



CHILE NEWS

Foreign Correspondence
Peace and Justice Service, SERPAJ-CHILE



Nº 21 MAY 1987

ACTIVE NONVIOLENCE

ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT

FAITH AND POLITICS

ACTIVE NONVIOLENCE

This edition of Chile News is organized around the theme of active nonviolence. The major portion of this issue contains the first part of an article by Theodore Herman, entitled Six Views of Nonviolence. The second article describes the first exposition of the work produced by Serpaj's network of alternative development. The concluding article describes a cycle of reflection on the Bible, faith, the church, and politics presented by the members of Serpaj in Osorno.

At first glance these three articles may appear to have little in common. Actually they reflect different facets of active nonviolence. The article by Dr. Herman is excellent and needs little further explanation about its relationship to nonviolence. Personal conversion, pacifism and non-retaliation, and developing a creative relationship with an adversary are discussed as three ways of understanding active nonviolence. Dr. Hermann cites many of Gandh's thoughts and presents the personal side of this process which is designed to bring about justice without the use of force.

The exposition of the products produced by Serpaj's network of alternative development reflects our commitment to stimulate growth and to create free spaces where people can learn to trust each other and work toward a common goal. Alternative development is another way to be non-violently active. We intend in this way to produce new growth in spite of the existing dictatorship and as an alternative to the economic system of capitalism which often forces people to become objects in the quest of progress for others, instead of allowing them to be the subjects of their own development.

Reflection on the Bible and its relationship to liberation, as well as on faith, the church, and politics is always necessary in the constant search for justice and the means to realize it here on this earth. Active nonviolence and serious reflection go together, and the two-day cycle in Osorno can be viewed as a small but important contribution to the belief in non-violence as a way to achieve a more human society in Chile.

We invite you to read and reflect on your own personal thoughts about nonviolence, and in June we will share the second part of Dr. Herman's article and further reflection on this topic of great merit.

Mary Hamilton

Editor - Chile News

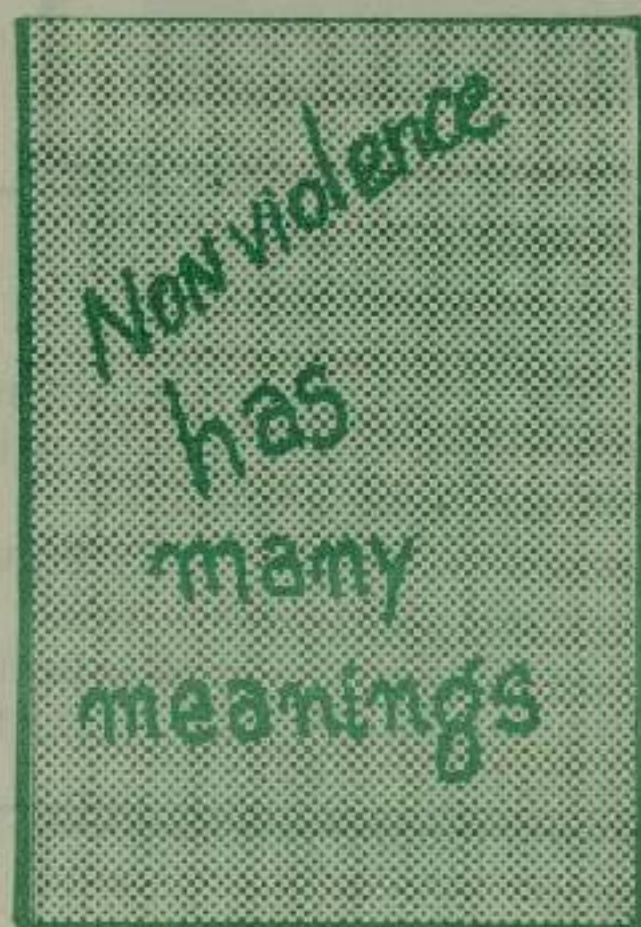
SIX VIEWS OF NONVIOLENCE

by THEODORE HERMAN

This article was presented as a talk at the 11th General Conference of the International Peace Research Association at the University of Sussex, England, in April of 1986. Dr. Herman is the Director Emeritus of Peace and World Order Studies conducted at Colgate University, Cornwall, Pa. USA.

