching model. Lecturers may be able to encourage their library to purchase books or obtain subscriptions to journals.

Lecturers should avoid giving students a list of references and asking them to produce an essay, unless one objective is to teach students to identify relevant materials by trawling through articles. As a general principle, students benefit more by closely reading a limited number of references and then discussing them, as opposed to superficially reading a large number of references. If your library is well resourced, it may be appropriate to include some tasks in which the students individually search for important materials. In general, however, such an approach is too time-consuming to be the norm.

Relevant Websites are also cited in the references. These can be worthwhile resources, but caution is advised in encouraging students to use them to the exclusion of books and articles. The disadvantages include students allocating excessive time to Web searches and not enough to careful reading and comprehension, to say nothing of the lure of plagiarism. If students have access to the World Wide Web, it may be appropriate to include some tasks based on computer searches. In such cases, lecturers should explain how to reference bibliographically the Websites and inform students that material on the Web may be removed within weeks or months and is sometimes not reliable.

### 3. Learning outcomes

Different universities and departments have specific requirements concerning learning outcomes. The following identifies a generic set of desirable outcomes that can be adopted or adapted in using this teaching model. This framework model helps students as follows:

- understand the various meanings of conflict, violence, and peace;
- learn to identify and examine approaches to achieving justice and peace;
- consider conflict resolution as a means of solving problems, enhancing communications, and transforming relationships;
- weigh the validity of nonviolent strategic approaches to conflict;
- become familiar with the thinking underlying different approaches in the employment of nonviolent sanctions;
- think about individual actors, institutions, and structures that have been involved in nonviolent struggles;
- reflect upon the concepts, definitions, and thinkers on peace and conflict, with particular attention to nonviolent struggle;
- consider the importance of African endogenous methods of building peace;
- develop research skills, particularly the ability to analyse rather than simply describe;
- obtain tools for documenting and analysing ongoing or recent African conflicts transformed by the use of nonviolent action;
- present clearly written and oral analyses using the appropriate nomenclature;
- deliberate the potential for improving the odds for democratisation, sustainable reconciliation, and other forms of community transformation in Africa;

- appreciate the theories of power upon which nonviolent sanctions rest;
- broaden their understanding of nonviolent struggle as a realistic alternative to armed and military conflict;
- speak more confidently in small-group discussions and make presentations to small and large groups on the issues considered here;
- think and act creatively in order to transform conflict.

#### 4. Personal change as a result of studying this field

Scrutinising the attainment of peace through nonviolent struggle has the capacity to change and transform individuals' values, goals, and thinking, although much of such an outcome depends upon the commitment to peace on the part of the lecturer. A. Toh and V. Floresca-Cawagas, in *Peace Education: A Framework for the Philippines* (Quezon City, Phoenix Publishing House, 1989), suggest possible ways in which learners may change:

- develop a holistic understanding of issues that takes into account the dynamic relationships involved in conflicts—such as how the symptoms of structural violence, poverty, and inequality may be linked to high levels of militarization—allowing them to connect issues that they previously might not;
- develop a capacity for critical thinking through exposure to a range of possible world-views and explanations (with teachers of peace studies engaging learners in a constant dialogue so that basic assumptions underlying any world-view are critically analysed rather than passively accepted as givens);



- grow in conscientisation as they become more aware of the existence and consequences of injustice, inequality, and militarization;
- develop a willingness to take action for peace and justice;
- develop such skills as peace making, facilitation, and nonviolent strategies and methods for achieving social change.

## 5. Tasks

The framework offers suggested tasks for each topic, or module. These tasks may be used as the basis for small-group discussions or for assessment purposes. How one uses them, and which ones are chosen—and by all means lecturers should consider devising their own—will depend on the requirements of the university or department as well as individual interests. For example, lecturers will most certainly want to determine varied lengths and time commitments for the case study. As noted, it is best for students to answer a few questions well than to answer a large number superficially. In small-group discussions, perhaps each student could be asked to prepare answers to three questions, which are assigned to individuals in groups, so that the group as a whole addresses all of the questions. In structuring tasks, also consider the following:

- Several appropriate interpretations may be adequately defended in response to a question, as there is normally no single correct answer.
- The answer cannot be found by leafing through the references; rather, students need to ponder the meaning of the question and collect relevant data (from the readings, personal experiences, and discussion).
- Written work should be structured to answer a particular question.

- Responses should be presented in standard English and with appropriate bibliographic referencing.

# INTRODUCTION

By Professors Mary E. King  
and Ebrima Sall

**D**IFFERENT approaches or schools of thought exist within peace studies, each with varying concepts, vocabularies, and meanings. In Scandinavia, peace studies has existed as a formal discipline for more than a century, sprouting from the discipline of religious studies. The historic peace churches—Brethren, Mennonites, Quakers, and others—built a number of nineteenth-century universities in Europe and North America based on a philosophy of pacifism, opposition to all wars.

Conflict studies, a sub-field within peace studies, pertains to understanding the rise of social conflicts and identification of various approaches to managing, resolving, or preventing them. Concepts in peace and conflict studies are changing rapidly in response to new findings and theses. Hence, scholarship, research, and documentation by Africans and others are not only welcome, but could change the way people around the world think.

Peace education, also a sub-field of peace studies, seeks to engage persons capable of including peace-related content in curricula at whatever educational level. For example, it could be included in programmes that strengthen a responsible role for the news media, such as community radio, a ‘mass educator’. Peace education heavily utilises culture and the arts, with its most potent tools found in music, dance, drama, painting, and sculpture. When Mozambique’s thirty-year civil war ended, for example, dance troupes travelled the length of the country, spreading the news and dancing the story of the end of hostilities.

As the broadest sub-field of peace studies, peace education incorporates a wide range of practices aimed at transforming values and norms and informing styles of leadership to bring about or consolidate peace in communities, within a country, in inter-state relations, or at the global level. Because the peaceful resolution of differences requires education at all levels of societies, a broad range of institutions need to address acute conflicts, work toward reconciliation, and strengthen societies to stand against prejudice, oppression, and violence, including mass organised violence. Churches, mosques, and schools can further peace education, as can village primary and secondary schools and universities and polytechnics. Regardless of the format, education is critical. Other forums

include training programmes, civic education drives, public information campaigns, civil society organisations, non-governmental organisations, and news media. All need to be involved in the building of peace. Many of the activities undertaken by civil society organisations involve ‘action for peace’, which may include peace education generally and action research.

Although peace and conflict studies is new to some parts of Africa as an academic field, studies on ethnicity and structural causes of conflict have been underway for decades, especially in post-graduate programmes of social science departments. Since 1991, the Dakar-based Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) has supported networks and multinational groups of researchers working on ethnic conflicts in Africa (though some of its studies have not been classified as ‘peace research’ or ‘peace studies’).

Peter Wallensteen, a Swedish professor of peace studies, observes in *Understanding Conflict Resolution: War, Peace and the Global System* that the projects of the peace research community uniformly try to understand why conflicts occur and how they can be ended with a cessation of violent action among disputants. Those involved in peace studies are seldom motivated by a mere desire to produce and disseminate knowledge for its own sake. Indeed, the ultimate aim for most is to bring about or consolidate peace. Understanding why wars begin or what perpetuates them may yield ideas for improving the situation. The field invites a spectrum of conceptualisations, hypotheses, and theories.

Those involved in peace research—an element of peace studies—often do not consider themselves to be academicians. The Durban-based *African Journal of Conflict Resolution*, published by the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), has become internationally renowned for its mediators and practitioners of conflict resolution. ACCORD also daily follows African conflicts, which it summarises in *Conflict Trends*. Tor Sellstrom, senior research officer, heads the tracking operation. The UPEACE Africa Programme and the American University Centre for Global Peace, in Washington, D.C., co-sponsor the *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*, published by the South North Centre for Peacebuilding and Development, in Harare.

The field of peace studies in Africa is grounded in the global heritage and traditions of the field world-wide, including the West and parts of the Southern Hemisphere, as well as also in the practical histories, traditions, cultures, and realities of Africa. Peace studies has adopted a number of concepts, including *ubuntu*, that resonate in African hearts and minds because they originated in Africa. Peace studies in Africa also focuses on the study of conflicts and conflict resolution on the continent. Africans are using innovative techniques in the arena of non-state NGOs acting as peace makers, and Africa is rich in examples of nonviolent struggles, in which people have used political tools to fight for human rights, government reform, democratic change, and an end to apartheid. This framework teaching model explores some examples of such struggles.

The terms *nonviolent* and *nonviolence* have innumerable meanings in modern-day English-language usage, often do not translate well into other languages, and may carry ambiguous connotations. Yet in everyday use, such words may refer to actions considered crimes, peaceable behaviour, norms and values, or spiritual beliefs. Some advocates of normative nonviolence adhere to a strict interpretation that prohibits all forms of confrontation. To some, such expressions evoke the now-discredited term *passive resistance*, a phrase that became suspect because of the misperception that nonviolent action promotes passivity, although in reality it stands in sharp contrast to submission and acquiescence. Mohandas K. Gandhi had by 1906 discarded the phrase *passive resistance* because of its potential to mislead. Ambiguity in meanings must be addressed by anyone teaching in this field, especially because many languages lack equivalents for these terms.

This course is not designed to train students to become practitioners of nonviolent action or nonviolent struggle. Learners will, however, grasp how it works—by attacking the power of the adversary, rather than life and limb. Students will, it is hoped, also come to appreciate the field of study and the theories and methods that make it possible for people to stand up to violence, tyranny, and dictatorship without spilling the blood of the target group or threatening the lives of opponents.

Until the twentieth century, nonviolent action as a technique of seeking justice was mainly used for personal witness. For example, Henry

David Thoreau went to jail for refusing to pay the poll tax, which he believed would support the mid-nineteenth-century U.S. government's condoning of slavery. Thoreau's action represented a form of remaining true to one's beliefs, mostly used by individuals or groups with little intention of producing broad social or political change. Six decades later, largely through the Indian independence campaigns against the British colonists on the sub-continent, it became an instrument of mass action aimed specifically at political change. Today people world-wide use non-violent action as a method of securing humanitarian goals, human rights, justice, trade-union demands, and even national defence. It has been employed in struggles against authoritarian regimes, inert bureaucracies, dictatorships, social oppression, and military occupations. Global peace and security demand the teaching of the history and practice of nonviolent struggle, which can influence not only how we view the past, but also how we understand, interpret, and engage in planning and action in the present and future.

Some who study conflict believe that it can be eradicated like a disease, negotiated into non-existence, made to disappear (if only peace research were good enough), or changed through arms control. Each approach has its truth and is not incompatible with the others. Yet, if pursued apart from the significant body of knowledge on the technique of nonviolent struggle, they do not offer an alternative to violence. Options other than violence do exist and have been used successfully in the past. They can be employed similarly today and in the future. Study of the field of nonviolent struggle in institutions of higher learning is vital, particularly in Africa, where conflict continues to be widespread and the means of contestation assumed to be limited.

Beginning in the 1970s, the scholar Gene Sharp showed that violence weakens the prospects for negotiations and reconciliation, while non-violent action improves the odds of resolution, peaceful settlement, and reconciliation. Fighting for justice with nonviolent action can solve a grievance without creating a quest for revenge, something impossible in violent struggle. Sharp's three-volume *Politics of Nonviolent Action*, which appeared in 1973, documents how nonviolent struggle increases the likelihood of achieving positive, lasting, mutually acceptable outcomes. He

went on to demonstrate that ‘non-cooperation’, or the withdrawal of obedience, is the central tool, or sanction, in the ancient repertoire of nonviolent struggle.

The field of nonviolent struggle has since continued to develop, and the literature to expand, as this course illustrates. Documentation of African nonviolent action, although growing, remains sparse. One topic, or module, of this course is therefore devoted to students’ preparing case studies. Such studies may spark the growth of a literature of African nonviolent transformation of conflict. In this respect, the expression *nonviolent transformation of conflict* is apt because the technique of nonviolent action has demonstrated the ability to interrupt the cycle of vengeful violence while accomplishing major, positive social change with transformative possibilities.

*Professor Sall presented portions of this introduction to the UPEACE advisory meeting in Maputo, Mozambique, 23–25 October 2002. It may be reproduced and distributed with proper attribution.*



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## Films

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Padare/Enkundleni (Men's Forum on Gender)

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PART I  
PLACING  
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# Topic 1

## The field of peace and conflict studies

Peace, in the sense of absence of war, is of little value to someone who is dying of hunger or cold. Peace can only last where human rights are respected, where people are fed, and where individuals and nations are free.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama



Malawian youths carry placards during World Aids Day in 2005. As the number of persons living with HIV/AIDS reached a record high of 40.3 million that year—with sub-Saharan Africa the hardest hit area—young people asserted their voice. Although the region's people represent only slightly more than 10 per cent of the world's population, more than 60 per cent of them are HIV-positive. Photo: Eldson Chagara/Reuters.

### Learning Outcomes

- Understand the broad contours of the field of peace and conflict studies
- Present a case for studying this subject
- Understand the meaning of key concepts relating to conflict, violence, and peace
- Use terms correctly in verbal and written discussion of issues relating to conflict, violence, and peace
- Appreciate the opportunity to help build this field in African universities



## Specific Concepts

*Ubuntu*

Peace

Positive peace

Violence

Armed conflict

Direct violence (physical violence)

Structural violence (institutionalised violence)

Gendered violence (sexual violence)

Security

## Note to Lecturers

Every discipline has its own language and lexicon, and peace studies is no exception. It is thus important to understand the key concepts of the field and to use them correctly. An adequate grasp of them involves more than the ability to repeat definitions. A student demonstrates an understanding of words, terms, and concepts through his or her ability to explain them verbally, draw links between them, and provide examples of them. This condensed topic provides background for places where peace and conflict studies have not yet been institutionalised. It is literally an introduction, as its brevity prohibits full treatment of many important topics.

An alluring African contribution to the field of peace and conflict studies deserves particular attention, because it heralds the possibilities for wisdom from Africa to make its way increasingly into the international literature. South Africans have popularised the concept of *ubuntu*, and the term is spreading northwards to other parts of the continent. Stemming from *-ntu* (the life force that causes things to happen), the term reflects an indigenous philosophical perspective of South African peoples connoting a collective responsibility among human beings to distribute the life force for common benefit. Literally translated into English, *ubuntu* means ‘collective personhood’, which is captured by the Nguni proverb

*umuntu ngu-muntu ngabantu* (I am because we are), whereby human nature can only be realised through relationships with others.

The ubuntu spirit is also based on a union of opposites that while maintaining their inherent contradictions are not exclusive, creating a unified and interconnected conception of human existence. A sense of collective solidarity characterises ubuntu through love, caring, tolerance, respect, empathy, accountability, and responsibility. Transgressions against this customary law are rarely enforced, but breaches have resulted in isolation, fines, and at times death. Ubuntu did not traditionally extend in practice to situations external to a given community. Recently, expansive applications of the concept have been made in South Africa, for example, as a litigating factor in the Constitutional Court decision on the death penalty and during the debates on the 1995 Labour Relations Act.

Ubuntu is a celebration of being in its trinity of manifestation: the human, natural, and spiritual. Ubuntu is a life force that helps to maintain the equilibrium of forces natural, spiritual, and human in the community. Ubuntu is something that is internalised and should manifest itself in activities and attitudes such as respect, love, care, sharing, accountability, and responsibility. Due to the centrality of the other person in my own existence, it does not discriminate on the basis of race, gender, ability, or handicap. It accepts all persons as belonging to the community of the living.

—Professor Yonah Seleti, Historian, University of Natal, Durban

**Peace** is one of the deepest and most universal of human yearnings. The field of peace and conflict studies—while lacking precise, consistent, unified theoretical definitions—continues to sharpen and refine the terms in its purview to arrive at more exact meanings. **Positive peace** evokes debate, but may be interpreted as the building of peace and non-exploitive social structures with a substantial component of justice and human rights. It stands in opposition to the old notion of peace as the absence of war, a now discredited interpretation often referred to as negative peace. Johan Galtung, a Norwegian professor of peace studies, defines positive peace as a social condition in which exploitation

has been eliminated and overt violence has ceased, including structural violence.

Positive definitions of peace and of achieving positive peace include the Greek *irenic*, or *irene*, which connotes harmony and justice. The Arabic *salaam* and the Hebrew *shalom* have more complex meanings, connoting well-being, wholeness, and harmony. The Sanskrit *shanti* suggests spiritual tranquillity. As noted, ubuntu, in the Bantu languages of southern Africa, implies well-being, wholeness, and the idea that one does not exist as an individual apart from one's relationships with others.

Philosophical idealism, a broad school of thought more than a century old, is the theoretical home of peace and conflict studies. According to this thinking, questions posed do not accept war and militarism as a given. Its proponents ask, Can we build a better world? Can we solve conflicts? Can we learn how to negotiate settlements? Can we minimise the preponderance of conflicts? Can we teach the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict? Can we prevent certain conflicts? Such questions challenge the dominance in international relations of the school of realism, which has traditionally sought to define what counts as appropriate questions. Realism seeks to confront the so-called real world, in which war is viewed as inevitable. Realists do not ask 'What if'? Innovation in this school has therefore sometimes tended to be difficult and threatening.

It is perilous to avoid the questions posed in peace and conflict studies. Despite important developments, blind faith in **violence** persists. According to the historian Theodore Roszak, 'people try nonviolence for a week, and then when it doesn't work, they go back to violence, which hasn't worked for centuries'. Almost all cultures demonstrate widespread belief in the necessity and inevitability of violence. Such naïveté is perplexing, because violence often fails completely. Moreover, people judge violent struggles and nonviolent struggles by different standards. When armed struggles fail or military machines cause catastrophes, no one declares 'violence doesn't work'. Rather, the conviction remains that violence represents the most powerful action that can be taken, despite its having proven disastrous. Thus, it must be a doctrine—an article of faith—that violence is the manifestation of the greatest strength and power. Violent

struggle, however, no matter what the scale, transforms nothing. It does the opposite: it reinforces what is. People and groups often use violence because they presume no other alternative. This in part results from the perception or presentation of history as the study of wars. Societies that have achieved historical accomplishments through nonviolent struggle have often failed to record their feats.

**Armed conflict** today tends to occur most frequently within countries rather than between nation-states, typically between government forces and groups wishing to secede or take control of government. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) defines major armed conflict as one involving the military forces of two parties—at least one of which is the government of a state—and which has resulted in at least 1,000 battle-related deaths in any single year. For 2002, the *SIPRI Yearbook 2003* recorded twenty-one such conflicts, of which twenty took place within countries and only one (India versus Pakistan) between countries. For the period 1990 to 2002, SIPRI counted some fifty-eight major armed conflicts, of which only three were interstate: Iraq versus Kuwait, India versus Pakistan, and Ethiopia versus Eritrea. The year 2003 brought the addition of the invasion of Iraq by U.S.-led forces, ostensibly to bring about ‘regime change’.

