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Mu Ryang Sa Buddhist Temple
Honolulu, Hawai'i, November 1-4, 2007

Edited by
Glenn D. Paige and Joám Evans Pim



Center for Global Nonviolence
Honolulu, Hawai'i



Matsunaga Institute for Peace
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In implementing the principles of this Charter
we call upon all to work together towards a just,
killing-free world in which everyone has the right
not to be killed and the responsibility not to kill others.

Charter for a World without Violence
8th World Summit of Nobel Peace Laureates
Rome, Italy, December 15, 2007

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Affirmation of the Global Nonkilling Spirit

In remembrance

of all who have been killed
of all the killers
of all who have not killed, and
of all who have worked to end killing;

Guided by the Global Nonkilling Spirit
taught by faiths and found within,

We pledge ourselves and call upon all
to work toward the measurable goal
of a killing-free world
with infinite creativity
in reverence for life.

We call upon all leaders and everyone in the World
to join in affirming the Global Nonkilling Spirit
and each to become a Center for Global Nonkilling
to bring about a killing-free world.

For a Nonkilling World

Report of the First Global Nonkilling Leadership Forum

Honolulu, Hawai'i
November 1-4, 2007

Greetings to the Leaders and Peoples of the World

Amidst continuing global bloodshed in the seventh year of the UN International Decade of Peace and Nonviolence for the Children of the World (2001-2010), and in the first year of the Nobel Peace Laureates' Campaign for a Charter for a World without Violence, the First Global Nonkilling Leadership Forum convened in Honolulu, Hawai'i during November 1-4, 2007.

The Forum was organized by the nonprofit Center for Global Nonviolence and was co-sponsored by the Spark M. Matsunaga Institute for Peace, University of Hawai'i, and the Mu Ryang Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawai'i.

Forum Co-chairs were Nobel Peace Laureate Mairead Corrigan Maguire and Dr. Balwant "Bill" Bhaneja, Senior Research Fellow, Program for Research in Innovation Management and Economy (PRIME), School of Management, University of Ottawa.

Over 30 participants from 20 countries of Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, North America, and Pacific shared experiences. Presenters included Prof. James MacGregor Burns, former President of the American Political Science Association; Dr. Abdel Salam Majali, President of the Islamic World Academy of Sciences; Prof. William Smirnov, Vice-President of the Russian Political Science Association; Prof. Baoxu Zhao, Honorary Director, Research Center on Contemporary China, Peking University; Provost A. M. Wokocha, Rivers State College of Education, Nigeria; Dr. A. T. Ariyaratne, Founder of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement of Sri Lanka; Dr. N. Radhakrishnan, Chairman of the Indian Council of Gandhian Studies, Dr. Jose V. Abueva, former President of the University of the Philippines; and Prof. Johan Galtung, Founder of TRANSCEND.

The Forum arose from reader responses to the book *Nonkilling Global Political Science* (Gandhi Media Centre, 2002; Xlibris 2002, 2007), which is being translated into 30 languages with 15 already published. The full English text is universally accessible at www.globalnonkilling.org. The book advances the thesis that it is possible for humans to stop killing each other.

This thesis is supported by the conclusion of the WHO, *World Report on Violence and Health* (2002) that human violence is a “preventable disease.”

The Purposes of the Forum were:

1. To convene and establish relationships among pioneering contributors to a nonkilling world.
2. To demonstrate spiritual, scientific, artistic, and practical grounds for confidence in human capabilities to realize a killing-free, open-ended world. That is, a world in which human beings do not kill each other and where social conditions are open to infinite human creativity.
3. To share translation, institution-building, and community awakening experiences in globalizing understanding of nonkilling human capabilities.
4. To review lessons from nonviolent, nonkilling leadership experiences to advise on creating a Global Nonkilling Leadership Academy.
5. To advise on creating a small endowed Center for Global Nonkilling to serve as facilitator to share advances in research, education-training, and service in cooperation with individuals, affiliates, and institutions worldwide.
6. To prepare a brief concluding statement to the global public on the significance of the Forum.

After due deliberation we can now report to the leaders and peoples of the world the following:

- We reaffirmed the presence of the Global Nonkilling Spirit in religious and humanist faiths: Hawaiian, Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, Humanist, Islam, Jainism and Judaism.
- We reviewed and reaffirmed the thesis that, viewed globally, human beings can stop killing each other on at least seven grounds: spiritual, scientific, skill, institutional, artistic, historical, and predecessor demonstration.
- We shared affirmations of the global significance of the nonkilling thesis by participants from Bangladesh, Canada, China, Colombia, DR Congo, Galiza, Germany, Hawai'i, India, Japan, Jordan, Korea, Nepal, Nigeria, Northern Ireland, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Russia, Sri Lanka, Thailand and the United States,
- We shared experiences in globalizing understanding of the nonkilling thesis through translations into Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Filipino,

- French, Galizan, Hindi, Japanese, Kiswahili, Korean, Malayalam, Mongolian, Portuguese, Russian, Sinhala, Spanish, Tamil, and Urdu.
- We shared experiences in publishing English editions in India, Nigeria, the Philippines, and United States.
 - We shared self-supporting efforts to found affiliates of the existing Center for Global Nonviolence in Haiti, Nigeria, and Great Lakes Africa (DR Congo, Burundi, and Rwanda).
 - We shared reports of community-awakening educational experiences based on the nonkilling thesis among national, town, and village leaders and people in the DR Congo, Haiti, Nigeria, and the Philippines—as well as in universities, schools, and in a Martin Luther King kindergarten with 100 children in Kazimia village of the DR Congo.
 - We shared nonviolent leadership lessons from Tolstoy, Gandhi, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Martin Luther King, Jr., Governor Guillermo Gaviria, Petra Karin Kelly, Ronald Stephen Mallone, and TKN Unnithan for guidance to educate and train future nonkilling leaders. We shared advice on how to organize a short-term Global Nonkilling Leadership Academy that would enable young leaders to share experiences, benefit from newest nonkilling research findings, and be empowered as mutually supportive transforming leaders for the future nonkilling world.
 - We then shared needs that could be served by a long-term Center for Global Nonkilling in which a core group of eight workers from a strongly endowed base can assist research, education-training, and nonkilling policy initiatives through worldwide cooperation toward a world without killing. Among the Center's principles, "*No More Killing!*" and "*Everyone can be A Center for Global Nonkilling.*"

The Forum calls upon the UN General Assembly and educators to include *the right not to be killed and the responsibility not to kill others* in the world program of Human Rights Education so that the right of every citizen to live in a violence-free society will be ensured.

Finally the Forum respectfully invites UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, the UN General Assembly, leaders of all UN member states and agencies, civil society organizations, all world leaders, the public, the media, and all who learn of this report, to join in affirming the *Global Nonkilling Spirit* to guide and support nonkilling action toward the measurable goal of a killing-free world that is open to infinite human creativity for the well-being of all.

Blessings of Acharya Shri Mahapragyaji

on the Opening of the First Global Nonkilling Leadership Forum

Breath is life; water is life; food is life but “*ahimsa*” (i.e., nonviolence, nonkilling) is life par excellence. Breath, water and food would fulfill their function only if ahimsa prevails. In the absence of ahimsa, all of them would become defunct.

The value of life embedded in ahimsa has not been properly evaluated, and that is why human life is reeling under the onslaught of killing, crime and corruption. By presenting the innovative concept of *Nonkilling Global Political Science*, Professor Glenn D. Paige has drawn the attention of the whole world towards the fact that in absence of nonkilling (i.e., ahimsa) it would not be possible for us to make the individual, the society, the nation, or the world free from killing, crime and corruption.

We find that the devils of hunger and poverty are spreading their tentacles worldwide only because the consciousness of ahimsa is not awakened, the consciousness of compassion or sensitiveness is not developed. Unfortunately, the wrong notion of lopsided development has become deep-rooted the world over. Consequently:

1. There is too much of material development.
2. The economic development is deemed to be the backbone of all development.
3. There is hardly any development of moral values in life.
4. There is hardly any development of spiritual values in life.

The problem relating to material development is that there is rapid environmental and ecological degradation.

The problem relating to economic development is that disparity is increasing, a particular class of society is prospering giving rise to neo-millionaires and billionaires, while another section of society is reeling under the tragedy of poverty and suffering from the pangs of hunger.

In the absence of the development of moral values, economic parity cannot be attained. In the absence of development of spiritual values, the problem ensuing from the wanton material development cannot be solved.

Let us analyze the present-day economic system.

One of the important principles of the modern economics is—do whatever you can to increase wealth. There is, however, no discrimination between what is harmful and what is not. For example, if it is possible to make an atom bomb, make it. In this way, by indiscriminately connecting things to their possibility, man took a leap forward and went to the extent of manufacturing atomic weapons. If a restriction had been laid down on doing anything on the basis of the pre-thought whether anything which is possible is worthy of being done, or what would be its result, then definitely man would have been able to put a check on the things to be done. But for the want of such check, man is suffering today. We have to learn to put restriction on the possible things to avoid the harmful consequences.

In order to solve the problem of violence, we need both theoretical lessons as well as practical exercises. That is why Acharya Tulsi had started the program of “training in nonviolence” which included both—the theoretical lessons and the practical exercises.

There are four dimensions of the “training in nonviolence”:

1. The Theory and History of Nonviolence
2. The Change of Heart: Some Effective Strategies
3. Nonviolent Lifestyle
4. Purity in Means of Livelihood and Training in Self-employment Techniques.

Our representative Samanis will explain elaborately the significance of the four dimensions of the training in nonviolence.

I hope that the Global Forum would emerge as the Centre where “training in nonviolence” will be imparted to realize the dream of *Global Nonkilling Political Science*.

Opening Remarks

Balwant “Bill” Bhaneja
University of Ottawa

Brothers and Sisters,

It is a great privilege to be asked to co-chair this meeting with Nobel Peace Laureate Mairead for this ground-breaking Forum on Nonkilling Leadership.

The program that Professor Paige has sent us highlights the following objectives of the Forum. Let me reiterate, these are:

1. Convene and establish relationships among pioneering contributors to a nonkilling world.
2. Demonstrate spiritual, scientific, artistic, and practical grounds for confidence in human capabilities to realize a killing-free, open ended world. That is, a world in which human beings do not kill each other and where social conditions are open to infinite human creativity.
3. Share translation and other activities in globalizing understanding of nonkilling human capabilities.
4. Review lessons from nonviolent, nonkilling leadership experiences to advise on creating a Global Nonkilling Leadership Academy.
5. Advise on creating a small Center for Global Nonkilling to serve as facilitator to share advances in research, education-training, and service in cooperation with individuals, affiliates, and institutions worldwide.
6. Prepare a brief concluding statement to the global public to communicate participant judgment of the significance of the Forum.

As a political scientist, I see the essence of this Forum in the 2nd Objective which states:

To demonstrate spiritual, scientific, artistic, and practical grounds for confidence in human capabilities to realize a killing-free, open-ended world. That is, a world in which human beings do not kill each other and where social conditions are open to infinite human creativity.

Once we come to grips with that, other conference goals flow from that.

Nonkilling is a profound life-affirming term which is Glenn's unique gift to all of us. It defines for us the kind of Peace we are seeking. When I am talking to strangers now, I often find myself saying that it is "Nonkilling" Peace I am speaking about (and the question implicit is—Are you?). This fundamental inquiry is helpful as we know peace in many quarters, though spelt the same way, is defined as peace through military prowess with collateral damage considered as inevitable.

Nonkilling Peace as mentioned in the Forum's second objective is a composite that comprises Spirit, Science, Skills, Song, and Service. Such composite helps us to work towards genuine democratic institutions and empowered citizenship for social and political transformation. The Nonkilling concept unlike Ahimsa and Nonviolence, from which it evolved, is open-ended and measurable.

I once heard Johan Galtung say: peace is transcendental. He was not saying this in any spiritual sense. Those of us who are in the peace work cannot afford to see other as enemy or even different; if we did that, we would not be able to do our work. To bring all parties in conflict to the same table is to assert our common humanity. Any genuine vision of Nonkilling has to therefore transcend national boundaries. In Glenn Paige's words: "That is, a world in which human beings do not kill each other and where social conditions are open to infinite human creativity."

One of the key issues of the 20th and now 21st Century has been that our killing-prone leaders supported by killing-prone populace, instead of promoting our common humanity have continued to build the sense of "otherness." In nonkilling peacebuilding, our focus has to be on overcoming that "otherness," valuing our extensive similarities while celebrating our differences.

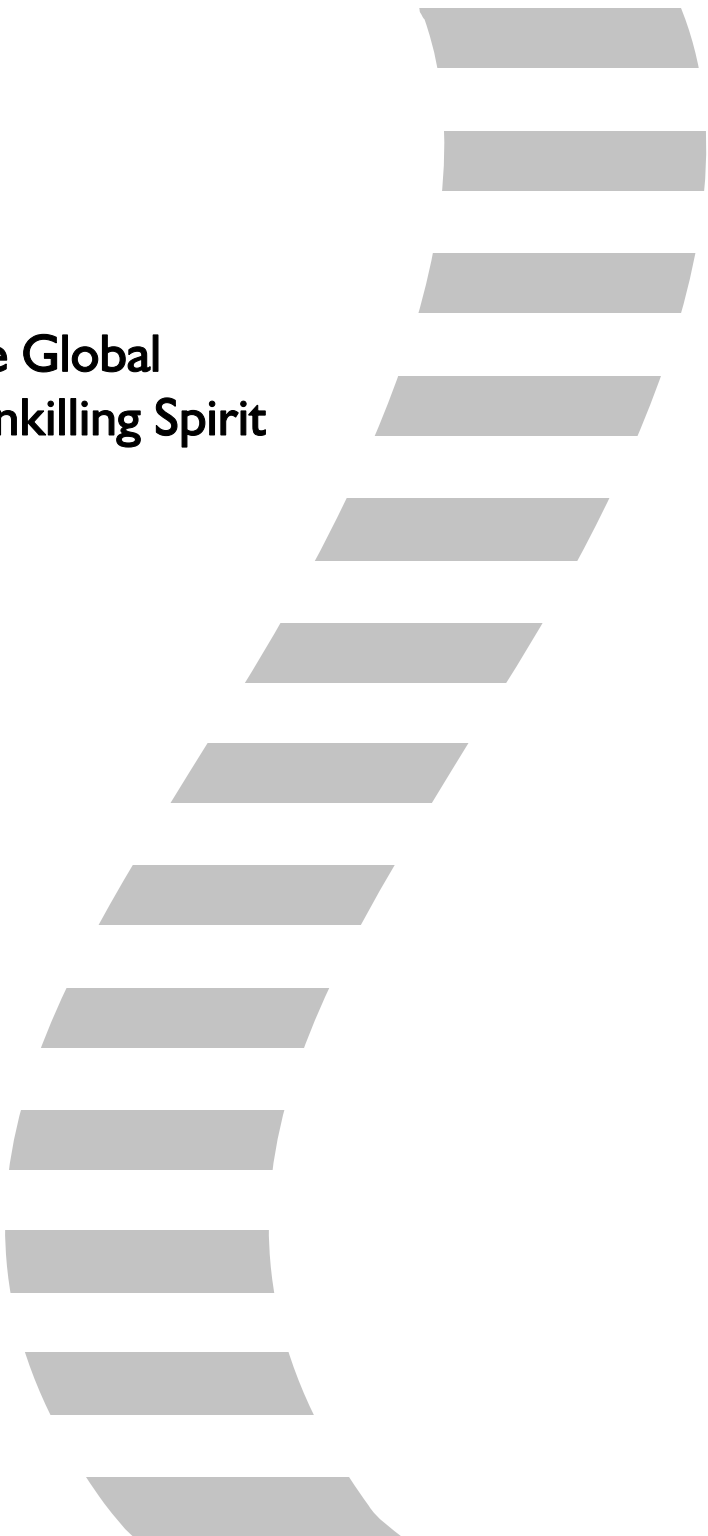
Good news is that during the unprecedented expansion of the lethal approach to politics over the past century, there has been equally an upsurge in nonkilling leadership. Glenn in his book, *Nonkilling Global Political Science* mentions the *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Peace Leaders* (1985) that records the lives of 717 such persons in 39 countries who lived from 1800 to 1980. Since then, there has been extension to this legacy of courage and commitment through numerous peace organizations and champions who have dedicated their lives to resolving domestic and international conflicts through nonviolent means. A glimpse of such talent can be seen in the long list of nominees and recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize. Your work by itself has shown in various ways what could be accomplished in bringing nonviolent transformation.

As Glenn has pointed out: the peace advocates in the last two centuries have been absolutely correct in stating that at some point we must simply refuse to kill and refuse to cooperate with systems that kill. Otherwise cycles of lethality between vengeful vanquished and traumatized will continue (*Nonkilling Global Political Science*, p. 103). In retrospect an analysis of 20th century atrocities shows a clear connection among the atrocities of WWI to WWII to the Cold War and beyond. We therefore have to redefine the concept of political leadership from that of lethal commander to facilitator of nonkilling societal problem-solving, working on the “root causes of problems.”

This Forum is unique in that instead of narrowing down Nonkilling to just state actors, we are looking at Nonkilling in its broadest application from a universal culture of peace to developing institutions and networks that would have Nonkilling groundings. The Forum in that sense is not the customary problem-solving-solution type but about awareness-raising and confidence-building, leadership learning. We think that this momentum will lead toward effective training and new institutions to make a contribution from a nonkilling perspective.

As co-chairs Mairead and I at the closing session of the Forum hope to have for you a concluding statement/communiqué along with summary reports from each rapporteur. These can point ways of empowerment for both those already engaged in nonviolent peacebuilding and those who are ready to join us on this path at local, national and global levels. I hope that this dialogue over the next few days will help us in accomplishing that.

The Global Nonkilling Spirit



Hawaiian Spirituality of Nonkilling

Ha'aheo Guanson
Pacific Justice and Reconciliation Center

The essence of Hawaiian Spirituality of Nonkilling is in the HA, the breath of life. In the HA or the breath lies the spirit of God which we share with others. This HA or breath is that which gives us life and sustains us. This sacred breath joins us to one another.

Surrounding the HA or breath is ALOHA. Aloha is Peace. As you can see, HA is in ALOHA. This special word conjures many images and meanings. The meaning in Hawaiian Spirituality is Peace. The A for *'amo* conveys the burden and the responsibility that we carry on our shoulders. L is the yearning for peace and justice. It also means to remain true and to endure. H is *hili* to braid, to weave together the diverse peoples and communities in our global society. A for *alu* is to bring together, to cooperate and to reconcile. This is the understanding of Aloha for the Hawaiian Spirituality of Nonkilling.

The spirit that encompasses the HA and ALOHA is the Power of PULE. The Power of PULE is prayer. P is for *pupukahi* to make peace with oneself and all things. U is for *upu* the never ending hope. L is for the expanse of the skies from which wisdom and strength comes forth. E is for *'eo* the vision and hope for a culture of peace and nonviolence for the children of the world. Through HA the breath of life, the spirit of ALOHA and the Power of PULE express the Hawaiian spirituality of nonkilling.

Nonkilling in Buddhism

A.T. Ariyaratne

Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement

Every Buddhist has to take Refuge in Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha and also undertake to observe Five Precepts. Five precepts are: to observe nonkilling, non-stealing, non-sexual misconduct, non-false speech, and non-consumption of intoxicants. These are the minimum levels of moral conduct that a Buddhist vows to follow in his or her daily Conduct. The five precepts are not imposed by an outside god or the Buddha himself. It is a pledge that all practicing Buddhists make to themselves and repeat everyday as the day starts and in all auspicious occasions. For example we say: “I undertake to observe the precept to abstain from destroying the life of living beings.” Similarly the other precepts are undertaken.

Thus the most fundamental principle in Buddha’s teachings is respect and protection of all sentient life. Nonkilling and not giving any support or encouragement to taking away life is the foremost self-discipline that should be cultivated in practice of Buddhism. According to our ancient chronicles there had been times in our Sri Lankan history that “No-Killing Societies” existed under pious and righteous kings. Even killing of fish, land animals and birds were prohibited by law. In those times agriculture flourished, national peace prevailed, people’s basic needs were satisfied and arts and crafts, tanks and irrigation systems, architecture and literature, and massive *stupas* were built and we were known as a *Dharmadweepa* (Land of Righteousness) and *Dhanyagara* (Land of Agricultural Prosperity).

Unfortunately, disunity among the ruling class, South Indian invasions, invasions by the Western imperial powers and finally British colonization changed the course of history of our land and people. Sri Lanka became independent in 1948 but all the ancient values, nonviolent methodologies, social political and economic structures were weakened. In their place Western values, methodologies and structures were imposed on the people. The ideal of a nonkilling society became a utopian dream in the minds of people who believed in nonviolence. And killing became an acceptable norm. I would like to mention here two Suttas, two discourses delivered by Buddha to his disciples:

Karaniyametta Sutta. In this Sutta, Buddha admonishes us to spread loving kindness to all living beings. For example, “Whatsoever draws breath, or has existence—the quaking or the steadfast, Enfolding all—the long, the huge, the mid-sized, the short, the lean, the big... Those visible and those invisible, those dwelling afar, those seeking birth—may all beings have happy minds.” This is the extent to which the positive expression of nonkilling, mainly loving kindness, was advocated by the Buddha.