One of the most encouraging trends of the 1980's in many parts of the world is the growing interest in nonviolence. After the turbulence of the past few decades, people seem to be seeking another way of social change. For some, it may have been the influence of R. Attenborough's film on Gandhi. For others, especially in areas still locked in strife, it may have come from sheer frustration at the promise of swift punishment from well-armed police. I do not overlook the rise of terrorism, whether by governments or private groups, but terrorism is still a fringe effort with little popular appeal anywhere. People do seem to be searching for another way.

Nonviolence has many meanings, as we shall see, but essentially it offers alternatives to those attitudes, institutions, and practices that deny peace and justice. It encourages people



everywhere to explore new ways of thinking and acting for a more peaceful world. Therefore, a broadened understanding of nonviolence as both an attitude and a way of action provides a rich field for peace research.

This may mean re-writing history to include peace heroes and acts of reconciliation both at home and from other times and places.(1) In education it may lead to changing school curricula toward cooperative learning instead of students vs. teacher or student vs. student. It may mean prescribing national

policies for fairer sharing of resources, markets, knowledge, etc., as insurance against future strife. It may lead people to form groups for meeting local needs regardless of age-old loyalties to clan, church, or class, the kind of action now occurring around the world and forming global networks. Regardless of the prescription, working with others in groups is essential.

As a guide to research in nonviolence we offer six different approaches or views. These are derived from human experience as the stuff from which theory can be made. The first three are at the level of personal change, from the idea that changed individuals will change the world around them, presumably for the better. These three are as follows: personal awareness or psycho-spiritual change, pacifism or non-retaliation (turning the other cheek) and developing a creative relationship. The second three deal more with group behavior: nonviolent resistance

as civilian-based defense, preventing violent conflict by removing the causes, and developing a sound relationship with the earth. Shown in list form, they may tempt the reader to diagram some connections between them:

Personal Awareness

PERSONAL

1. Personal awareness or psycho-spiritual change
2. Pacifism or non-retaliation
3. Developing a creative relationship with an adversary

GROUP

4. Nonviolent resistance as civilian-based defense
5. Preventing violent conflict
6. Developing a sound relationship with the earth

1. Personal awareness or psycho-spiritual change. This is an ancient theme in almost every philosophy or religion. It rests on self-respect or self-love based on an awareness of the worth or good in oneself, and then through respect to touch the good in others. In Gandhi's behavior this was part of the truth-in-action that marked his whole life. It was expressed succinctly in 1656 by George Fox, founder of the Quakers, as "to walk cheerfully over the earth speaking to

A creative relationship with an enemy

that of God in everyone."(2) as contrasted to living defensively in fear of others.

One of the psychological elements of this positive view is the assurance of being safe, in control of one's immediate concerns, such as personal values, livelihood, family, and friends.

The opposite occurs in a bad dream where falling or helplessness creates terror. To threaten that psychological safety by change can be very disturbing, and therefore many people resist change unless it comes through some strong personal experience or transformation. Such an experience is a notable feature in the accounts of many people whose lives have changed abruptly to a single pursuit, often religious or of social impact. Recall Guatama leaving the palace, Ashoka forsaking warfare, Paul on the road to Damascus, soldier-of-fortune

Ignatius Loyola founding the Society of Jesus, Jean of Arc envisioning French freedom from England, Gandhi sitting all night on the railway station platform, Martin Luther King one lonely midnight at the kitchen table, Charles Coulson emerging from prison after his Watergate conviction.

There are many people in the world to whom inner transformation never comes. They are either at peace with the world, kind and loving by nature, or the prospect of inner change is not important. But there are others whose lives have been completely transformed by an overpowering vision, or a shattering experience. Such people have changed society around them, and accounts of such changes are becoming more common. Research on such psycho-spiritual events is needed in each society, along with the results, for a fuller record of human experience and as a guide to understanding social change.(3)

books, and conferences are challenging the age-old patriarchal domination in many societies often expressed in violence and war.(4) Most recently visible was the UN Nairobi Women's Conference and the NGO Forum in 1985 attended by some 14,000 women from all over the world to raise consciousness and give support.(5) At the local level there are increasing challenges by both men and women to the different education, treatment, and expectations by sex in every aspect of life.(6) To extend such views into specific societies and to their educational systems would be another contribution to peace research.