Two recent studies of military interventions by the United States support the conclusion that military force frequently fails to bring about sustainable peace. Pei and Kasper (2003) studied sixteen forced regime changes in the twentieth century that entailed significant numbers of U.S. ground troops. Of the sixteen interventions studied, they judged four—in Germany, Japan, Grenada, and Panama—to be successful in terms of the establishment of a democracy that lasted for ten years or more after U.S. troops withdrew. In a related study, Dobbins (2003) examines six major ‘nation-building’ operations since 1990 in which U.S. military forces helped in the ‘transition’ to democracy. Of the six, two—in Somalia and Haiti—represent clear failures, while those in Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Iraq remain unresolved. Military solutions often do not address the underlying causes of the conflict, but may perpetuate animosities. The Sudanese civil war lasted intermittently for nearly half a century. The Angolan civil war that ended in 2002 persisted for twenty-seven years.

Not all violence is **direct violence** of one person to another, or physical violence. **Structural violence**, or institutionalised violence, usually results from policies of nation-states or bureaucracies. Structural violence involves the denial of equity that can be averted or is preventable. It manifests in inequality, hunger, starvation, and disease and a lack of education, jobs, housing, play, and freedoms of expression and assembly. Such forms of repression and psychological alienation work slowly, eroding humanistic values and crushing the human spirit. As one UPEACE master's degree student from Uganda told her class in 2003 in Costa Rica, 'Structural violence is silent, it is everywhere, and if its sources are hard to identify, its results are readily visible'. In contrast, direct violence works quickly, visibly. For more on structural violence, see John Galtung, 'Peace Violence and Peace Research', *Journal of Peace Research*, 6 (1969), pp. 167–91.

Gandhi, during the twenty-one years that he spent in South Africa, viewed the effect that structural forms of violence can have on society: poverty, oppression of women, privilege for the few, and the powerlessness of many. His observations of a pathological violence embedded in the girders of society—a structural exploitation more than intentional harm inflicted upon innocent victims by evil people—would fuel his campaigns and underlie his insistence on nonviolent resistance. For Gandhi, South Africa highlighted the depths of institutionalised violence and persuaded him of the need for a way to undermine such violence from within.

**Gendered violence**, or sexual violence, is direct violence customarily related to gender, often by males against females. The term *sex* generally pertains to biological determinations. *Gender* refers to social constructions and focuses on both sexes. According to Desprez-Bouanchaud et al. (1999) in UNESCO's *Guidelines on Gender-Neutral Language*, a person's sex is a matter of chromosomes; a person's gender is a social and historical construction and the result of conditioning. 'Feminist' refers to the emancipation of women. It is possible to analyse gender in political activity from perspectives other than that of the feminist. Significant work is under way in the sub-field of 'masculinities', the point being that there is no single form of masculinity. (An example is found in the work

of Padare/Enkundleni, or Men's Forum on Gender, founded in Zimbabwe in 1995 by Jonah Gokova, a winner of the 2001 Africa Prize for Leadership.) Future explorations of gender issues are less likely to rely solely on feminist analysts, activists, thinkers, and theoreticians.

Gendered violence is a major form of direct physical violence in every country. Sometimes systematic, it includes physical beatings, rape or other forms of sexual assault, verbal or written abuse, emotional or psychological abuse, and economic deprivations. (The connexions between gender and building peace are the subject of UPEACE's *Reader on Gender and Building Peace: An African Perspective*, 2005.)

Ewing (2003:54) reports South African Police Service figures indicating that approximately 50,000 girls and women were raped in South Africa in 1998. Of these females, some 40 per cent were children. Remarkably, only one in thirty-five rapes is reported. The numbers translate into a staggering 1.7 million rapes in only one country each year. Most such rapes are carried out by males known to the women involved and to whom they are related. South African sociologist Ari Sitas told visiting UPEACE faculty that the love poetry of some of the peoples of South Africa is violent, the point being that violence can be culturally ubiquitous. Also see Katherine Wood and Rachel Jewkes, 'Violence, Rape, and Sexual Coercion: Everyday Love in a South African Township', *The Masculinities Reader*, ed. Stephen M. Whitehead and Frank J. Barrett (Cambridge, Polity Press, 2001), pp. 133–40.

A lethal mix of economic forces, cultural traditions, gender stereotyping, and political indifference results in millions of girls and women being assaulted, sold, enslaved, killed, or put at risk each year. The persistence of such practices raises the question of why such violence against girls and women and lack of security remains acceptable in the global normative order.

**Security** is a subjectively defined state in which individuals or the society feel free from threats, fear, or danger, usually because of the protection of military services or a security apparatus. Security exists in the eye of the beholder on a continuum and thus cannot be understood in absolute terms. Given the relativity of human perceptions, pursuit of security tends to be a contentious matter. Security at the nation-state

level often depends on a government's ability to deter attacks or to defend against them. Especially when defined by the school of realism, such capacity has historically meant military power relative to other nation-states', though within parameters that do not jeopardise the security of others. Myriad activities have inevitably gathered under the rubric of security: formations of alliances, expansionist or irredentist policies, wars of conquest, arms races, nuclear armaments, pre-emptive war, and interventionism.

Governments customarily have been solely responsible for providing strategic security. More recently, the idea of 'collective security' has emerged in a re-conceptualisation of security. This expanding doctrine brings to the table new terminology, including 'human security', 'common security', 'cooperative security', 'democratic security', 'environmental security', and 'preventive security'. In this widening perception of security, the nation-state does not necessarily play the dominant role in developing and implementing security strategy and policy, nor is the nation-state what needs to be protected. Concerning the latter, the populations of the nation-states and their citizenry are of primary concern. This perspective re-defines the role of government away from preoccupation with sovereignty and towards the responsibility of protecting the populace.

Peace studies, peace research, peace education, and action for peace are partially responsible for the shifts noted above. Thus, the use of this framework teaching model is an invitation to future generations of Africans to participate in peace research and peace studies and to prepare themselves for contributing to the field.

## Tasks

(These pedagogical exercises can also be used for assessment purposes.)

**Class activity/discussion:** Divide the class into small groups and instruct each to explain the differences between the terms and concepts listed below. In each case, have students illustrate their explanations with an example, preferably from African practical realities, though they can use hypothetical examples if necessary.

- Violence and direct violence
- Structural violence
- Gendered violence
- Positive peace and negative peace
- Security and human security

**Class activity/discussion:** Divide the class into small groups and have each group elect a scribe or rapporteur. Next, ask the groups to draft a list of examples of the following, drawing upon their own culture, community, or family experiences:

- Definitions of peace
- Symbols of peace

## Required Readings

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## General Articles on Domestic Violence

*Childrenfirst*. A magazine published by a Durban-based organisation of the same name working for children's rights. They offer documentation of the full story discussed by Ewing (2003).

Ewing, D. 2003. Rape, Gender and the Justice System. *Agenda*, 56, 54–60.

Leclerc-Madlala, S. 2003. Protecting Girlhood? Virginity Revivals in the Era of AIDS. *Agenda*, 56, 16–25.

# Topic 2

## Types of conflict and responses

Although conflicts have negative connotations, they constitute an essential creative element for changing societies and achieving the goals and aspirations of individuals and groups.

Professor Onigu Otite, Sociologist, University of Ibadan, Nigeria



An interactive drama group in Liberia depicts stereotypes, allowing audiences to adapt the story by finding nonviolent solutions to social conflicts. Photo: Search for Common Ground.

### Learning Outcomes

- Understand ways of addressing conflict
- Argue the case that political resolution is better than armed or military force
- Present main steps in a process of conflict resolution
- Gain awareness of main reasons why conflict resolution may fail and efforts to minimise these
- Explain why peacekeeping forces may be necessary to establish positive peace

## Specific Concepts

- Conflict
- Conflict resolution
- Conciliation
- Mediation (facilitation)
- Arbitration
- Conflict management
- Peacekeeping
- Conflict transformation

## Note to Lecturers

Derived from the Latin *confligere*, 'to strike together', **conflict** suggests a confrontation between one or more parties seeking incompatible or competitive means or ends. Conflict may be manifest—recognisable through actions or behaviours—or latent. Conflict may lie dormant for long periods when incompatibilities remain unspoken or are built into systems or institutional arrangements, such as governments, corporations, or civil society. In *Understanding Conflict Resolution: War, Peace and the Global System*, Peter Wallensteen (2002) identifies three general forms of conflict: inter-state, internal, and state-formation conflicts.

A consistent vocabulary does not exist for considering conflict management, conflict resolution, conflict prevention, and conflict transformation. This situation is exacerbated by the difficulty in ascertaining from the published literature how the Arab world, Hindu cultures, Buddhist societies, or diverse African nations conceptualise conflict. More work needs to be done in this area, because comprehending how different cultures conceive of conflict is essential to the reliability of the field.

The political theorist Max Weber concluded that a social relationship is in conflict when one party carries out its will against another's. Some describe conflict as a struggle over values, status, power, and resources. Despite the range of definitions, the methods used for handling conflict usually build upon the assumption that a solution can be found,

and needs to be found, within the institutional and structural framework available. By and large, such methods address symptoms—which we might term ‘disputes’—rather than fundamental causes. Some form of compromise usually evolves. ‘External’ forces are viewed as helpful, whether laws, traditions, or historical precedents. Customary methods for addressing conflict include mediation, conciliation, arbitration, adjudication, negotiations, and legislation, that is, approaches that in general assume that a solution can and must be found. When a conflict is structural or involves indispensable human needs, the possibility exists that no solution will be found. Ury, Brett, and Goldberg (1988) note that interests, rights, and power constitute part of any dispute.

Conflict scholar John Burton has identified three types of human motivation: needs, values, and interests. Needs are ‘universal and primordial, and perhaps genetic’. They do not change. Values, according to Burton, are culturally specific customs and beliefs distinctive to individual communities. Interests, he notes, change according to circumstances. Some contend that a conflict pertains to immovable resources, such as rivers, lakes, mountains, or mineral deposits, whereas disputes involve more transient and ephemeral elements. Regardless, caution is called for to avoid oversimplification. Also, Burton considers a dispute to be a situation in which the issues are negotiable, compromise is possible, and changing institutions or structures is not obligatory. By contrast, conflicts stem from human needs that cannot be compromised. Burton goes on to define a conflict as settled when it is managed, negotiated, or suppressed. All or some of the parties relinquish something, and social or legal norms (similar to rules) are involved in the relinquishment. Some enforcement or coercion may be needed to hold the parties to the settlement. **Conflict resolution**, in Burton’s view, occurs when the results fully satisfy the needs of all the parties. Such a resolution, called problem-solving, may call for changes in policy. Of course, some conflicts—such as those related to armed urban street gangs, drug trafficking, the international system, arms trade, or terrorism—may elude resolution. A problem-solving approach is certainly insufficient.

Rubin, Pruitt, and Kim (1994) offer five strategies for addressing conflict: inaction, withdrawing, contention, yielding, and problem solving.

Johan Galtung sees conflict resolution as dependent upon correcting the steep self:other relationship, changing behavioural polarisations, and searching for removal of incompatibilities in goals. It thus requires conflict processing, through which, in his view, resolution may result from transcending (changing the situation or re-defining it), compromise, deepening (piling on more problems and issues), broadening (adding more parties), or withdrawal. Most significant in Galtung's view is the recognition that more than problem-solving mechanisms may be required. Structural violence may be so tenacious and embedded as to render the situation all but impossible to address through problem-solving techniques. Rather, his strategy calls for nonviolent direct action.

The actual resolution of a conflict remains rare. Most often conflicts are reduced, downgraded, or contained. The issue may be reconstituted or re-oriented. The conflicting sides may try **conciliation**, voluntarily bringing a neutral, external party into their conflict on an unofficial basis. Conciliation suggests a non-binding settlement or explorations to facilitate more structured techniques of conflict resolution. Confidential discussions with the disputants or assistance during a pre-negotiation phase are frequent. Conciliation can also contribute to maintaining agreements and preventing further conflict over past issues. All parties' acceptance of the conciliator is a crucial element, as is the impartiality and non-intervention in the conflict of the third party.

Third-party **mediation** (or facilitation) can guide the process in such a way to allow the parties to speak, listen, and find a mutually satisfying solution in a safe environment. Mediators, like facilitators, must be invited into the conflict; they cannot insert themselves in it. They lack the authority to coerce or impose judgements, conditions, or resolutions. Rather, facilitators attempt to transform the dynamics of the conflict situation by introducing new and relevant knowledge or information, especially regarding the negotiation process between the disputants, by emphasizing common interests and suggesting possible paths towards settlements. Mediation has benefited from the introduction of tactics often used in the field of nonviolent direct action.

Mediators work to help the parties reach their own decisions, rather than suggesting solutions or making decisions about what will or should

happen. A mediator can point out to the parties the consequences of not reaching a resolution; for example, the case may go to court or to some higher authority, with a costly, zero-sum result of the winner taking all.

In **arbitration**, an arbitrator is chosen as a third party by the parties to the dispute to determine the outcome of the conflict. The conflicting parties agree prior to the start of arbitration to accept as binding the judgement of the arbitrator. Thus an arbitrator plays a role similar to that of a judge or a court of law.

**Conflict management** may be described as an intervention aimed at preventing escalation or negative effects, especially violent or ongoing conflicts. When actively conducted, conflict management is a constant process. The underlying causes are often left un-addressed or only partially addressed. A variety of techniques have been identified and employed in conflict management efforts, figuring prominently among them the following:

- bring conflicting parties together to establish jointly a mutual agreement;
- take advantage of third parties capable of directly intervening to introduce or impose a decision;
- look for new initiatives, programmes, or institutional structures (for example, elections) that may be able to address the conflict in question; or
- consider whether a conflict can be suppressed by a government or third party that can eliminate or instil fear among one or all those engaged in a given conflict, thus causing subsidence.

It may be desirable for a court to deal with a conflict, for example, in order to establish a legal precedent for similar cases or as a safeguard when the parties have come to an agreement but one party later changes its mind. If such an event occurs, one must wonder whether the solution devised was a genuine 'win-win' situation, in which both parties gain; otherwise, why would one of them change its mind? If a party does hesitate or resist, the resolution process can sometimes be resumed. Botswana and Namibia and Eritrea and Ethiopia have recently taken their



border disputes to international courts for settlement. Regardless, in such instances, the 'loser' can still refuse to accept the court's decision, especially if enforcement measures are lacking.

One should not view conflict management as a simple, linear, or structured process. It is not a formula. Persons charged with conflict management must usually overcome exceedingly chaotic conditions. Conflicts have, for millennia, been managed directly by the society in which they occur. Africans have long employed endogenous methods to address conflicts. (See Topic 6.) As Doe and Bombande note, it is vital 'to take into account critical partnerships that build and strengthen capacity at local levels', so communities can 'become their own peacemakers and thereby consolidate their own culture of peace' (2002: 167). When this proves impossible or when conflicts become national in scope, governments normally assume the task, ideally when not a party to the conflict. If governments are unable or unwilling to intervene, international organisations often assume the role of conflict manager.

Recent years have witnessed the development of significant **peace-keeping** operations in various parts of the world. Hinde and Rotblat (2003) argue that before dialogue can take place in armed conflict, there is often the need for outside peacekeeping forces to provide sufficient (negative) peace for a positive peace to be negotiated and established. It must be emphasised that peacekeeping is only a first step in a longer process and requires skills and inputs for which regular military personnel are not trained. Although it is beyond the scope of this framework teaching model to consider the broad issue of peacekeeping, lecturers would find it useful to consult *The United Nations and Peace Enforcement: Wars, Terrorism and Democracy*, by Mohamed Awad Osman, a Sudanese lawyer, journalist, and political scientist. (See especially chapter five, 'The Theory of Peace Enforcement'.)

Brand-Jacobsen and Jacobsen (2002) argue that mediation and conflict resolution *as currently practiced* make peace building more difficult and renewed war more likely. Why? Because such efforts often focus on getting representative leaders to the negotiating table, neglecting the underlying causes of the war.

Some believe that it is time for an evolution in thinking and practices



involving notions of ‘waging conflict constructively’ and that **conflict transformation** is a more accurate term than conflict resolution. This is particularly so because, as noted, the actual ‘resolution’ of conflict occurs only rarely. Conflict resolution strategies simply may not offer options when the underlying grievances or injustices are so egregious that they deserve full engagement. Not only will people not accept military occupation, they will not *not* fight for their rights.

A poster hanging in the anti-apartheid movement archives of the University of the Western Cape asks if it is possible to have peace without justice? This important question sets the stage for the next ten topics, which involve the study of nonviolent struggle, or nonviolent direct action.

Armed struggle, guerrilla warfare, and conventional war do not seek agreement, accommodation, compromise, or change in opponents’ perspectives. Rather, they seek to achieve their goals through fear or surrender, demoralisation by threatening injury to life and limb, or violent subjugation. Nonviolent struggle, by contrast, employs a strategy that first tries to persuade the adversary of the justice of the nonviolent group’s point of view. Although nonviolent sanctions can exert enormous pressure, they never seek to accomplish their goals through physical harm, injury, killing, or bloodshed.<sup>1</sup>

#### NOTE

<sup>1</sup> *Sanctions* is a broad term that refers to penalties or encouragements, threatened or imposed, by one group against another. Ranging from political to economic to cultural, sanctions are enacted for the real or anticipated failure to act in accordance with standards, obligations, norms, or expectations. Implemented sanctions may be unilateral or multilateral, comprehensive or selective, but in all cases they aim to coerce the party in question and influence behaviour.

## Tasks

(These pedagogical exercises can also be used for assessment purposes.)

**Discussion:** Divide the class into small groups to examine the following questions:

- How do you normally deal with a conflict? Give an example from your life that illustrates your method. Where did you learn it? How effective is it in winning over other people and resolving conflict?
- What will happen if one party is not willing to communicate what they really need?
- How might some models of conflict resolution fail to build peace in armed conflicts in Africa? What else might be needed?
- Can peace—defined as the management or resolution of conflict—be achieved in the absence of justice?

**Discussion:** Divide the class into small groups and have them select a rapporteur to present their collective analysis. Ask them to discuss the following question and topics:

1. What factors can hinder resolution of a conflict?

2. Discuss the following dynamics:

- the presence of too much emotion for one or both of the parties to continue the process
- a power imbalance whereby the more powerful party is happy with the status quo and thus sees no need to work toward a 'win-win' process
- an unwillingness of one or more parties to say what they really need
- an unwillingness of one or more of the parties to listen attentively and to accept what the other party is putting forward as grievances or needs
- a desire to keep the conflict going, because of possible personal or strategic benefit or for psychological reasons

## Required Readings

Brand-Jacobsen, K., and C. Jacobsen. 2002. Beyond Mediation: Towards More Holistic Approaches to Peace-Building and Peace Actor Empowerment. In *Searching for Peace: The Road to TRANSCEND*, 2nd edn, ed. Johan Galtung, C. Jacobsen, and K. Brand-Jacobsen. London: Pluto Press.

Carroll, Rory. 2004. Rwandans Face Village Justice. *Guardian* (London), 5 July.