In another discourse he advocated how to practice meditation on loving kindness. For example, he beseeched us to cultivate loving kindness in this way: “May I be free from enmity, disease, and grief, and may I live always happily! As I am, so also may teachers, preceptors, parents, intimate, indifferent, and inimical beings, be free from enmity, disease, and grief, and may they live happily! May they be released from suffering. May they not be deprived of their fortune, duly acquired!”

Even in modern times, these Suttas are chanted in Buddhist village temples and Buddhist homes. Most Buddhists practice meditation on loving kindness at the end of their daily religious observances.

The Global Nonkilling Spirit

Sources of Nonkilling Inspiration

Mairead Maguire
Nobel Peace Laureate

I grew up in a Catholic home in Belfast, Northern Ireland, and will always be grateful to my mother and father whose lives of prayer and faith were passed onto their eight children. We lived in an area which suffered over 30 years of violent conflict, yet my parents' faith in God and the daily practice of their Christian Religion, and service to others, was always a great strength and inspiration to me.

My love of reading especially the lives of the early Christian mystics, St. Francis and St. Clare, St. John of the Cross, St. Teresa of Avila, helped me in my Spiritual Journey. Later in life I was inspired by writings of Gandhi, Tolstoy, Dorothy Day, Thomas Merton, Thich Nhat Hanh, and John Dear.

However, it was not until early 1970 that my journey into nonkilling and nonviolence took place. After witnessing State violence perpetrated against members of the community, I was so angered by this injustice, I seriously considered turning to violence in order to stop this injustice. I remember someone saying there was such a thing as a just war, and it was right to use violence when faced with injustice. I read the necessary qualifications for a Just War but found they did not make sense to me. I studied the Bible and found the "Sermon on the Mount" and the life of Jesus an inspiring story of nonviolence, and came to agree with the late Fr. John McKenzie who once wrote "you cannot read the gospels and not know that Jesus was totally non-violent." But above all, I went to the Cross and spent long hours just looking and listening for an answer to my question, "Is it ever right to use violence?" The answer came very clearly to me, Love your enemy and do not kill. For me the Cross is the greatest symbol of nonviolent Love in action, where Jesus challenged injustice and died before he would kill or hurt another human being. The Cross is one of my sources of nonkilling inspiration.

Another source comes from within. I believe the Kingdom of God is within every human person and when we take time to be silent and listen we become aware of the presence of love within our own hearts, aware of the beautiful gift of life we are given, and energized and inspired by the Holy Spirit to fulfill our purpose in life by becoming loving, compassionate, nonkilling, human beings.

Nonkilling in Hindu Tradition

Balwant “Bill” Bhaneja
University of Ottawa

Nonviolence and Nonkilling has been a salient feature in the history of Indian people for more than 2,500 years. For thousands of years, *Ahimsa* has been a starting doctrine for sages who strove to practice Dharma whether performing their worldly or spiritual duties.

From ancient Vedic period to the era of Mahatma Gandhi, the concept of *Ahimsa* has been a significant human value of Indian culture. The first written reference to *Ahimsa* is in *Upanishads* (circa 700 B.C.). It appears as one of the five ethical qualities that one must develop as personal sacrifice to discover the Divine within. *Ahimsa* is one of the five ethical qualities along with Truth, Righteousness, Love, and Peace.

Hinduism does not profess or assert its claims of Truth in ways that would legitimate the use of violence to enforce these or punish those who do not profess its worldview. It is a religion that seeks achievement of peace through unity between material and spiritual, interior and exterior, and *Atman* and *Brahman*. The all pervasive Reality when spoken in terms of its universal aspect is called *Brahman*, and when as our innermost self, it is *Atman*. This mergence of two brings *moksha*, salvation.

The obstacles to such spiritual union are acts of violence and untruth that are motivated by greed, anger, and self-interest; if these are not overcome they continue to bring pain and ignorance. *Patanjali* in his *Yogasutra* states that when a man becomes “steadfast in his abstentions from harming others, then all living creatures cease to feel enmity in his presence as there is no reciprocation.” The doctrine of *Ahimsa* in Hinduism is thus neither negative nor positive. The emphasis is on action, only right means can achieve right ends.

Definition of courage in Hinduism comes from the conception of death; that is, living your life in a moment. If you live your life in each moment (fulfilling your *Dharma*), as it could be your last, then you fear nothing.

Gandhiji’s expression that nonviolence is not for cowards was perhaps based on this implicit understanding of *Ahimsa* as he continued his experiments with truth. His active nonviolent resistance emanated from such in-

ner strength to confront the batons and bullets fearlessly, thus arousing a nonviolent revolution in the conscience of the adversary.

The Hindu scripture *Bhagvad Gita* is often described as a treatise about war. In fact, it is more about ways to prevent a war, telling its reader how to overcome inner and outer conflict through fulfillment of righteous conduct, *Dharma*. The ultimate victory in the *Bhagvad Gita* is not a happy one. It shows that as aftermath of a war, even the victors are not contented. The winning clan ultimately in a drunken brawl annihilates each other. Those who survive, mainly the four virtuous brothers on the hearing of this news and the demise of their mentor Krishna, renounce everything to follow the eldest; they journey North till one by one they die walking towards Himalaya for their spiritual salvation.

It was in this context Gandhiji said that violence may seem to resolve conflicts but when it does, it is only temporary. Ultimately, in killing no one wins because the winner leaves behind a bitter enemy. Violence may end all conflicts but only after eliminating all humanity.

To seek peace outside, one has to have peace within. At the same time to be at peace internally, one has to play one's part in creating conditions of peace in the world. The two are intertwined.

In summary, the basic theological message of Hinduism stands out as one of unity of existence; it is fundamental in the Hindu search for love, truth, peace, and nonviolence.

Killing is an extreme form that results from the sense of otherness we tend to create. Vision of *Ahimsa* is based on interdependence and interconnection among all beings (and even nonbeings).

Ahimsa, Nonviolence, and Nonkilling affirm the negation of otherness to ensure that one is not causing the other any injury in thought, word and deed.

All Hindu prayers end with benediction of *Om Shanti, Shanti, Shanti*, which means Peace to Body, Peace to Mind, and Peace to Soul—*That I am*.

Humanism, Nonkilling, and Leadership

George Simson
University of Hawai'i

It would seem at first glance that there is an obvious commonsense reason why nonkilling and humanism are closely allied. Humanism means assigning the highest value to live human beings. Observation and respect for the natural world, memory, imagination, plain speaking, high thinking, good will, tolerance, and judgment are the instruments of humanism. Time and space—the whole of nature—comprise both the palette and canvas of humanism. To the humanist each human should be protected at birth, nurtured in the natural world during youth, encouraged during times of creativity, and prolonged into mature productivity until peaceful and dignified death. Killing humans—shortening their mortal span through violence or neglect—is antithetical to valuing them. To humanists, pain and suffering, lying and superstition are the main bad things, and are the cause or consequences of killing. The Kantian categorical imperative—act so that it could be willed universally—or its musical counterpart, Beethoven's 9th are better suited to nonkilling than killing.

The antithesis of humanism is epitomized in St. Anselm's 12th century formulation called the ontological argument for the existence of God. Anselm thought that in the hierarchy of reality a god is at the top and is, therefore, omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent. Such delegation of absolute power to something unseen is the very opposite of the humanistic sense of ethical responsibility for life. Such a blind mouth (Milton's phrase) of absolutism contrasts sharply with the humanistic ontology of becoming.

Humanism is subject to much sub-classification and diverse morphologies. Classification is the ancient genius of Aristotle and the contemporary genius of the Google whiz kids, Page and Brin, the Palo Alto billionaires. Some varieties of humanism are secular humanism (the demon of the absolutists), Christian humanism, scientific humanism, geographical humanism, eye-level humanism, resource humanism, literary humanism, humanism of the arts, Asian humanism, Buddhist humanism, and Confucian humanism.

This classifying the varieties of humanism leads to judgment because judgment requires classifying entities, an act which is the basis of both logic

(“reason”) and perceiving the world of agreement. Thus judgment is the better term to use when describing the actions of humanists because it has fewer undertones of ancient hostility than “reason.” Furthermore, judgment then becomes a shared activity among many belief systems and a non-final locus of agreement among many diverse belief systems. That in turn provides a basis of human agreement, even if partial, and with good will, nonkilling.

Because all belief systems use judgment, it is better to use the word “judgment” than the word “reason” in defining humanistic ratiocination. The reason in the context of nonkilling leadership is that “judgment” implies identification, selection, comparison, classification, and inference, activities shared by all kinds of humanists and non-humanists. Further, it avoids the undertone of ancient contention in the use of the term “reason.” All but the most romantic thinkers engage in some form of judgment. Emphasizing “judgment” provides an actively practical epistemology useful to all our efforts at nonkilling leadership.

Erasmus, a Christian humanist in the 15th c. showed and implied that the defining characteristic of humanism is ethics, social or personal. Humanistic ethics applies principle to experience. Ethics is not moralizing, although moralizing may be a part of ethics. Humanism recognizes that fraud is the handmaid of killing.

Practical ethics is the ability to distinguish the *is* from the *ought*. Humanistic ethics is naturalistic and derives its enforcement from a broad understanding of consequences. *To the humanist, ought is simply today catching up with tomorrow.* The distinction between *is* and *ought* got an undeserved bad name from Machiavelli, but, rescued in the 20th c., it has become central to humanistic ethical thinking because it distinguishes, but does not divide, fact from value. It is particularly pertinent to the ethics of nonkilling because living through our mortality is a big *is*, while thwarting mortality’s devaluation is a big *Ought*. In short nonkilling ethics depends on the idea that what we perceive and what our human limitations let us conceive is what we’ve got, and enforcement is through the imperative of actively alleviating pain, suffering, fraud and superstition so we can live with the consequences.

The big leadership issue is not only how to define and understand the ethical locus of humanism but how to make ethical nonkilling arguments persuasive to the point of action by one person or by 6 billion people—so that people choose to act as nonkillers rather than killers. Again, diminishing pain, suffering, and lying by vigorously estimating naturalistic consequences is at the core of humanistic action.

Two traditional aspects of humanism could be re-energized as part of a worldwide effort at leadership to stop killing. Leadership in nonkilling humanistic ethics would connect rule ethics and attitude ethics. For example, a rule ethic such as “Thou shalt not kill” and an attitude ethic of “The waste of life by killing appalls me” need to be integrated into ethical social contracts. This merging could be done through approaching the problem through conventional, widely understood, institutions—art, particularly the motion picture and education—which are really loci of agreement. Even our best and brightest turn out to be purveyors of killing because they corrupt these two good institutions through the artful rhetoric of lying propaganda and the education of destructive self-interest.

In the spirit of secular humanism—which is always in process and greets with aloha many other compatible ways of understanding and acting—this forum may want to show the path of nonkilling cultural leadership through the re-direction of education and the indirection of cinematic art.

Roots of the Spirit of Nonkilling in Jainism

S. L. Gandhi
Anuvrat Global Organization

Jainism has in it the deep roots of the spirit of nonkilling. It enjoins its followers to abstain from killing not only humans but from all forms of life that inhabit this universe. The Jaina scriptures use the word *ahimsa* for nonkilling. Its nearest substitute in English is nonviolence but it falls short of the profound meaning with which *ahimsa* is interpreted in Jainism. It not only means abstinence from physical violence but also from mental and verbal violence. The seeds of violence first sprout in the human mind and then they manifest themselves in either violent words or violent acts.

The word “Jainism” is derived from the word *jina* which means one who has conquered the self by annihilating all passions. A Jina is also called a Tirthankara, a builder of the ford (which leads across *samsara*, the ocean of suffering). The Jains are those who follow the path shown by the self-illuminated *jinas*. They believe that twenty four Tirthankars or *jinas* appear in each ascending and descending half of the time cycle and they have done so from time immemorial and will continue to do so. The first Tirthankar of this descending half of the present cycle was Rsabha and the last was Lord Mahavira who was born in 599 BCE and was a contemporary of Lord Buddha. In Jainism, *ahimsa* (nonviolence) is *paramodharma* (the highest form of righteousness). This sutra alone constitutes the quintessence of Jainism. It reveals the deepest roots of the nonkilling culture paving the way for the peaceful co-existence of all humans and for preserving the ecosystem on which their survival depends. Not to speak of the wanton destruction of forests, animals, birds, etc. the ghastly killing of humans by humans in the name of caste, colour, creed and nationality has increased manifold. Apart from killing the members of his own species humans are killing animals and birds not only for their food but also for fun and cosmetics.

In the course of his austerities and deep meditation Lord Mahavira realized that the entire earth was nothing but a heap of *jivas* (animate beings). The earth consists of both *jivas* (sentient beings) and *ajiva* (non-sentient beings). In the course of his quest for the ultimate truth he came to the conclusion that all *jivas*, small or big, want to live, no one wants to die, so killing

any of them is a sin. His compassion extends not only to humans but to all forms of life that inhabit the earth. According to him all *jivas* are equal. The Acarharang Sutra gives us a detailed elucidation of his philosophy of nonkilling. Answering a question of his disciple Jambu as to what constitutes eternal dharma (religion) he says, "I So Pronounce That All The Omniscient Beings Of All Times State, Speak, Propagate, And Elaborate That Nothing Which Breathes, Which Exists, Which Lives, And Which Has Any Essence Or Or Potential Of Life, Should Be Destroyed Or Ruled Over, Or Subjugated, Or Harmed, Or Denied Of Its Essence Or Potential."

This truth, propagated by self-knowing omniscient beings, after understanding all there is in the universe, is pure, undefileable, and eternal. In support of this truth I ask you a question, "Is sorrow or pain desirable for you?"

If you say, "Yes, it is," it would be a lie, as it is against the evident reality. If you say, "No, it is not," you will be telling the truth. What I want to add to the truth expressed by you is that as sorrow or pain is not desirable for you, so it is to all which breath, exist, live, or have any essence of life. To you and all it is undesirable, and painful, and repugnant.

That which you consider worth destroying is (like) yourself.

That which you consider worth disciplining is (like) yourself.

That which you consider worth harming is (like) yourself.

That which you consider worth subjugating is (like) yourself.

That which you consider worth killing is (like) yourself.

The result of actions by you has to be borne by you, so do not destroy anything.

These words of Lord Mahavira contain the roots of nonkilling. The essence of his message is that killing of any form of life is a heinous crime. He further says, "Human Race Is One. No One Is High Or Low. One Is Brahmana (A Category Of His Caste In India) Not By Birth But By One's Profession, One Is A Kshatriya (Warrior Caste) Not By Birth But By One's Profession. One Is Vaisya (The Third Category Caste In India) Or Sudra (Low Caste) Merely On Account Of One's Profession. A Human Being Should Refrain From Mental Violence (Vowing To Do Deliberate Harm To Someone, To Gather Destructive Material Or Contemplating Wreaking Vengeance On Someone), From Verbal Violence Which Includes The Use Of Abusive Words And Swearing And From Physical Violence I.E. Vowing To Kill Someone."

Mahavira believed in pure *ahimsa* and rejected the theory of killing even in self-defence. He says that killing can never be the basis of our life. It is peace which is the basis of one's life. He has stated in these words, "All The

Tirthankars Or Buddhas Who Were Born In The Past Or Will Be Born In The Future Have Peace As Their Basis.”

Defining nonkilling or nonviolence Mahavira says, “*Ahimsa* Means Complete Absence Of Any Thought Of Attachment.” He knew that it is not possible for a house-holder to eschew violence in its totality so he laid down for him a code of conduct based on small vows (*anuvrats*). Addressing his shrvak (*votary*) Anand Mahavira says, “A House Holder Must Refrain From Five Types Violence I.E. Binding An Animal With A Rope Which Is Tight, Using A Lathi To Beat Someone, Maiming One’s Body, Loading An Animal Heavily And Depriving Someone Of Food And Water.”

In Jainism the roots of nonkilling are very strong. If one cannot abstain from violence in its totality, one can make a beginning by abstaining from deliberate violence. *Sankalpja himsa* (deliberate violence) is the main course of conflict in the world. Let us at least pledge to refrain from harming any living being deliberately. We can at least refrain from killing innocent beings, Mahavira’s message of *anuvrat* (small vows) can save the world from killing.

Continuing the lofty tradition of Mahavira today is His Holiness Acharya Mahapragya, the head of Jain Swetamber Terapanth Sect and the spiritual patron of the Anuvrat Movement. He has recently launched Ahimsa Samvaaya which is a forum for a dialogue and joint action plans among all practitioners of ahimsa to stop killing in the world. His *Ahimsa Yatra* (grassroots educational procession) is another effective campaign to awaken the spirit of people against killing. We can fulfil our dream of a nonkilling society by joining his mission or extending support to him.

Ants, Birds, Infants, and Humans

Notes on Islam and Nonkilling Politics

Chaiwat Satha-Anand
Thammasat University

Violence in Southern Thailand has hitherto claimed more than 3,000 lives of Buddhists and Muslims, ordinary people and government officials since early 2004. General Chavalit Yongchaiyuth, a former Deputy Prime Minister of Thailand, who was in charge of security affairs during the previous Thaksin government that governed Thailand in the early part of this decade, remarked on this violence that: “Our Muslim brothers (sisters) always greet one another with ‘peace be with you’, but at the same time killings have occurred among themselves which is evidence of deviant (Islamic) teachings.”¹ In 2003, the PEW Research Center in Washington, DC reported its attitude survey of Muslim respondents in Turkey, Pakistan, Morocco, and Jordan about suicide bombings. It was found that 74 and 86 per cent of respondents in Morocco and Jordan supported the use of suicide bombings by Palestinians against Israelis.² But does this mean that most Muslims would support killings? What do Muslims think about killings?

Though these are difficult questions in the absence of a Muslim worldwide survey, if one chooses to believe in survey results despite all kinds of shortcomings, perhaps an answer could be found indirectly by raising the question of the Muslims’ attitude towards the place of war in dealing with conflict. In conducting such a survey with more than 6,300 Muslim respondents in 7 countries: Egypt, Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, Indonesia, Malaysia and Kazakhstan, Riaz Hassan found that while figures for those in support of war have been high in the three Middle Eastern countries and Pakistan (from 58-66 %), they are much lower in three other countries: Malaysia 37%, Indonesia 33% and Kazakhstan 11%.³ Could it mean that in these Muslim countries, at least some 60% disagree with the use of killing as a way to deal with conflicts in the world? Based on Hassan’s empirical study of more than a decade using massive cross-cultural, cross-national surveys and interviews, I

¹ *Matichon* (June 3, 2004), p. 1, 15 (In Thai).

² Cited in Riaz Hassan, *Inside Muslim Minds* (Carlton, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2008), pp. 122-3.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 124 and Table 3.2 on p. 125.

would argue that Muslim attitudes towards killing as a vehicle for solving international conflicts vary significantly in Muslim countries, and that only a small fraction of Muslims actively support killing and killing organizations.⁴

Why such is indeed the case is of profound importance for any attempt to understand the Muslims and their proclivity towards nonkilling politics. If religious belief is to be analyzed as conviction politics and not merely as expediency, then there is a need to understand why most Muslims do not support killings by looking at conventional Islamic teachings on the value of lives, animals and human, and the ways in which killing is delimited or prohibited through those teachings. For the purpose of this brief paper, I would call attention to how conventional Islamic texts, the *Qur'an* and the *Hadith* (Prophetic Traditions) deal with lives of ants, birds, infants, and all human beings.

Ants

“Allah's Apostle said, Once while a prophet amongst the prophets was taking a rest underneath a tree, an ant bit him. He, therefore, ordered that his luggage be taken away from underneath that tree and then ordered that the dwelling place of the ants should be set on fire. Allah sent him a revelation: Wouldn't it have been sufficient to burn a single ant (that bit you)?”

Hadith Bukhari, 4536: Abu Huraira narrated

Birds

“We were with the Apostle of Allah (peace be upon him) during a journey. He went to ease himself. We saw a bird with her two young ones and we captured her young ones. The bird came and began to spread its wings. The Apostle of Allah (peace be upon him) came and said: Who grieved this for its young ones? Return its young ones to it. He also saw an ant village that we had burnt. He asked: Who has burnt this? We replied: We. He said: It is not proper to punish with fire except the Lord of fire.”

Hadith Abu Dawood, 2669: Abdullah ibn Mas'ud narrated

Infants

“Kill not your children for fear of want: We shall provide sustenance for them as well as for you: verily the killing of them is a great sin.”

Al-Qur'an 17:31

⁴ Ibid., pp. 126-7. In Hassan's words: “only a very small fraction of Muslims actively support jihadi organizations and their activities” (p. 126).

Humans

“On that account: We ordained for the Children of Israel that if anyone slew a person unless it be for murder or for spreading mischief in the land it would be as if he slew the whole people: and if anyone saved a life it would be as if he saved the life of the whole people. Then although there came to them Our apostles with clear Signs yet even after that many of them continued to commit excesses in the land.”