2. Pacifism or non-retaliation.

This view of nonviolence is probably the most widespread and mixed

of any. It is seen as cowardly expedience, realistic acceptance, a clear example of masochism, true psychological riposte, or loving care. Aside from such perceptions it is the refusal to respond to evil and injustice with force or anger, responding instead with meekness and the readiness to suffer. The injunction comes from the Sermon on the Mount in the New Testament and from the teaching of the Buddha and of Mahavira of the Jains. Because the reasons for non-retaliation differ, it is important to understand what



traditions might be evoked in various societies.

In the Biblical Old and New Testaments returning good for evil is noted as "heaping coals of fire on an enemy's head", whether as an expression of enlightenment or punishment in this life, or some form of punishment in another life. It is believed that in some way God will reward the victim who forbears.(7) The Sermon on the Mount, from which Gandhi drew directly for his development of satyagraha, goes further in exhorting the return of good for evil as an act of love that follows the example of God. Such Jewish doctrine is reinforced by later Talmudic teaching.(8)

In Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain teachings, where man goes through an infinite round of reincarnations until one's goodness finally brings release, nonviolence as a part of benevolence shortens the cycle of re-births and suffering.(9) Thus, as in the Christian view there is a reward in future life for doing good in this one. Ferguson notes that Gandhi "more than any other individual... brought ahimsa(non-violence) into the active moral consciousness of Hinduism" drawing upon "Jesus and post-Christian European

and American practitioners of nonviolence".(10) In Islam, charity is extolled as a social act, but nonviolence for a better after-life is not promised: it seems less important than affirming the oneness of God.

"heaping coals of fire on an enemy's head"

Ahimsa
non
violence

In this second approach, however, as in the third, willingness to suffer without retaliation or even hatred is basic not only to arouse the conscience of the oppressor as a psychological tactic or "moral jiu-jitsu" in Gregg's phrase,(11) but also to strengthen the commitment of the oppressed. It is the ultimate form of self-purification of one's motives.

Again, the problem for peace researchers is to find examples of those who have "turned the other cheek", whether or

Satyagraha
"truth force"

Blessed are
those who
suffer for the
sake of
JUSTICE

not successful however judged, so that the idea becomes at least worth thinking about. They are often reported in the news as being hauled into court for refusing to pay the military portion of their income taxes, or refusing to register for military service, or for similar acts on the grounds of conscience. An earlier example that has influenced many people including Gandhi was Henry David Thoreau's going to jail (for one night) for refusing to pay the Massachusetts poll tax as a protest against the American government waging the Mexican War and preserving slavery. His famous essay, "Civil disobedience and Non-Violent Resistance", published in 1846, is a classic statement of a political position on the right of conscience.(12)

The whole idea of being willing to suffer without retaliation in kind raises many questions, including that of responsibility for the welfare of others or for the unity of the nation. Such challenges have been raised by President Kenneth

Peace
of fire on
an enemy's
head

Kaunda of Zambia and deserve attention.(13)

3. Developing a creative relationship.

Another poorly understood meaning of great importance is the idea of building a creative relationship with an adversary. This view extends the previous one by seeking to transform a confrontation into a relationship of unity. It occurs in families and sports events, although even here some conscious effort may be required.

This form of nonviolence has been given positive

names in English in place of the usual negative term "nonviolence": "creative conflict", "moral jiu-jitsu", "all-win action", "transforming power", or added to our vocabulary, "satyagraha"--Gandhi's "clinging to truth" or "soul force". For him it evolved from a sense of mutual fairness (the Golden Rule)(14) into an ethic of universal caring love not conditional on being returned. Strongly moved by Thoreau, Ruskin, Tolstoy, and the Sermon on the Mount, plus his own devotion to the Bhagavad Gita,(15)

he moved beyond passive nonviolent

resistance to active nonviolent resistance. Civil disobedience was a last resort, but he was always ready to suffer to strengthen himself and to move his adversary. Gandhi's idea of victory was not over his opponent, but over the fears and attachments that

keep people from reaching the good in themselves and in others.