Doe, Sam Gbaydee, and Emmanuel Habuka Bombande. 2002. A View from Africa. In *A Handbook of International Peacekeeping: Into the Eye of the Storm*. New York: Jossey-Bass.

Hinde, R., and J. Rotblat. 2003. *War No More: Eliminating Conflict in the Nuclear Age*. London: Pluto Press.

Ury, W., J. Brett, and S. Goldberg. 1988. *Getting Disputes Resolved*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Wallensteen, Peter. 2002. *Understanding Conflict Resolution: War, Peace and the Global System*. London: Sage Publications.

## Recommended Readings

Burton, John (ed.). 1990. *Conflict: Human Needs Theory*. London: Macmillan.

Burton, John, and Francis Dukes (eds.). 1990. *Conflict: Readings in Management and Resolution*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Galtung, J., and F. Tschudi. 2002. Crafting Peace: On the Psychology of the TRANSCEND Approach. In *Searching for Peace: The Road to TRANSCEND*, 2nd edn, ed. Johan Galtung, C. Jacobsen, and K. Brand-Jacobsen. London: Pluto Press.

Harris, I., and M. Morrison. 2003. *Peace Education*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland.

Rubin, Jeffrey Z., Dean G. Pruitt, and Sung Hee Kim. 1994. *Social Conflict: Escalation, Stalemate, and Settlement*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Sampson, Cynthia. 1997. Religion and Peacebuilding. In *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques*, ed. I. William Zartman and J. Lewis Rasmussen. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.

Tillett, Greg. 1999. *Resolving Conflict: A Practical Approach*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

PART II  
UNDERSTANDING  
NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE

# Topic 3

## Transmission of knowledge and skills training



If there had not been an Nkrumah and his followers in Ghana, Ghana would still be a British colony. . . . [A] nation or a people can break aloose from oppression without violence. Nkrumah says in the first two pages of his autobiography . . . that he had studied the social systems of social philosophy and he started studying the life of Gandhi and his technique. And he said that in the beginning he could not see how they could ever get aloose from colonialism without armed revolt, without armies and ammunition, rising up, then he says after he continued to study Gandhi and continued to study this technique, he came to see that the only way was through nonviolent positive action. And he called his program 'positive action'.

The Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

### Learning Outcomes

- Appreciate that the principles of nonviolent conflict are not intuitive, but must be learned
- Recognise that use of this method of working for social justice does not rely on charismatic leaders
- Develop a basic understanding of conceptions of leadership at various levels
- Recognise that key insights and principles from this field constitute useful knowledge for any peace education programme

## Specific Concepts

Transmission of knowledge  
Skills training  
Leadership

## Note to Lecturers

Ideas, knowledge, and skills related to nonviolent struggle are currently spreading faster and more widely than ever, with practitioners leading in the **transmission of knowledge**. In the late 1990s, Serbs (particularly students) employing lessons they had learned from the Czechs and Slovaks used similar approaches in their struggle against Slobodan Milosevic, the Serbian leader in the Balkans. Also toward the end of the 1990s, Serbian students had begun studying the writings of the scholar Gene Sharp. Some participated in workshops on **skills training** led by Robert Helvey, a former U.S. military colonel. During 2002 and 2003, the Serbs passed on this knowledge to activists in Georgia, an independent state of the former Soviet Union, in advance of the Georgians' eventual Rose Revolution in 2003. A similar scenario played out in Ukraine in the Orange Revolution of 2004–2005. This spread of ideas on nonviolent struggle continues today, as Iranians, Kazaks, and Zimbabweans study what their Serbian and Georgian counterparts learned not so long ago.

People have used nonviolent action throughout history, though perhaps providing it other names. For millennia, individuals have suffered jail and worse fates for their beliefs. In ancient Rome, Jews and Christians disobeyed the orders of the Roman caesar and his army, though never using the term *civil disobedience*. Peasant societies used 'go-slows' to seek higher wages. Consumers stopped shopping at the establishments of unfair shopkeepers long before the word *boycott* became widespread. Many indigenous struggles for justice that used nonviolent approaches remain unrecorded. Others are well known, though people today do not always immediately recognise or consider the effective use of them in these efforts: In the United States, for example, strikes are documented

throughout its history; the nineteenth-century struggles of the abolitionists against the slave trade utilised nonviolent methods; the fight for women's right to vote involved petition drives, demonstrations, and sit-ins. In the twentieth century, the practice of nonviolent action developed into a means of projecting substantial political power.

People world-wide organised nonviolent action to achieve independence, secure civil rights, pursue women's rights, establish human rights, reform closed systems, foil military coups d'état, resist military occupations, and create new democracies or preserve old ones. Trade unions historically have been among the most serious proponents of such action, teaching local unions how to press for improvements in working conditions and wages without violence or damage to factories, employers, and themselves. Whether used under totalitarian dictatorships, communism, oligarchies, or democracies, nonviolent methods, if parliamentary or legal measures have failed, can be productive. Positive results can be counted in mountain highlands, hamlets, urban dockyards, and central cities. Faith may be involved in some struggles, but religious motivation is not required to practice nonviolent methods.

Nonviolent transformation—in the sense that Nigerian sociologist Oligu Otite uses 'transformation' (see Topic 9)—is possible in any culture or religious context. It has worked in Hindu and Christian contexts as well as in Buddhist, Islamic, animist, and other cultures. The 1980s saw 'people power' at work in the Baltic states; Poland, East Germany, what is now the Czech Republic, and elsewhere in Eastern Europe; the former Soviet Union; Burma (Myanmar); Guatemala; South Africa; and the Philippines. Struggles in recent years in Serbia, Kosovo, Georgia, Madagascar, and Zimbabwe have captured headlines (see Topic 12). Nonviolent methods not only offer people a counter against tyranny, they help them stand against organised mass violence. Nonviolent struggles can produce positive results when used against heavily armed military regimes or seemingly invincible internal-security machinery.

How have people in very different circumstances and from quite different cultures all learned of this method of pressing for social justice and human rights? Most often, through word of mouth. Mohandas K. Gandhi led a liberation struggle to expel the British from India through



nonviolent resistance while also using nonviolent action to address the structural violence of poverty, colonialism, and caste. The Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the symbolic leader of the U.S. civil rights movement, used nonviolent struggle as a form of social protest and mobilisation for constitutional legal reforms. Less known is an array of nonviolent resisters from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and thence millennia before. Gandhi called this method ‘as ancient as the hills’.

As early as the 1920s, black Americans saw that Gandhi had developed a strategy of resistance to oppression that might be applicable in the United States, where laws, legal systems, and courts of law enshrined discrimination and inequality. As the historian Sudarshan Kapur (1992) notes, a steady stream of African American newspaper editors, professors, college presidents, and civic leaders—among them James Farmer, James Lawson, Benjamin Mays, Howard Thurman, and Channing Tobias—travelled to India by steamer ship, prior to the emergence of Martin Luther King, Jr., as a civil rights leader. Visiting the sites of the various campaigns, they sat with participants, met with Gandhi (in some cases), and learned personally the theories and methods of nonviolent action.

Krishnalal Shridharani’s *War without Violence*, a short exploration of Gandhi’s methodologies, passed from hand to hand among black leaders during the 1940s and 1950s in the United States. An Indian sociologist, Shridharani was one of the seventy-nine highly trained individuals who started out walking with Gandhi on the 241-mile Salt March in 1930. The march opposed the British-imposed Salt Laws, which taxed a natural resource and something essential for life. During the 1940s and 1950s, African American labour and religious leaders—among them Martin Luther King, Jr.—avidly studied this tiny book illustrating how the transmission of knowledge and theories of power often occurs hand to hand, or by word of mouth. Such learnings, transmitted from East to West, were magnified by the 1960s U.S. civil rights movement, from which their spread accelerated around the world.

Another struggle with Gandhi’s direct and explicit imprint occurred in the early days of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. Gandhi would spend twenty-one years in South Africa. While in KwaZulu Natal, he worked with the local Indian community to gain political rights and

enfranchisement. Their nonviolent campaigns would affect the debates and behaviours of the subsequent African organisations that emerged over the coming decades in South Africa and elsewhere on the continent. Although never working in co-operation and occurring at different points in time, the U.S. civil rights movement and the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa shared some characteristics, particularly regarding the transmission of knowledge on how to wage nonviolent campaigns. George M. Frederickson (1995) insightfully discusses such cross-fertilisation in *Black Liberation: A Comparative History of Black Ideologies in the United States and South Africa*.

The spiritual wealth and religious confidence of Gandhi and King sometimes obscure the hard-edged strategic thinking that underlies the use of nonviolent resistance. Observers make the mistake of thinking that one must be charismatic, magnanimous, or possess exceptional traits to use such approaches. Gandhi entered adult life as a profoundly shy law student, but the injustices that he had encountered in South Africa crystallised his thinking, developed his skills of strategic analysis, and vanquished his shyness. Through what he called the power of Truth, Gandhi experimented with building justice, human rights, and democracy in a manner that would leave no bitterness—which is always the legacy of violence. Martin Luther King, Jr., neither seeking nor wanting leadership, had to be cajoled into becoming the leader of a bus boycott against a single city system, in Montgomery, Alabama, which would eventually, as it became a mass movement, change the face of the United States and bring down the legalised colour bar.

The emergence of Gandhi and King was unique to each era, especially in regard to **leadership**. In particular, Gandhi became one of the first persons of colour to challenge successfully the exploitations of colonialism. Both these men came from modest backgrounds and eventually rose to world attention as immensely charismatic leaders. Most people are usually hard-pressed, however, to identify the leaders of other nonviolent struggles, even the successful ones: Who headed the People Power movement in the Philippines? Who led the independence drives in the Baltic states? Name one mother in the Madres del Plaza de Mayo movement in Argentina. Who is Mkhuseleli Jack? Name one minister in the East German

Pastors' Movement that brought down the Berlin Wall. Name the leaders of the East Timor movement for independence from Indonesia. Who led the Ukrainian Orange Revolution for free and fair elections in 2004?

Although history demonstrates that leaders need not be blessed with superlatives, all leaders must possess the ability to transmit knowledge and inspire or motivate action. This can be accomplished through various means, including acting as a role model, which helps explain a phenomenon at work in the efforts of Serbs to remove the authoritarian Slobodan Milosevic. The student group Otpor! (Resistance) was one of the leading organisations in this nonviolent struggle. Any Otpor! member asked the question 'Who are the leaders of Otpor!?' or 'Who are the founders of Otpor!?' would inevitably respond, 'I am'. Every individual in the struggle acted as a transmitter of knowledge, in large part because of the skills training that they had received.

Charismatic leaders of nonviolent movements are shaped by the struggle in which they participate. They are not, however, pre-requisites. Some nonviolent campaigns must function clandestinely, because of life-threatening risks, and thus it becomes obvious that charisma is not required for effective engagement. Although not always publicly recognisable, leaders exist at various levels and possess an array of skills and knowledge that are crucial to nonviolent resistance movements.

It is much easier for people today to learn about nonviolent strategies than it had been in the past. Transmission of knowledge flows through translated documents, case studies, and research on the World Wide Web. Publications of the Albert Einstein Institution in Boston can be freely downloaded. Non-governmental organisations, such as the Amsterdam-based International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR), offer skills training. IFOR branches in different parts of Africa conduct training programmes, and IFOR sponsors the Women Peacemakers Program (WPP). Grass-roots projects abound. For example, Youth Intervention for Peace in Bujumbura, Burundi, seeks 'to confront the negative forces which lead young people in Burundi to participate in inter-ethnic violence for political ends, and to introduce them to nonviolent methods of action as a viable and constructive alternative'.

## Tasks

(These pedagogical exercises can also be used for assessment purposes.)

**Exercise:** Ask each student to go onto the World Wide Web, identify an ongoing nonviolent movement, and report about it to the class. Examples might include Zimbabwe, women's nonviolent movements in Nigeria, or recent developments among student organisations in Iran. Ask the students to pay special attention to evidence of translated materials, films, study groups, and dissemination of information.

**Exercise:** Where computer-based research is difficult or impossible, students can go to the morgues of local newspapers for the past few years to look for reportage from Zimbabwe or Nigeria, where nonviolent struggles are readily identifiable. Again, they should particularly look for instances of the transmission of knowledge.

**Exercise:** Ask students to examine the Web, NGO networks, church and mosque networks, newspapers, telephone books, and other sources to find an African NGO offering skills training in nonviolent direct action.

## Required Readings

Baker, Peter. 2003. Tbilisi's 'Revolution of Roses' Mentored by Serbian Activists. *Washington Post*, 24 November.

Cohen, Roger. 2000. Who Really Brought Down Milosevic? *New York Times Magazine*, 26 November.

Frederickson, George M. 1995. *Black Liberation: A Comparative History of Black Ideologies in the United States and Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 6.

King, Mary. 2002. *Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Power of Nonviolent Action*. New Delhi: Mehta Publishers and the Indian Council for Cultural Relations. Chapter 3.

## Recommended Readings and Resources

*Cross the Lines*. Women Peacemakers Program newsletter. See [www.ifor.org/WPP/wppmaterials.htm](http://www.ifor.org/WPP/wppmaterials.htm). Available via [ab.arauz@ifor.org](mailto:ab.arauz@ifor.org).

Kapur, Sudarshan. 1992. *Raising up a Prophet: The African American Encounter with Gandhi*. Boston: Beacon Press.

King, Martin Luther, Jr. 1986. My Trip to the Land of Gandhi. From *Ebony*, July 1959. In *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, ed. James Melvin Washington. San Francisco: Harper and Row.

*The Making of the Mahatma*. Documentary film. Shyam Benegal, director. Anant Singh, producer. Cape Town, South Africa.

# Topic 4

## Theory and methods of nonviolent struggle

Such a movement . . . should lead to a situation where the authorities control empty shops but not the market, workers' employment but not their livelihood, state-owned mass media but not the circulation of information, printing houses but not publishing, the post and telephones, but not communication, the schools but not education.

Wiktor Julerski, a Leader of the Polish Solidarity Movement

### Learning Outcomes

- Recognise the inherent connexion between the means employed in conflict situations and the resulting ends and why this link is central to nonviolent struggle
- Understand the pluralistic and consent theories of power that underpin nonviolent struggle
- Recognise that co-operation is essentially voluntary and can, therefore, be purposefully withdrawn through different forms of nonco-operation
- Identify the utilisation of specific nonviolent methods in various conflict situations
- Convey a basic articulation of political power and how it relates to nonviolent struggle as a political technique of conflict engagement
- Defend some of the reasons that individuals and groups decide to employ nonviolent action
- Develop explanations for possible success and failure in nonviolent struggles

## Specific Concepts

- Means and ends
- Sources of power
- Pillars of support
- Pluralistic theory of power
- Monolithic theory of power
- Civil society
- Noncooperation
- Nonviolent methods
- Success and/or failure

## Note to Lecturers

Rejecting assumptions that good ends can justify bad means, Gandhi spurned any notion of a distinction between **means and ends**. His profound and explicit rejection of the traditional view that one's method can be separated from the results achieved represents not merely an argument that a good purpose does not justify morally bankrupt or violent means. He believed that if one wants a certain state of affairs, the process must embody the ends, and the steps to achieve it should implement the goal. The means and the ends might be protracted, but they cannot be separated. Trial and error may occur in the way to finding a truthful course, in Gandhi's eyes, but actions from the first step should be consistent with the goal.

In short, one's actions should reveal the ultimate purpose. From another perspective, if practicing the goal today does not result later in the desired effect, the goal has at least been lived if only for a brief moment. When the means are violent, however, the goal is never realised, not even for an instant. For more on this crucial distinction between nonviolent struggle and guerrilla warfare or armed and conventional military force, see Johan Galtung, *The Way Is the Goal: Gandhi Today* (Ahmedabad, Gujarat Vidyapith, Peace Research Centre, 1992).

All political relationships—among individuals, organisations, and gov-

ernments—require varying degrees of obedience, co-operation, or acquiescence. Throughout history, peoples, groups, nations, and empires have devised a host of means and justifications for gaining and maintaining their desired ends. They have devised assorted paths for obtaining the obedience and co-operation from others necessary to support their political goals. As a result, a number of relevant theories have been popularised, among the most common of which pertains to the ‘social contract’. The arrival of constitutionalism brought about a new societal order, whereby an agreement, or contract (or constitution), guaranteed the relationship of a people and their ruler. Individuals, however, have usually had little say in the formulation of such ‘contracts’, primarily because they lacked the right to oppose enactment, interpretation, or enforcement. They also often were short on power.

Ultimately, governments must ensure a supply of political power, which is identifiable through specific **sources of power**: authority, legitimacy, human resources, material resources, skills and knowledge, intangible factors that contribute to or inhibit obedience (such as religious beliefs or cultural values), and the ability to enforce sanctions. Political power is normally manifested in a society through particular institutions and organisations, such as police or security systems, which may be thought of as **pillars of support**. The diffuse nature of political power can be explained through a **pluralistic theory of power**, in contrast to the common **monolithic theory of power**. This last element may be thought of as a rigid, pyramidal structure upon which an individual or small group sits to direct or control segments of a society. In discussing conflicts between a government and sections of its own constituent society, organs outside the control of officialdom are often referred to as **civil society**. Within civil society, groups in the political realm of activity uncontrolled by the state jockey and debate. The organisations, institutions, and vehicles of civil society play immeasurably important roles in the formation and sustenance of nonviolent struggle. It is usually from the domain of civil society that nonviolent campaigns emerge.

Because of the centrality of the nation-state, theories abound to explain the ensurance of obedience and co-operation. The same cannot be said regarding theories and justifications for **noncooperation**. Of criti-



cal importance is that the supply of the sources of power necessary for sustaining state authority is not guaranteed. That is, co-operation can be withdrawn. This reality goes to the heart of the power of nonviolent struggle. Nonviolent action as a technique of conflict engagement utilises this precept to achieve its political objectives. It does so by altering power configurations among groups or persons. Under social contract theory, nonviolent action would be justified if the government breached or violated the constitution in some way. In 1981, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization organised a conference in Freetown, Sierra Leone, to address this question: When is resistance legitimate and justified? The conclusion reached was that where human rights are being violated, resistance on the part of the oppressed is justified (UNESCO 1984). Such resistance, however, must not in turn violate the human rights of others.

Noncooperation, in its many forms, can act as a bulwark against tyranny and suppression of rights and entitlements. **Nonviolent methods** may include psychological, social, economic, and political techniques or 'weapons' that range from protest and persuasion to nonviolent interventions to noncooperation. (The appendices to Sharp, *From Dictatorship to Democracy*, include a list of 198 methods of nonviolent action, that is also available from the Albert Einstein Institution at [http://65.109.42.80/organizations/org/198\\_methods-1.pdf](http://65.109.42.80/organizations/org/198_methods-1.pdf). The list is not exhaustive, as new techniques are always being developed.)