Al-Qur'an 5: 32

Beyond the obvious theme of linking the humans with the animals in the world where all creatures are created by God, I would argue that there are four other issues raised by these teachings which are conducive to the value of nonkilling, and therefore make it possible to understand why killing in general is viewed negatively by most Muslims.

First, the story of the ants while giving permission to kill, especially when the human was attacked first, importantly prohibited the notion of overkill. This is of utmost importance in an age when advanced weapon technology has obliterated the idea of proportionality in the use of violence. Overkill can be made to feel comfortable due to the technologized ability to shield the perpetrators, or societies that support them, from its devastating effects on the victims.

Second, the story of the birds explicitly prohibits the Muslims from killing the young ones. If the notion of young ones is seen from a temporal perspective, then it is clear that they should not be killed because the future(s) should not be killed, but needs to be protected.

Third, the injunction against female infanticide in the first Qur'anic verse cited here, is a clear indication of an Islamic critique of cultural violence which had legitimized such practice in Arab cultures for so long. Killing infants in the name of culture is not acceptable, not only in terms of protecting the future(s) stated above, but also because the infants are God's gifts to the humanity and the world. At their weakest existence, they are the strongest link between parents and children, and more importantly mirroring God's miracle of creation seen through a child's birth. In this profound sense, such a culture cannot be tolerated by Muslims since it was the legacy of the age of ignorance and therefore an anathema to the belief in God's Mercy, perhaps the most important Islamic belief.⁵

⁵ See a discussion along this line in Chaiwat Satha-Anand, "The Jahiliyya Factor: Fighting Muslims' Cultural Resistance to Nonviolence," in Ralph Summy and Senthil Ram (eds.) *Nonviolence: An Alternative for Defeating Global Terror(ism)* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2008).

Fourth, though the famous Qur'anic verse prohibiting killing because taking even one's life is equal to killing the whole humanity does have an exceptional clause and therefore is not categorical, it is extremely important to understand that by equating one life to the whole of humanity, this teaching denies killing its most common ground of justification in terms of numbers, understood as collateral damage or "peace dividend" as promoted by General "El Gaucho" Cisneros, a former Peruvian minister and a coup maker who once said that "if it were necessary to kill twenty civilians in order to eliminate two or three terrorists, then that action was justified."⁶ This Qur'anic verse has made it impossible to justify the means of killing with ends through numbers, whether in terms of destroying the few for the good of the many or taking the lives of the many for the sake of a greater good.

But then in what ways have these four issues discussed above contributed to nonkilling politics?

In her study of the politics of jihad by the "Islamists" Roxanne Euben underlines the importance of those who see death and killing as a legitimate and necessary part of the remaking of politics. They believe that violence is a legitimate expression of political action and an end in itself when guided and justified by a divinely authorized plan. She points out that this is in sharp contrast to Hannah Arendt's idea expounded in her *On Violence*, that the phenomenon of killing must transpire outside the public realm because such violence is antithetical to the preconditions for political actions.⁷ She then suggests that while many political theorists may be skeptical of Arendt's understanding of politics, quite a few share her conclusion regarding killing, namely "politics is said to end where violence begins because *killing for politics entails, in essence, killing politics itself.*"⁸

Following the Islamic teachings on the ants, birds, infants, and human life discussed above, the emerging politics underscores the significance of protecting the future(s), delegitimizing cultural violence, strengthening the human-Divine relationship, prohibiting killings by refusing to accept the morbid justification of turning human life into a number game, while the existence of killing, if any, is delimited with the notion of proportionality. In this sense, nonkilling politics, legitimized by Islamic teachings, could be seen as the alternative remaking of politics for Muslims in the fast changing public sphere.

⁶ Cited in "Interview with Salomon Lerner," *International Review of the Red Cross*, Vol. 88 No.862 (June 2006), pp. 229-230.

⁷ Roxanne L. Euben, "Killing (for) Politics: *Jihad*, Martyrdom and Political Action," *Political Theory*, Vol.30 No. 1 (February 2002), pp. 4-35.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 26. (my italics).

Nonkilling in the Jewish Tradition

Alice Tucker
Pacific Health Ministry

I am totally awed and overwhelmed by being on this panel, as just about every other member is a learned scholar. The only other member who does not have a Dr. before her name is, wow!, a Nobel Peace Laureate. If my friends could see me now!

I confess (and confession is not part of Judaism, because we are expected to act cor-rectly and not need to confess) that I did consult with my spiritual leader, Rabbi Peter Schaktman of Temple Emanu-El, for guidance. I also prayed a lot.

To say that we are, or at least should strive to be, a nonkilling global society is a glorious goal. Unfortunately throughout the world there are entire populations whose value systems do not place the same standards on a living being and preservation as do we. We should not, however, lower our standards or moral code, and must use gatherings such as this to make nonkilling “the right thing.” I liken this cause to the once not-very-fashionable environmentalists who seemed to be lone voices in the wilderness. Would that nonkilling might become so universally accepted.

One of the oldest references to nonkilling was brought down by “one of our boys,” a gentleman named Moses, from Mt. Sinai. These tenets to live by, given by the Almighty, were in the form of stone tablets now called The Ten Commandments. The sixth of these commandments has been interpreted in more than one way. The translation from Hebrew is “Thou shalt not murder.” A distinction is made between “murder” and “kill.” It is important to stress that in the Torah, the most important document in and cornerstone of Judaism, there are some circumstances where killing is countenanced. These included self-defense, in times of war and, surprisingly, capital punishment. The Torah, what Christians refer to as “The Old Testament,” is not universally pacifist. However, one of Judaism’s highest values is Pikuach Nefesh, which is the saving of life or preserving life.

A basic tenet in Jewish theology is that humans are created in God’s image, so destruction of a human implies the destruction of God’s image in the world. Killing is considered a deep failure, since destroying God’s image is a

tragedy. Talmudic writing states that “killing one innocent person is like killing humanity, and saving one innocent person is like saving humanity.”

Historically Jews have been nonviolent throughout most of history mainly because they did not have power. An old joke tells of a Jewish man in Russia who said to some Russian soldiers, “We are better than you because we don’t hunt.” The soldiers replied, “Of course you don’t hunt. We don’t allow you to have guns.”

In ancient times wars of Israel were a matter more for theology than for politics. They took place in Scripture against the evil inclination more than against any historical foe. The “sword and bow” mentioned in Genesis 48:22, Ps. 44.7 is in fact “prayer and beseeching.” The “soldier and warrior” and “those who repel attacks at the gate” in the Book of Isaiah (3:2; 28:6) are not warriors in the literal sense, but “those who know how to dispute in the battle of the Torah.” The sword of the mighty is the Torah. “David’s warriors” were none other than manifestations of the might of his spirit “as he took part in the session of scholars.”

Judaism has always been involved in seeking and pursuing peace. Jews have been commanded to go door to door with the message of peace. Throughout the Torah there are many passages “seek peace and pursue it.” In biblical times many options were given to avoid conflict. For instance, if an army wanted to overtake a city, the leader was required to first offer peace terms, make sure that the army did not destroy crops of the city, did not destroy the water supply, and must allow all those who wished the chance to escape. We all know the old expression, “An eye for an eye,” etc. Jewish tradition never took it literally. Throughout the ages Jews have not been known for their fight, but for their flight—usually through persecution. Between 20 AD and the early 20th century the issue of Jewish fighting or wars was a non-issue. Then the political world intervened.

That being said, self-defense is not only permitted, but encouraged, and traditional and non-traditional weapons have been used with ingenuity and success. Well-known examples of Jews defending their religion and their very being include David’s defense against Goliath, the Macabees’ national liberation movement against Antiochus IV of the Hellenistic Seleucid dynasty in 167 BCE, and the uprising in the Jewish ghetto of Warsaw during World War II. Clearly Jews participated in killing, but also clearly these were instances of righteous self-defense.

The Talmud, a record of rabbinic discussions pertaining to Jewish law, ethics, customs and history, consists of the first written compendium of Judaism’s Oral Law, discussion thereof and is the basis for all codes of rab-

binic law. It specifically refers to execution or capital punishment as the proper punishment for so-called capital crimes such as a Jew killing another Jew. Furthermore, it refers to the fact that if a non-Jew kills another non-Jew, he should not be judged by Jews, but by Divine providence, and God will deal with that killer appropriately.

The Nobel Peace Prize is the highest honor a person can receive, as my esteemed co-panelist Mairead Maguire knows. Ninety-five individuals, not including organizations, have been awarded this great honor. Of the recipients, nine have been Jewish.

In conclusion, nonkilling and the absence of strife is such an integral part of Judaism that the person-to-person greeting and farewell in the Jewish state of Israel is, of course, the word Shalom. We all have assumed that the proper translation of the word is “peace”; however, the literal translation is, as a quality of peace, “wholeness,” “blessed harmony,” and by extension “inner balance.” Here in Hawai‘i we have a similar word (unfortunately made almost trite by overuse, but nonetheless a beautiful, meaningful word), and it is, of course, Aloha. We must continue to strive for a world of Shalom and Aloha. In Hawai‘i we Jews have the best of circumstances as we strive to live a life of Shalom and Aloha. To that end we have adapted this feeling of wholeness, inner balance and, yes, peace, and have coined an appropriate word—Shaloha. My most sincere wish for us all today and in our entire world is a life of Shaloha.

Tao (Compassion) and Nonkilling

Rhee Dongshick

Korean Academy of Psychotherapy

Congratulations to the First Global Nonkilling Leadership Forum. When I think of Nonkilling, comes to my mind the compassion of Buddhism, Jen (仁) of Confucianism and God's grace of Christianity. Also that absolute Nonkilling is not possible.

Animals and human beings cannot survive without killing. All that we eat are living beings: vegetables, fruits, corns, nuts, meats and fish, etc.

Possible nonkilling means unnecessary "inhuman" killing. Buddhism discourages killing which is not necessary for survival. Buddhism teaches that Buddha offers his body to be eaten by a tiger. Confucianism teaches attaining Jen (compassion) by killing oneself. The solution of the nonkilling problem lies in the cultivation of compassion.

Buddhist sutras reveal human suffering is caused by love and hate. Hate is created by craving for love (craving for returning to mother's womb). Western psychoanalysis reveals that emotional disorder is caused by insatiable needs for love which cannot be satisfied by love and inevitably leads to hostility. This hostility has to be repressed because if you express your hostility toward parents, especially toward your mother, you cannot get love. This is a vicious circle which is repeated in human life. The solution of this love and hate circle is Tao practice and psychotherapy.

Fortunately meditation and mindfulness practice are spreading in the U.S.A, Europe and other parts of the world. This movement will help to cultivate compassion. Tao practice and psychotherapy aim at elimination of love and hate and cultivation of compassion instead of love and hate. If need for love which is quite normal and healthy for the growing child are frustrated, hostility (killing) ensues. Erik Erikson wrote that if you do not have basic trust you become neurotic or psychotic. Basic trust is created by mother's healthy love. This suggests that child-rearing practice is very important for cultivating compassion. In this respect international research at Harvard University a few decades ago found in a comparative study of child-rearing practices in the U.S.A, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan that the mother-child relation is closest in Korea.

Chinese historical records repeat that Koreans love to drink and dance all night. When they meet in the street they stop and let the other pass. Their words are compassionate (仁); they love living beings, they are gentle and do not plunder. Confucius said twice in the *Analects* that he wanted to go to the nine wild tribes of the east (Korea) by raft and live. Some asked, Why? He said that Tao is not practiced in China but over there live the superior men (君子).

My feeling is that we are very fortunate to have Mr. Ban Ki-Moon as the U.N. Secretary General for establishing world peace and cultivating compassion and a nonkilling world.

Is a Nonkilling Haitian Voodoo Religion Possible?

Max Paul
Université Jean Price Mars

Nowadays, the problematic of religion, violence and killing is often agitated and discussed. One tends to affirm that some religions are more prone to violence and killing than others.

However, after examining the history of religions, one may come to the conclusion that followers of most of them have committed crimes in name of their God or doctrines, even crimes against humanity. In fact, the Haitian Voodoo religion has a bad reputation though it has not been involved in the persecution of followers of other religions. To the contrary, its followers have known many persecutions in the course of Haitian history.

Taking into account Voodoo's bad reputation, one can ask the following questions:

1. Where does this bad reputation come from?
2. What is the doctrinal position of Voodoo regarding life, human life and respect for life?
3. What is the practice of Voodoo regarding killing, destroying human life?
4. What are the magical, supernatural killing capacities in Voodoo?
5. Are there nonkilling capacities in Voodoo?

I would like to try in this paper to answer these questions and would rely upon Glenn D. Paige's book, *Nonkilling Global Political Science*, to answer the fifth question.

Voodoo Religion in Haiti's History and Culture

Regarding the question of violence and killing, Haitian Voodoo religion has a bad reputation in Western literature. In this literature Voodoo is reduced to fear, violence, sacrifice of animals, even human beings and zombies. Books written in the 19th century on Voodoo and Wade Davis' recent book and film, *The Serpent and the Rainbow*, written and produced in the 1980s, contributed to reinforce this Voodoo perception. This type of litera-

ture has commonly raised vehement reactions among Haitian intellectuals, especially among ethnologists in the first half of the 20th century.

At that time, Haiti was occupied by American Marines (1915-1934) and the struggle for the recuperation of Haitian sovereignty was waged through culture. Jean Price Mars' work *Ainsi parla l'oncle* (1922) constitutes a milestone in this process of national and cultural awareness. Intellectuals, writers, poets, artists, journalists, sociologists, and ethnologists were mobilized against the occupiers and their national supporters.

Haitian ethnologists played a major role in this struggle through their studies on Haitian society and culture. They were practicing an engaged ethnology, "*une ethnologie de guerre*," as Jacques Oriol, a long time Director of the Bureau of Ethnology, liked to express. They were concerned to demonstrate that there existed a specific Haitian culture in which the Voodoo religion was an overwhelming component. Other intellectuals, especially bourgeois Mulatto ones, denied the existence of Voodoo as such and considered Haiti as a French province lost in the Caribbean Sea.

This Western literature, in which Voodoo is presented solely in a bad light, is the expression of Christian Euro-American-centric prejudices.

Voodoo played a significant and determining role during the struggle against slavery and colonialism in the French colony Saint-Domingue. In the period of the war for Independence (1791-1804) it galvanized and destroyed fear of death among African slaves. They considered death occurring during military battles as a short road to return to Africa. An example is the Voodoo ceremony of Bois-Caïman in August 1791 which was the starting point of the general revolt against the dominant slavery system.

Voodoo as a religion embedded in witchcraft and sorcery constituting a system of knowledge, was useful in all phases of the struggle on both individual and collective levels. The victory of the first revolt of slaves against the slave system was due to the intelligent utilization of the combination of the then most advanced arms, military techniques and strategy with the African traditional resources.

Voodoo Religion and the Principle of Respect for Life

The Voodoo religion, as all religions, monotheist or polytheist, poses as its fundamental principle respect for life. This principle is praised in different songs. Voodoo is an oral religion which is sung and danced. Rituals, fundamental principles and sacred secrets are transmitted orally from one generation to the other. The Lwa, Voodoo Gods, instruct, educate and even

initiate the elected individuals during sleep time through dreams. Experienced Voodoo practitioners, Voodoo priesters, Houngan or female Voodoo priesters, Mambo, help young initiates to interpret their dreams and confirm the delivered knowledge.

The Lwa Gede, whom one celebrates with pomp at the beginning of November in various parts of Haiti, symbolizes alpha and omega, life and death. They tend to make fun out of men and women who are too pretentious. Wisdom and humbleness are advised to these men and women.

The Lwa of the Rite Ginen, coming from Dahomey, are reputed to be the ones who do not accept their servants (chwal) to be involved in wrong doings or killings. If Ginen servants break moral or mystical rules, they will be punished when they attend any Voodoo ceremony dedicated to the Lwa Ginen.

It is another question what followers or the clergy of these religions do with the principle of respect for life in their daily lives and its effect on the course of History. Nevertheless the universal existence of this respect for life constitutes a solid guideline for all peoples in all societies. One can consider it, along with universal prohibition of incest, as the first basic structuring step toward society and culture.

Voodoo Religion and Haitian Violent Deep Culture

Voodoo evolved in racist, segregated colonial Saint-Domingue and participated in all phases of the struggle against slavery and colonialism. It integrated all concepts of destruction in this struggle: *marronnage* (marooning), and *koupe têt, boule kay* (cut off heads, burn houses). After Haiti's independence in 1804, the Haitian people, Haitian heroes, and Haitian leaders did not find or have the capabilities to create—in the context of ethno-class contradictions, international hostility, constantly growing poverty, deterioration of environment and rampant growth population—new constructive concepts to build the nation and wealth. Haiti's violent deep culture fed by these viruses, like *koupe têt, boule kay*, and *marronnage*, prevailed and continues to prevail.

Male Voodoo priesters, the Houngan, female Voodoo priesters, the Mambo, and Voodoo followers in conflict situations use killing and harmful capabilities given by their belief systems, with supernatural and magic knowledge. Unexplainable diseases, deaths and the well known zombies, which remain unexplained through Western medicine, are part of daily conversations. In the census of murders, crimes and violent acts, these unexplained diseases and deaths are not counted. It is urgent to study this aspect of violence, crimes and murders in order to evaluate the true crime and murder rate.

One should underline that followers of other religions in conflict situation also employ killing and harmful capabilities of their religions to act and react. Catholics use pilgrimages and novenas in various churches, calling upon saint patrons. Protestants invoke specific psalms.

The propensity of Voodoo, Catholic, and Protestant followers to choose violence and harm in conflict situations shows that they are all participating in the Haitian violent deep culture. But only Voodoo followers tend to be stigmatized and considered as being prone to use violence and killing.

Our thesis is that Haiti, besides being visibly violent and murderous at certain moments of its history, continues to be in a permanent and latent civil war situation, which pervades every aspect of social, economic and political life. Politics are characterized by an infernal squaring of accounts which ends up in murder, exile, prison and defamation. Because of this, honest Haitians who are not violent-prone tend to avoid committing themselves to active politics.

Voodoo Religion and the Nonkilling Perspective

It is evident that there exist in Voodoo nonkilling, loving, and sharing capacities. There are moments of *communitas* as expressed in fifteen days to one month ceremonies organized by Voodoo participants, especially in Lwa Ginen ceremonies. It is also a fact that the Voodoo religion constitutes a wall against the process of Christian evangelization and westernization in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Haiti continues to be unique with its miseries, its historical and cultural particularities which make it incapable to take, thus far, successfully the road of the neo-liberal globalization process.

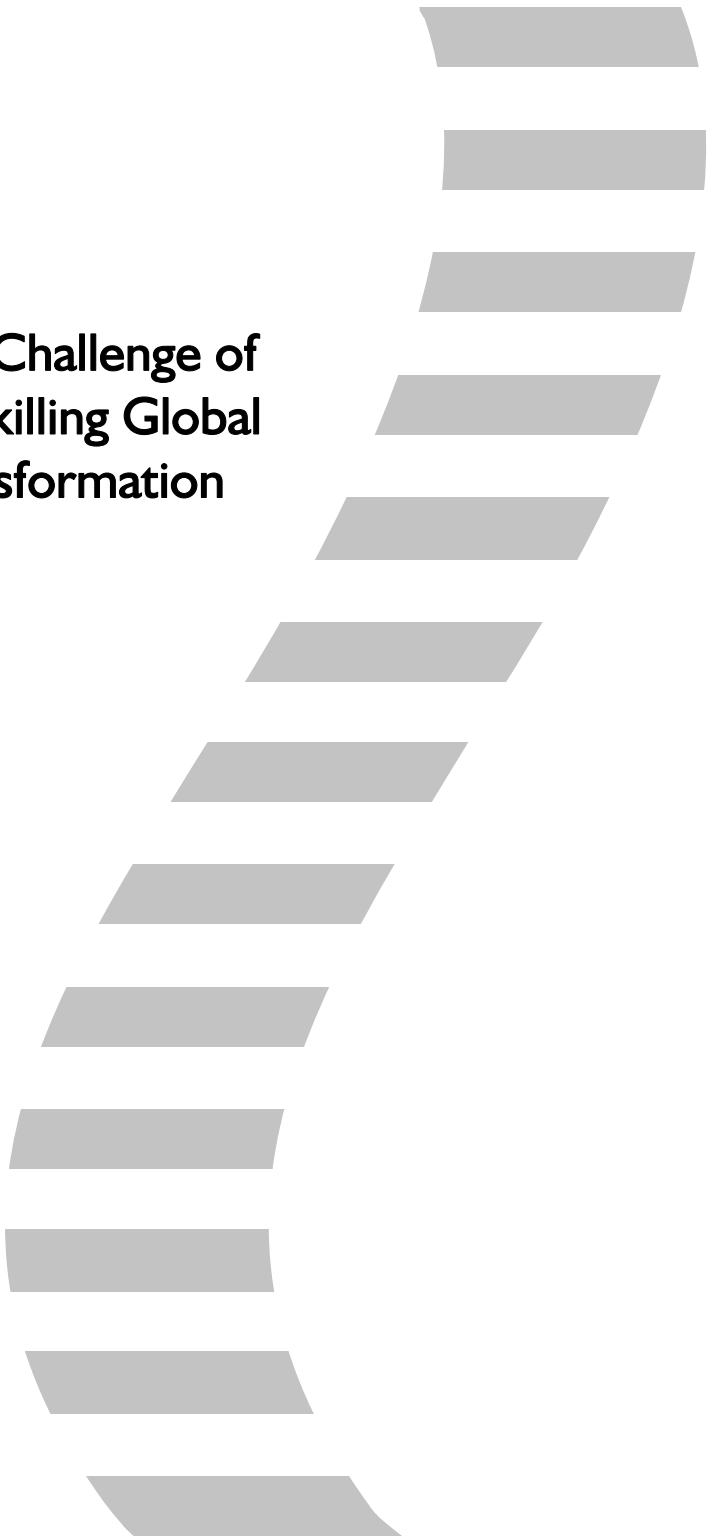
It is also a fact that until today, the context of emotions and confrontations, inward and outward, of ethno-class struggles surmounted by color prejudices, of struggle for socio-political and economic power, of existence of an aggressive Christian, Catholic, Protestant evangelization, and of the existence of a Voodoo religion evolving in a situation of social discrimination and semi-clandestinity, does not constitute a favorable climate for open and truthful discussions about violence, killing and human sacrifices in Voodoo.