I have placed this third form in the Personal change column because while its importance for nonviolent change is great for groups at all levels, the principles are grounded on direct individual contact and change. It represents a transition therefore from one category to the other, especially where the key individuals can be identified. Two striking examples at the international level have been the formation of the European Coal and Steel Community after World War II as the dream of Jean Monnet and Robert Schumann to bring France and Germany together, and in 1975 the Barcelona Agreement of

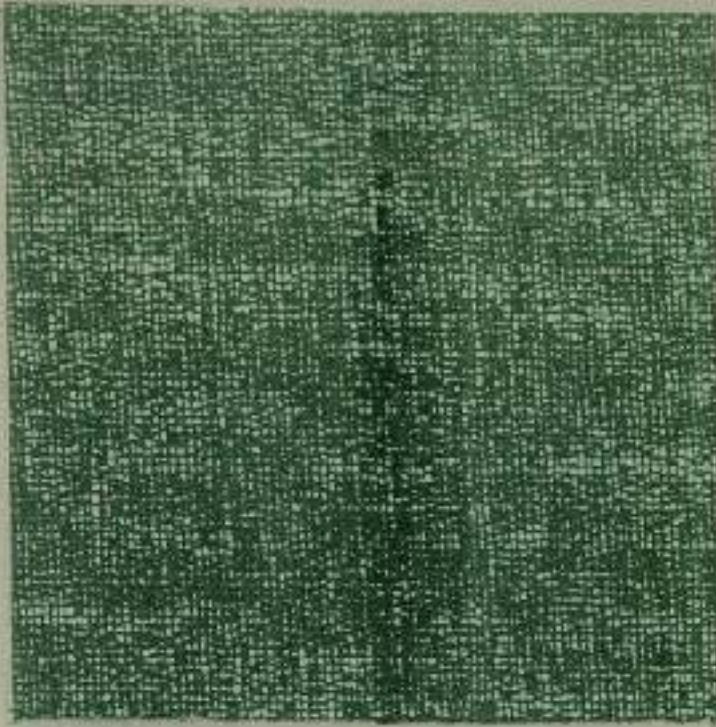
most of the Mediterranean countries(including bitter adversaries) to monitor marine pollution as the starting point for cooperation.(16) This latter move came from members of the Religious Society of Friends(Quakers) in various parts of the world.

While Gandhi's work for freeing India from Britain via creative nonviolence is well-known, others before and since have tried somewhat in the same way. There was William Penn establishing colonial Pennsylvania in 1683 as a warless community with efforts to be fair to the Indians; it lasted for 73 years. (17) In 1952 Albert Luthuli tried Gandhi's methods unsuccessfully in South Africa,(18) and Martin Luther King led the civil rights struggle in the southern US, 1954-1968. Dr.King drew

on his own religious and personal background, learning from Gandhi's work how to apply the ethics of Jesus to social change. He writes:

As I delved deeper into the philosophy of Gandhi..I came to see for the first time its potency in the area

of social reform. Prior to reading Gandhi I had about concluded that the ethics of Jesus were only effective in personal relationships. The "turn the other cheek" philosophy and the "love your enemies" were in conflict with other individuals; when racial groups and nations were in conflict



a more realistic approach seemed necessary. But after reading Ganchi, I saw how utterly mistaken I was. Gandhi was probably the first person in history to lift the love ethic of Jesus above mere interaction between individuals to a powerful and effective social force on a large scale.(19)

In these examples and countless smaller ones, the means are as important as the ends because they provide guidance for efforts elsewhere.

Are there some societies that are basically nonviolent, while others are not? This last point emerges in an interview in 1984 with Fr. Jose Blanco, a Philippine Jesuit, discussing various responses to the oppression in his country. He is speaking as a churchman dedicated to nonviolence(not all were) and also as a Filipino:

...counter-violence cannot change the mind and heart of

the opponent. But active nonviolence tries to change the one doing violence. People are changed not by threats but by signs of respect, by signs of love and real charity.

But let me stress that I don't argue from arguments. I argue from experience with the poor themselves. The poor rejoice that they have found an alternative that is - in keeping with their conscience and their heart. Even before their conversion to Christianity, the Filipinos were culturally a nonviolent people. Our saying is: It is better not to destroy.(20)

The overthrow of the Marcos regime in February 1986 bears out this claim as an accepted method of public behavior. A great challenge remains in the social changes needed to reduce that country's systemic violence.