Students should be able to identify specific methods of nonviolent action, but the context of their employment deserves equal attention. The significance of how to use various techniques becomes clear when comparing similar methods utilised in radically different political contexts—for example, a sit-in by members of a civil society organisation in a free and liberal democratic system takes on entirely different implications when staged under an authoritarian regime, where political space is extremely limited. Although the method itself is simple, the results of a sit-in under totalitarian rule can produce harsh reprisals and repercussions. The same situation holds true for the interpretations made of particular methods, not only by those using the method, but also by members of the target group and on-lookers. Nonviolent methods, for example, resig-

nations from jobs, may also be utilised by a variety of groups, including the members of official organs or even people within government agencies or bureaucracies. Nonviolent methods must ultimately be evaluated according to goals, effectiveness, legitimacy, and appropriateness.

The study of nonviolent action has developed from three basic perspectives. First, *instrumentalists* view the technique as a 'functional equivalent' of war and other forms of conflict engagement, and they are primarily concerned with how to improve and refine its practice. Second, *structuralists* emphasise historical constellations and ideological motivations. They tend to view nonviolent struggle as a component of a wider effort, sometimes framed in terms of democratisation, or the history of ideas. A third approach is *normative* and is based on ethical values, moral convictions, religious faith, or spiritual groundings. Although the normative school of thought is not necessarily the most common perspective held by those who have historically practiced nonviolent resistance, it is the most popular notion about the technique, which contributes to misconceptions.

These three perspectives help to explain how nonviolent struggles are launched or why people remain engaged. They are not mutually exclusive. The decision to employ nonviolent struggle should be viewed in relation to more general political goals and outcomes, for example, whether the choice might affect long-term political dynamics beyond the conflict in question. Most often, attention focuses on the initial stages of engagement, including motivational factors, mobilisation, overcoming fear, recruitment, and training. Emphasis is also placed on the procedures and operations involved in the midst of engagement, for example, short- and long-term tactical planning, developing back-up leadership, strains on individuals involved, the necessity for trust within the action group, and debates on strategy. Movements and social mobilisations do not adhere to simple parameters—no easy beginning, middle, and end—nor do they occur in a vacuum. Too often, because of the stresses, anxiety, and suffering caused by the grievances or injustices at issue, at the point when a movement finally becomes visible, a set of different pressures asserts themselves, and at that moment internal long-term planning may collapse, if indeed it had been devised. Nonviolent campaigns, struggles,

and movements must cast their gaze down a long road.

Nonviolent struggle tends to favour democratic principles and practices, because the technique involves the joint participation of various organisations and institutions throughout a society. Given the necessity for decentralisation associated particularly with mass popular movements, individuals must make personal, voluntary decisions to participate in activities, and they must find the strength to make a commitment. In a nonviolent campaign, no one can order or command someone else to endure the penalties that may result from using a nonviolent method. In this sense, acts of omission and commission that are purposefully conducted become a form of realisation of political power potential, which is often not maximally realised until the midst of the conflict situation. (In acts of omission, people may refuse to carry out acts that they normally perform, are customarily expected to do, or are required by law or regulations to fulfil. With acts of commission, persons may perform acts that they do not usually undertake, are not customarily expected to make, or are prohibited from performing.) Once actualised, such potential becomes an asset that can be utilised in the future. Such diffuse or pluralistic societal power, once tapped, can be difficult to overcome, even by governments.

In 2002 at a conference sponsored by the United States Institute of Peace, participants from various nonviolent struggles throughout the world noted that 'while guerrilla armies or militias may sometimes be effective vehicles for protecting a community from repressive violence or unseating a dictator, they are typically undemocratic in their organisation and often are unsuitable candidates for democratic leadership after the old regime is gone'. Professor Clayborne Carson noted at the Natal workshop that one of the least-studied aspects of nonviolent struggle remains its ability to serve as a forerunner and predictor for the development of democratic institutions: 'How many democracies can you count that have resulted from militarised national liberation struggles?' he asked.

On the question of how the character of a fight for independence or liberation—nonviolent or violent struggle—shapes the governments and social structures that result, see *Guns and Gandhi in Africa: Pan-African Insights on Nonviolence, Armed Struggle and Liberation in Africa* (Trenton,

N.J., Africa World Press, 2000), a memoir by Bill Sutherland, an African American World War II conscientious objector who moved to Ghana in 1953. Co-authored with Matt Meyer, his book includes interviews with early independence leaders active in liberation struggles in Ghana, Mozambique, Namibia, Uganda, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. The authors set out to learn how the approach chosen affects the society that results. The reader is given insight into some less-known deliberations on the choice of nonviolent or military struggle.

Most groups that engage in nonviolent conflict expect to win, but evaluating **success and/or failure** is not always straightforward. Sitting down with the target group, adversary, or ruler is not enough to declare success. All too often, nonviolent protagonists suspend action when in actuality they have succeeded in reaching only the most modest of their goals. Planning for long-term success is as important as preparing for reprisals. Students of this field of study sometimes neglect paying attention to what happens after a successful nonviolent struggle. This oversight contributes to the discrediting of nonviolent action as an effective form of conflict engagement. A striking labour union getting to the negotiating table with the factory owner over health care does not mean improved health care for workers. It simply means that the workers have succeeded in achieving talks with management. Furthermore, conflicts do not necessarily subside once specific campaign objectives are met. Victories can be stolen, by coups d'état for example. (This is assuming that concrete objectives have been identified in the first place. In many instances, groups conducting various forms of nonviolent action fail to establish clear objectives and goals.) In cases where specific objectives have been successfully achieved, sustaining success may require new strategies and the development of altered or innovative roles for the very groups that had engaged in the initial nonviolent struggle.

In some ways, the field of nonviolent struggle is still in its infancy, despite notable contributions from the likes of Peter Ackerman, Steve Biko, April Carter, Souad Dajani, Mohandas K. Gandhi, Mara Lou Hawse (Mother Jones), Robert L. Helvey, Kenneth Kaunda, the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Sir Stephen King-Hall, George Lakey, Chief Albert Luthuli, Wangari Maathai, Rigoberta Menchú, Kwame Nkrumah, Patricia

Parkmen, Michael Randle, Robin Remington, Sir Adam Roberts, Ken Saro-Wiwa, Chaiwat Satha-Anand, Jacques Semelin, Kurt Schock, Gene Sharp, Carolyn Stephenson, and Aung San Suu Kyi, among others.

## Tasks

(These pedagogical exercises can also be used for assessment purposes.)

**Class activity/discussion:** At the beginning of class, have students write a short definition or conception of political power. Alternatively or additionally, have them write a short explanation of the connexion between means and ends.

Have students identify various nonviolent methods that they have heard about, witnessed, or personally conducted and differentiate the actions as being targeted towards interpersonal, communal, governmental, regional, or international situations. Discuss one or two examples at length, aiming to identify the specific sources of power being supplied or withdrawn and the pillars of support involved. (Such discussions tend to flow more easily if they include examples with which many students are familiar. If the class has trouble getting started, download Sharp's list of 198 methods from the Albert Einstein Institution at [http://65.109.42.80/organizations/org/198\\_methods-1.pdf](http://65.109.42.80/organizations/org/198_methods-1.pdf).)

Within small groups, ask students to share their definitions of power written at the beginning of the class and discuss how they support or contradict the consent and pluralistic theories of power and whether these models are appropriate for societies throughout Africa.

**Optional discussion topic:** Analysing nonviolent struggle as a technique of conflict engagement is an example of 'grand theory'. Is it appropriate to discuss the similarity of actions across cultures—that is, is it useful to compare parallel institutions in Kosovo to ones in South Africa?

## Required Readings

Clark, Howard. 2000. *Civil Resistance in Kosovo*. London: Pluto Press. Chapters 3–5.

de la Boétie, Étienne. 1577. Repr. 1892. *Discours de la Servitude Volontaire*. In *Oeuvres Complètes d'Étienne de la Boétie*. Paris: J. Rouam and Coe.

Schock, Kurt. 2003. Nonviolent Action and Its Misconceptions: Insights for Social Scientists. PSOnline. [www.apsanet.org](http://www.apsanet.org).

Sharp, Gene. 2002. *From Dictatorship to Democracy: A Conceptual Framework for Liberation*. Boston: Albert Einstein Institution. Chapters 1–4.

Suu Kyi, Aung San. 1991. Speech [26 August 1988] to a Mass Rally at the Shwedagon Pagoda. In *Freedom from Fear*, ed. Michael Aris. London: Penguin.

## Recommended Readings

Chandhoke, Neera. 1995. *State and Civil Society: Explorations in Political Theory*. New Delhi: Sage Publications. Chapters 1–3.

Gandhi, Mohandas K. 1909. Repr. 1938. *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule*. Ahmedabad, India: Navajivan Mudranalaya.

Helvey, Robert. 2004. *On Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: Thinking about the Fundamentals*. Boston: Albert Einstein Institution. Chapter 14

Kaunda, Kenneth David. 1982. *Kaunda on Violence*. London: Sphere Books.

Sharp, Gene. 1973. *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, vol. 1. Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers.

Thoreau, Henry David. 1849 (1995). Civil Disobedience. In *Nonviolence in America: A Documentary History*, ed. Staughton Lynd and Alice Lynd. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). 1984. *Violations of Human Rights: Possible Rights of Recourse and Forms of Resistance*. Meeting of experts on the basis and forms of individual and collective action by which to combat violations of human rights, Freetown, Sierra Leone, 3–7 March 1981. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

# Topic 5

## Dynamics of nonviolent struggle

Satyagraha [literally meaning holding onto Truth, firmness in Truth, a relentless search for Truth] has been designed as an effective substitute for violence. This use is in its infancy and, therefore, not yet perfected.

Mohandas K. Gandhi, Hind Swaraj



On 1 February 1960, African American students began sitting-in to protest the racially segregated lunch counters in the southern U.S. states. Here students Joseph McNeil, Franklin McCain, Billy Smith, and Clarence Henderson sit-in in Greensboro, North Carolina, on the second day of what would become massive nonviolent action, eventually resulting in changes to the laws.

Photo: Jack Moebe/Corbis.

### Learning Outcomes

- Understand how nonviolent struggle operates and how specific nonviolent campaigns are organised and concluded
- Appreciate the difficulties associated with maintaining and ensuring nonviolent discipline in the midst of a campaign or struggle and how such discipline can be undermined
- Recognise that nonviolent struggle is designed to operate in the



face of violent reprisals and how such reprisals can become advantageous to nonviolent protagonists

- Formulate analytical differentiations between nonviolent struggle as a general technique of conflict engagement and as a body of knowledge including specific nonviolent methods

## Specific Concepts

Mechanisms of change

Conversion

Accommodation

Nonviolent coercion

Disintegration

Total noncooperation

Political jiu-jitsu

Nonviolent discipline

## Note to Lecturers

Nonviolent struggle may succeed through one of four **mechanisms of change** or some combination of these during the course of a struggle: conversion, accommodation, nonviolent coercion, and disintegration. The mechanisms of change essentially explain the different ways in which nonviolent direct action can accomplish its goals.<sup>2</sup>

**Conversion:** a party to the conflict accepts the justification of the objectives of nonviolent protagonists and in turn concedes, based upon this shift in perspective. The opponents accept a new point of view and the goals of the nonviolent protagonists with some involvement of their emotions and belief systems. Conversion, in which the hearts and minds of the target group may be touched, is the most rare mechanism.

**Accommodation:** parties strike a mutual compromise over select objectives that can occur through a variety of processes (see Topics 1 and 2).

Accommodation is the most common mechanism and is often achieved when parties hope to avoid an escalation of the conflict. The opponents yield on demands but without changing their positions on the underlying issues. Often this is done to quiet internal dissension, preserve decorum, avert a worse predicament, or simply cut losses. Rather than transforming the adversary (as in conversion), it alters the circumstances. It may involve recognition that the cost of perpetuating the struggle is too high.

**Nonviolent coercion:** a party to the conflict is compelled to concede due to the threatened or actual methods of nonviolent protagonists. Although the by-product of nonviolent methods, real force may be exerted, as when a boycott hurts the bank account of an unfair merchant. Goals are achieved against the will of the adversary, but this does not necessarily mean the disintegration of the opponent's system. In rare instances, the target group may split through internal division. Even the opponent's ability to use repression against the adherents of nonviolent action may be circumscribed, because of pervasive internal disruption or its apparatus becomes paralysed. In some cases, soldiers and police may mutiny.

**Disintegration:** a party is simply unable to respond due to extensive noncooperation and defiance to the point where its decision making or capacity to implement decisions crumbles. This mechanism is exceedingly rare.

The conclusion of a given nonviolent struggle or campaign should not suggest that the issues at stake have been fundamentally addressed by all parties involved, even when specific objectives have been achieved or agreements concluded. The end of a struggle is often not the end of a conflict. Latent consequences may result. In some situations, a complete victory or favourable alteration of power relationships is sought through total noncooperation. As shown in the previous section, **total noncooperation**, or a general strike, is but one of numerous methods at the disposal of those pursuing nonviolent struggle. Individual methods—even the most powerful, attractive, or common—should not be

confused with the form of struggle in general. Such assumptions can lead to misrepresentations that may attribute success (but more often failure) to nonviolent methods.

Protagonists employing nonviolent methods in the face of harsh or violent responses create an asymmetrical conflict situation. In certain instances, violent reprisals against nonviolent protagonists are to the protagonists' advantage. They may compel the protagonists to increase their discipline, determination, conviction, or solidarity, possibly attracting the support of neutral third parties, international observers, and in some cases members among those conducting the violent reprisals. This is a process referred to as **political jiu-jitsu**. Rather than view a violent reaction as a set-back or defeat, those espousing and employing nonviolent direct action can and should consider such a response a positive indication that they are posing a true challenge to the existing power relationships at the root of their grievance or inequity. Still, they must be aware of the possibility of deliberate efforts to undermine their **nonviolent discipline**, such as through the introduction of *agents provocateurs* or disinformation. Eliciting a violent response is not necessarily evidence of progress, nor should it be sought in the effort to ensure success. A multitude of variables can affect the outcome of a struggle, not all of which can be manipulated or controlled by those engaged in the conflict. Some essential insights on nonviolent struggle include the following:

- Clarity of communications is essential. At the most basic level, one cannot expect 'the other', or the opponent, to change unless grievances are clearly explained and articulated. This step often requires research, documentation, and careful presentation.
- Fear can play a large role in many struggles and can thwart the achievement of objectives. Means must, therefore, be sought to overcome its adverse effects.
- The 'antagonist' must be separated from the 'antagonism'. In other words, differentiate the persons involved in the injustice from the structural aspects of the problem.
- Where passivity or submission is unacceptable and political space is limited, apolitical actions, such as implementing a 'construc-

tive programme', should be examined. (Gandhi's constructive programme involved creating a set of seventeen components, each of them a decentralised institution able to serve as part of the infrastructure of a just society. Such a programme, which may include 'alternative' or 'parallel' institutions, can provide a way of moving towards a new social reality in the midst of the old).

- Utilisation of nonviolent action often improves the odds of reaching negotiated settlements and lays the groundwork for reconciliation.
- Cycles of inter-generational violence and the quest for revenge can be broken by identifying alternative means of conflict engagement. The commitment of nonviolent actors to pursue their cause without bloodshed, while continuing to press for human rights or reform, can eventually, depending on other factors, have the effect of breaking the cycle of violence.
- The psychological defences of a target group can be pierced and split through purposeful and planned actions.

#### NOTE

<sup>2</sup> Gene Sharp's analysis of mechanisms of change builds on work by Clarence Marsh Case, George Lakey, Johan Galtung, Richard Gregg, and others. See Sharp, *The Dynamics of Nonviolent Action*, vol. 3 of *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (Boston, Porter Sargent, 1973), pp. 707–68. See George Lakey, 'The Sociological Mechanisms of Nonviolent Action', *Peace Research Review*, 2:6 (1968), pp. 1–102, and Clarence Marsh Case, *Nonviolent Coercion: A Study in Methods of Social Pressure* (New York, Century, 1923).

## Tasks

(These pedagogical exercises can also be used for assessment purposes.)

**Exercise:** Divide the class into four groups and designate each as one of the four mechanisms of change. Ask each group to formulate ideas and approaches for what would produce their designated mechanism of change, using solely nonviolent methods.

**Simulation:** The instructor pretends to be the owner of a clothing shop in town. The students divide into four groups, with each creating a plan to obtain a free t-shirt from the instructor's store. This exercise is purposely detached from practical realities in order to help students isolate and grasp the fact that it is possible to aim for a particular mechanism. The key to this exercise is creativity, in addition to helping students gain a firm grasp of the four mechanisms.

The exchange between the shopkeeper and the group assigned the mechanism of conversion might transpire as follows:

*Customer:* I found a t-shirt in your store that I really like, but I am a student and do not have the money to buy it.

*Shopkeeper:* I am in the business of 'selling' clothes, not charity. I cannot afford to give anything away.

*Customer:* If you can give me one shirt, I promise that I will tell all my friends to buy clothes at your shop. You will receive such good publicity that you will certainly see an increase in your sales.

*Shopkeeper:* I'm sorry, but I cannot afford simply to donate things.

*Customer:* My family has been buying clothes from your shop since I was young, so I know the quality of your clothes is very good. Now that I am a student, I cannot ask my family to buy me clothes and other necessities. . . .

The situation involving the group assigned the mechanism of nonviolent coercion might go as follows:

*Customer:* There is a t-shirt in your store that I really like, but I am a

student and do not have the money to buy this shirt.

*Shopkeeper:* If you want something in my shop, I'm afraid you must buy it, just like everyone else.

*Customer:* It is in your best interest to give me this shirt. If you do not, I will post flyers throughout the town describing what terrible products you sell, the low quality, and high prices.

*Shopkeeper:* That does not matter, because I have many customers. They know me well and that the quality of my products is good.

*Customer:* As I said, I am a student at the university. So, I have lots of friends that have free time during the day, especially during your busiest hours. If you do not give me the shirt, I will tell all my friends to come into your shop and act like customers. You will not be able to tell who are the real customers. My friends will do everything legal to make running your business difficult. They will ask you to show them items, distract you, and take your energies away from the real customers. Ultimately, your business will suffer. It's more trouble than it's worth! It's not worth the aggravation. You may not be happy about it, but you should just give me the shirt. . . .

**Class discussion:** Would any of the approaches developed by the various groups be effective? Why or why not? Did any of the methods suggested raise legal or ethical concerns issues? Was violence a temptation or a method suggested by any of the group members (this may be more relevant if you devise a different example, objective, or scenario)? This exercise can be made more sophisticated as the students begin to grasp the differences involved in the four mechanisms.

## Required Readings

Burrowes, Robert J. 1996. *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense: A Gandhian Approach*. Albany: State University of New York Press. Chapters 6–7.

King, Mary. 2002. *Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Power of Nonviolent Action*. New Delhi: Mehta Publishers and the Indian Council for Cultural Relations. See especially, 'A Note about Jiu-Jitsu' and Chapters 1–2.