Such discussions would be possible and fruitful if the violent war against Voodoo would cease in sermons in Catholic and Protestant churches. Furthermore, it is urgent for the Centre Caraïbéen pour la Non-Violence Globale et le Développement Durable (CCNGD) to engage Voodoo priesters, Catholic priests, and Protestant pastors in dialogues and discussions

around ways and means to neutralize and transcend the violent Haitian deep culture and contribute to the emergence of a nonviolent, nonkilling, prosperous, sovereign Haiti. Paige's suggestion in *Nonkilling Global Political Science* to create nonkilling spiritual councils could be the appropriate place for such discussions and affirmation of "unambiguous respect for life in all matters from birth to death." Such councils, as alternatives to conventional religious and secular apologists for violence, provide inspirational support for all efforts—public, private, local, national, regional and global—to remove lethality from the human condition" (Paige, 2002: 136).

Furthermore, Voodoo priesters and followers like Catholic priests and followers, and Protestant pastors and followers should undergo a process of an individual and collective self-reeducation in order to neutralize and eradicate the viruses maroonning, cutting off heads, burning houses, the complexe tigre, and complexe marsouin. Then Haiti needs to liberate itself from these destructive concepts and create constructive, nonkilling, peaceful concepts. Voodoo will be the first beneficiary, free of killing threats and real killings!

The Challenge of Nonkilling Global Transformation



Nonkilling Leadership and the Global Condition

Mairead Maguire
Nobel Peace Laureate

What a great joy to be with you at this gathering of friends. We came here to spend a few days together building friendships and solidarity with each other in our great task of helping to build a world of nonkilling, justice and love. This is a rather large task, but we are not alone in this work. A world of love, compassion, forgiveness and nonkilling is also, I believe, the Creator's vision for all of humanity. It is also the dream deep in the heart of every human being, to be happy, to love and be loved, and to be part of what Martin Luther King called "the Beloved Community."

But how to build such a world: Ah, that is the question? When our dear friend, and brother, Glenn Paige, asks the question "Is a Nonkilling World possible?" in his wonderful book *Nonkilling Global Political Science*, we answer "Yes," and add our own question "How do we build a Nonkilling World? Indeed how do we build a World without violence?"

Changing from a world situation where there is a great deal of violence, to one of nonkilling will take time. We must be patient and admit our shared vision of a nonkilling world may not be fulfilled in our own lifetime. Like Martin Luther King we have seen the mountain, and we may not get there, but if we join together and work hard enough, our children and our children's children will get there. With that thought we dedicate our lives to the joyful purpose of rebuilding our world in the image and likeness of the Creator's—one of beauty and celebration of life and all of creation.

To create a nonkilling culture we start from our own inner conviction that every human life is sacred and we daily cultivate within ourselves a deep reverence for all life and creation. The more deeply conscious we become of our own gift of life and the presence of this mysterious love, the deeper becomes our love, compassion, and respect for others, including our enemies (indeed we lose this whole concept of enemy)! This practice of reflection of the gift of life and consciousness, also awakens our inherited sense of justice, and we become more aware of injustices against others, of our part willingly or unwillingly in such injustice, and our responsibly to act justly and choose wisely, as we know every act has its consequence. When

we think deeply about the mystery and magnificence of our own gift of existence, we become more aware of the gift of choice. Millions of choices, some small, some not so small! But the most profound choice for each of us to make is “to choose to live or to die, to kill or not to kill?” that is the real question. So a Nonkilling World starts in our own minds, when we can choose to disarm our mindsets of violence, militarism, and war, and use the alternatives of nonviolence open to us. We can choose also to live fully alive, and be happy, in the present moment gifted to us. This is both a spiritual and a political choice and it is a personal and a community one, as we commit ourselves to the nonviolent service of others.

I believe though in our passion for nonviolence, we must have the most profound humility and respect for others’ right to choose their own paths, remembering that the spark of divinity lives in every heart, and none of us have a monopoly on truth. We must not make false divisions between non-violent believers and unbelievers. We are the human family, interconnected, interdependent, and we need to work together, no matter what our differences, to the common goal of building a more just and humane world for all. We are faced with many threats to our very survival, both the animal and human world, and these can only be overcome by building strong bonds of friendship and cooperation at all levels of society and across our world. We are challenged to build vibrant, active nonkilling democracies from the local community upwards and at the same time across the cosmos. New organizations, new institutions, new ways of identifying and solving problems, and sharing resources, must be sought and shared, as this new consciousness of humanity and our mother earth evolves. An ethical, value based code of conduct, which we can all share is needed and the principal of love one another and do not kill is, I believe, one that can touch all our hearts. We can take encouragement too from the inspirational commitment from the World’s Great Faiths to uphold the Golden Rule “Do unto others as you would have them do to you.” What great responsibility the World’s many Faith traditions carry in helping things change and to building a nonkilling, nonviolent world!

And change can come about if we speak and act at a heart level. In today’s world climate, of feeding of peoples’ fear by some Political Leaders and some Corporate Media, many people feel isolated, vulnerable, afraid and powerless. That is why we need as a human family to reach out to each other in friendship and love. We must also challenge those in Political/Spiritual/Education/Media leaderships who seek to divide and segregate us. Terms like “Clash of Civilizations,” “For or Against Us,” “Evil Empire,” “Rogue States” have no truth or foundation and are feeding fear and insecurity.

rity everywhere. The culture of demonization of certain Countries and Leaders, and their Spiritual/Political traditions, must be challenged by those of us who are committed to truth telling. We must have the courage to speak truth to power, when that power becomes murderous, as we have seen with the USA/UK invasion and occupation of Iraq, Afghanistan, the Soviet Union's Military abuse of power in Chechnya, and Israel's continued occupation of Palestine, to mention but a few of the gross abuses of human rights, including torture, carried out by some of the World Governments. We must insist on our Governments, speaking to Representatives of armed groups in order to deal with their grievances (as the British Government spoke to the Irish Republic Army to solve the Northern Ireland conflict). There are always alternatives to Violence, Militarism, and War and we must insist that our World Governments and Leaders use these alternative methods open to them. So too with those who would take up "armed struggles," revolution and insurgency groups, whilst we uphold their right to nonviolent civil disobedience and nonviolent resistance to injustice, we must insist that they have no right to kill or harm people, and they too should enter into dialogue to solve their grievances. No injustice or grievance is worth the taking of people's lives by either Governments or insurgency/armed groups.

Dialogue in conflict resolution indeed does work, as has been proven in Northern Ireland. Militarism and paramilitarism feed a deadly cycle, and only dialogue can break this. In building a nonkilling/nonviolent society our language and communication skills become very important, as when we refuse to allow weapons and armies to be described as instruments of peacemaking. Our alternative tools are deep listening and unconditional dialogue. We must develop our skills and alternatives to violence, so they are effective and life-changing. Alternatives such as the excellent Nonviolent Peaceforce need our support and encouragement, as they prepare unarmed peace workers for conflict zones, as alternatives to armed intervention. Education will be an important vehicle for creating a new Culture of Nonkilling, and the Nobel Peace Laureates and UN Decade for a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence for the Children of the World (2001-2010) continue to bear fruits in many innovative peace education programmes. I was so excited to see recently a TV programme showing Teachers in Primary school teaching young children how to understand and deal with their emotions such as anger and fear. Overcoming our fear (of ethnic annihilation, embarrassment, and death) will be our greatest challenge as we develop a nonkilling culture.

Another hopeful development took place in Rome last year, at the Gorbachev Conference, when the *Charter for a World without Violence* was

adopted by 20 Nobel Peace Laureates and Organizations, and supported by many others. This Charter will be formally launched in December 2007 in Rome. It sets out Principles which I believe we as humankind will find speak to many of our hearts and minds as values we can identify with and own. It gives voice to the need to respect every human being and the environment, uphold human rights and International Law, and sets out the vision of a world without violence. It is hoped this Charter will be supported by Youth, Civil Society, NGOs, Governments, Faith traditions, and will add to the many other Charters, Treaties and International Legal Agreements which help us as humankind to build a foundation of justice and peace for all. The First Parliament in the world to adopt the Charter, together with the Proposal for a Governmental Ministry of Peace, was Calabria, in Italy. I would like to propose that this Forum also support this Charter as I believe it will prove valuable in encouraging our Governments, and others, to seek alternatives to violence in their Policies and programmes. I believe too that the growing movement to encourage Governments to set up Ministries of Peace (about which you will hear from other speakers involved directly with this) will give great encouragement to us all. Another hopeful sign is the recognition by many World Bodies, that violence is a health issue. The WHO has said "Violence is a preventable disease" and these words give hope to us all that violence is not inevitable. We can each do something to prevent it. Governments are elected to provide peace and human security for their people. Can they say they are succeeding when the incidents of mental health in every country in the world is increasing: Depression (children as young as 7); Suicide (one a day in some countries), etc. What Policies and funding are in place to deal with such sad and tragic signs of hopelessness and despair? Do not their policies of War, Nuclear Weapons, Arms deals, Invasion and occupations, and the violence of counterinsurgency groups, shown every day on television screens beamed into homes around the world, create climates of fear, powerlessness, depression, and desensitization of children to cruelty and violence? Are not these methods unconsciously picking up as allegedly "normal" ways of behaviour? How much we need those important pillars of society (Faith traditions; Governments; Media; Education; Arts) to help articulate and give voice to alternatives, which give confidence and empower people to believe in themselves, build strong communities of support, and have hope for their future.

I applaud and congratulate the many in these Bodies who are already doing a great deal to bring about political and social change. In my travels I have been inspired by the massive Peoples' grassroots movement around

the world. This movement includes groups representing millions of people and is indeed the real Superpower, which says No to War, and Yes, to Justice and Peace. Their agenda and policies have identified the real and most immediate threats to humanity, such as:

1. Climate change
2. Increasing violence and ethnic/political conflicts
3. Poverty and marginalization of the majority of the World
4. Competition over resources, and
5. Global militarization.

They are asking their political leaders, what are your policies on these threats to our survival? This Peoples' Movement has a vision and agenda for a world of peace and justice, equality and nonviolence. In this work we are united and it is only a matter of time that our political leaders are forced to change their Policies and begin playing an important role in the building of a culture of world equality and justice.

We all work for that day to come soon, but in the meantime we as individuals are called to be true to our own conscience and live out our own lives nonviolently and with as much truth and integrity as possible.

God Bless you all in your visionary work for a Nonkilling World, a World without Violence.

Nonkilling Leadership for No-Poverty Development

A.T. Ariyaratne
Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement

In Sri Lanka's past the *nonkilling* popular culture of *loving kindness* as well as the official institutional forms were in harmony. Today the two cultures work in opposite directions. Crimes are on the increase, leading to internal bloody wars in many countries. Corruption, poverty, environmental degradation, bad governance, violation of fundamental Human Rights, disrespect for laws, miscarriage of justice and corruption are common features in modern societies. Therefore an integrated approach has become necessary to bring about a nonviolent transformation of our society. The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement of Sri Lanka has been active for 49 years since 1958 to build all the integral elements to bring about this transformation.

If I may briefly mention the various sectors in which this transformation can be brought about, six sectors come to my mind. These are the spiritual, moral, cultural, social, economic and political sectors.

First, renewal of spirituality in the human being and human society. Religiosity is not the same thing as Spirituality. Spirituality has to be extracted from religious bigotry, religious factionalism, sectarianism, superstition and inter-religious rivalries and conflicts.

The Sarvodaya Movement in Sri Lanka is working in 15,000 villages inhabited by people professing Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity and their different forms. In all these villages we are working on a portfolio of basic human needs that have to be satisfied for the people. When they get benefited from their own efforts, working with their own self-reliance, community participation and indigenous value systems, with a guidance provided by the Sarvodaya Movement, they are able to rise above racial, communal, religious or political divisions and come together as one human family. Through small and large gatherings of diverse people, practicing meditation on loving kindness, we have succeeded in harnessing a collective consciousness for peace and for working towards the ideal of a nonkilling society.

The second sector is pertaining to interpersonal relationships. When human beings build up interpersonal relationships, based on love, sharing, forgiveness and understanding, such relationships demonstrate a high mo-

reality. They do not get together to oppose other groups of people who belong to another communal or religious group because they have transcended such divisions. They do not get together to waste their time in destructive activities such as consuming intoxicants or gambling or gossiping. People engage themselves in constructive activities such as conserving the environment, building community water systems, constructing houses for the people who have no shelter, constructing access roads to villages, making irrigation tanks and canals to provide water for their rice field and so on. People can perform constructive work.

Third is the cultural sector. Advancement in spiritual and moral life of a people invariably leads to an advanced culture. It will be a culture of peace. It will be a culture of nonkilling. It will be a culture of creative art, literature, music, dancing, architecture and so on. In other words spiritual and moral advancement in a society will build a form of culture that becomes the standard bearer of a new society and a new civilization that will last for decades and centuries.

So far, we have talked about the spiritual, moral and cultural foundation needed to build a nonkilling society. For us in Sri Lanka, during its 26 centuries of recorded history, this kind of society has existed from time to time as I mentioned before. If we are to take lessons from the past, and try to develop such a society with all its imperfections it will be still worth the effort. That is what the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement has tried to do for the last 49 years.

Three more sectors have to be developed to complete the paradigm of a nonkilling society we wish to build. They are social, political, and economic sectors.

The social sector includes best practices pertaining to Education, Health and Sanitation, People's Participation, Human Rights and Responsibilities, Community Leadership, Leadership Skills, Peace and Reconciliation, Ecology and Environment. In all these sectors we have to organize training programs so that people themselves undertake the responsibility for social development. Sarvodaya has established 12 development institutes purely to train people in all those aspects of social development.

For example in Education we start our programs with unborn children who are still in the mother's womb. We bring pregnant women with their husbands to Sarvodaya centers and educate them in best practices of child development and pregnancy, and meditation practices so that the parents learn to communicate with the unborn children. When a child is born, we have day-care programs for mother and child up to two and a half years.

Then preschool programs from two and a half years to five years. With this early childhood foundation we encourage children through elementary, higher and vocational education and also have several programs for adults, both for leadership and vocations. Education for life, through life, and throughout life is our motto.

Similarly with regard to other aspects of social development I mentioned above we have developed comprehensive training programs.

The fifth sector in this integrated approach is the economic sector. If we are to build a nonviolent society people's greed has to be controlled and reduced. Greed invariably leads to hatred, conflict, violence and even wars. To develop non-greed, it is necessary to cultivate voluntary simplicity and teach people to value simple lifestyles based on satisfaction of basic human needs. In other words, an alternative economic system needs to be developed. This system should give priority to ecology over economy, nonrenewable resources have to be preserved, nature has to be protected, pollution has to be eliminated, cutthroat economic rivalries have to be replaced with conscious sharing communities. In other words, path to a nonkilling society is possible only if we succeed in building a nonviolent economy. Sarvodaya Economic Enterprises Development Services is an effort in that direction.

The last and sixth sector we have to restructure is our political system. Today all political organizations, democratic or undemocratic, have the one objective of capturing power at the top. Once they have captured power they do not want to give it up. The centralized party and power political systems are ruining our entire human society. They are the ones who build and maintain massive armed forces. They are the ones who take away the resources that can improve the economic, educational, health and cultural levels of people and invest them in armaments and prestigious projects. They are instrumental in allowing small weapons, marketed around the world leading even to civilian populations to settle their disputes by taking up arms and engaging in violence. This system of politics leaves half of the world hungry and poor. There is no doubt we have to change this system.

This can be done by transforming the consciousness of people to believe in their own ability to govern themselves. Small communities maybe 250 family units can easily form their own democratically elected community councils who can take over the political functions. In Sri Lanka we call it village or community self-governance. If we can have thousands of such self-governing communities in our countries, the global society also will become community based. We are living in an age of highly advanced communication technology; if we can allocate resources that now we use for war, to link up

the whole world at the level of the communities using modern communication technology that will be the beginning of a new area of human civilization. That is the beginning of creating a nonkilling global community.

A Nonkilling World is Possible

Glenn D. Paige
Center for Global Nonviolence

Albert Einstein was asked in a 1950 UN radio interview. Question: “Can we prevent war?” Answer: “There is a very simple answer. If we have the courage to decide ourselves for peace, we will *have* peace!” Question: “How?” Answer: “By the firm *will* to reach agreement....If you are not decided to resolve things in a peaceful way, you will never come to a peaceful solution.” (Albert Einstein, *Ideas and Opinions*, New York: Crown Publishers, 1954, pp. 161-2.)

Following Einstein, it is possible for us to foresee in 2007 that even beyond war a hitherto unthinkable world in which human beings cease to kill each other can be realized. Following Einstein, it will depend upon courage, will, and transforming leadership skills to evoke awareness of the Global Nonkilling Spirit, to assemble and advance needed knowledge, to pursue appropriate policies, to mobilize or create needed implementing institutions, and to educate transforming leaders and constructive followers to achieve global nonkilling conditions. The goal is both finite and infinite. It is both measurable (the killed can be counted) and open-ended. Open to infinite human creativity in realizing killing-free societies.

We can envision the possibility of moving in the 21st century from a global culture of killing—marked by homicide, suicide, terrorism, genocide, war, and threats of nuclear and other mass annihilation—with all their harmful side effects (psychological, economic, and ecological)—building upon efforts to create a global culture of nonviolence and peace—to focus precisely upon bringing about a global culture and practice of nonkilling as a major step forward in the advancement of civilization.

The book *Nonkilling Global Political Science* (2002; 2007 2nd ed.) has presented for critical global consideration at least eight grounds for confidence that a nonkilling world is possible:

- First, *nonkilling human nature*. Most humans have never killed. Although we are capable of killing, we are not by nature compelled to kill.
- Second, *the global nonkilling spirit*. Most faiths and philosophies teach not to kill, as demonstrated in our opening panel. Killing is an

aberration requiring special justification. Faithful nonkilling witness by some in every faith enlightens the path for all.

- Third, *nonkilling science*. Unprecedented self-understanding of nonkilling human capabilities from bioneuroscience to every field of knowledge is becoming possible. Scientific knowledge of the causes of killing, the causes of nonkilling, the causes of transition between killing and nonkilling, and the characteristics of completely killing-free societies will assist human self-liberation from lethality.
- Fourth, *nonkilling public policies*. Public policies such as complete abolition of the death penalty by leaders in 88 countries and acceptance of conscientious objection to military service in 47 countries demonstrate possibilities for nonkilling transformation in societies with violent traditions.
- Fifth, *nonkilling movements for social problem-solving*. The actions of nonviolent social movements throughout the world provide evidence of growing public understanding of the efficacy of unarmed people's power as an alternative to violence in seeking fulfillment of political, economic, social, cultural, and environmental needs. Despite instances of repressive atrocities, these courageous movements demonstrate that people can seek freedom from violence, poverty, denial of human dignity, environmental despoliation, and obstruction of problem-solving cooperation without killing. Some dominant forces are learning nonkilling responsiveness to these popular demands.
- Sixth, *nonkilling institutions*. Institutions based upon nonkilling principles have arisen to serve human needs in many parts of the world. They include those in the fields of religion, politics, economics, education, arts, human rights, and defense of the environment. Some are represented in this Forum. If adapted creatively to the needs of any single society, the basic institutional structure of a nonkilling society already exists.
- Seventh, *nonkilling history*. Humankind can benefit from nonkilling history to avoid entrapment in the lethal legacy of the past. For example, we have much to learn from the history of the abolishment of capital punishment and acceptance of conscientious objection to military service. If human history like human nature had not been predominantly nonlethal, humanity long ago would have become extinct.
- Eighth, *nonkilling lives*. Viewed globally, courageous people in every vocation—singly, paired, and in groups—famous and unsung—testify to recurrent human capability to discover and act upon nonkilling principles of respect for life. The paths to such awakening and com-

mitment are varied but all lead to the same life-respecting goal. We are privileged to have in our Forum many who have risked their lives for a nonkilling world.