Not all societies are culturally nonviolent, possibly because they contain groups striving to maintain their identity or

very existence against others. Such a vendetta society is described in Milovan Djilas's account of his youth in Montenegro(21), and there are many others elsewhere. The peace researcher will ask if there are ways in which the principles of creative nonviolence can be discovered and applied within every country, or between different countries. Does nonviolence depend on a religious influence? How can nonviolence be spread over a large group and made permanent in their institutions and behavior?(22)

The remaining three views deal more with the traditions, customs, and behavior of groups than of individuals.

The second part of this article will appear in the June edition of Chile News.

Footnotes:

1) The Power of the People: Active Nonviolence in the United States. (Culver City, CA: Peace Press, 1977).

2) The Journal of George Fox, John L. Nickalls, ed. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1952), 263.

3) Marilyn Ferguson, The Aquarian Conspiracy: Personal and Social Transformation in the 1980s. (Los Angeles: J.P. Tarcher, 1980).

4) Elise Boulding, The Underside of History: A View of Women Through Time. (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1976; Birgit Brock-Utne, Educating for Peace: A Feminist Perspective. (Elmsford NY: Pergamon Press, 1985); Betty Reardon, Sexism and the War System. (NY: Teachers College Press, 1985).

5) A. Anand, "Our Day Has Begun," Development Forum XIII, 7 (Sept. '85), 1, 14; A. Brotherton, "Echoes From Nairobi," Fellowship 51, 10-11 (Oct/Nov 1985), 18-19.

6) P. McAllister, ed. Re-weaving the Web of Life: Feminism and Nonviolence. (Phila: New Society

Publishers, 1982); M. Gezon, A Choice of Heroes: The Changing Faces of American Manhood (Boston: H-Mifflin, 1984).

7) Matthew 5:1-48.

8) A. Solomonow, ed., Roots of Jewish Nonviolence. (Nyack, NY: Jewish Peace Fellowship w/ Fell of Reconciliation, 1981).

9) Ferguson, 1978, and W. Rahula, What the Buddha Taught. (NY: Grove Press, 1959), 40 ff.

10) R. B. Gregg, The Power of Nonviolence (NY: Schocken, 1966), 43-51.

11) M. O. Sibley, The Quiet Battle: Writings on the Theory and Practice of Non-Violent Resistance. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963).

12) K. Kaunda, The Riddle of Violence. (NY: Harper & Row, 1980)