Sharp, Gene. 2002. *From Dictatorship to Democracy: A Conceptual Framework for Liberation*. Boston: Albert Einstein Institution. Chapter 5.

## Recommended Readings

Bondurant, Joan V. 1988. *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Roberts, Adam. 1969. Civilian Defence Strategy. In *Civilian Resistance as a National Defence: Nonviolent Action against Aggression*, ed. Adam Roberts. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books.

Sharp, Gene. 1979. Theory of Gandhi's Constructive Program. In *Gandhi as a Political Strategist with Essays on Ethics and Politics*. Boston; Porter Sargent Publishers.

Sharp, Gene. 1973. *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, vol. 3. Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers.

# Topic 6

## African traditions of peace and nonviolent conflict transformation

We must not allow ourselves to become like the system we oppose. We cannot afford to use methods of which we will be ashamed when we look back, when we say, ' . . . we shouldn't have done that'. We must remember, my friends, that we have been given a wonderful cause. The cause of freedom! And you and I must be those who will walk with heads held high. We will say, 'We used methods that can stand the harsh scrutiny of history'.

Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu, South Africa



Children participate with an interactive drama group in Liberia to play out disputes and conflicts in their community and to identify nonviolent solutions. Photo: Search for Common Ground.

### Learning Outcomes

- Recognise the strong roots of endogenous African traditions of peace and nonviolent conflict transformation
- Understand some of the common features associated with traditional African conflict transformation



- Evaluate the effectiveness of traditional forms of conflict transformation and their relevance for contemporary African struggles

### Specific Concepts

Endogenous methods  
 Traditional practices (of building peace)  
 Fusion (of knowledge)

### Note to Lecturers

The term ***endogenous*** has supplanted the word *indigenous*. Indigenous refers to that which is born or produced naturally in a land or region. Endogenous refers to that which is engendered, produced, grown, or found within, with an additional nuance that it may be affected by contacts with surrounding or other influences. Many African theoreticians and academicians now prefer the term *endogenous*, because it allows for the diffusion of knowledge across cultures, with no assumption of knowledge as static.

This topic will be most effective if the instructor can un-leash the power of the students' local knowledge and experience in the classroom. Students need to be able to evaluate the traditions and practices of their own culture. Sometimes it is useful to compare these with the principles and methods found in the international literature and that tend to dominate university studies, commerce, and possibly government. Students with only limited knowledge of African traditions will be aware of relevant aspects of their clan, regional, and national histories. Indeed, the most valuable preparation for future peace makers will be in blending **traditional practices** of building peace with international theories, approaches, and methods. Such **fusion** of knowledge enables students to appreciate that they have two streams of useful knowledge from which to draw, that they should feel free to combine the wisdom of both, and that their ability to become persuasive agents of change and peace builders is enriched by their ability to mould solutions from the two tributaries of

thought. Because empowerment of local communities to build positive peace is one of the most widely shared goals of peace building, it is vital to utilise endogenous knowledge.

In general, more peaceful societies could be found in pre-European Africa than could conflict-ridden societies. In the former, a basic commitment to addressing conflicts nonviolently has persisted and seems to have derived originally from an environment created by a peaceably inclined ruler. Over time, the patterns and practices thus established came to be accepted by the community as the most desirable way to live.

In such peaceful societies, well-established procedures existed for handling disputes at the community level. We have thus far discussed certain common features as central to current international principles of conflict resolution (Topic 2). Such characteristics include the importance of all parties to a dispute speaking about their needs and interests rather than remaining silent. The establishment of public forums allows such sharing to take place by encouraging broad community involvement in the process. Although in the past such public consultations were often profoundly gender insensitive, and therefore not to be idealised or romanticised as they involved only men, the principle of participation is nonetheless deeply rooted and can be built upon and modified, including by ending the exclusion of women (and, some would say, children and youths). Taking the time necessary for all parties to be satisfied with the outcome was a widespread standard. Hope for reconciliation of the parties based on a just socio-economic outcome was pervasive. A confidence that consensus could be reached, and thus most disputes resolved, was a frequent characteristic of pre-European African communities.

Given the extent of violence and trauma that many Africans (and others) have experienced, the prospects for nonviolent conflict transformation throughout the continent may appear idealistic. Nonetheless, historical and present examples prove otherwise. The concern here is not advocacy, but to acknowledge such occurrences, their effect, and whether such alternatives may provide lessons for the present or future. Also, we should attempt to understand how nonviolent action is possible under unlikely circumstances. Focusing on examples from the Great Lakes Region, Carl Stauffer (1998) offers some particularly enlightening

insights in this regard in ‘Metamorphosis: The Role of Trauma Healing in Moving from Violence to Nonviolence’.

The historian L. B. B. J. Machobane (2003) documents the philosophy of Mohlomi, an influential Basotho peace maker of the eighteenth century who set the famous King Moshoeshoe on his path to peace during his rule over the Lesotho Kingdom. Sam Gbaydee Doe and Emmanuel Habuka Bombande (2002) discuss a protracted dispute in Ghana, the wisdom of African story-telling, and the successes of the Mano River Women’s Network for Peace. A more complete treatment of the Mano River Women’s initiative appears in a monograph published by Femmes Africa Solidarité (2000).

The following are brief synopses of additional examples of African non-violent struggles covered in the readings for this topic. (The methodology of case studies is addressed in Topic 7, and in Topic 8 students will be encouraged to embark on their own process of preparing a case study, which may include African endogenous methods of peace, peace making, and nonviolent struggle.) Listed below within the required readings are select materials on each example.

*Ogoni struggle:* The Ogoni people have fought an ongoing non-violent struggle on several fronts since the formation of Nigeria as a nation-state. The underlying grievances included recognition of their ethnic identity and equal rights under British occupation as well as subsequently under the Nigerian federated system. By the 1970s, the scope of their campaign had expanded to include a struggle against the Shell-B.P. Company’s extraction of oil—which, they believe, has caused economic devastation and economic injustices—in the Delta region in which the Ogoni reside. In 1995, the writer Ken Saro-Wiwa was hanged for leading protests against oil company practices, which, he claimed, destroyed subsistence cultures while offering little in return. He had dubbed the process ‘genocide by environmental means’. The following excerpt from the Ogoni Bill of Rights encapsulates the commitment of the Ogoni to the nonviolent pursuit of their goals:

[T]he Ogoni abjure violence in their struggle for their rights within the Federal Republic of Nigeria but will, through every lawful means, and for as long as is necessary, fight for social justice and equity for themselves and their progeny, and in particular demand political autonomy as a distinct and separate unit within the Nigerian nation.

*South-West Africa (Namibia):* In December 1971, African labourers conducted a succession of miners' strikes throughout what was then known as South-West Africa, which was ruled by South Africa. The strikes succeeded in crippling the mining industry and forced the South African government to negotiate the abolishment of the contract labour system, the institutionalised system that basically indebted workers to a form of indentured servitude.

*Sudan:* Sparked initially by poorly organised and ineptly conducted student-led demonstrations, a nonviolent movement eventually gained momentum under the leadership of physicians and other professionals during March and April 1985. The struggle succeeded in ending the long-time rule of President Ja'far Numeiri as well as forcing the interim military care-taking government to cede power to civilian rule.

*Kano, Nigeria:* The northern Nigerian city of Kano experienced several incidents of ethnic and religious conflict during the last half of the twentieth century that also spilled over into the current century. The Nigerian government has unsuccessfully attempted various means of intervention, focusing particularly on de-escalation and containment, which have largely precipitated the conflicts and further antagonised the parties. Analysis of the case focuses on identifying opportunities for possible conflict transformation. Although this case is not an example of nonviolent action per se, it provides an opportunity to discuss counterfactuals and the potential of the technique in a violent, but limited, conflict. On the research methodology of counterfactuals, see David K. Lewis, *Counterfactuals* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1973).

For the sake of brevity, these four synopses focus on specific campaigns or particular grievances and issues. Lecturers are encouraged to use examples known to them, instances with which their students may be familiar, or examples for which extensive resources are readily available. Lecturers may prefer to have students study the use of nonviolent action in more general struggles, and if so, can steer students towards the following additional examples involving nonviolent action in Africa:

- **Anti-colonial and independence struggles**

- On Ghana**

- James, C. L. R. 1977. *Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution*. London: Allison and Busby.

- Nkrumah, Kwame. 1973. *Revolutionary Path*. New York: International Publishers.

- On Kenya**

- Kenyatta, Jomo. 1968. *Suffering without Bitterness*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.

- Wipper, Audrey. 1977. *Rural Rebels: A Study of Two Protest Movements in Kenya*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press.

- On Zambia**

- Hall, Richard. 1968. *Zambia*. London: Pall Mall Press.

- Mulford, David D. 1967. *Zambia: The Politics of Independence, 1957–1964*. London: Oxford University Press.

- **Gandhi's role and influence in Africa**

- Brown, Judith M., and Martin Prozesky (eds.). 1996. *Gandhi and South Africa: Perspectives and Prospects*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

- Gandhi, Mohandas K. [trans. Valji G. Desai]. 1928. *Satyagraha in South Africa*. Ahmedabad, India: Navajivan.

- **Labour and trade union activism**  
Bates, Robert H. 1971. *Unions, Parties, and Political Development: A Study*. London: Yale University Press.  
Scott, Roger. 1966. *The Development of Trade Unions in Uganda*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.
- **Struggle against apartheid**  
Karis, Thomas, and Gwendolen M. Carter (eds.). 1972–79. *From Protest to Challenge*, 5 vols. Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press.  
Mermelstein, David. 1987. *The Anti-Apartheid Reader: The Struggle against White Racist Rule in South Africa*. New York: Grove Press.
- **Women's activism**  
Mba, Nina Emma. 1982. *Nigerian Women Mobilized: Women's Political Activity in Southern Nigeria, 1900–1965*. Berkeley: University of California Institute of International Studies.  
*Women Organize for Peace and Non-Violence in Africa*. 2000. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
- **Youth and student activism**  
Bot, Monika. 1985. *School Boycotts, 1984: The Crisis in African Education*. Durban: Indicator Project South Africa, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Natal.  
Hanna, William John. 1975. *University Students and African Politics*. London: Africana.

## Tasks

(These pedagogical exercises can also be used for assessment purposes.)

**Activity:** Ask each student to write a short composition on how well the description of traditional African conflict resolution, suggested above, fits with his or her experiences? The point is to elicit from the students their own interpretations and experience, with explanations.

**Activity:** Ask each student to select a community about which he or she has some knowledge. It may be a village, a township, a suburb of a city, or an urban neighbourhood. Ask each to address the following:

- What are the typical conflicts that occur in your community within households, between households, or between groups in the community? Give an example of each in detail.
- Explain what attempts are made to address these conflicts. Provide details, including who is involved.
- Do you find any principles or techniques related to the field of nonviolent struggle in evidence?
- Do efforts to address the conflicts have any roots in African traditions of conflict resolution. If you are not aware of African traditions, use the points above?
- Are there any words in local African languages that describe the methods used?
- Are these efforts successful or not?

**Activity:** Ask each student to go to the *African Journal of Conflict Resolution* and find an article concerning an African traditional endogenous method of peace, peace making, or nonviolent action technique with which he or she was previously unfamiliar. Each student may report on the discovered example in a class session.

**Discussion:** Machobane concludes in 'Peace and Conflict and Management' with the comment that *hunhuism* or *ubuntuism* was much more important in the past than it is now. If so, what are the implications of this insight for the practices of traditional endogenous African conflict resolution?

**Discussion:** Traditional conflict resolution processes were and perhaps still are appropriate for addressing disputes. Ask students whether they believe that they have relevance for the sorts of conflicts and disputes most common in contemporary Africa.

**Discussion:** The time required to approach success is one of the main impediments to the use of traditional endogenous conflict resolution methods today. Pose to the students the following hypothesis for debate or discussion: Given the imperative to be efficient and effective in commerce, industry, and government, we cannot afford this time.

### Required Readings

Albert, Isaac Olawale. 1999. Ethnic and Religious Conflicts in Kano. In *Community Conflicts in Nigeria: Management, Resolution and Transformation*, ed. Onigu Otite and Albert Isaac Olawale. Ibadan: Spectrum Books.

Bennett, Brad. 1990. Arab-Muslim Cases of Nonviolent Struggle. In *Arab Nonviolent Struggle in the Middle East*, ed. Ralph E. Crow, Philip Grant, and Saad E. Ibrahim. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Femmes Africa Solidarité. 2000. *Engendering the Peace Process in West Africa: The Mano River Women's Peace Network*. Geneva: Femmes Africa Solidarité.

Goering, Curt. 2005. African Laborers Strike, Namibia, 1971–1972. In *Waging Nonviolent Struggle*, ed. Gene Sharp. Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers.

Machobane, L. B. B. J. 2003. Peace and Conflict and Management: Mohlo-mi's Legacy in the Politics of the Southern African Region in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. Paper presented to the UPEACE Africa Programme Curriculum Development Workshop, Durban, 27–29 October.

Saro-Wiwa, Ken. 1992. *Genocide in Nigeria: The Ogoni Tragedy*. Port Harcourt, Nigeria: Saros International Publishers.



## Recommended Readings

Abu-Nimer, Mohammed. 2003. *Nonviolence and Peace Building in Islam: Theory and Practice*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Assefa, Hizkias. 1987. *Mediation of Civil Wars: Approaches and Strategies: The Sudan Conflict*. Boulder, Colorado, and London: Westview Press.

Doe, Sam Gbaydee, and Emmanuel Habuka Bombande. 2002. A View from Africa. In *A Handbook of International Peacekeeping: Into the Eye of the Storm*. New York: Jossey-Bass.

Malan, Jannie. 1997. *Conflict Resolution Wisdom from Africa*. Durban: African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes.

Ohlson, Thomas, and Stephen John Stedman with Robert Davies. 1994. *The New Is Not Yet Born: Conflict Resolution in Southern Africa*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

Osaghae, Eghosa E. 1995. The Ogoni Uprising: Oil Politics, Minority Agitation and the Future of the Nigerian State. *African Affairs*, 94:374 (January), 325–44.

Salih, M. A. Mohamed, Ton Dietz, and Abdel Ghaffar Mohamed (eds.). 2001. *African Pastoralism: Conflict, Institutions and Government*. London and Sterling, Virginia: Pluto Press.

Stauffer, Carl. 1998. Metamorphosis: The Role of Trauma Healing in Moving from Violence to Nonviolence. Summer Peacebuilding Institute, Conflict Transformation Program, Eastern Mennonite University, 8–16 June.

Zartman, I. William (ed.). 2000. *Traditional Cures for Modern Conflicts: African Conflict 'Medicine'*. Boulder, Colorado, and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

# Topic 7

## Research methodology: Examination of case studies

Until lions have their historians, tales of the hunt shall always glorify the hunters.

African Proverb



Before fleeing the German occupation in 1940, King Haakon VII of Norway attended a factory demonstration. In a number of European countries—particularly Denmark, the Netherlands, and Norway—civilian resistance movements relying on nonviolent action methods were politically significant. In Nazi-allied or Nazi-occupied Bulgaria, Denmark, France, and Italy, unified nonviolent action saved high percentages of Jews. Photo: Bettmann/Corbis.

### Learning Outcomes

- Understand that people, groups, and communities can be resourceful in finding ways of addressing conflict through the political tools of nonviolent action
- Make the case that untutored nonviolent action is abundantly being used, even if its proponents have not had formal instruction or training in the field
- Argue through examination of a single instance that this technique of fighting for one's rights or justice is preferable to armed struggle or military force for specific reasons

- Identify and present the main steps in a process of nonviolent struggle
- Develop an analytical understanding of the basic elements and concepts of case studies as a research methodology
- Gain cursory knowledge of a selection of cases of nonviolent struggle across the globe

### Specific Concepts

Case study

Research methodology

### Note to Lecturers

Societies that have successfully used nonviolent struggle in achieving historical accomplishments have often failed to record their victories. This in part accounts for the difficulty in learning about nonviolent action. Under this topic, students can begin to appreciate the processes of documenting nonviolent struggles.

Carefully planned mobilisations sometimes lead only to partial results. Some intense conflicts have involved great suffering and loss of life through no fault of the nonviolent protagonists. Daily news accounts from Zimbabwe suggest high penalties for those who seek democratic change (see Topic 12). In early June 1989, the Chinese government used gunfire to suppress the student nonviolent movement under way in Tiananmen Square. That episode is now viewed as a lesson on how nonviolent protagonists can miscalculate. Although much can be learned from successes, case study accounts of failures or mixed results often impart valuable knowledge as well.

The **case study** is a common qualitative **research methodology** utilised in a variety of disciplines. It provides an invaluable tool in the examination of nonviolent struggle, forming a link between practical, real-life scenarios and the building of theory. It can also be a precious tool when textbooks on the theory and history of nonviolent struggle are not available.

The reading list below offers select examples of short case studies so students can become familiar with the methodology and cases of non-violent action from throughout the world. Like other forms of research methods—such as ethnographic or field studies—case studies involve research and engagement with the subject matter in several ways. Lecturers should encourage students to consider the following questions in reviewing and analysing case studies:

- What types of sources do researchers use in compiling case studies (for example primary sources—interviews, observation, direct participation—and secondary sources—books, journal articles, newspaper articles, videotapes)?
- Do the examples attempt to describe, explain, or analyse events?
- Might the authors or researchers have had biases that influence the case studies?
- What is the role of ethics in research (for example, conflicts often involve personal issues that individuals may want to remain private)?
- How could the case study have been improved or made more interesting?

While other methodologies involve fieldwork or interviews requiring time and resources beyond a single semester, the case study is manageable within the time constraints of this framework teaching model. That said, however, other methods need not be entirely excluded. (This teaching model includes various suggestions under the Tasks sections utilising a wide range of research methods and procedures accessible to students and with enough flexibility to stimulate lecturers' creativity.) For a solid, general introduction to qualitative methodology, see E. Guba, *The Paradigm Dialog* (Beverly Hills, California, Sage Publishers, 1990), and A. Strauss and J. Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory, Procedures and Techniques* (Beverly Hills, California, Sage Publishers, 1990). On case studies, a helpful resource is Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (Thousand Oaks, California, Sage Publications, 2003).

## Tasks

(These pedagogical exercises can also be used for assessment purposes.)

**Activity:** Have students watch the documentary *A Force More Powerful*. (Save the segment on South Africa for the following week's topic, which focuses in depth on one particular campaign.) This film provides a rich assortment of themes for discussion. A study guide is available at [www.aforcemorepowerful.org/films/pdfs/StudyGuide-en.pdf](http://www.aforcemorepowerful.org/films/pdfs/StudyGuide-en.pdf).

## Required Readings

Bennett, Jeremy. 1969. The Resistance against the German Occupation of Denmark 1940–5. In *Civilian Resistance as a National Defence: Non-violent Action against Aggression*, ed. Adam Roberts. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books.

Ebert, Theodore. 1969. Nonviolent Resistance against Communist Regimes? In *Civilian Resistance as a National Defence: Non-violent Action against Aggression*, ed. Adam Roberts. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books.