We can now add a Ninth basis for confidence: This First Global Nonkilling Leadership Forum. The fact of your participation in this unprecedented *Global Nonkilling Leadership Forum* at the beginning of the 21st century provides evidence of will and skill to cooperatively contribute thought and action toward realization of nonkilling societies in a nonkilling world. Our Forum demonstrates the convergent power of nonkilling faiths, as well as of inheritors of the Jain, Gandhian, Muslim, Kingian, Doukhobor, and secular nonkilling traditions.

Our co-chairpersons combine the wisdom of Mairead Maguire, the courageous Nobel Peace Laureate from Northern Ireland, and Dr. Balwant "Bill" Bhaneja, an experienced Canadian science diplomat. For the past five years both have unselfishly led in introducing the unfamiliar concept of "nonkilling" alternatives to colleagues in widening circles of peace and justice action throughout the globe.

Our keynote teacher from Sri Lanka, Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne, affectionately known as "Ari," offers the gift of over fifty years of nonkilling experience in self-reliant removal of village poverty by sharing gifts of life among all for the well-being of all.

Our opening panel of teachers of the nonkilling spirit reminds us that the spirit of nonkilling can be found in every faith and philosophy to inspire and guide actions to bring about a nonkilling world. The nonkilling roots of faith they share reveal the powerful potential of a universally awakened Global Nonkilling Spirit.

Our panel of reflections on the nonkilling thesis by experienced political and scholarly leaders offers promise of eventual receptivity in global political and educational circles. We benefit from the extraordinary political experience of former Jordanian Prime Minister Dr. A.S. Majali; and from the educational leadership of the former Secretary of the UN University, Dr. Jose V. Abueva; from the Founder Emeritus of the Center on Contemporary China, Prof. Baoxu Zhao; from the Vicepresident of both the Russian and International Political Science Associations, Dr. William Smirnov; and from the Provost of Nigeria's Rivers State College of Education, Dr. A.M. Wokocho.

Linguistically varied humanity must be empowered with knowledge that it is possible to bring about a killing free world. The nonkilling thesis must be liberated from imprisonment in any particular language or culture. Thus

our Forum introduces 18 of more than 20 remarkably generous initiatives since 2002 to globalize understanding of nonkilling capabilities by translating and publishing *Nonkilling Global Political Science*. They include translations into Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Filipino, French, Galizan, Hindi, Japanese, Korean, Malayalam, Mongolian, Portuguese, Russian, Sinhala, Spanish, Swahili, Tamil, and Urdu. The Italian translation in Italy and the Bhojpuri translation in India have been completed but not yet published. A Gujarati translation is underway in Wisconsin. Our Forum also introduces experience of publishing low-cost English editions of the nonkilling thesis in India (Gandhi Media Centre), the Philippines (Kalayaan College) and Nigeria (CGNV-Nigeria).

Beyond translations, our Forum introduces pioneering self-reliant efforts to establish nonkilling affiliates of the Center for Global Nonviolence (CGNV) in Haiti, Nigeria, and Great Lakes Africa. These are the Centre Caraibéen pour la Non-Violence Globale et Développement Durable (CCGND) founded in 2004 by Dr. Max Paul in Port-au-Prince; CGNV-Nigeria, founded in 2005 by Mr. Fidelis Allen in Port Harcourt; and CGNV Afrique des Grand Lacs, founded in 2006 by Pasteur Mabwe Lucien in the DR Congo, headquartered in Bujumbura, Burundi, with branches in the DR Congo, Burundi, and Rwanda.

Our Forum introduces remarkable self-reliant efforts to awaken a nation, schools, rural communities, and even a kindergarten, to the nonkilling thesis. In the Philippines, Dr. Jose V. Abueva introduces four University Forums with three lecturers and three discussants that explored the question “Is a Nonkilling Filipino Society Possible?” and produced the book, *Towards a Nonkilling Filipino Society: Developing an Agenda for Research, Policy and Action* (2004). In Nigeria, Mr. Fidelis Allen has introduced nonkilling thought and action into boys and girls middle schools noted for violence and has reached out through Radio Nigeria. In the DR Congo, Pasteur Mabwe reports on three-day seminars on *Nonkilling Global Political Science* for gatherings of 135 town and 201 village leaders. He reports founding of a nonkilling village kindergarten leading to a K-12 Complexe Scolaire named for Martin Luther King, Jr.

Nonkilling leadership and followership are needed for nonkilling societies. Thus our Forum seeks lessons from past and present pioneers to strengthen nonkilling transformational leadership now and for the future. Our Forum benefits from the presentations by participants keenly associated with the legacies of Tolstoy (Mr. Koozma Tarasoff), Gandhi (Dr. N. Radhakrishnan), Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Prof. Syed Sikander Mehdi), Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (Dr. Bernard LaFayette, Jr.), Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne (Arjuna Krishnaratne), Gov-

ernor Guillermo Gaviria (Sr. Luis Javier Botero), Petra Kelly (Eva Quistorp and Dr. Nancie Caraway), and Ron Mallone (Glenn Paige).

Recognizing the need for training nonkilling leaders, our Forum calls attention to three outstanding sources of inspiration and experience. The TRANSCEND Method (Prof. Johan Galtung), Kingian Training for Nonviolent Social Change (Dr. Bernard LaFayette, Jr. and Capt. Charles L. Alphin, Sr.), and the Gandhian Shanti Sena (Dr. N. Radhakrishnan and Mr. Dennis A. Almeida).

Drawing upon the wisdom and experience of Forum participants, as well as past pioneers and present colleagues unable to join us, our Forum explores the establishment of two servant leadership institutions to assist progress toward a nonkilling world.

First, a *Global Nonkilling Leadership Academy* to strengthen local to global leadership, following upon the vision of the co-founder with King Hussein of the UN University International Leadership Academy in 1945, Dr. A.S. Majali, former Prime Minister of Jordan. Second, a *Center for Global Nonkilling* to serve as a small creative catalyst for facilitation of needed nonkilling research, education-training, and policy in worldwide cooperation with individuals and institutions.

As together we place the Forum as a nonkilling stepping stone toward a future nonkilling world we are mindful of the tragic realities of killing that plague present humanity. We do not take them lightly but believe that precise understanding of the causes of killing combined with creative determination to remove them can prevail. We recognize readiness to kill as a cause of war, nuclear weapons, suicide bombings, homicide, economic injustice, human rights atrocities, and ecological devastation. We recognize readiness to kill rooted in functions of the brain and in blessings by religious and secular faiths. We recognize that removal of these causes and replacement by nonkilling reverence for life requires the mobilization of the nonkilling spirit, science, skills, and arts of all humankind from each individual to the whole.

For this task we recognize the catalytic importance of creative nonkilling leadership and inspired followership to which this First Global Nonkilling Leadership Forum calls attention with confidence that a nonkilling world is possible.

Addenda for Discussion

I hope that the future Center for Global Nonkilling and others will facilitate pioneering advances in several areas of research.

- First, *intrafaith dialogues* between believers who invoke their faith to kill and those who invoke their faith not to kill. This includes political faiths that evoke patriotic loyalty to kill and as a path to political martyrdom.
- Second, *bioneuroscience research* to understand the brain correlates of political close-minded lethality and the correlates of open-minded nonkilling adaptability for social change.
- Third, *research to study India's Gandhi Rural University* under the leadership of Vice-Chancellor Dr. G. Ramachandran in the 1960s and 1970s for adaptation for comprehensive nonkilling university service to societies throughout the world. Among features needful of global adaptation is the co-educational *Shanti Sena* (Peace Brigade) advised by Chief Organizer Prof. N. Radhakrishnan.
- Fourth, *research to develop nonkilling security doctrines*, to be revised, and advised by small creative teams at the global, regional, national, and local levels. In essence, sources of nonkilling security policies to complement and eventually replace conventional reliance upon lethality for security. The only true security is when no one wants to attack or kill you, your organization, or your country. Nonkilling deterrence must be sought in mutual credibility not to kill.
- Fifth, *research on performance of and training for nonkilling advisory roles to assist political and other leaders for nonkilling social change*. The unique experiences of two pioneering nonviolent advisors to government invite attention: Sr. Luis Botero, Advisor in Nonviolence, Antioquia, Colombia; and Prof. Dr. Chaiwat Sathanand, Vice-President, Nonviolence Committee, National Research Council of Thailand. Dr. Chaiwat served as Research Director for the National Reconciliation Commission of Thailand whose remarkable report *Overcoming Violence through the Power of Reconciliation* (16 May 2006) presents analyses and prescriptions of global relevance.

Significance of the Nonkilling Thesis



The Global Significance of the Nonkilling Thesis

The Ethics Link

Abdel-Salam Majali

President, Islamic World Academy of Sciences

Former Prime Minister of Jordan

It is with great pleasure that I address this distinguished assembly today to talk about a subject that I have learnt to appreciate over a number of years; The Nonkilling Thesis, especially its global significance.

This is by no means a straightforward task. In the course of my talk however, and in a typical interdisciplinary fashion, I will ponder on the concept of Global Ethics as the international moral code governing human activity and how that can relate to the Nonkilling Thesis. I will root my ideas on human or humane based definitions. I will also allow myself to look into the future and propose some ideas about how we can create leaders who understand and appreciate world problems and, better even, each other's.

The pillar of "Global Ethics" has to be *Man*, or the *human being*, with all his might and vulnerability, strength and weakness, glory and humility, and the legacies of his fathers and forefathers. In order to achieve peace with himself, Man has been given qualities and characteristics of sense perception, a faculty of reflection, an instrument of reason as well as the gift of revelation. Man has thus become endowed with a heritage of ethics that enabled him to develop a wide variety of human relations, and define his existence in relation to his fellow man, the community, society, country and humanity.

Let me refer to the Declaration of the World's Parliament of Religions, *A Global Ethic* which attempted to provide a moral ground for human actions. It highlighted a number of principles that are close to the notion of natural rights. Such principles form a minimum common ethical understanding between religions and the cultures adopting them. I would summarize them as follows:

- A world order needs a world ethos as its basis;
- Every human being must be treated in a humane way;
- The rules which protect life are:

- Respect for life;
- Justice (including economic justice);
- Tolerance and truthfulness;
- Equality.

Within this same context, I would second what Professor Leonard Swindler of Philadelphia's Temple University, proposed; namely a set of *Main Ethical Principals* which to me, eloquently define the general rights and duties of *Man*:

- Respecting all forms of life;
- Being Free to self-develop;
- Respecting the individuality of *Man*;
- Loving thy neighbour;
- Helping others;
- Respecting Religious and Belief Freedom.

If we agree on the validity of the above principles, then we can propose areas in which *Man* needs to exercise his human responsibilities. In other words, if *Man* is to be on the right side of the ethical divide, he should be fully cognizant of his responsibility in dealing with Property, Freedom, Law, Work, Education, Environment, Peace, and most of all his fellow man.

However, the legacy of the 20th century as manifested by the use of modern technology in the service of hate and supremacy continues today. One reality is that mighty nations still consider that they can assert preemptive wars, experienced during the Third Reich and the Soviet period, and more recently in the part of the world that is called the Middle East. Another reality is that *terrorists* and/or *freedom fighters* continue indiscriminately to kill innocent men, women and children in their zeal to fulfill nationalistic and religious goals.

Glenn D. Paige, the force behind the historical event we are witnessing here, argues that if political scientists, scholars who dedicate their lives to the study of political power in its multi-faceted manifestations, do not challenge seriously the assumption of lethality, then why should anyone expect political leaders and citizens of the world to do so. Can we wipe out killing from our minds? His vision for new politics is to dedicate itself to a diagnosis of the pathology of lethality, and to discover both prescriptions and treatments that can be shared with all who seek to eradicate killing from global life.

Here, I would again ask the question of how we can implant such responsibilities in the mind of *Man*. How do we do it in such a dazzling world?

I will not indulge into answering these questions although I am tempted to mention education as a key to building a fairer, more peaceful and more harmonious world. Can we introduce the “Nonkilling” philosophy in the hearts and minds of Man and the ethical framework within which he operates or supposed to operate?

Indeed, education to live together was one of the four pillars of Jacques Delor’s UNESCO Commission on Education for the 21st century. Such a need becomes evident as we witness conflicts within and between states on ethnic, racial and nationalistic grounds. This requires us to build what I would call a culture of dialogue among societies and bridges for mutual understanding of each other’s point of view... Let us *integrate* and not *segregate*! That requires the building of a new Code of Conduct and humanistic order to cope with the pace of globalization.

Education reform based on the concept of act locally and think globally has to be undertaken in all countries to cope with the globalization sweeping across the world and face up to conflicts emanating from the struggle between local and global or traditionalism and internationalism. Moreover, we should not forget that globalization cannot be considered or perceived to be a Western imposition on the rest of humankind; globalization will be accepted as a way to modernize and enlarge each tradition while remaining faithful to the roots.

For the macro look, I would propose that we refer to the Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development entitled *Our Creative Diversity*, 1995, which is an invaluable reference when discussing such matters. Javier Perez De Cuellar’s paper on “A New Global Ethics,” defines a number of themes that appear in many cultural traditions, and can serve as an inspiration for a global ethics, at the core of which would lie the futility of violence!

A source of a global ethics mentioned in the paper is the idea of human vulnerability and the attendant ethical impulse to alleviate suffering where such is possible, and to provide security to each individual.

Some notion of this is to be encountered in the moral views of all major religions/cultures. De Cuellar, for example, quotes the Confucian teacher Mencius who observed that, “*every man is moved by fear and horror, tenderness and mercy, if he suddenly sees a child about to fall into a well ... no man is without a heart for right and wrong*” (Meng-tzu, III, 6).

Of the monotheistic faiths, Islam, for example, defines a code of conduct for the individual that governs his/her ethical and moral outlook, and highlights the fact the individual has been endowed with reason to manage and benefit

rather than dispose or ordain. Islam urges humans to avoid avoidable suffering and propagates some notion of the basic moral equality of all human beings.

Some version of this “Commandment” finds explicit expression in the other monotheistic religions that were born in the Middle East, Christianity and Judaism, where we need only to dig back into the history of the area to hear echoes of the Ten Commandments. This, I would hasten to add, leads me to pose the question of whether we can use these very Commandments as our yardstick in our judgment on the behaviour of states? Is there a world body that can tell a state, *Thou shall not kill* or *Thou shall not steal*? Is this the duty of the United Nations? Need we as the world community establish a new body to ensure that states do not commit any sins against humanity?

A number of studies of the two World Wars, written from a soldier’s perspective, have stated that as in tribal societies of the past, societies continue to conceive the purpose of warfare to be sacrificial. Unlike offering individuals to supernatural deities in the past, modern wars are imagined to be fought for “real” reasons or purposes. A soldier’s delusion is encouraged by calling him a hero luring him to become a sacrificial victim.

Old tribal tendencies today are replaced by patriotism and nationalism. In this, the killings are justified by labeling the other side as an “enemy” whereas it is politicians on one’s own side who are responsible for taking lethal decisions without seriously having thought through the consequences.

New research in this area resulting from public interest in 9/11 and the Iraq War has revealed that faulty images are a source of misperceptions and miscalculations that have often led to major errors in policy, avoidable catastrophes and missed opportunities.

A great challenge today is to have nonkilling theory, research, and action become more globally appreciated. Paige cites Jerrold Post’s surprising finding that “the outstanding common characteristic of terrorists is their normality,” and that terrorists do not show any striking psychopathology. He reports penetrating analysis with examples of several types of terrorism: state terrorism, state-supported terrorism, sub-state terrorism, social revolutionary terrorism, nationalist-separatist terrorism, religious extremist terrorism, right wing terrorism, and single-issue terrorism.

Other thinkers have identified two principal recommendations to reduce terrorism, but may not end it. First, since terrorism will always be with us, killing terrorists and threatening them with killing and oppression will not solve the problem; nor will smart bombs and missiles. Instead, since terrorism is essentially psychological warfare it must be countered with psychological warfare. Second, democratic processes are the best hope.

Once democratic processes are in play, through competitive participatory processes, most groups will disintegrate. This, to my mind, is an essential first step in appreciating the logic of nonkilling political analysis.

We need to understand the causes of killing, both individual and collective. To kill or threaten to kill terrorists will only create more terrorists. Therefore non-lethal alternatives are needed to diminish their actions and organizations. This is the challenge facing Nonkilling Global Political Philosophy.

Allow me here to refer to what the Mufti of Sarajevo said at the November 1999 Meeting of the World Conference of Religion and Peace, when addressing an audience of Catholic, Orthodox Christian, Muslim and Jewish participants from Bosnia: "Let us also share in the Covenant of Noah, as Noah built the ark for the salvation of human kind. Can we not build an ark for the salvation of our common human kind?"

Consequently, killing that has been expected to liberate, protect, and enrich has become instead a source of insecurity, impoverishment, and threat to human and planetary survival. Killing becomes a source of self-destruction. Bodyguards kill their own heads of state, armies violate and impoverish their own people, and nuclear weapons proliferate to threaten their inventors and possessors.

Both violence-accepting politics and political science, as such, in the last century largely failed to suppress violence by violent means. The study of government and international politics ultimately has been unable to lay the groundwork and methodology for policy advice that goes to the roots of the causality of global violence. The current idea that political democracies and free markets will create societies in which people do not kill each other or kill or threaten to kill people in other societies is in need of fundamental re-examination.

Issues such as the relationship between man and his fellow man, man and community, man and country, country and country, are really all but derivatives of the basic phenomenon of man and his behavior. This argument leads me to propose that for us to look at ethics would be to define the term as the Code of Human Conduct or rather a set of unwritten By-laws pertaining to human relations.

Expanding this argument to the global scene would require us to substitute states in place of individuals as the main players in the global ethics scenario. In other words, when we are talking global, we are talking about states rather than humans.

However, for this international social order to be more effective in resolving disputes and limiting wars and conflicts, it needs to be based on a

wide base of understanding and agreement as far as the socio-economic and socio-political changes that have swept through the last century.

Such an order needs to be enforced by the responsible international will, away from the forces of dominance and hegemony. In a world of pluralism and diversity, we must attempt to bring out the wealth of cultural heritage embodied in 6,000 languages and 10,000 cultures, and instill global ethics as a promoter for the culture of tolerance.

I would here remind you of the importance of dialogue or the noble art of conversation which, according to HRH Prince Al-Hassan of Jordan, "should not be a martial art."

When one is discussing human relations from within the global ethics context, the question or idea of human rights inevitably arises. This is indeed the view of the World Commission on Culture and Development, which also proposes several more building blocks for a global ethics that I will mention for the sake of academic accuracy, for they are primarily an extension of human behavior. These include the principle of democratic legitimacy and public accountability.

It needs to be underlined, however, that an encouraging trend is taking shape in that human rights standards are being adopted. Such standards were recommended within the UN Charter and formulated in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. They are finding legal and constitutional expression in a number of international and regional treaties. It seems that today the idea of human rights is becoming a firmly entrenched standard of political conduct and a pillar of any global ethics.

“Harmony is Most Valued”

To Build a Harmony World

Zhao Baoxu
Peking University

I am extremely honored to attend this meaningful International Nonkilling Forum. I would first like to thank our mutual friend Professor Glenn Paige and his able wife Glenda Paige. Their extraordinary organization skills and influence have made this conference possible in such short time. Specialists and scholars from over 18 countries, including a Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, have been invited to the beautifully tropical Hawai'i to discuss an issue that has been in the global spotlight for some time: nonviolence.

Those present today are of different nationality, religion, political idea and ideology. One may wonder what brings us together as a whole. I believe it is the common wish to free the people of the world from war and violence.

I come from a country that possesses one of the most ancient cultures in the world—China. During the successful progress of “reform and opening to the outside world,” we have been putting effort into linking with the world. The world is paying more attention to this speedily rising country. As we all know, in the process of developing her economy, and reinforcing national capacity, China has been striving to achieve a harmonious society internally. In international terms, she was the first to bring up the aim of “a harmonious society.” China has been working towards that very goal ever since. We have often said: we must strive to coexist in peace with other nations and political systems to achieve mutual economic progress, and to secure a safe environment.

China raised the issue of building a harmonious world in 2005 at the UN General Assembly and strives for this aim, not as a temporary expedient, but because of China's heritage of advocating peace for several thousand years. Especially in modern times, we Chinese people have absolutely experienced national humiliation and chaos caused by war. This makes the Chinese people deeply to recognize the utter value of “Harmony is Most Valued.” In traditional Chinese thought, theories involving Harmony (peace) vary. Here I would like talk about three issues: “Harmony is most valued” and “Doctrine of the Mean”; “Anti-Militarism”; and “Sun-Zi, *Art of War*.”