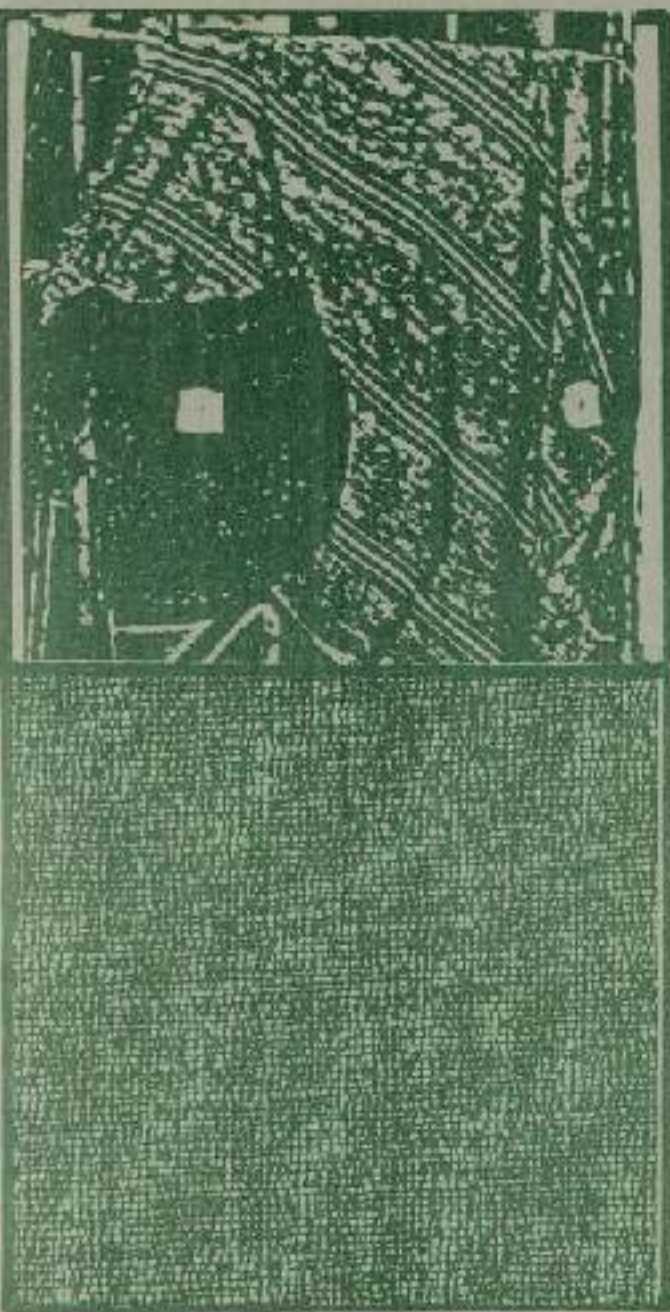
ALTERNATIVE D

Alternative Development Workshops

The first exposition of the work produced by the various groups of alternative development was held in Santiago from the 27th to the 30th of April.

There were socks, hats, ponchos, sweaters, blankets, and knitted cushions produced by the women from Crucero (see CN-March '87). Many different types of sauces and preserves were displayed by women from Talca, with the guidance of Margarita Huencho. Tomatoe sauce, jalapeño sauce, and marmelade

DEVELOPMENT - THE FIRST EXPOSITION



by women from Valparaiso, and from groups in Chiloé and Puerto Montt. The families of the detained and disappeared displayed purses, jackets, and hand-crafted pottery which they had made.

This initial exposition was well-received, and produced new resources to enable the groups to continue their work. These groups and their products represent Serpaj's commitment to producing alternative development, which directly benefits the people who are involved in the different workshops, and allows them to be the subjects of their collective enterprise. The work and the chance to grow together help to foster

cooperation and trust. Serpaj hopes to continue with these existing groups, and to initiate others.

The primary goal of alternative development is to provide free spaces where people can grow and learn to work together. The exposition provided evidence that this idea can produce beautiful results. The ponchos and sweaters are visible proof of the spirit of cooperation that has been spread among numerous groups of Chileans throughout the country. The invisible results may be less obvious, but more significant, and worth all the effort that is required to produce them.

were on hand to be sampled. Dried fruit, oregano, and other spices were proudly offered by women who had grown them in their own organic gardens. There were tablecloths and napkins produced by a group called Shining Sun, also from Talca. Sweaters and knitted articles were sent

FAITH AND POLITICS

A two-day cycle of reflection on faith and politics was sponsored by Serpaj-Osorno on the 19th and 21st of May. The first session reflected on the topic of the Bible and liberation, and the two sessions on Thursday dealt with Faith and Politics, and the Church and Politics respectively.

The session on the Bible and Liberation began with the premise that the Bible is not a museum piece, but the living word of God which can serve as food for the poor and oppressed as they search for a more human life. The discussion treated questions about the type of God we find in the Bible, and whether there is a correct way of interpreting the Bible, or are all possible interpretations equally valid. The response

of the participants was enthusiastic and reflected a desire for further study.

The first session on the 21st treated faith as a way of life, through which a person can interpret the events that occur. The discussion then focused on politics as the area of human activity intended to be for the common good. Having defined the main concepts, the meeting produced the reflection that the political dimension of faith is none other than the response of the Church to the demands of the socio-political world in which we live. Faith cannot be separated from the political arena if we want to be faithful to the call of the gospel to transform the world in which we are

inserted into the kingdom of God preached by Jesus.

The second session on Thursday dealt with the action of the Church in Argentina, Nicaragua, the Philippines, and in Chile, and the relationship of that action to the political developments that have transpired. The principal point stressed was that the Church cannot remove itself from the political sphere of life, and that more-importantly, the Church cannot remain silent in the face of injustice if it wants to remain faithful to the message of its founder. The Church must apply the demands of the gospel to the political dimension of life, and should raise its voice for the voiceless. To remain silent would be to ignore the demands about the depth of our love for our neighbor.

These two days produced good fruit, and hopefully there will be other days of study in the near future.