King, Mary. 2002. *Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Power of Nonviolent Action*. New Delhi: Mehta Publishers and the Indian Council for Cultural Relations. Chapter 5 (seven case accounts from the 1980s and 1990s).

Skodvin, Magne. 1969. Norwegian Nonviolent Resistance during the German Occupation. In *Civilian Resistance as a National Defence: Non-violent Action against Aggression*, ed. Adam Roberts. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books.

Sternstein, Wolfgang. 1969. The Ruhrkampf of 1923: Economic Problems of Civilian Resistance. In *Civilian Resistance as a National Defence: Non-violent Action against Aggression*, ed. Adam Roberts. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books.

## Recommended Readings and Resources

*A Force More Powerful*. A three-hour, two-part documentary featuring six nonviolent struggles in the twentieth century.

McCarthy, Ronald, and Christopher Kruegler. 1993. *Toward Research and Theory Building in the Study of Nonviolent Action*. Cambridge: Albert Einstein Institution.

McCarthy, Ronald, and Gene Sharp. 1997. *Nonviolent Action: A Research Guide*. New York and London: Garland Publishing.

Sharp, Gene. 2005. *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential*. Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers. This book, ideal for teaching purposes, has twenty-three cases of nonviolent struggle in the twentieth century.

Zunes, Stephen, Lester R Kurtz, and Sarah Beth Asher. 1999. *Nonviolent Social Movements: A Geographical Perspective*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

## Topic 8

### The boycott in Port Elizabeth, South Africa: Detailed case analysis

If they don't want to buy, what sort of crime is it? It's mass action, and what do you do? You can't shoot all these people. You can't lock them all up.

Lourence DuPlessis, Police Intelligence Chief, Eastern Cape



Mkhuseli Jack seeks community support for the 1986 Port Elizabeth consumers' boycott, a pivotal campaign that unleashed international third-party sanctions against apartheid South Africa. Under the United Democratic Front, local autonomy was encouraged, the better to rein in violent action by militant youths by building decentralized endeavours that were hard for the state to crush. Guns were thus a constant presence as the boycott organisers sought to channel action into practical nonviolent resistance. Photo: Eastern Cape Herald.

#### Learning Outcomes

- Develop a solid descriptive and analytical understanding of the 1986 economic boycott campaign in Port Elizabeth, South Africa
- Identify and apply the concepts and terms learned in the previous sections to the case of the boycott
- Critique the case study of the boycott

- Research and write a case study of a nonviolent resistance campaign or struggle

## Specific Concepts

Economic boycott  
Nonviolent campaign  
Third-party sanctions

## Note to Lecturers

Under the aegis of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the mass organization launched in 1983 that served as the ‘internal wing’ of the African National Congress, resistance to apartheid intensified in South Africa during the 1980s. The UDF maintained an alternative local community structure inside the apartheid state, similar in some ways to Gandhi’s constructive programme, and coordinated at its height more than 700 organisations. It employed a broad range of nonviolent methods in a full-scale, although often not united, effort to undermine the national authorities’ legitimacy and control over the country. Such activities included national women’s nonviolent action, rallies, labour union strikes, school stay-aways, and rent and consumer boycotts. For a succinct view of the UDF, see Kurt Schock, *Unarmed Insurrections: People Power Movements in Nondemocracies* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2005) pp. 59–63.

This topic focuses specifically on the **economic boycott** conducted in Port Elizabeth, with particular attention paid to the individual leaders and structures within the South African townships in this **nonviolent campaign**. Nonviolent resistance does not occur in political vacuums. The wider struggle throughout South Africa had world-wide ramifications, as nations, international organisations, and some corporations began to support the anti-apartheid movement by enacting **third-party sanctions** against the South African government. It is now acknowledged that the



student-led Port Elizabeth boycott sparked the application of international sanctions that eventually brought the South African government to negotiations with the anti-apartheid movements and free elections in 1994. By examining the Port Elizabeth boycott campaign, students are provided an opportunity for in-depth study of an isolated case, which, if treated in a broader context could be overwhelming for those new to the concepts and theories of nonviolent action.

Case studies vary in form and content. No perfect template exists. The following might be considered the minimum necessary for a case study of a nonviolent campaign:

- set the historical stage;
- identify the basic grievances, dispute, or conflict;
- clarify the pillars of support (sources of power), constituencies;
- analyse the conflict situation, identifying strengths and weaknesses;
- analyse risks and numbers;
- frame the goal(s), objectives, and strategies of the parties;
- discuss the ideas, perspectives, and thinking of the major protagonists;
- break down the particular action methods employed into parts; and
- analyse, synthesise, and evaluate the resulting accomplishments, failures, or creative results.

## Tasks

(These pedagogical exercises can also be used for assessment purposes.)

**Activity:** Have students watch ‘South Africa: Freedom in Our Lifetime’, a segment of the documentary *A Force More Powerful*, which explores the Port Elizabeth boycott.

**Activity:** Based on the knowledge gained of nonviolent struggle from the case studies in the previous and current topic, ask students to write their

own case study of a contemporary, recent, or ongoing nonviolent movement. (Be sure to meet with students to review their proposed topics to ensure that suitable resources will be available.) The selected struggle can come from the students' home community, a neighbouring settlement, or a regional or national struggle.

### Required Readings

Ackerman, Peter, and Jack DuVall. 2000. *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*. New York: St. Martin's Press. Chapter 9.

Cherry, Janet. 2000. Hegemony, Democracy and Civil Society: Political Participation in Kwazakele Township, 1980–93. In *From Comrades to Citizens: The South African Civics Movement and the Transition to Democracy*, ed. Glenn Adler and Jonny Steinberg. Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan.

Seekings, Jeremy. 2000. The Development of Strategic Thought in South Africa's Civic Movements, 1977–90. In *From Comrades to Citizens: The South African Civics Movement and the Transition to Democracy*, ed. Glenn Adler and Jonny Steinberg. Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan.

### Recommended Readings and Resources

Marx, Anthony. 1992. *Lessons of Struggle: South African Internal Opposition, 1960–1990*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Saul, John S., and Stephen Gelb. 1986. *The Crisis in South Africa*, 2nd edn. London: Zed Publishers.

Sharp, Gene. 2005. *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential*. Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers.

'South Africa: Freedom in Our Lifetime', a thirty-minute segment from the documentary *A Force More Powerful*.

## Topic 9

# Nonviolent conflict transformation and reconciliation

The practice of violence, like all action, changes the world, but the most probable change is to a more violent world.

Hannah Arendt, Social and Political Philosopher and Author



Women march in support for reconciliation, emphasising the common cultural heritage among the peoples of Burundi and the region. Photo: Search for Common Ground.

### Learning Objectives

- Grasp the importance of focusing on the relationships between the different parties as a dimension of conflict resolution that is visionary and context-responsive
- Develop a working definition of terms, such as *conflict transformation* and *reconciliation*
- Recognise that concepts of transformation, reconciliation, forgiveness, and apology are part of the toolkit of the peace maker
- Appreciate that nonviolent strategic action improves the odds for conflict transformation and reconciliation

## Specific Concepts

- Conflict transformation
- Reconciliation
- Apology
- Forgiveness

## Note to Lecturers

**Conflict transformation** focuses on the relationships between the parties in the midst of or previously engaged in a given conflict. It is, as Nigerian sociologist Onigu Otite states, ‘a summary term for a complex web of interdependent factors—the parties concerned, social relationships, the changing positions and roles of interveners, and the moderation of planned and unintended consequences’ (1999: 10). It aims to replace suspicion, hatred, animosity, stereotypes, and fear with comprehension, consciousness, sympathy, possibly forgiveness, and in rare cases, compassion. ‘In a broad sense’, Otite notes, ‘openness to change, flexibility, the ability to peacefully modify approaches and learn from process is what conflict transformation is all about’ (1999: 10).

Long-range goals in building peace include **reconciliation** and psychosocial healing. Indeed, positive peace presupposes such goals. In some instances, it may be possible to reconcile former enemies, even when one or several parties have suffered egregiously. Reconciliation, according to John Paul Lederach, is both ‘a concept and a praxis [that] endeavours to reframe the conflict so that the parties are no longer preoccupied with focusing on the issues in a direct, cognitive manner. Its primary goal and key contribution is to seek innovative ways to create a time and a place, within various levels of the affected population, to address, integrate, and embrace the painful past and the necessary shared future as a means of dealing with the present’ (2002: 35).

Conflict transformation may bring about reconciliation and psychosocial healing by recourse to justice through formal institutions or pro-

cedures. Increasingly, however, unconventional gear, such as **apology** or requests for **forgiveness**, is being utilised. The offering of amnesty is also gradually becoming more of a factor.

Transformation, reconciliation, apology, and forgiveness all are receiving greater attention in international relations, diplomacy, and public affairs. For example, in 2001 the president of Poland apologised for a Polish pogrom sixty years prior. (A pogrom was originally an organised Russian killing or annihilation, particularly of Jews, but now is applied to an organised and officially tolerated targeting of any community or group for devastation.) In the same year, Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi of Japan tried to ease China's concerns about his government by offering a 'heartfelt apology' for Japanese aggression in World War II, the first such apology uttered by a Japanese prime minister on Chinese soil. In 1995, the Roman Catholic pope apologised for the church's historic discrimination against women. Earlier, he had apologised to Israelis for the silence of European Christendom during the Holocaust of World War II, when 12 million persons were murdered, 6 million of them Jews. In 2000, President Bill Clinton, on a visit to Africa, apologised to Rwanda for the lack of an international response to the 1994 genocide. Belgium, the former colonial power, also apologised. Earlier, Clinton had expressed regret for the U.S. army's role in training the Guatemalan army in massacre techniques used in killing some 200,000 Maya Indians.

'Peacebuilding through the constructive transformation of conflict is simultaneously a visionary and context-responsive approach', according to John Paul Lederach. 'We are oriented toward the building of relationships that in their totality form new patterns, processes, and structures', he observes (2002: 85). What is a context-responsive approach? Such a methodology must take into account the histories, cultures, traditions, and ethos of different societies. In the sense in which Martin Luther King, Jr., advocated Love, for example, he did not mean sentimental love. Rather, he spoke of psychologically down-trodden descendants of slaves in the African diaspora—disenfranchised and discriminated against—finding solace, freedom, autonomy, and self-rule in their Christian churches.

In King's vision, nonviolent struggle consisted of five elements, which he outlined in *Stride toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story*. First, 'Non-

violent resistance is not a method for cowards. . . . It is the way of the strong . . . [and] is not a method of stagnant passivity'. Second, it does not seek the humiliation or defeat of the opponent but, rather, understanding and the awakening of a sense of morality. Third, it is aimed at the evil that one is trying to remove, not at the persons involved. Fourth, the willingness to suffer the consequences is transformational. Fifth, the nonviolent resister refuses to use violence but also rejects inward violence of the spirit and hate, choosing instead to reach for Love, the essence of the Christian context:

Love in this connection means understanding, redemptive good will. . . . When we speak of loving those who oppose us . . . we speak of a love which is expressed in the Greek word *agape*. *Agape* means understanding, redeeming good will for all men [persons]. It is an overflowing love which is purely spontaneous, unmotivated, groundless, and creative. It is not set in motion by any quality or function of its object. It is the love of God operating in the human heart.<sup>3</sup>

Just as Love was central for King in his socio-religious context, Truth was cardinal for Gandhi in his. When Gandhi spoke of Truth, it reflected a Hindu synthesis of God, Truth, and Love, which were as one. Truth could not be quantified, isolated, or substantiated scientifically. Truth or God, for Gandhi, was reflected in human unity. His determination to 'hold on to truth' was thus familiar for his audience, where poetry, song, folklore, and drama emphasized the recognition of Truth or God as the fulfilment for which millions yearned. Yet Gandhi and King each frequently spoke both of Truth and Love. What did Gandhi mean when he spoke of Love? 'If the name "love" . . . seems to you as too impossible or repulsively sentimental', the scholar Richard Gregg states, 'call it a sort of intelligence or knowledge. It must not, however, be mawkish or silly-sentimental'.<sup>4</sup> Gandhi believed that love contains more energy than anger. It was the mobilisation of such energy on a massive scale with which Gandhi sought to replace violence.

Among the most compelling properties of nonviolent strategic action

is the fact that it allows for the groundwork to be laid for transformation and reconciliation. By 1973, Gene Sharp had shown that the employment of violent military or armed struggle weakens the prospects for negotiations and reconciliation, while nonviolent action improves the odds of resolution, peaceful settlement, and reconciliation.

How does the nonviolent method of fighting for social justice and rights actually contain the potential for producing transformation or reconciliation? The connexion between the means and ends is one explanation, a crucial link capable of staving off lasting bitterness and thus breaking the cycle of violence. Martin Luther King, Jr., explained the relationship: 'the end represents the means in process and the ideal in the making'.<sup>5</sup> Gandhi and King believed it impossible to use destructive methods and achieve constructive results. Just as it is important at the start of a struggle to reach out to the opponent or persuade one's antagonist, reconciliation remains essential at its end. This requires preparation and planning. So concerned was King with this key principle that he worried that the successes of the civil rights movement might lead to gloating. He warned against the mentality of victors and regarded such a possibility as a danger and betrayal of the movement's basic goals. Each step, thought King, should reflect the type of community envisioned.

If one seeks to induce the target group to change its viewpoint, and to accept the perspective of the nonviolent protagonists, the first step is to make extremely clear presentations on the nature of the injustice. This approach helps explain why nonviolent action favours transformation or reconciliation. At the most fundamental level, nonviolent action requires lucid explanation of the nature of the grievance. The tools of research, documentation, presentation, and communications—while essential, at any juncture—are thus especially important in the early stages of any nonviolent struggle. Days before the start of any action, Gandhi would normally write to British officials, summarizing the grievances of the people and advising of planned actions. Indicating that his purpose was to release nonviolent force against the organised violent force of the British, he might urge a negotiated settlement and encourage further discussion, affirming that his communication was not a threat but simply the duty of the sincere civil resister.

Separation of the antagonism from the antagonist also helps transformation and reconciliation—a process sometimes referred to as de-coupling. Furthermore, parties facing nonviolent protagonists are more likely to tune their attention to the actual grievances involved, since they need not worry about bloody, violent confrontations. Nonviolent action thus allows more precise focusing on the issues at stake than on the means of pursuing them, as happens when guerrilla tactics or acts of terrorism are employed, to say nothing of how the likelihood of physical injury or even death always places one's opposition in a defensive posture.

Concepts such as forgiveness and reconciliation do not mean forgetting what happened. South African Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu notes,

In forgiving, people are not being asked to forget. On the contrary, it is *important* to remember, so that we should not let atrocities happen again. Forgiveness does not mean condoning what has been done. It means taking what has happened seriously and not minimising it; drawing out the sting in the memory that threatens to poison our entire existence. It involves trying to understand the perpetrators and so have empathy, to try to stand in their shoes, and to appreciate the sort of pressures and influences that might have brought them to do what they did.

Forgiveness is not being sentimental. The study of forgiveness has become a growth industry. Whereas previously it was something often dismissed pejoratively as spiritual and religious, now because of developments such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa, it is gaining attention as an academic discipline studied by psychologists, philosophers, physicians and theologians . . . . Forgiveness means abandoning your right to pay back the perpetrator in his own coin, but it is a loss which liberates the victim.<sup>6</sup>

Endogenous traditions of transformation and reconciliation exist in every African community. Former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda re-



minds us that we, as human beings, have a choice. In *Kaunda on Violence* (1982) he defines forgiveness as an unvarying willingness to persist in a new day without glancing back and stirring the memory for bitterness, recrimination, and resentment. Yet, forgiveness and reconciliation require more: they ask us to develop what Gandhi considered an intensive positive concern for the other party and their welfare. Is this possible? The challenge of reconciliation is the brave adventure into the space where individuals and whole communities can both remember and change.

What exactly is needed for forgiveness to take place? Assefa (1993) lists conditions. One is that the hurtful behaviour, if it is of an ongoing kind, must stop. An indicator of whether a forgiven party—an individual, group, or nation—is truly sorry is that they stop the behaviour and replace it with something positive. Individuals, communities, and nation-states, all being different, will handle their issues of reconciliation differently, though some commonalities can be identified. Lederach (2002: 29) outlines a model that proved useful in negotiations between the government and an indigenous resistance movement in Nicaragua. Its elements were comprised of truth, mercy, justice, and peace; the place where these meet, according to Lederach, is reconciliation. Adam and Adam (2000: 29) discuss a number of ways in which a country can attempt to deal with a bad past, ranging from amnesia (let's forget it happened) to truth commissions, which have been at work in a number of countries in different parts of the world. New literature and resources on truth and reconciliation commissions is available, as is information on tribunals and the International Criminal Court. For a cursory overview with specific emphasis on Rwanda, see Paul J. Magnarella, *Justice in Africa: Rwanda's Genocide, Its Courts, and the UN Criminal Tribunal* (Hants, England, Ashgate Publishing, 2000).

#### NOTES

- <sup>3</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., *Stride toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story* (New York, Harper and Row, 1958), p. 104.
- <sup>4</sup> Richard B. Gregg, *The Psychology and Strategy of Gandhi's Nonviolent Resistance*, ed. Charles A. Baker (Madras, S. Ganesan, 1929; repr., New York, Garland Publishing, 1972), p. 63.
- <sup>5</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., 'Love, Law, and Civil Disobedience', address originally given on 16 November 1961, in *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, ed. James Melvin Washington (San Francisco, Harper and Row, 1986), p. 45.
- <sup>6</sup> Desmond Tutu, *No Future without Forgiveness* (London, Rider, 1999), p. 219.

## Tasks

(These pedagogical exercises can also be used for assessment purposes.)

**Activity:** After consultation with the instructor, have each student spend time in a nearby community or neighbourhood and try to identify an instance in which, perhaps, as Lederach phrases it, truth, mercy, justice, and peace meet, and where reconciliation is found. Each student may write a 500-word miniature case study to explore the elements involved.

**Activity:** Divide the class into small groups and ask each group to draft a list of African endogenous traditions of transformation and reconciliation with which they are familiar. Music, dance, the arts, and other cultural activities should be plumbed, as these often utilise resonant symbols and are powerful tools of African expressions of transformation and reconciliation.

## Required Readings

Adam, H., and K. Adam. 2000. The Politics of Memory in Divided Societies. In *After the TRC: Reflections on Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*, ed. Wilmot Godfrey James and Linda van de Vijver. Athens: Ohio University Press; and Cape Town: David Philip. See especially pp. 32–47.

Assefa, Hizkias. 1993. *Peace and Reconciliation as a Paradigm: A Philosophy of Peace and Its Implications on Conflict, Governance and Economic Growth in Africa*. Nairobi: African Peacebuilding and Reconciliation Network.

*Engaging Sierra Leone: A Report by the Centre for Democracy and Development*. 2000. Strategy Planning Series no. 4. London: Centre for Democracy and Development. Round-table on Reconciliation and State-Building, Lomé, Togo, 21–22 June 1999.