“Harmony is Most Valued” and “Doctrine of the Mean”

The most prominent features of Chinese traditional political thought lies in Harmony (peace) and its opposite going to extremes and its advocacy of the doctrine of the Mean which is the kernel of Chinese cultural tradition as a whole. Instead of being first advocated by Confucius (孔子, 551 B.C.-497 B.C.) as misunderstood by many, the doctrine of the Mean and the Middle Way can be traced back to a much earlier time. It is alleged that when Yao (尧) offered his authority to Shun (舜), one of the most important lessons he taught was to “sincerely hold fast the due Mean.” In the Confucian *Analects*, this means that one must guard against stubbornly sticking to one extreme and consequently being trapped by one-sidedness; instead, one should seek and stick to the Mean between the two extremes. This very lesson had been strictly followed by Shun in handling affairs of all kinds. He thereby won praise from Confucius (*Doctrine of the Mean*). Later when Shun offered his authority to Yu in very much the same way as that of Yao this same lesson was taught again. After Yu (虞) came King Tang (汤) of the Shang Dynasty (商 16th-11th century B.C.) followed by King Wen (文王) and King Wu (武王) of the Zhou Dynasty (周朝 11th-8th century B.C.), successively the lesson to “sincerely hold fast the due mean” both as a political principle and as a moral norm was handed down from dynasty to dynasty. Hence we can know that following the doctrine of the mean from generation to generation, both as a political principle and as a code of conduct can be traced back several thousand years. What Confucius did was to inherit the past and usher in the future by advocating the “doctrine of the mean” as the highest moral principle based upon belief that the doctrine of the mean serves fully to convey advantages in overcoming all kinds of moral shortcomings. Then up to the Warring States Period (战国, 475 B.C.-221 B.C.) some disciples of Confucius compiled *Doctrine of the Mean* (Zhong Yung, 中庸) by sifting and elaborating the doctrine of the mean which had been vigorously advocated by Confucius. The book elucidates the central ideas at the very beginning: “Being without inclination to either side is called Zhong (中); admitting of no change is called Yung (庸). By Zhong is denoted the correct course to be pursued by all under heaven; by Yung is denoted the fixed principle regulating all under heaven.” Yung can be defined as a normal way or as harmony. When talking about Zhong He (中和 Equilibrium and Harmony), the book says “This Equilibrium is the great root from which grow all human actions in the world and this Harmony is the universal path which they all should pursue. Let the states of equilibrium and harmony exist in perfection,

then a happy order will prevail throughout heaven and earth, and all things will be nourished and flourish (Chapter I, *Doctrine of the Mean*).

The *Doctrine of the Mean* and the idea of the Middle Way that were emphasized and communicated in enculturation from generation to generation have greatly influenced Chinese ethnic morality and ways of thinking and action, although in a gradual and silent way. Negative as this kind of influence might be, it is obviously different from the Western war-like tradition. It is just this doctrine of the mean that has played a decisive role in casting the peace-loving and anti-violence national character held by the Chinese people.

Anti-Militarism (非攻)

Mo Zi (墨子, B.C. 490-403) was a well known ideologist also in ancient China. His famous propositions were: “To love each other” (兼爱) and “Anti-Militarism.” Mo Zi said: “If people in the world all love each other, love other people as loving themselves and regard other families as their own family, there would not be any conflict between families. If people regard other countries as their own country, there would not be any fights between nations. If people in the world love each other, if countries do not fight with each other, and if families do not conflict with each other, there would not be any thieves, the emperor, officials, fathers and sons can be filial and kind to all, so the world is peaceful and in good order. So the sages who take world order as their business would all advocate love and prohibit evil.”

Mo Zi was against “fight between nations,” “conflict between families,” “cheating between people,” “the strong bullying the weak,” “the majority bullying the minority,” “the noble bullying the humble,” and “the wise cheating the fool.” Because of his advocacy of love to all, Mo Zi was against fighting. This was his famous proposition: Anti-Militarism.

In Mo Zi's Anti-Militarism he said: “There was someone who went into other people's garden and stole the fruit He was condemned by the people and punished by the government Why? For hurting others to benefit himself. As for those who steal dogs and pigs of others, their behaviour is worse than those who steal fruit. Why? For the more damage they bring to others, the worse their actions are against benevolence and the heavier are their crimes. As for those who attack cities and countries of others, the crime is far beyond those who steal private property. The invading monarch abuses the name of bravery to get himself unjustified benefit. No crime is heavier than this.”

But the “Anti-Militarism” of Mo Zi was only against invasion. He was not against a just war. He thought that a country must have military power and that a war of defence should be fought against invasion.

Sun Zi, *Art of War* (孙子兵法)

Sun Zi’s *Art of War* is believed to be the earliest book on the art of war in China. It is alleged that the book was written by Sun Wu a strategist who lived in the late Warring States Period. In the same period there was another strategist named Sun Bin (孙宾). The Sun Zi’s *Art of War* we read today is generally believed as a collection of books on the art of war which was started by Sun Wu and finished by Sun Bin. However what is really amazing is that the author of a book summing up war experiences expressed neither superstition concerning violence nor any favourable feeling for wars. Rather, the author of Sun Zi’s *Art of War* even in that time had formed the belief that wars should be avoided as long as there is still room left for political or diplomatic means. “The best policy in war is to attack the enemy’s strategy. The second best way is to disrupt his alliances through diplomatic means. The next best method is to attack his army in the field. The worst policy is to attack walled cities. Attacking cities is the last resort when there is no alternative” (Sun Zi’s *Art of War*). There was also the saying that “military troops are the most ominous tools in all under heaven, while boldness is the most inauspicious character in this world”(Sun Zi *Art of War*).

Mencius (孟子; 390-305 B.C.) believed that wars fought for the capture of cities and territories were cruel; therefore against benevolence. Those who were skillful to fight should suffer the highest punishment. He said: “When contentions about territory are the ground on which they fight, they slaughter men till the fields are filled with them. When some struggle for a city is the ground on which they fight, they slaughter men till the city is filled with them. This is what is called leading on the land to devour human flesh. Death is not enough for such a crime. Therefore those who are skillful to fight should suffer the highest punishment.”

Peace and development are the two major themes of the contemporary world, and are where the basic interests of the world’s people lie. At present Harmony (peace) is still based on national interests without which peace can only be of an unjust and shameful nature. Peace like war is the continuation of politics. Now the world is developing towards a multipolar one, while the new structure is yet to form. Although the Cold War has ended, the world is still not peaceful; it is still in a turbulent situation. To strive for development and world peace is still the urgent task of peoples in the world.

Nonkilling as a Common Value and Global Program for Action

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In 1979 in Moscow during the XIth World Congress of the International Political Science Association the first direct dialogue took place between the world community of political scientists and almost all of the then existing social disciplines in the Soviet Union that to some extent dealt with political problems. Rather, more accurately, it was the first contact between Western political scientists, who then held predominantly positivist theoretical-methodological views and Soviet social scientists with mainly ideological or even ideologically determinist orientations.

For some of us beginning researchers, who were more or less familiar with Western social sciences perhaps the most unexpected discovery was not the behavioral science conceptions but ideas of “nonviolent political alternatives” and “nonviolent political science.” They were expressed in a paper, “Nonviolent Political Science,” presented by Professor Glenn Paige, representing the University of the then seemingly unreachable paradise of Hawai’i. I confess that these ideas struck me immediately for several reasons. First, they confirmed the existence in the United States of true academic freedom and theoretical-methodological and value pluralism. Secondly, they showed that some humanist ideas of Lev Tolstoy that had been very close to my heart since childhood as influenced by my philologist Mother could be given a political science foundation. Furthermore, it showed that within the framework of this strict social science, measures could be worked out to realize the Christian Commandment “Thou shalt not kill” in world political practice. Finally, it became clear to me that we could go beyond propagandistic papers on “struggles for peace” toward scientific research for its attainment. But also it appeared to me that Glenn Paige’s conceptions were too idealistic and were far from being acceptable in the world, in any case in my country.

I cautiously shared my observations with the then President of the Soviet Political Science Association Georgi Khospoyevich Shakhnazarov. Under very unfavorable conditions for scientific innovation at that time in the

Soviet Union, his efforts in large part were responsible not only for holding the World Congress but also for developing the Association and political science research in general. I was pleasantly surprised by his reaction. He reminded me that in contradiction to Russian mentality and historical practice, oddly coexisting with monstrous cruelty as seen in the actions of countless Russian tsars and in civil wars, there is also readiness for self-sacrifice, as exemplified by the Doukhobors, in the name of the Commandment "Thou shalt not kill." In the opinion of G. Kh. Shakhnazarov, this contradiction was most fully and precisely expressed by Feodor Mikhailovich Dostoyevsky. Thus, he added, Paige's paper in fact demonstrates that the threat of nuclear suicide by humanity cannot be averted without new thinking. Such an unexpected judgment was unquestionably heresy, if we recall that at that time the Soviet Regime persisted in conviction at home and abroad that only organized struggle by all peace-loving people of the planet could finally end that threat—only by the victory of socialism throughout the world. The words of G. Kh. Shakhnazarov immediately came to mind when the General Secretary of the CPSU Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, of whom Georgi Khospoyevich had been an assistant, suddenly spoke about new political thinking.

Not only the events recalled above, but also world events between G. Paige's paper in 1979 and appearance in the world of the book now being brought to your attention, decisively testify that a deeply humanist idea—skillfully developed, persistently and patiently elucidated by an outstanding talented individual—such an idea, to paraphrase Paige, is like a powerful cosmic stream drawing into itself supplementary concepts and fulfilling itself in practical life. The influence of the idea of a nonviolent society as put forth by Paige is assisted by the fact that he does not hide the gigantic difficulties standing in the way of its realization. He mercilessly exposes the roots and ideological foundations characteristic of organized human civilization, including America itself, and precisely inventories the mainsprings, mechanisms and factors continually perfecting the weapons of killing and presents a statically detailed picture of the increasing scale of mass annihilation of people.

The author does not hide the fact that classical political science and the fundamental propositions propounded by the overwhelming majority of classical political theorists and contemporary researchers rest upon the acceptance of violence as the basic nature of the power-based political organization of society and political administration at all levels—from local to international. He bitterly observes, "Violence-accepting political science discourages think-

ing about nonviolence; it rejects such thinking as ‘utopian,’ ‘idealistic,’ and ‘unrealistic,’ and therefore remains condemned to violence” (p. 104).

Against countless and seemingly irrefutable evidence of violent human nature, Paige marshals historical-factual, ideological-philosophical and strictly scientific arguments carefully gathered and analyzed over a quarter century. For example, throughout the history of humankind only about one percent of human beings have ever killed another human. From ancient times there continue to emerge political leaders, religious prophets, spiritual teachers, thinkers, and heroic pioneers who have grounded themselves in nonviolent principles and have tried to put into practice various projects conducive to the creation of a nonviolent society. Paige carefully points out their influences upon each other; for example, Tolstoy’s influence upon Gandhi. Especially interesting and instructive for us as an example of overlooked Russian capability, is the fact pointed out by him that during the Cold War out of three countries having “the most violent revolutionary traditions” the United States, the Soviet Union and China—came studies that argued for the possibility of nonviolent revolutions.

A special role in bringing about a nonviolent society, Paige points out, belongs to science and especially to political science. He calls for a nonviolent scientific revolution. In his opinion, seven mutually reinforcing “subrevolutions” are needed in political science: normative, factual, theoretical, methodological, educational, applied, and institutional. Paige proposes specific transition to rejection of killing in such fields of political science as political philosophy and theory, study of American government and politics, comparative politics and international politics.

Paige rightly points out that along with political science other areas of scientific knowledge can and must assist in the realization of a nonkilling society. Paige’s realism is evident that he calls attention also to the necessity for nonviolent reorientation of the processes and goals of other governmental and social institutions, including political parties, state organs of power and administration, universities, and others.

He does not fail to note the rising call to reject violence and killing as in terrorism. To oppose them Paige repeatedly underscores the necessity for constructive policies, including creation of conditions for general opposition to war, elimination of poverty, the conduct of effective nonviolent struggle for human rights and dignity, defense of the environment, sustainable development, and so forth.

Professor Paige not only shares the optimism of his great predecessors about the possibility and necessity of affirming the nonviolent character of

life. Through teaching from the 1970s and by founding in 1994 the Center for Global Nonviolence in Honolulu, he has influenced numerous students and successors, developed courses, published books and articles, and has participated in many seminars, lectures and conferences.

Nonkilling Global Political Science is the culmination of his devoted work. Its success is testified by the fact that it is presently being translated into 19 [30 in 2008] languages with a potential readership of more than 2.8 billion [3.9 billion in 2008] people. The appearance of Paige's book in the Russian language is especially timely. To the scientific community of transforming Russia and readers of Russian in the scientific communities of neighboring countries it puts forth new nonviolent paradigms in globalizing political science, and offers methods and perspectives for interdisciplinary cooperation in this endeavor. It not only offers certainty to political leaders and society alike that the violent conflicts characteristic of development in the post-Soviet area can be overcome but also offers means for accomplishing this task. The basic ideas in this unique book can and should be accepted as the basis of common values for humanity in the 21st century as well as a program for their realization.

Note. Foreword to the Russian edition: *Obshestva bez ubiistva: Vozhmozhno li eto?* [Society without Killing: Is it Possible?], St. Petersburg University Press, 2005.

Achieving the Nonkilling Society in Nigeria

The Role of the Teacher

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Conflict is part of humanity and it is a factor for social transformation, but the choice of strategies for resolution of such conflict has for long become a great concern to many. Violence, a common approach in Nigeria among groups, individuals and the government spawns disorder and in many ways is counter-productive. Nigeria has been shaped by a culture of violence, a trait that has engendered human, emotional and material losses at various periods. Cultism, emergence of ethnic militias and many other social vices that lead directly to killings are rampant in Nigeria. In short, cult groups are almost destroying campuses of tertiary institutions in Nigeria. They have brought unnecessary grief to parents in addition to rendering the authorities difficult times and near powerlessness over emplacement of decent administration in the educational institutions. Killings, maiming and disfiguring as well as sexual harassment have endured on university campuses as a result of the activities of cult groups and criminal gangs.

Government has made several efforts to erase the problem of cultism from the school system in Nigeria but to no avail. For example, there now exists federal legislation that outlaws cultism and stipulates a jail term of five years or a fine of 250,000 Naira or both for students convicted of cultism. Early in 1989 Decree number 47 was promulgated by the Federal Government to empower governing councils of each university to proscribe any group operating within campuses whose activities are inimical to national security, public safety, order, morality and health.

These efforts on the part of the government appear not to have produced the desired results. Being an educationist and a long time university administrator, my observation and conviction of the role of education in the transformation of any society cannot be over-emphasized. Indeed, no society or country develops without a sound educational system, but now this must be by discovering capabilities for eliminating violence in the society. Teachers should be regarded as playing an indispensable role and should be

prepared to carry out the role. It is this background that makes my participation and that of Fidelis Allen in this forum highly monumental for the Niger Delta, Nigeria and the world.

Teachers and the Nonkilling Society in Nigeria

The nonkilling society defined by Glenn (2002: 1) is a “human community, smallest to largest, local to global, characterised by no killing of humans and no threats to kill; no weapons designed to kill humans and no justifications for using them; and no conditions of society dependent upon threat or use of killing force for maintenance or change.”

Such a society may only be achieved when or if everyone, governmental organisation, education system and its institutions, private organisations, social groups and national educational curricula respond to this call in meaningful ways that extol the place of the teacher to play an important moral role. It therefore follows that to empower the teacher to play this role, government cannot be left alone for the moral and overall organizational development of a well-trained teaching force.

The moral crisis in the education system in Nigeria can best be addressed through education in which the teacher and the student are central both for practical vocational orientation in nonviolent problem-solving and for spreading the nonkilling thesis (Wokocha, 2006). Therein also depend stability, development and peace in Nigeria. For example, this short period in the existence and activities of the Centre for Global Nonviolence Nigeria, in which I am also enlisted because of this thinking about the educational route to nonviolence, is impressively bringing the message clearly to a supposed “dying populace” in the Niger Delta. I use the word because a generation of morally decadent and violent youths is a dying one.

Peace is a factor in development, and is needed from the level of the individual, to interpersonal, social and group relations. It follows that educating for the peace of any society is education for political stability, which is basic for planning and advancement. Indeed education is the most important instrument of social reengineering.

The process of achieving peace in the world actually begins with the individual self. Only when individuals have peace with themselves can peace in the wider society be guaranteed. Dewal’s (2002) six level schema, although with modification by me, illustrates this better: Peace with self→ Peace with family→ Peace within school → Peace in the nation→ Peace in the world.

The teacher plays an indispensable role in this process. But, achieving peace with self, the foundation of peace at other levels, can be difficult to come without the collective endeavours on the part of the government and organisations like the Centre for Global Nonviolence to provide opportunities for discovering individual potentials or capabilities for peace. It is for this reason that the emergence of CGNV will continue to be a serious determinant of how much the extant culture of violence in the world would be curbed in the near future.

CGNV Nigeria

Institutional building for capacity-building is the key to engage teachers and the education system in general towards achieving a nonkilling society in Nigeria. I use this medium to appeal to all citizens of the world to support this crusade against killing in Nigeria and the world at large.

Conclusion

As a concluding remark, I thank Professor Glenn, his wife and the governing board of the Centre for Global Nonviolence, Honolulu, for inviting me and Fidelis Allen to attend this forum. It is my hope that this will mark the beginning of new orientation on a global scale towards the problem of killing in the world.

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On the Global Significance of the Nonkilling Thesis

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After two world wars in the first four decades of the 20th century and the first use of the atomic bomb in 1945, world leaders realized that humankind should unite to “end the scourge of war” by forming the UN. Since then many more wars ensued and several are ongoing. Some leaders and nations still employ mass violence and lethal force in pursuit of their goals against their perceived enemies: other nations or their own people.

Meanwhile, other forms of common violence and killing persist for various reasons, or for no apparent reason or justification. Deadly large-scale terrorism, not just the threat of it, has become a global phenomenon. Some forms of killing, abortion for example, are not even regarded as killing by some of its perpetrators. Thus the large numbers of killing of unborn babies.

In this context a common perception might be that the most impressive scientific and technological advances that have raised the quality of material life for billions of people and revolutionized travel, communication and learning seem not to be matched by enough comparable improvements in human conduct and behavior, morality and spirituality. God’s command—“Thou shall not kill”—as taught in Judaism, Christianity and Islam, and similar injunctions in other religions and ethical systems, continue to be violated. All these manifestations have led many to believe that inhumanity and killing are inherent in human nature and therefore inevitable in most societies if not in every society.

In his seminal book, *Nonkilling Global Political Science* (2003), Glenn D. Paige asks a startling and challenging question: “Is a nonkilling global society possible?” According to him: “a nonkilling society is a human community, smallest to largest, local to global, characterized by no killing of humans and no threats to kill, no weapons designed to kill humans and no justifications for using them, and no conditions of society dependent upon threat or use of killing force for maintenance or change.”

Although many around the globe would believe that a nonkilling global society as posited by Paige is unthinkable or impossible, given so much violence and killing as reported in history and the media, Paige argues that a

nonkilling global society is possible to bring about under certain conditions. He presents his theory of a nonkilling global society with great authority on the basis of considerable empirical data and scientific studies. He also shows what needs to be done, among other things, to create and sustain nonkilling societies in the process of building a nonkilling global society.

Paige is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of Hawai'i and founding President of the Center for Global Nonviolence in Honolulu. His book is so important, challenging, inspiring, and persuasive to some readers that it has been translated and published in ten foreign languages [fifteen in 2008], including Spanish, French, Arabic, Russian, Portuguese, three Indian languages, and Filipino. Many more translations are in progress.

For his lifelong scholarly work in political leadership and nonviolent political alternatives, Paige has gained international recognition. In September 2004 the American Political Association conferred on him the *Distinguished Career Award* for "demonstrated excellence in teaching and scholarship in the service of international politics."

Paige is probably the first modern thinker to advocate "a nonkilling global society" as a realizable vision and goal, although the world's great religions and various traditions have proscribed killing and have long preached peace and nonviolence. In fact he may have invented the word "nonkilling" as a noun and an adjective; our computers uniformly point to the word as a misspelling, suggesting its nonexistence at least in the English vocabulary. In 2003 our Kalayaan College co-published a Philippine edition of Paige's book in collaboration with the Center for Global Nonviolence. Now Kalayaan College is pleased to present the Filipino version of his great work, entitled *Walang-pagpatay na Agham Pampolitikang Pandaigdig*.

Let me now address the question: "What is the global significance of the nonkilling thesis?" that Paige has posed to humankind?

1. First of all is the fact that he has raised the question: "Is a nonkilling society possible?" and defined what kind of a society it is. Beyond this he asks the question and actually advances the hypothesis which is in effect: "*A global nonkilling society is possible and achievable under certain conditions.*" Philosophy and science advance by seeking valid and reliable answers to meaningful questions. Paige has raised such fundamental and challenging questions in his great work.
2. Empirical evidence is presented to disprove the belief and premise that human beings or human nature is inherently violent and that killing, not nonkilling, is the norm or rule in most societies. This

empirical fact and assertion is hopeful and encouraging to those who seek to bring about and sustain peace and development and law and order in more and more nonkilling local and national communities. It would be enlightening to the people concerned, and it would inspire and build national confidence and pride if scientific surveys and in-depth studies could establish that many local communities and a few national communities are practically nonkilling communities as defined by Paige. This will change the conventional wisdom about killing being inherently a human impulse and thus inevitable and ineradicable.