Hamber, Brandon. 2003. Transformation and Reconciliation. *In Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes*, ed. John Darby and Roger MacGinty. Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kaunda, Kenneth David. 1982. *Kaunda on Violence*. London: Sphere Books.

Lederach, John Paul. 2002. *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press. See especially chapter 3, 'Reconciliation: The Building of Relationship'.

Otite, Onigu. 1999. On Conflicts, Their Management, Resolution and Transformation. In *Community Conflicts in Nigeria: Management, Resolution and Transformation*, ed. Onigu Otite and Isaac Olawale Albert. Ibadan: Spectrum Books.

### Recommended Readings

Miall, Hugh, Oliver Ramsbotham, and Tom Woodhouse. 2004. *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflicts*. Cambridge: Polity Press. See especially chapter 7, 'Post-Settlement Peacebuilding'.

Sahnoun, Mohamed. 1994. *Somalia: The Missed Opportunities*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.

# Topic 10

## The importance of strategy in nonviolent struggle

It seems to me obvious that a defence system of nonviolence against violence must be as carefully planned, both tactically and strategically, as an attack which will be carried out by trained men, fortified by military tradition and directed by a highly intelligent general staff.

Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall, British Military Analyst and Strategist



On 14 August 1980, the workers at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, Poland, went on strike. Led by the Solidarity union—a nonviolent movement eventually numbering 10 million—the Polish people ended communist rule without violence. Here, in 1980 in Warsaw, Solidarity president (later president of Poland) Lech Walesa is carried on the shoulders of workers after registering Solidarity at a court. Photo: Jan Morek/Reuters/Forum.

## Learning Outcomes

- Argue the importance of strategic planning for nonviolent struggle
- Understand and differentiate the analytical levels associated with strategic theory and planning
- Appreciate the difficulties and impediments associated with 'mixed strategies' (ostensibly combining nonviolent and violent actions)
- Discuss and apply strategic concepts to case studies of nonviolent struggles

## Specific Concepts

Strategic estimate

Tactics

Strategy

Grand strategy

Mixed strategies

Extra-legal, extra-parliamentary methods

## Note to Lecturers

Although the literature in the field of nonviolent struggle continues to grow, the majority of what is currently being published focuses on case studies and operational planning. This is due largely to the inadequacies of strategic theory resulting from the failure of groups employing nonviolent action to conduct political and strategic assessments, or **strategic estimates**, prior to engaging in a given conflict. In other words, practical interest far outpaces theoretical insights and development. (This also helps explain why most recent advances in the field are being contributed by practitioners, that is, activists, NGOs, and the like.)

Yet, some academicians have been trying to refine nonviolent technique through the development of strategic planning methodologies, some of which have been adapted from military parlance. For such ad-

vocates, the consent and pluralistic theories of power (see Topic 4) are insufficient for creating a framework for groups interested in pursuing nonviolent struggle. A fundamental question remains unanswered: How should nonviolent struggle be employed? From this innocuous inquiry, a host of subsequent issues develop. For example,

- To what degree can advanced strategic planning help in bringing about success in nonviolent struggles?
- Are there multiple roads to success?
- Are there indicators or warnings of eminent or likely failure that can be identified and avoided?
- Can key points or decisions be identified prior to or in the process of struggle?
- What are the roles of timing, sequencing, and pacing?
- Are there parallels between strategy for nonviolent struggle and other endeavours or disciplines (for example, business, government, or military planning)?

The most common misconception or confusion regarding strategy is the distinction between **tactics**, or tactical planning, and **strategy**. Strategy essentially references the application of means to attain desired ends (see Topic 4). It is the activity, process, or plan to achieve objectives or reach goals as efficiently as possible, consistent with one's goals, and based on inventoried resources. Tactics refer to limited and particular actions decided and conducted on short-term bases; they are most effective when conducted within a determined strategy. For example, in the non-violent struggle in Madagascar in 2002, non-governmental organisations and supporters of the opposition political party adapted the following:

- Goal or vision: Support a democratic society under what the people of Madagascar consider a legitimate, rightful, and legal authority
- Objective (one example): In the face of the defeated, incumbent president's refusal to leave office, defend the vote in which his opponent, Marc Ravalomanana, won election
- Tactics (one example): Make decisions regarding the conduct of

stay-aways (that is, where, who, and how some persons and neighbourhoods stayed away from select stores and businesses). (See Topic 12 for more detailed information on the events in Madagascar in 2002.)

Purposefully intertwining such strands of a nonviolent struggle to make them complementary and mutually inclusive results in a **grand strategy**. While the term *grand strategy* is most commonly used in references involving military conflicts, the quasi-equivalent term, *policy*, is often preferred for nonviolent action and other forms of conflict engagement.

Can nonviolent and violent actions be utilised in tandem, that is, to create **mixed strategies** (on which research and studies are extremely limited)? For the purposes of this teaching model, at least one distinction is necessary: The concept of mixed strategies should be posed in relation to strategic effectiveness. The focus for nonviolent action must remain on achieving the objectives of the protagonists, not on denying the objectives of their opponent, which is most often the aim of violent actions, sabotage, and demolitions. Opponents of nonviolent struggles go to great lengths to undermine the protagonists' discipline—for example, using *agents provocateurs* or rotations of troops speaking different languages or dialects during direct confrontations with nonviolent protagonists to limit interaction. Interestingly, however, such responses indirectly illustrate the potential effectiveness of nonviolent struggle.

Strategic planning can refine the technique of nonviolent action and help explain its success. To some, however, the very idea of strategic planning is contentious, and thus the more common criticisms should be duly noted. First, the attempt to identify key variables has been derided as reductionist and mechanistic. Second, it is argued, individuals and groups engaged in conflict have neither the time nor the resources to conduct strategic planning. Third, the idea of borrowing insights from military strategy is repugnant to some. Yet one branch of the field of nonviolent struggle involves national defense policy based on institutionalised nonviolent action. One can, however, surmise that some reliance on military analogies may lessen as nonviolent strategy becomes better understood. Although it is true that discord, strife, or conflict

may be thrust upon a people, this fact should encourage preparedness for nonviolent struggle in times of peace. Persons caught in the predicament must decide whether it is better to engage in struggle completely unprepared or to take whatever limited time exists to ready themselves. It has also been suggested that nonviolent action's reliance on spontaneity makes it effective. Although creativity and improvisation often play important roles in struggles, this aspect should not be confused with spontaneity. The issues at stake in a given conflict are usually too weighty simply to be left in the hands of chance and impulse, when forethought and planning can help to change a given situation.

While the most basic tools of nonviolent action are persuasive measures, persons and groups may turn to **extra-legal and extra-parliamentary methods** when the customary, legal, parliamentary, or constitutional frameworks have failed, do not work, are corrupt, or fail to mete out justice or provide redress. In general, the simplest techniques should be used first so as to preserve human resources, the main asset in nonviolent struggle.

Although the decision to conduct nonviolent action may be reached unilaterally, the process of conflict engagement ultimately involves at least two parties. The use of nonviolent methods against an opponent likely will provoke a response, which may or may not be predictable. In any nonviolent struggle, numerous variables fall beyond the control of the protagonists. The most consistent in this regard are the actions or reactions of other forces party to the conflict, such as authorities, police, or security systems. The concept of strategy as the pursuit of desired ends through chosen means sheds light on how the actions or desires of any one group may conflict, purposefully or incidentally, with those of another group. In any case, the actions of others are often the most unpredictable variable in nonviolent conflict engagement.

Most nonviolent struggles usually involve more than two parties directly or indirectly. Philip B. Heymann (1992) offers refreshing and extremely useful insight into this subject, revealing that struggles usually consist of three parties—the nonviolent group, the target group, and the security forces or government officials. The nonviolent campaign will ideally take pains to clarify its objectives, purposes, aspirations, or demands



in order to minimise obstruction or interruption by the other two. Such action allows others to gain insights not only into the actions and purposes of the nonviolent protagonists, but also to assess the intentions, actions, and objectives of others.

## Tasks

(These pedagogical exercises can also be used for assessment purposes.)

Teaching and learning about strategy are different from training students to become strategists. Courses or modules on strategic planning cannot produce strategists. Therefore, any tasks or activities assigned should aim to enhance strategic analysis rather than practical skills.

**Activity:** The ‘de-construction’ of case studies by breaking them into their essential components is an excellent exercise for sharpening strategic and analytical abilities. Such assignments tend to be more exciting when used with current or recent examples, which allow students to follow the day-to-day activities of a conflict through newspapers, television, radio, and other sources (see Topic 12 for examples). For more advanced classes, students can be asked to develop strategic estimates and fictional plans for a given conflict. (Great care should be taken with such assignments, especially where real life examples are being studied. The instructor must bear in mind that the purpose of such an exercise is to develop strategic awareness, strategic thinking, and strategic analysis, not to produce strategists, which requires significantly greater and specialised in-depth study.)

## Required Readings

Ackerman, Peter, and Christopher Kruegler. 1994. *Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: The Dynamics of People Power in the Twentieth Century*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers. Chapters 1–2.

Burrowes, Robert J. 1996. *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense: A Gandhian Approach*. Albany: State University of New York Press. Chapters 2 and 8–13.

Helvey, Robert. 2004. *On Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: Thinking about the Fundamentals*. Boston: Albert Einstein Institution. Chapters 5–9.

Heymann, Philip B. (ed.). 1992. *Towards Peaceful Protest in South Africa: Testimony of Multinational Panel Regarding Lawful Control of Demonstrations in the Republic of South Africa*. Pretoria: HSRC Publishers.

Sharp, Gene. 2002. *From Dictatorship to Democracy: A Conceptual Framework for Liberation*. Boston: Albert Einstein Institution. Chapters 6–9.

### Recommended Readings and Resources

Beer, Michael. 1999. Violent and Nonviolent Struggle in Burma: Is a Unified Strategy Workable? In *Nonviolent Social Movements: A Geographical Perspective*, ed. Stephen Zunes, Lester R. Kurtz, and Sarah Beth Asher. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

*Bringing Down a Dictator*. A one-hour documentary on the nonviolent struggle that led to the overthrow of Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic.

Sharp, Gene. 1973. *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, vol. 3. Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers. Appendix: Summary of Factors Determining the Outcome of Nonviolent Struggles.

Zielonka, Jan. 1986. Strengths and Weaknesses of Nonviolent Action: The Polish Case. *Orbis* (Spring 1986), 91–110.

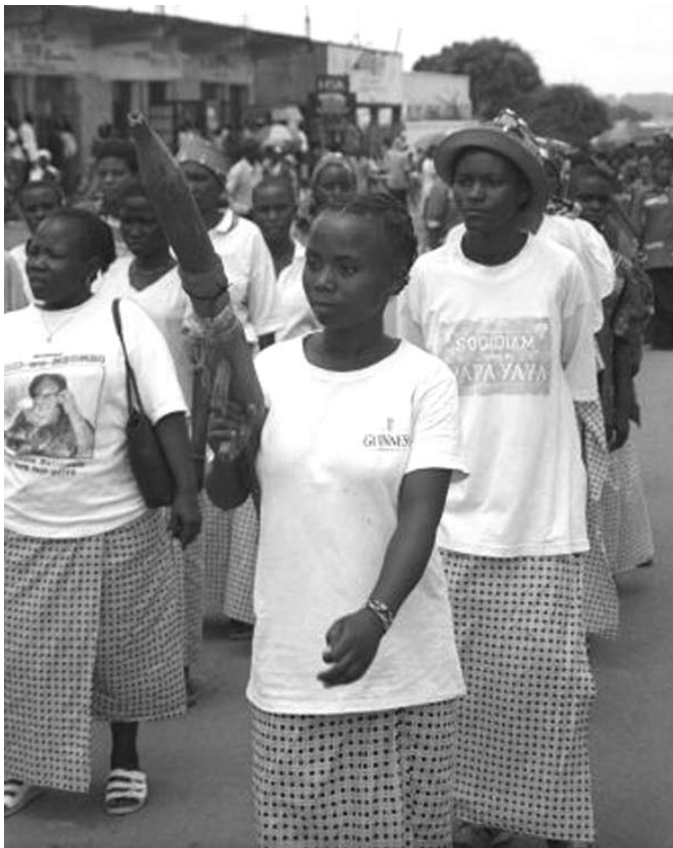
PART III  
NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE  
TODAY

# Topic 11

## Applications of nonviolent struggle

If you only have a hammer in your toolbox, every problem looks like a nail. So maybe if they had another tool in their toolbox, they could at least examine the potential of strategic nonviolent struggle.

Robert L. Helvey, Instructor in Nonviolent Struggle



Women and young girls march in North-Kivu province in the Democratic Republic of Congo in celebration of International Women's Day and to protest against the proliferation of arms as a factor contributing to gender-based violence.

Photo: Amnesty International.

### Learning Outcomes

- Understand the wide range of situations in which nonviolent action has been adopted and implemented
- Recognise the utilisation of nonviolent action as a policy tool
- Argue the superiority and use of nonviolent struggle in a variety of conflict situations

## Specific Concepts

Human rights  
Social justice  
Authoritarianism  
Dictatorship  
Foreign invasion and occupation  
Coup d'état  
Civilian-based defence

## Note to Lecturers

Nonviolent action has been applied in a variety of conflict situations or struggles, such as to

- achieve national independence;
- undermine dictatorships and authoritarian regimes;
- resist inert bureaucracies or spur them to action;
- reform government policies;
- defend against foreign invasions and occupations;
- block and pre-empt coups d'état;
- resolve local and community problems;
- promote civic and religious freedoms;
- protect human rights and uphold social justice; and
- as a defence policy (civilian-based defence or social defence).

Wholesale renunciation of violence is unlikely, yet the automatic resort to violent struggle can be replaced gradually and incrementally around particular needs and specific purposes. Violence will not, however, be rejected in acute conflicts unless nonviolent, alternative forms of struggle are developed and come to be perceived as at least equally effective, if not more so, as violent struggle. If one thinks of power in the famous words of Mao Tse-Tung, as 'coming from the barrel of a gun', then confronting an opponent, particularly a nation-state, through violent means

is likely to fail. The nation-state apparatus usually controls the monopoly of violence through military-industrial complexes, military forces, and the security services. The prospect of overcoming such insurmountable odds in most situations severely limits the possibility of any type of victory, military or otherwise. Instead, proponents of nonviolent struggle realise that employment of the nonviolent technique can play well to their strategic advantage through the creation of an asymmetrical conflict situation. This entails a fundamental re-conceptualisation of power and strength.

Many entitlements now considered to be universal human rights had first to be fought for and secured through nonviolent struggle before they were recognised. Take for example the abolition of slavery and universal enfranchisement (the right to vote). Intolerance of injustice and lack of human rights continues to grow, not subside, and knowledge of nonviolent action is spreading, as more and more peoples in all parts of the world learn this technique of pursuing **human rights** and **social justice**. At the turn of the twentieth century, perhaps only 10 percent of the world's population had what are now regarded as universal human rights. Women certainly did not have 'human rights'. Ethnic minorities lacked human rights, as often did indigenous peoples as well. Race represented a bar to entitlements and often constituted the justification for oppression. Men without property also often found themselves excluded from what are today considered fundamental and inalienable entitlements. Today, women in some parts of the globe still lack basic human rights. Yet, as more and more persons seek legitimate human rights, academicians have the obligation to offer knowledge of ways of pressing for entitlements that bring with them a sense of responsibility for constructive change and positive peace.

Consider some of these applications in greater detail.

**Conflict resolution:** Nonviolent methods are increasingly used to solve problems or resolve conflicts within systems of government. Trade unions advancing the cause of workers' rights have historically used nonviolent sanctions with great success. Medi-ation, riot prevention, and peace-

keepers have benefited from the introduction of tactics often used in nonviolent action. Neighbourhood disputes and community arguments provide better ground for resolution when nonviolent methods are consciously used. Some police systems are now offering training in nonviolent conflict resolution to reduce police brutality.

**Social justice and reform:** While seeking stability, justice, or reform, nonviolent strategies accelerate the search for social equity. With creative methods of nonviolent action, the un-represented have taken their cases to centres of state power to gain recognition. Nonviolent struggle has also been employed to fight against the careless handling and continued manufacture of toxic wastes and on behalf of environmental clean-up.

**Self-rule, nation-building, and protection of democracy:** The nonviolent revolutions in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union that changed world maps from 1989 to 1991 led Sir Adam Roberts, a leading authority on international relations and nonviolent struggle, to conclude, 'Democracy may be obtained and defended as much by civil resistance as by other means' (Roberts 1991:38). This includes against situations of **authoritarianism, dictatorship, and foreign invasion and occupation.**

**Defence against coups d'état:** Limited initiatives have been developed to overcome and guard against **coups d'état**, the illegal overthrow and seizure of government. In some such instances, citizens have taken recourse to nonviolent struggle to restore legitimate governance or foil coup attempts before they can succeed. The ousting of the military junta in Thailand in 1992 serves as a remarkable example, especially given the frequency of coups in this Buddhist country, which experienced seventeen coups between the end of absolute monarchism in 1932 and 1991.

**Civilian-based defence:** As a result of the successful overturn of the coup in Thailand, the use of nonviolent action has been legally recognised in the subsequent, new Thai constitution. This development provides a practical example of what has primarily been a theoretical construction—the use of nonviolent action as a formal or official policy, what

has been called **civilian-based defence**. The technique has rarely been overtly used on the part of governments, but the concept has gained limited attention within some policy circles.

When communities learn that they can press for social justice, human rights, and democracy without bloodshed, their resulting grasp can influence the growth of new social, political, and economic institutions. Their thinking will be influenced about how such entities should be shaped for governance. Whether one's way of life has been shaped by exposure to or experience in nonviolent action can affect expectations. The yearning for peace and security therefore demand the teaching of the history, theories, and practices of the nonviolent transformation of conflict.

Lecturers should bear in mind the universal truths involved in the applicability of nonviolent action. The most advanced use of civilian-based defence has thus far been developed in Latvia, Lithuania, and Thailand, but successful defence against coups d'état has also taken place in French Algeria, Germany, and Russia. Most of the events in question have occurred under radically different political contexts. Nonetheless, coups have plagued African nations. What, one might ask, is the applicability of Asian or European initiatives on defending against coups to the many peoples of Africa? The same questions should be raised in relation to other applications. Historical examples show that nonviolent action is globally valid—not limited to any one people, group, region, or world-view—and that often hidden or untold histories can prove revealing and insightful.



## Tasks

(These pedagogical exercises can also be used for assessment purposes.)

**Activity:** In any conflict, certain organisations are better suited or specifically designed to meet the needs and conduct activities in accordance with the given situation. For example, Amnesty International focuses on protecting human rights and documenting and publicising human rights abuses in the international arena, and it does so primarily through two of the most basic techniques in the repertoire of nonviolent struggle: documentation and denunciation.