3. Having determined their existence, it would be instructive to learn what conditions have made those nonkilling communities emerge or develop and sustain themselves. Paige has suggested some of these conditions and variables. He has for example pointed to the growing number of countries that have abolished the death penalty, promoted nonviolent means of resolving disputes, organized nonviolent movements and institutions to promote peace, social harmony, human rights and social justice, and to the few countries that have abolished their armies.
4. An aspect of the nonkilling thesis is the challenge to political science and other social sciences and disciplines to examine their basic premises and suppositions that may be violence-accepting or violence-prone, rather than being consciously supportive of peace, nonviolence and nonkilling as societal values and goals in the vision of the good society.
5. If philosophy and science and technology can advance knowledge and understanding to enhance the quality of material life, studies on the fundamental problem of killing and the factors that promote the value and goal of nonkilling could also lead to the enhancement of morality and spirituality as a self-sustaining force. This is needed in the quest for human security and human and social development. Growing international and global cooperation and inter-religious dialogue for greater mutual tolerance and understanding among nations can very well include the value and goal of nonkilling societies and a nonkilling global society as a universal vision.
6. The nonkilling thesis offers a theoretical framework for specific local and national research. Thus, based on Paige's theory of nonkilling global society, in February 2004 we applied his challenging question by asking a group of Filipino social scientists and leaders the

question: “Is a nonkilling society possible in the Philippines?” We asked them to examine the problems, prospects and requirements in bringing about a peaceful, nonkilling society in the Philippines.

One of our participants, Ambassador Howard Q. Dee, makes this qualification: “A society, to qualify as a nonkilling society for us to emulate and aspire to attain, must be a benevolent life-sustaining society in all aspects of life, in all human activity and in all human relationships, internally amongst its own people and externally in dealing with the peoples of the world.” He poses seven propositions and his conclusion in responding to the question “Is a Nonkilling, Life-Sustaining Society Possible in the Philippines?”

As a result of our inquiry, the Aurora Aragon Peace Foundation and our Kalayaan College were able to publish the book: *Towards a Nonkilling Filipino Society: An Agenda for Research, Policy and Action* in 2004. We want to pursue the inquiry and engage more and more leaders, scholars, students, and communities in the common Filipino quest for peace and development, good governance and democratization anchored on the moral premise of a nonkilling society.

7. Over the years I have tried to learn about the meaning of peace in my readings and reflection. I humbly summed them up in the following evolving verses. The influence of the nonkilling thesis is reflected in the third and sixth stanzas. (On a personal note, if Glenn’s epiphany came with his critical review of his doctoral dissertation on the U.S. decision on the Korean War, mine came after my parents were killed by soldiers of the Japanese occupying army in the Philippines in 1944.)

The Indivisible Peace We Seek

In unity with our people and all humankind
We seek a just and enduring peace
Law and order and mutual tolerance
At home and around the world.

We want an end to killing and maiming
Because of greed or creed, class or tribe,
Because the poor are weak and the strong aren't just,
Or for whatever reason or senselessness.

But the peace we seek is much more than
The absence of lethal force and physical violence.
It is "a nonkilling world" devoid of threats and acts
To kill, torture, destroy, impoverish, and humiliate.

It is the tranquil fruit of freedom,
Social justice and human development
"Under the rule of law, truth and love" for
One another, says our Constitution.

It is a state of society
Marked by respect and reverence for
The life and rights of every human being,
And learning from various religions and cultures.

It is the positive feeling people have
About their safety and security
As individuals and as members
Of their communities, "local to global."

It is the gratifying feeling of being
In harmony with one's self,
With fellow men and women and children,
With nature, and with God.

And the empowering feeling of
Solidarity and cooperation with family,
Neighbor and nation, region
And humankind.

With God's grace, this is the peace
We seek in our time and in the future
As the caring, sharing and democratic nation
And world—we hope and want to become.

Translations and Cultural Experiences



Obstacles Faced in Translation from English to Arabic

Linguistic and Cultural Dimensions

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As compared to the English language, Arabic is a more ancient, original, culturally rich and more varied language. On the one hand, English had the privilege of being the language of the ruling class because of British colonialism in different parts of the world and as such it also had the advantage of imbibing foreign influences and terminology from the Latin, French, Greek and Italian languages to enrich its vocabulary and literature. On the other hand, Arabic was also the language of the victor, but the emphasis remained more on spreading Islam. Besides, Arabic being the language of the *Holy Qur'an* remained aloof from foreign influence. It is in this background that renderings from English to Arabic, including the attending difficulties, should be viewed.

Quality English-Arabic translation requires a theoretical framework, and specific knowledge and awareness of the problems that could be encountered in that process. Potential problems in the process of English-Arabic translation can be related to linguistic (syntactic, semantic, lexical, etc.), and cultural aspects of both languages. The consideration of the theoretical approach to translation that best serves English-Arabic translation is based on: the transfer of meaning rather than form, and on techniques that cope with the linguistic and cultural elements that bear on the meaning of the original message and its restructuring in the target language.

Arabic is widely considered one of the most difficult languages to deal with in a localization context. Usually commentators have focused on the technical difficulties of working with Arabic. However, viewed in a broad context, the technical aspects are just the beginning. In the present Internet era, Arabic poses some of the greatest web localization challenges because of poor software support and an acute shortage of Arabic translators. In Arabic-into-English translation, one can encounter thorny problems in rendering style. Errors in translating style generally emanate largely from the fact that the focus is on words as isolated items whereas their main task ought to be directed to perform a given function in the best possible way,

and the details concerning the translation of individual words ought to be subordinated to this task.

It is worthwhile to mention here that good translation should preserve the idea(s) of the original. The content of the message should then receive a prior concern in the translation process. Apparently in any translation there is possibility of a type of “loss” of semantic content, but the process should be designed to keep this to a minimum. Only the form of the message then is liable to be changed.

The Arabic language lacks many of the developments and refinements required for dealing with modern business and technology. In this sense it may be termed a technologically underdeveloped language. At the same time technology has yet to make as significant an impact on Arabic culture as it has in many other areas of the world. Arabic, therefore, lacks many linguistic developments needed to deal on an even basis with more technologically developed languages. As a result, localizing from a language like English, with abundant vocabulary for dealing with technical subjects, into Arabic entails not only translation and cultural adaptation of content, but also overcoming the linguistic barriers between technologically developed and underdeveloped languages. For example, there are many terms in modern business that simply do not have corresponding Arabic terms. A classic example in business terminology is that Arabic makes no distinction between “administration” and “management” and this can create unacceptable ambiguities in business translation.

Another problem is that there is insufficient linguistic research in Arabic to create computer resources needed in a modern computing environment. There are no grammar checkers for Arabic and, most importantly, no powerful linguistically-aware search engines or string-processing utilities to handle Arabic.

In most cases, translation into Arabic is an ad hoc process with no clear methodologies to follow. Many Arabic companies have their websites, brochures, reports and manuals in English, but not in Arabic—they cannot successfully put across their intended messages in Arabic!

Structural problems arise among students or translators because having to ignore the structure of the text leads to a text that is not as clear as it should be in case of taking structure into account. Structure is as important as semantics. No one can turn a blind eye to that. Ignorance of this knowledge of structure can bring about failure in the proper introduction of clearer meaning, pure language, perfect understanding, typical transfer of meaning, best conveyance of ideas and so forth; the list is endless.

As Edward Said has pointed out, however, only good literature is particularly capable of dispelling “the ideological fog” that has for so long surrounded the Middle East and obscured its people from the West. Said argues that the West needs the kind of literature that can open up the world of Islam as pertaining to the living and the experienced rather than the ideological books that try to shut it down and stuff it into a box labeled “Dangerous—do not disturb.” It is a great challenge dealing with a language that has a different feel and nuance embedded more in culture than in literal meaning.

While translating *Nonkilling Global Political Science* into the Arabic as *al la unf wa elm asseyasah al kawni*, I was faced with some difficulties. The very first difficulty was that of how to translate the title itself. For example, it was difficult to put the term “nonkilling” into the Arabic Language. The term “nonkilling” means in Arabic *alla qatel*. But there is no specific word in Arabic which can be translated to convey the exact meaning of the word “nonkilling.” So I used a relative word *al la unf* (non-violence). This term can give the nearest meaning in Arabic to “nonkilling.”

Also the word “global” has many meanings in Arabic, such as *a’lami, kawni* (Universal), so I found the word *kawni* relatively proximate to the meaning of global. The word “political” has more than one meaning in Arabic. For example, it means *seyasah* (Politics), and it means some kind of personal behaviors as well. Also it means *elem* (Science).

Similarly I was faced with some cultural difficulties during translation. For example, there are some terms in English that I can’t put directly into the Arabic language, so I had to find relative meanings for them.

In conclusion, I had to be very careful, fair and precise, while maintaining academic decorum in my translation, and had to be very selective and concerned about each word in the book. These are some broad samples of the difficulties which I faced during the translation. Another precaution that I have taken in the Arabic version is to maintain the original spirit and sanctity of the thoughts of the original author. As imperfection is human, I don’t claim absolute success and suggestions are welcome for qualitative improvement.

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Nonkilling Global Political Science is a mighty book on a mighty theme—establishing a nonkilling, peaceful world through nonkilling political science. The major function of political science is to know political truth through systematic reasoning and critical inquiry of political institutions and ideas. Human benefit is the rational motive for seeking, analyzing, and understanding political power, institutions, behavior, values, and ideas. Political science would be of great importance to the society and its people when it is used judiciously towards making men better human beings. Societies are composed of individuals and groups possessing conflicting interests that affect the whole. If the society is to thrive and survive for the attainment of highest good, then political power must be creative and exercised for common good. The most important task of the ruler of any community is to coordinate the different elements of the society in order to create peaceful environment by minimizing conflicting interests.

But reality shows that political power is mostly used irrationally. It is used not for the good of the people and society; rather it is mostly used for the leaders through their flawed strategies and wrong policies. These leaders deviate from the norms and values of political science using power according to their whims for their self and group interests. They ignore the interests of the people and endanger the plight of the global community. As a result, the life of humankind is threatened. But people want security of their lives and properties and to live in peace. Political society came into being to free people from the fear of insecurity and killing. As Plato says, “so long as rulers do their job properly it is sufficient to say that their role calls for justice and, furthermore, that their possession of wisdom—even though they are only a small minority—imparts this virtue to the whole of society.” Therefore political science started its journey in order to “administer justice without which there can be no peace; nor safety; nor mutual intercourse” (David Hume, *Theory of Politics*, 1953).

The theme, realizing a nonkilling world through the proper use of nonkilling global political science, has encouraged me to take keen interest in

translating *Nonkilling Global Political Science* into Bengali. This book is a guide to ways for political leaders to use their powers rationally, cautiously, and deliberately as domination is not true statesmanship. There is more to politics than power (Andrew Hacker, *Political Theory: Philosophy, Ideology, Science*, p. 115). “The true end which good law-givers should keep in view is the enjoyment of partnership in a good life and the felicity thereby attainable” (Ibid). There is no way of measuring the damage to a society and humankind when political science deviates from its path which is to do good for the people.

Translation and interpretation is not just about the mastery over multi-languages. More importantly, it is about understanding the meaning of writing. For example, this passage from James Robinson’s Introduction to *Nonkilling Global Political Science* will not reach people illiterate in English: “the promotion of evolutionary biases in the favor of nonkilling depends ultimately on more than will and dedication, more than the goodwill of public opinion, but also on secure bases of knowledge from which alternative courses of action may be designed, implemented, and appraised. Hence, the immense importance of a political science of nonkilling.” It is through translation that the very important idea of a nonkilling political world will be communicated to them.

Therefore translation helps to acquaint us with global socio-economic and political issues of a multi-racial, multi-cultural and multi-lingual environment. Through translation work, developed information can be globalized. It will help to harness concerted efforts by all. Translation work will provide an opportunity for people of a certain community to know others in the rest of the world and may develop affinity with their socio-cultural and political fields.

Translation is not just about attaining academic skill. In the spirit of introducing the idea of creating a nonkilling world to approximately 230 million Bengali-speaking people of Bangladesh, West Bengal, and the Tripura of India, the proposed Bengali translation of *Nonkilling Global Political Science* into *Ohimsa Visva Rajniti* is of great importance. Translation is an art of communicating ideas, to bring people together in thought. In this case to ensure the future of the world through a nonkilling global political science.

My efforts in translating *Nonkilling Global Political Science* into Bengali will be of great importance for the approximately 230 million Bengali-speaking people. Bengali is one of the most widely spoken and popular languages in the world. As a result it has been recognized by the United Nations as the language of the fifth largest group of humanity. It is the state language of Bangladesh. Its total population is 150 million. The adult male literacy rate is 50%; the female literacy rate is 31%; and the total adult literacy rate is 41% (UNESCO, 2000-2004).

Glenn D. Paige, the author of the pioneering and path-breaking book *Nonkilling Global Political Science* has visualized an approach to a nonkilling global society free of existing violent political ills. The author has put forward suggestions to develop political science as a new discipline with truthful, creative, self-disciplined, altruistic, co-operative, empathic, and nonviolent gamut by shifting violence-ridden political science toward responsive nonkilling political science (Ibid., p. 162).

I have titled my Bengali translation *Ohimsa Visva Rajniti* on the following grounds:

1. Every language including Bengali has its own peculiarities in respect of vocabulary. So it is difficult to translate every English word into Bengali keeping its own meaning clear. In any translation work we have to attach importance to the concept of the original work. Therefore, I have used "Ohimsa" (Ahimsa) for the word "nonkilling" as it embraces all sorts of nonviolence. It carries wider meaning and connotation for the word "nonkilling."
2. "Visva" means "world" or "global."
3. I have considered the word "Rajniti," meaning politics, to be more appropriate to help Bengali leaders to grasp the theme of the book. The central role of force in political science is more apparent than in other sectors.
4. Political science is both the institutional and non-institutional study of political life with wide connotation to understand causes for killing.
5. In my opinion, in many respects politics and political science are similar in goals and objectives.

Therefore, the proposed translation entitled *Ohimsa Visva Rajniti* (Non-violent World Politics) may be beneficial for people to know about the possibility of nonkilling global political science. They may come forward to establish a global nonkilling society, which is the long cherished desire of the vast majority of the world's people.

A Great Honor to do Something for a Nonkilling World

Tang Dahua
Peking University

I hope and believe that this Forum will be successful and contribute to Nonviolent Politics and to the ideal of human peace. I am deeply thankful for the opportunity to translate *Nonkilling Global Political Science* into Chinese. As you know, Chinese is the most-used language in the world. There are more than one billion people using Chinese as the main communication tool. Peace is our common ideal. The more understanding, accepting and cherishing the value of Nonkilling, the more firmly peace stands. It is a meaningful work for me to translate Professor Glenn Paige's book.

China has been on the path of modernization with surprising speed in the past 30 years. Rapid development has greatly changed this ancient country and benefited her people, but also brings many severe social and political risks and challenges, such as social injustice and political corruption, which may cause social instability and political conflicts. At the same time, because of experiences of human misery in the development processes of powerful countries in several past centuries, many people across the world are uneasy about the rapid development of China. The Chinese leadership is aware of internal potential risks and unease in the outside world, and therefore initiates the ideas of "harmony," "harmonious society" and "harmonious world," which are rooted in the philosophy of Confucianism. So, in my view, the pursuit of harmony and peace in contemporary China is somewhat a symbol of Chinese return to her ancient tradition, and is consistent with this Forum's thesis and with the pioneering work of Professor Glenn Paige in the past several decades.

It is difficult to find a Chinese word for "Nonkilling." I have thought about several words, such as "非杀" (*feisha*, lit., not kill), "反杀戮" (*fanshalu*, lit., oppose killing and massacre) and "禁杀" (*jinsha*, lit., forbid killing). At last "无杀戮" (*wushalu*, lit., without killing and massacre) was chosen. I think the chosen word is in accordance with the initial usage of "Nonkilling." I hope it will be accepted in the Chinese world.

There are many people, events and idioms from different countries and civilizations in Professor Paige's book, which reflect a cross-cultural view and enhance its logical power. For the convenience of Chinese readers, I try my best to add footnotes about those people, events and idioms in the process of my translation. But as a Chinese scholar not very familiar with histories of other countries, I am afraid that I could not express accurately what Professor Paige wants to express in the translation.

In any case, I will do my best in the last stage of translation and feel it a great honor that I can do something for the future of a nonviolent, nonkilling world.

Komentaryo tungkol sa pagsasalin ng *Nonkilling Global Political Science*

Galileo S. Zafra
University of the Philippines

Sa pangkalahatan, masasabing naging mahusay at masinop ang pagsasalin ni Roberto Anonuevo ng akdang Nonkilling Global Political Science na sinulat ni Dr. Glenn Paige. Ibig sabihin nito, matagumpay na nailipat ng salin sa target na wika, ang wikang Filipino, ang nilalaman at pormal na katangian ng orihinal na akda. (In general the translation by Roberto Añonuevo was done well and carefully. That is to say the translation of the substance and proper quality of the book into Filipino was successful.) Nangangahulugan din ito na hindi naging pilit kundi naging madulas ang salin sa wikang Filipino. (It also means that the translation was smooth, not forced.)

Ang mga banyagang konsepto ay nahanapan ng tagasalin ng katumbas mula sa korpus ng wikang Filipino—iyong Filipino na na-codify na sa mga diksiyonaryo o ginagamit sa kasalukuyan. (The translator found the equivalent in Filipino of the foreign concepts in the book.) Tingnan na lamang halimbawa ang mga sumusunod na konsepto (for example, look at the following concepts where png=noun, pnu=adjective, pdw=verb):

aklasang bayan [png]: people power

di-marahas [pnu]: nonviolent

halagahán [png halagá+han]: values, moral values, spiritual values, social values

kaloobang pampolitika [png]: political will

kapatiran [png ka+patid+an]: fellowship; brotherhood

likas-kaya [pnu]: sustainable

likas-kayang pag-unlad [png]: sustainable development

maramihang katapatan [pnu]: multiple loyalties

pagbábanyúhay [png pag+ba+bago+na+anyo+ng+buhay]: transformation; metamorphosis

pagbabago, pagbabagong-anyo, paghuhunos,

paghuhunos [png pag+hu+hunos]: pagbabanyuhay

pagsusuring walang-pagpatay [png]: nonkilling analysis

pagtataya [png]: commitment
palaiwas sa dahas [pnu]: violence-avoiding
pamamaraan [png pang+pa+daan]: method; methodology: *Metodo, Metodolohiya*
pandaigdigang kaligtasan at pagpigil ng sandata [png]: international security and arms control
pang-edukasyon at pansanayang rebolusyon [png]: educational and training revolution
panghuwarang rebolusyon [png]: normative revolution
patáyon-táyon sa dahas [pnu]: ambiviolent
pintungan [Tag png]: 1. resource; 2. source
sagip [pdw]: 1. redeem; 2. save, rescue; 3. recover
tagapamayapa [png taga+pang+payapa]: pacifist; *pasipista*
walang-dahás [pnu wala+na dahás]: non-violence; *kawalang-dahas*
walang-pagpatay [png]: nonkilling
walang-pagpatay na agham pampolitikang pandaigdig [png]: nonkilling global political science
walang-pagpatay na lipunan [png]: nonkilling society
walang-pagpatay na pagdulog [png]: nonkilling approach
walang-pagpatay na paghuhunos [png]: nonkilling transformation
walang-pagpatay na pagsusuri [png]: nonkilling analysis
walang-pagpatay na tagapayong pangkat [png]: nonkilling consulting group
walang-pagpatay na teorya [png]: nonkilling theory

Sa ilang pagkakataon, kinailangan ding manghiram mula sa mga banyagang wika. Una muna ay sa Kastila, bagaman, bihirang-bihira tulad ng: aplikadong rebolusyon [png]—applied revolution; desarme [Esp png]—disarmament. Halos walang panghihiram mula sa Ingles maliban sa mga salitang pantangi (proper names) na ipinasiya ng tagasalin na manatili sa orihinal na katawagan. (In a few instances it was necessary to borrow from a foreign language, first from Spanish. Proper names were retained in the original language.)

Ano ang pakinabang ng ginawang pagsasalin? Una, inaasahang mas madaling mauunawaan ng mambabasang Filipino ang akda at mas magiging mabisa ang pagpapalaganap ng mga idea tungkol sa walang-pagpatay na agham pampolitika. (What is the value of the translation? First, it is hoped that Filipino readers will better understand the writing/subject and it will be more effective to disseminate the idea about a nonkilling global political science.)

Ikalawa, napatutunayan ng pagsasalin na ang mga idea tungkol sa walang-pagpatay at walang-dahas ay may pinagmumulan ding konteksto sa lipunan

at kulturang Filipino. Ang ganitong insight o kabatiran ay pinatutunayan ng nailistang mga termino sa wikang Ingles na kumakatawan sa mga susing konsepto sa teorya ni Paige na mahusay na naisalin sa Filipino gamit ang kasalukuyang korpus ng wikang ito. Kung ang mga banyagang konsepto ay madaling natutumbasan sa isa pang wika, madaling mahinuha (infer) na ang mga konseptong ito ay bahagi rin ng kultura ng pinagsasalinang wika. Maipapalagay kung gayon na ang mga idea tungkol sa walang-pagpatay at walang-dahas ay may batayan sa kultura at lipunang Filipino. Kailangan lamang ang bago, sistematiko, at siyentipikong artikulasyon nito para maiangat ang mga konseptong ito sa antas ng teorya, gaya ng ginagawa ni Paige, at kasunod nito ay ang malawakan nitong pagsasapraktika. (Secondly, it is demonstrated that the smooth translation of the ideas regarding nonkilling and nonviolence is related to their relevant context in Filipino society and culture. The foreign concepts are readily matched by their equivalents in Filipino. What is needed is the new, systematic and scientific formulation of the concepts into the level of theory, as done by Paige, and next to this is its wide application or implementation.)