Break students into small groups and have them brainstorm about organisations that conduct their work on one of the application areas discussed in this section. Ask them to select two, three, or possibly four organisations from their list (preferably agencies or groups that operate on a variety of levels—international, regional, national, and local). Each group will then conduct research on their chosen organisations, to be reported to the class.

## Required Readings

Holst, Johan Jørgen. 1990. *Civilian-Based Defense in a New Era*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Albert Einstein Institution.

Lee, Jennifer S. 2003. How the Protesters Mobilized So Many and So Nimbly: 'Smart Mobs', Text-Messaging, and Organizers Who Think Like Field Commanders. *New York Times*, 23 February.

Sharp, Gene. 2002. *From Dictatorship to Democracy: A Conceptual Framework for Liberation*. Boston: Albert Einstein Institution. Chapter 10.

Sharp, Gene. 1979. *Gandhi as a Political Strategist with Essays on Ethics and Politics*, Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers. Chapters 8–9.

## Recommended Readings

Boserup, Anders, and Andrew Mack. 1974. *War without Weapons: Nonviolence in National Defence*. New York: Schocken Books.

Harris, Geoff. 2004. *Demilitarising Sub-Saharan Africa*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.

Roberts, Adam. 1991. *Civil Resistance in the Eastern European and Soviet Revolutions*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Albert Einstein Institution.

Semelin, Jacques. 1993. *Unarmed against Hitler: Civilian Resistance in Europe, 1939–1943*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers. Chapters 7–8.

Sharp, Gene. 2003. *There Are Realistic Alternatives*. Boston: Albert Einstein Institution.

Sharp, Gene, and Bruce Jenkins. 2003. *The Anti-Coup*. Boston: Albert Einstein Institution.

Stoltzfus, Nathan. 1996. *Resistance of the Heart: Intermarriage and the Rosenstrasse Protest in Nazi Germany*. New York: W. W. Norton. Chapters 3 and 14–15.

United Nations Development Programme. 2002. *Human Development Report 2002*. New York: Oxford University Press. Accessible at <http://hdr.undp.org/reports>.

## Topic 12

### Nonviolent struggle in the contemporary world: Georgia, Madagascar, and Zimbabwe

The people are very clear as to what needs to be done to secure a free and fair election. They said they are working flat out on a multiple counter-strategy to rid their areas of violence, violent campaigns, intimidation, and threats.

Morgan Tsvangirai, Leader of the Movement for Democratic Change, the Zimbabwean Opposition Party



Nigerian taxi drivers rally in support of labour union demonstrations against increased petrol prices in Lagos in 2004. Union leaders claimed that most Nigerians live on one dollar a day, so any rise in fuel prices hurts them.

Photo: George Esiri JV/Reuters.

#### Learning Outcomes

- Become familiar with some recent and ongoing nonviolent struggles throughout the world, with particular attention on Africa
- Recognise nonviolent struggles underway at the interpersonal, communal, national, and international levels
- Critique media, government, and other sources on their coverage of avowedly nonviolent struggles

## Specific Concept

### Recognising nonviolent struggles

#### Note to Lecturers

Most nonviolent protagonists to date probably did not chosen nonviolent action as their means of conflict engagement based on the theoretical, or even pragmatic, conviction that the technique would lead to eventual victory. In fact, one could say that the concept of ‘choice’ in conflict engagement is as foreign as the history of nonviolent struggle to most policy-makers, activists, and freedom fighters.

Nonetheless, today, nonviolent struggle is being utilised or seriously considered in several national conflicts around the globe—Belarus, Iran, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and Zimbabwe, among others. This is due in part to its advocacy by the successful Serbian movement Otpor! (Resistance). Some 70,000 Serbian students became involved through 130 branches from 1998 to 2000, and they have been eager to discuss how they conducted their struggle with the help of the systematic study of the writings of Gene Sharp and others and viewing films directed by Steve York. Innumerable Serbs considered these resources to be an effective blueprint for confronting a brutal regime. Let us consider three recent cases of nonviolent struggle in Madagascar, Georgia, and Zimbabwe.

**Madagascar:** Early 2002 saw a highly disciplined nonviolent movement emerge in support of president-elect Marc Ravalomanana. Those supporting the results of his free election utilised a wide range of methods—speeches, marches, and select stay-aways and boycotts, among other measures—contributing to a festival-like atmosphere, particularly in the capital, Antananarivo. The incumbent president, Didier Ratsiraka, had refused to step down, citing what he claimed was an unfair election. For approximately three months, the nonviolent protagonists nearly brought the country to a standstill. Splits eventually occurred within the military

services, as the sympathies of some officers and enlisted soldiers sided with the nonviolent supporters of the president-elect. Ratsiraka's orders to conduct a crackdown fell upon deaf ears, as the military services refused to co-operate. Paramilitary militias appeared in support of both figures. After several months of deadlock, both official and paramilitary forces in support of Ravalomanana and Ratsiraka met in continuous encounters, leaving a path of political consternation, confusion, and physical destruction. The political struggle ended with Ratsiraka fleeing to the Seychelles in early July. President Ravalomanana as yet has considerable work to do in the aftermath of the military clashes to restore confidence in democracy.

**Georgia:** The Georgian Rose Revolution culminated in the resignation of Eduard Shevardnadze as president of the republic of Georgia, formerly part of the Soviet Union. Initial parliamentary elections were acknowledged as unfair and undemocratic, after one year of rigorously planned and carefully conducted nonviolent campaigns. New elections were held. Spearheaded by the student-led group Kmara (Enough), plus several other non-governmental organisations and various opposition political parties, the broad Georgian popular movement grew in strength through organisational capacity-building and theoretical knowledge of how to conduct nonviolent action. Contact with the Serbian movement Otpor! and awareness raised by films and dissemination of translated materials helped to bring about the change of government.

**Zimbabwe:** The people of Zimbabwe are in the midst of a disciplined nonviolent struggle to bring democratic change to their country and to end the authoritarian rule of president Robert Mugabe. Leading the movement is the opposition political party, the Movement for Democratic Change, and a host of non-governmental organisations, also called civil society organisations. Attention is now largely focused on ensuring free and fair presidential and parliamentary elections. The wide range of nonviolent methods employed over the past several years—demonstrations, stay-aways, and strikes—have been met with severe repression and reprisals by the government, which continues to squeeze and try to

close the political space for democratic mobilisation. (A host of relevant information and additional resources is available at [www.sokwanele.com](http://www.sokwanele.com), the Website of Sokwanele: Civic Action Support Group.)

These case examples are offered to serve as learning tools to help students **recognise nonviolent struggles**. They allow students to follow current events and, even if there is no peace and conflict studies programme, gain insights into international relations and political science. Lecturers are encouraged, however, to use other complimentary or substitute examples based on their personal experience and knowledge, student interests, or available resources.

### Tasks

(These pedagogical exercises can also be used for assessment purposes.)

**Activity:** Ask students to work in groups of two or three in order to prepare written reports of one or two pages on a current nonviolent struggle, particularly one that is not receiving widespread news coverage. The report can be a summary of one of the student's case studies prepared previously or a completely different struggle. In addition, ask the groups to make 10– to 15–minute oral presentations to the class on the nonviolent struggle that they investigated. (Variation and expansion is possible with this exercise. For example, the presentation could be used to replicate the broadcast of a news programme, a simulated government briefing, or a mock press conference. Creativity should be encouraged and welcomed.)

**Optional role-play/simulation:** Ask students to assume the role of an organisation or to create their own fictitious group engaged in an ongoing nonviolent struggle. Using simulated newspaper, radio, and television reports, ask students how they would act or react to the developing situation. Students should be encouraged to include African endogenous methods of nonviolent engagement.

## Required Readings

Antelava, Natalia. 2003. Shevardnadze's Failure to Deliver. *BBC News*, 7 November. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/3249675.stm>.

Ben Meir, Yotam. 2004. Georgia: "Rose Revolutions". *Peace and Conflict Monitor: University for Peace*. 20 May.

Leithead, Alastair. 2002. Madagascar's Quiet Revolution. *BBC News*, March 17. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/1877010.stm>.

Nathan, Laurie. 1997. A South Africa Policy Framework on Peace Initiatives in Africa. Paper prepared for workshop with civil society. Department of Foreign Affairs, Pretoria, 11 November 1997. Updated 23 November. [www.jha.ac/articles/a035.htm](http://www.jha.ac/articles/a035.htm).

Shaw, Angus. 2003. Zimbabwe Arrests Opposition Leader and Fends Off Protests. Associated Press. *New York Times*, 7 June.

Somerville, Keith. 2002. Madagascar's Chance for Change. *BBC News*, 5 July, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/2096960.stm>.

United States Institute for Peace. 2003. Zimbabwe and the Prospects for Nonviolent Political Change. Special Report. August. [www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr109.pdf](http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr109.pdf).

## Recommended Readings

Crist, John T., Harriet Hentges, and Daniel Serwer. 2002. Strategic Non-violent Conflict: Lessons from the Past, Ideas for the Future. Special Report. United States Institute for Peace, 1 May. [www.usip.org](http://www.usip.org).

Palmer, Mark. 2003. *Breaking the Real Axis of Evil: How to Oust the World's Last Dictators by 2025*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers. Chapters 2–7.

## Afterword: A Note on Gender

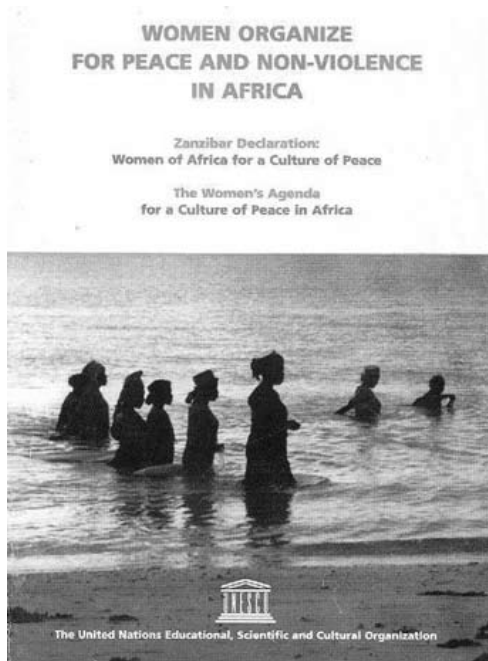
The issue of gender is organic to nonviolent struggle. It is not addressed in this teaching model as a separate issue, because the fundamental operational principles of nonviolent action do not make gendered exclusions. This is not a matter of dictum, but consistency of the ends and means (see Topic 4). Whatever action a popular campaign chooses must be consistent with the state of affairs sought after the conflict reaches resolution. Therefore, if one adopts nonviolent struggle in attempting to achieve a free and democratic society, the time to involve all persons is at the beginning.

Although Mohandas K. Gandhi was a captive of a patriarchal world-view that persists even today, because of his experiments during twenty-one years working in South Africa, he came to view the central involvement of women in political action as a core concept. Having returned to India, by 1921 he was calling for women to become involved in the nation's political deliberations, to have the vote, and to enjoy legal status equal to that of men. Gandhi's constructive programme (see Topic 5), including the hand-loom of *khadi* (homespun), legitimized the involvement of women by the millions in the fight for India's independence and put the nationalist struggle ahead of the hearth. By the late 1920s, some women led local struggles. Gandhi's initiatives incorporating the political work of women became so pervasive that by 1931 the Congress Party had passed a resolution committing itself to the equal rights of women. As Gandhi interprets the power underlying nonviolent resistance, even a frail woman—as well as a child—can pit herself on equal terms against a giant armed with the most powerful weapons.



Wangari Maathai, the 2004 Nobel Peace Prize winner, was repeatedly arrested and beaten for the activities of the Green Belt Movement, through which for nearly thirty years she mobilized poor women to plant 30 million trees and to improve the environmental policies of Kenya. She is today a government minister. Photo: Courtesy of the Green Belt Movement.





This pan-African women's conference, held in Zanzibar in 1999, sought to strengthen the work of women on nonviolent conflict resolution. It produced the Zanzibar Declaration, which called for nonviolent means of preventing conflicts, in part by harmonising traditional African mediation strategies, and it asked for equitable representation of women in decision-making processes. Sponsored by UNESCO, it was supported by a host of African and UN organisations. Photo: Ingeborg Breines/UNESCO.

Gandhi's writings tell us that early in the twentieth century he was aware of nonviolent struggles elsewhere in South Africa, and the evidence is suggestive that nonviolent resistance in Africa has been both deep and broad, despite the limited chronicling. The initiative of middle-aged women sparked the 1986 Port Elizabeth boycott (see Topic 8), which marked a turning point in the struggle against apartheid. Today in Africa, women continue to participate in boycotts, rally for human rights, and accept arrest or repression for participating in or leading nonviolent struggles.

## Biographical Sketch: Mary Elizabeth King

Prize-winning author and political scientist Mary E. King is professor of Peace and Conflict Studies at the University for Peace, an affiliate of the United Nations with its main campus in Costa Rica. She is also Distinguished Scholar with the American University Center for Global Peace, in Washington, D.C. She holds a visiting research fellowship at the Rothermere American Institute, University of Oxford, United Kingdom, where during 2004 and 2005 she was a senior fellow.

For thirty years, Dr. King has been a scholar-practitioner of international relations, which has brought her into contact with the heads of state and government ministers of more than 120 developing countries. As a presidential appointee in the Carter administration, she had worldwide oversight for the Peace Corps (in sixty countries), VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America), the Retired Senior Volunteer Program (R.S.V.P.), Foster Grandparents, and other national volunteer service corps operations. Since 1984, she has served as a special adviser to former president Jimmy Carter, often acting as his emissary.

As a young student, she worked alongside the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (no relation) in the U.S. civil rights movement. The *New York Times* described her as one of a “tiny handful” of white, female “heroic, unsung organizers of the Southern civil rights movement.” Her book on the four years she spent in the movement, *Freedom Song: A Personal Story of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement*, won her a Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Book Award in 1988.

In 2002, the New Delhi-based Indian Council for Cultural Relations and Mehta Publishers released the second edition of her *Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr: The Power of Nonviolent Action*, which chronicles nine contemporary nonviolent struggles and was originally published by UNESCO in Paris in 1999. In November 2003, Dr. King received the Jamnalal Bajaj International Award, which recognizes the promotion of Gandhian values outside India. Upon receiving this prize in Mumbai (Bombay), she joined the ranks of such previous winners as Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu of South Africa, Professor Sir Joseph Rotblat of the United Kingdom, and Professor Johan Galtung of Norway.

Dr. King holds a doctorate in international politics from the University of Wales at Aberystwyth. In 1989, her alma mater Ohio Wesleyan University bestowed on her its highest award for distinguished achievement.

In *The World Split Open: How the Women's Movement Changed America*, historian Ruth Rosen calls King a central figure in starting the contemporary U.S. women's movement, or so-called second-wave feminism, following publication of "Sex and Caste," a 1966 article co-authored with Casey Hayden.

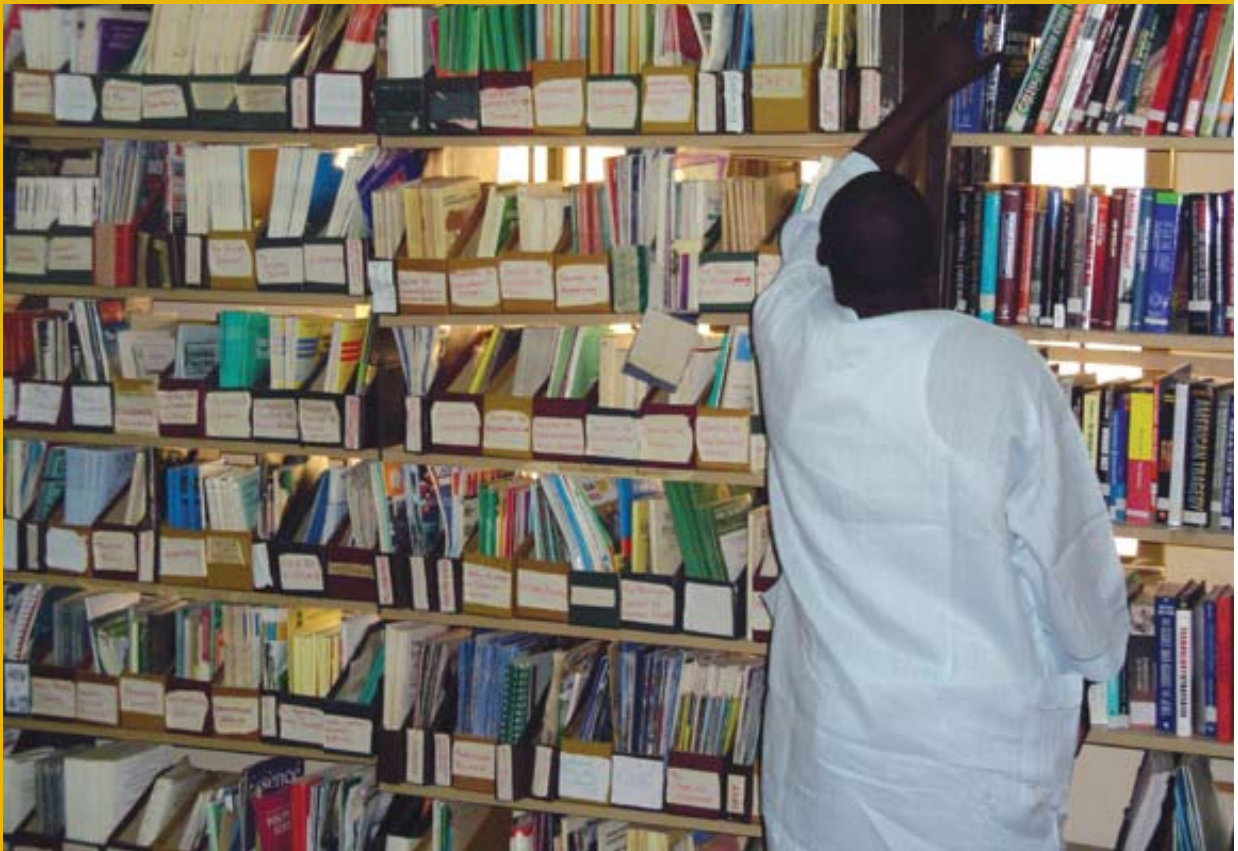
## Biographical Sketch: Christopher A. Miller

Christopher A. Miller is a consultant researcher with the Africa Programme of the University for Peace. He worked formerly as a research assistant for Dr. Mary E. King and served as programme coordinator for the Albert Einstein Institution, Boston, Massachusetts. There he began and has since continued researching groups and movements employing strategic nonviolent struggle in various regions of the world, including in Belarus, Nigeria, Tibet, and Venezuela. He has also lectured and taught on nonviolent action in Lithuania and Ukraine and assisted training programmes on nonviolent struggle in Africa and Asia. Mr. Miller received his master of arts degree in international affairs with a concentration on Eurasia from the American University School of International Service, Washington, D.C., and his bachelor of arts degree in sociology from Ithaca College, Ithaca, New York.

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