Joies et Peines de la Traduction en Français de *Nonkilling Global Political Science*

Max Paul
Université Jean Price Mars

After having read Glenn D. Paige's book, *Nonkilling Global Political Science* (NKGPS) and having participated in the Nonkilling Forums organized by Prof. Jose Abueva in four Filipino universities in Manila and Mindanao in February 2004, the idea of translating the book into French came to my mind. I wanted to seize this golden opportunity of making this masterly book available to the Francophone world.

In May 2005, the Centre Caraïbéen pour la non-violence Globale et le Développement Durable (CCNGD) translated into French and published NKGPS under the title: *Non-Violence, Non-Meurtre: Vers une Science Politique Nouvelle*, 2005, Port-au-Prince, Haiti.

Through this translation the nonkilling thesis of the book is known and read, not only in Haiti, but also in Francophone Great Lakes Africa (DR Congo, Burundi and Rwanda). It has also been abridged, translated into Kiswahili, and published there for grassroots community education.

We are happy about this available French translation. It constitutes a fundamental instrument for our work here in Haiti in the process of educating people for the emergence of nonviolent, nonkilling, peace-minded leadership.

Translations always raise difficulties. I was not in charge of the first rough translation. It was accomplished by Mrs. Magaly Laraque, who is not a scholar in social sciences. However, the revision was mostly my task partly assisted by Prof. Toussaint Desrosiers.

The main difficulties we encountered were first to translate the term "nonkilling" and secondly to associate this term with other terms like: "nonkilling problem-solving" and "nonkilling political science." This difficulty is inherent to the French language which relates terms through a preposition in order for them to have meaning. The German language like the English language allows joining many substantives together such as *Politikwissenschaftengagement* for "political science engagement." But French re-

quires *engagement de la science politique*. Other examples of difficult terms are “need-fulfilling change” and “problem-solving processes.” We have also encountered difficulties in the translation of sentences which are long and contain various subordinate propositions. For example, see p. 110 of *Nonkilling Global Political Science*.

Despite the difficulties, we have done our best to preserve in the French translation the meaning and precision of the *Nonkilling Global Political Science* text with all its subtleties. It has become clear to us after having worked so often with *Nonkilling Global Political Science* and *Non-Violence, Non-Meurtre: Vers une Science Politique Nouvelle* in seminars and workshops, that the French translation presents weaknesses and that the style can be refined. We hope that we will be able to correct them in the publication of a new edition. Anyhow, one big step has been crossed. This fundamental book can be read in the Francophone world and contribute to advancement of the struggle for peace.

Globalizing Understanding of Nonkilling Capabilities

Experiences and Possibilities in the Lusophone World

Joám Evans Pim and Bárbara Kristensen

Galizan Institute for International Security and Peace Studies

Introduction

Lusophony or the Portuguese speaking world constitutes a vast cultural and linguistic block that integrates over 250 million human beings along all of Earth's continents. Brazil, with over 180 million inhabitants is the fifth largest country in the world with one of South America's most vibrant economies. In Europe we find Portugal, with 10 million and full membership of the European Union, where Portuguese is an official working language, and Galiza, a territory under Spanish administration close to 3 million inhabitants. Former Portuguese colonies account for nearly another 30 million speakers: Mozambique has 17 million; Angola 11 million; Guinea Bissau 1 million; Cape Verde, 417,000; São Tomé e Príncipe, 130,000; and East Timor, which gained independence from Indonesia in 2002, with 175,000. Other enclaves as Macao (former Portuguese territory with autonomy within the People's Republic of China) or Goa and Damão (now part of India), together with migrant communities from all of these countries scattered around the world sum up the total amount.

This alone would certainly justify the translation of any significant piece of knowledge into such language, even though the fact that great segments, if not the majority, of Portuguese speaking communities stagger under the line of poverty, does not provide incentives for great publishing companies to translate, publish and distribute within the Lusophone world. Also, linguistic problems, namely orthographical, divided until recently the way in which Portuguese was written in countries as Brazil or Portugal [a common agreement entered into effect in 2008], and Galiza still has a serious linguistic conflict among those who defend the use of Spanish orthography and those who approximate to Portuguese orthography. For that reason alone, two translations of *Nonkilling Global Political Science* (NKGPS) were prepared by the Galizan Institute for International Security and Peace Studies, one in the Brazilian variant (the most widely used) and another into the

Galizan official standard, subsidized by the Galizan Government and more easily distributable within this territory. In any case, a further revised edition in the unified orthography is also being considered, to publish after a final agreement is implemented.

Above these issues, reasons of greater importance explain the need for having an intelligible version of NKGPS available for the Portuguese speaking world, harshly afflicted by violence in all of its forms and killing as consequence of numerous circumstances. In the first part of this paper relevant data on this problem is provided. Secondly, some difficulties and specificities of both Portuguese/Galizan translations are mentioned, finalizing with future projects and possibilities related to the spreading of nonkilling theoretical body and the practical development of its contents.

Killing and Violence in the Lusophone World

Violence is without any doubt the major social problem of Lusophony's biggest countries. According to the Global Peace Index (GPI), developed by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), Portuguese speaking countries are situated in different levels. While Portugal is among the most peaceful, in the 9th position, Mozambique is down to the 50th, followed by Brazil in the 83rd and, at the end of the list, Angola in position 112. Looking at the regional context, Latin America has over 300,000 people killed each year as a result of violence, of which 120,000 are victims of homicides, 125,000 of road accidents and 55,000 of suicides. Close to six million children suffer serious abuses and 80,000 women die because of gender violence. These rates are rapidly increasing and in some countries homicide rates have increased over 300% in less than twenty years (130% in Brazil), in spite of the fall of military dictatorships that, in theory, were responsible for a great amount of structural violence in the region.

In Brazil, in less than ten years (1991-2000), death rates caused by firearms among young people (15-24) rose 95%, and during the last 20 years (in which violent deaths increased rapidly) over 2 million died violently in Brazil alone, the equivalent of the whole populations of some small countries. Rapid metropolitan expansion has also caused the appearance of macro-cities in which crime and violence rates have reached unprecedented levels. Political (tentative) solutions to this major problem have focused on governmental repression, unleashing a spiral of violence into which an increasing number of people are being driven. During recent

years, for example, deaths caused by stray bullets coming from far away have become increasingly worrisome.

In other Portuguese speaking countries, namely Angola and Mozambique in Africa, and East Timor/Timor Lorosae in Asia, similar situations occur. During the past 27 years (1975-2002) the Angolan Civil War (that started even before the Colonial War was over) took the lives of nearly 1 million people, to which 1 million internally displaced people and over half a million refugees from a total population of 13 million must be added. Also, over 500,000 land mines are still scattered on its soil, having caused over 100,000 mutilated casualties. Still today, and in spite of the peace process, one third (4 million people) of the Angolan population possess light weapons. Insecurity and corruption are seriously crippling the country's post-war reconstruction and development. In Mozambique the numbers are similar, as during its Civil War (1976-1992) close to a million people died, while another 4 million were internally and externally displaced. Mozambique is still a country ravaged by violence, especially harsh in its capital Maputo, where homicides occur on a daily basis, affecting law enforcement officers and creating a climate of generalized tension.

Timor has also undergone extreme violence since the 1999 UN backed referendum. During this process and after the official results were declared, Indonesian armed forces and pro-Indonesian militias killed over 1,500 people, destroying 70% of the country's infrastructure. This was only the last step of a 24-year-long genocidal campaign inflicted upon the Timor people during Indonesian occupation. Local communities were destroyed and a culture of dependence, corruption and destruction was generated, forcing 90% of the population (totalling 1 million) into internal displacement and close to 300,000 to seek refuge abroad. The political situation is extremely unstable to this day.

Even though the majority of these countries have rejected killing as a state policy at least formally, as Glenn Paige's work explains—Angola, São Tomé e Príncipe, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Timor Lorosae and Portugal have no capital punishment and Brazil reserves it only to special circumstances under martial law, not having officially executed anyone for the last 150 years—it is also true that state repression, in its many forms, has been responsible for many deaths. The increasing violence, as has been stated, is also increasing the brutality of engagements with security forces. Brazil, Angola, Mozambique and Timor, that was close to a military coup d'état just recently, provide daily examples. The failure of the Governments to develop alternative solutions for dealing with violence (for example, the failure of Brazil's small arms reduction programmes and referendum) demonstrates the

need for new strategies, involving civil society as a whole, more than ever are claiming their right and urgent necessity for peaceful coexistence.

This is the scenario in which the Portuguese translation of *Nonkilling Global Political Science* is placed. Faced with this bleak prospect, initiatives from all areas are urgently needed to bring solutions for this disturbing situation. Therefore, the publication and distribution of an essay in which mechanisms of a new, alternative, peaceful and humane Political Science are explained takes on a revealing and extremely important dimension, specially in countries with massive populations such as Brazil, but also relatively large populations as Angola or Mozambique, exceedingly tired of not being able to go peacefully on the streets, of not knowing what the future holds. The power of will—when trained, when positively aware, when focused towards good and the development of nonkilling capabilities—will surely be able to vanquish the many barriers society imposes on itself.

Glenn Paige's work is undoubtedly a transcendent initiative to foster this awareness, and in the Portuguese speaking countries, where most people do not have access to the English language, a translation that could provide the knowledge contained in this unique piece of work to over 250 million people in the 5 continents was surely needed. In close cooperation with the future Center for Global Nonkilling and other institutions worldwide, translations and cultural exchanges like this will endow access to a main body of theoretical texts that will significantly influence the way peace and nonkilling initiatives will develop in the coming years.

Translating Nonkilling Capabilities: A Cultural Experience

Translation is always relative, even optional to certain extent, and depends greatly on the translator's ability to capture the true and essential meaning of the text and to conserve it in a new version that will obviously be just one among many other possibilities. Translations are no more than an artificial bridge that rests upon two (or even more) texts, erected with the materials language provides. Even though languages are not isomorphic, that does not imply their impregnability, as both levels of equivalence and meaningless coexist, and through translation paths that complement each level making them comprehensible are brought together¹.

¹ Cruces, F.; Díaz de Rada, A. (2004). Traducción y derivación. Una reflexión sobre el lenguaje conceptual de la antropología. In Fernández Moreno, Nuria, Comp., *Lecturas de Etnología. Una introducción a la comparación en Antropología*. Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, p. 256.

Translating is nothing like a systematic word-by-word conversion, as it implies a great deal of creativity when solutions to new problems arise, something especially common in works with neologisms and new terms, with no fixed equivalence in the receiving language. This was one of the first issues that had to be tackled when the decision to translate NKGPS into Portuguese/Galician was assumed. The original title, *Nonkilling Global Political Science*, would literally be translated as '*Ciência política global do não-matar*', but in our editions, and with the author's consent, the title *Sem matar é possível. Para uma nova ciência política global*, was established, seeking a better adaptation to syntactic and stylistic structures of the Portuguese language. In English, this would translate as '*Without killing it is possible. For a new global political science*', turning out to be a more 'readable' and attractive title than what a literal translation would represent. Even though Glenn Paige's neologism ('Nonkilling') was omitted from the title, where it served as adjective, an introductory sentence (*Sem matar é possível* = Without killing it is possible) substituted this term, being followed by the subtitle (*Para uma nova ciência política global* = For a new global political science). It must be said that this title is very resonant in our cultural and political environment, as it is associated with the massive popular movements against war and savage capitalism that under the banner "Another World is possible!" / "*Outro mundo é possível!*" took the streets in many European and Latin American cities up to very recently.

A similar problem came up in the core of the text, in relation to the translation/ construction of a neologism. 'Nonkilling', a substantive or adjective with clear and logical sense within the morphological structure of the English language, is rather problematic in the Portuguese language. Firstly because the substantivization of verbs is not common in Portuguese structures (as a similar substantive usually exists, as '*morte*', in this case) and secondly because words should be conjugated to work both as adjective and substantive, something that was carried out but with a (up to some extent) imperfect result. 'Nonkilling' was therefore translated as '*não-matar*' (something like 'kill-not'), negatively substantivizing a verb, as the closest existing substantive ('*morte*' = 'death') did not include the diverse nuances—and even circumstances—'kill' has implicit in the English language.

It is interesting to reflect upon this fact. According to the *Houaiss* Portuguese Language Dictionary, 'matar' ('kill') has a controversial origin, probably coming from the Vulgar Latin term **mattāre*, meaning 'to hit', 'to bring down', apparent evolution of the Latin *mactō*, *-as*, *-āvi*, *-ātum*, *-are*, probably meaning 'to provide', 'to reward', 'to increase', 'to sacrifice/offer [to the

Gods]’, ‘to dedicate’, ‘to consecrate’. Significantly, this same Dictionary offers nearly 100 synonyms or variants² for this action, not including many regional variations of this same terms. On the other hand, nothing like ‘nonkilling’ was found in the Portuguese language, in spite of constituting a simple but diametrically opposed term. These facts point out the importance of the idea of coining such a term, not even considering at this point the relevance of the rest of the contents, in a society in which, for centuries, killing was imperative, as the linguistic usage of the word implies.

Another linguistic problem came along with the translation of expressions and set phrases of the English language that use terms related to violent actions but with a meaning not necessarily related to these actions. Even though similar set phrases exist in Portuguese (*‘a matar’* [‘going to kill’] means having clothes well coordinated: *‘o tom vermelho da blusa, os cabelos louros, tudo muito a matar’*; *‘de matar’* [‘killing’], that can be applied to something of bad quality [*‘quando o filme é de matar, muita gente sai antes do fim da sessão’*] or the opposite, meaning magnificent, splendid: *‘a casa era de um luxo de matar’*), it was preferred to literally translate the original expressions (indicating the original English term) than to offer adaptations using typical Portuguese expressions.

Final remarks

When the project of translating NKGPS arrived at the Galizan Institute for International and Peace Studies, most members of its board were quite surprised and up to some extent worried, as it was not clear we could accomplish such mission as putting such an important volume in circulation among the Portuguese speaking countries. Even though the Institute received significant support from the Galizan Autonomous Government’s Department for Language Policy to print the Galizan translation, extremely high fares of commercial translators made it clear that only a volunteer basis

² Among them: *abalar, abater, abolir, acabar, acaçapar, acachapar, afligir, afogar, alhanar, aluir, amputar, aniquilar, anular, apagar, arcabuzar, arrasar, arruinar, assassinar, aterrar, avexar, aviar, banir, bombardear, cancelar, ceifar, cercear, concluir, consumir, cortar, decapitar, defuntear, degolar, demolir, depopular, depredar, derribar, derriscar, derrocar, derrotar, derrubar, desbaratar, desfazer, desmontar, desmoroñar, desolar, destroçar, destruir, devastar, dilacerar, dirimir, dissipar, dissolver, dizimar, eletrocutar, eliminar, empandeirar, esbarroandar, esboroar, escochar, escochinar, esfacelar, esfriar, esmagar, espingardear, esquartejar, esterilizar, estraçalhar, estraçegar, estrangular, estruir, excluir, exinanir, expungir, exterminar, extinguir, extirpar, fulminar, fuzilar, inutilizar, mixar, mondar, nulificar, obliterar, oprimir, profligar, proscrever, rapar, rasar, riscar, sacrificar, sufocar, sumir, suprimir talar, trucidar, vastar, vindimar, vitimar.*

(on which the Institute has relied upon since its creation) could make such effort possible. Bárbara Kristensen was mainly responsible for the translation, leaving editorial coordination and revision to Joám Evans Pim. As only a limited print run was possible, Internet became the major means of distribution, reaching virtually any potential reader in the world with access to the required technology. In future, a virtual library at the Center for Global Nonkilling should make available digital copies of *Nonkilling Global Political Science* translations, as now happens at the Center for Global Nonviolence and IGESIP Internet sites. The use of a *Creative Commons*, *Copyleft* or similar content licence could make possible further distribution of these materials.

Translating and publishing possibilities have gone further. A new Portuguese edition is currently being prepared, following this year's unified orthographic agreement, and will be offered to editors in Brazil, Portugal, Angola and Mozambique free of charge to guarantee a wide distribution. A new Spanish translation is also being prepared at the Institute and will be published, hopefully together with a Catalan translation based on it, sometime next year, both in Spain and Mexico. An agreement with the Benito Juárez University of Oaxaca and Almadía Editors in Mexico will also make possible a wider distribution of Paige's work in Spanish speaking Latin America, as Almadía has an agreement with Fondo de Cultura Económica (major editor and distributor for all of Latin America) while the University of Oaxaca will cover the costs. Keenly aware of the structural problems with violence its region suffers (and of which the whole world got to know this year—2007) they insisted on the possibility of holding a Global Forum at their campus, an option that could be considered in the near future.

Asteriskos. Journal of International and Peace Studies published by our Institute (and available for free download at the Institute's Internet site³) has also the determination to provide space for new ideas following the nonkilling perspective. In its first issue (2006) an article by Balwant 'Bill' Bhaneja on *Nonkilling Global Political Science* was included in the book-review section⁴, together with other related articles by John W. Lango, Wolfgang Dietrich and Norbert Koppensteiner. This year's issue (2007) also includes works by Johan Galtung, Antonino Drago, Clayton K. Edwards⁵, Syed Sikander Mehdi, Balwant Bhaneja, among other authors that tackle related is-

³ <http://www.igesip.org>

⁴ Bhaneja, B. (2006). A Nonkilling Paradigm for Political Problem Solving. *Asteriskos*, n.º 1/2, pp. 273-277. Available from <http://www.nonkilling.org> (periodicals).

⁵ Edwards, Clayton K. (2007). The Basis of the Nonkilling Belief. *Asteriskos*, n.º 3/4, pp. 33-39. Available from <http://www.nonkilling.org> (periodicals).

sues. The creation of such spaces in which empirical and theoretical research on nonkilling can be made available is one of the issues a future Center for Global Nonkilling could pay attention to, without underestimating the importance of having nonkilling theses represented in other major journals on political science, peace studies, etc.

Finally, we would like to highlight the impact a nonkilling perspective is having on the way our Institute is promoting its exterior and interior activities. This year, for example, a major Conference on Young Researchers was organized by the Institute (with over 150 participants coming from Galiza, Portugal, Brazil, Angola, Spain and Italy) having 'peace studies and nonkilling capabilities' as one of the key themes. A summer course for 30 Santiago de Compostela University students on the social commitment of scientific research also incorporated a whole day seminar on peace studies and nonkilling capabilities. Another Postgraduate Course on Arab and Islamic Studies organized in collaboration with Menéndez Pelayo International University, also included a session on nonviolent and nonkilling aspects of Islamic traditions. The Institute is also participating in the organization of the International Conference on Education and Culture of Peace / World Education Forum that will be held in 2010 under the auspices of United Nations and UNESCO, to analyse the results of the UN's Decade for a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence, in which we hope to bring attention to nonkilling theses.

Nonkilling Global Political Science in Hindi

N. Radhakrishnan
Indian Council of Gandhian Studies

Two Professors from the University of Delhi—one a Senior Reader in Political Science, Dr. Kussum Latha Chadda and another, Dr. Pathanjali Kumar Bhatia, a senior Professor in Sanskrit and Hindi—undertook the Hindi translation. It was a good team, since both of them were specialists in their fields and complemented each other admirably in terms of their scholarships and readiness to work on a project like this. More than this, both of them had met with Prof. Paige during two of his visits to Delhi earlier. The passion with which Prof. Paige spoke about “nonkilling society” had impressed them also. Hence it was easy for me to persuade them to undertake the translation though they were hard-pressed for time and translation was not certainly their profession.

Before they began the translation, we had two or three discussion sessions on this book at the International Center of Gandhian Studies at Gandhi Darshan near the Gandhi Samadhi (the place where Gandhi was cremated on 31st January 1948). We were joined in these discussions by a few members of the faculty from the Gandhi Bhavan of Delhi University. The idea was to give the translators a feel of the general issues Prof. Paige discussed in his book.

Both Dr. Bhatia and Dr. Kussum appeared very happy after these discussions. But their initial enthusiasm and expectation that they would be able to finish the work in six months waned as they gradually plunged into the work. Since they were not far away from my campus, we met almost every week to discuss the problems they encountered. We read together the parts they translated. The methodology adopted was that while one of them would translate a chapter the other would read it through and suggest changes if any.

The Hindi translation ran into several difficulties due to a number of factors, mainly due to the changes the National Language Hindi has undergone in recent times. Many words which are commonly used in Hindi are from Pali, Sanskrit, Urdu, Arabic, or from the leading languages in India. Even the currency notes issued by the Reserve Bank of India contain 15 languages. Every word has a certain special connotation and many words due to use, overuse or misuse have acquired in recent times different meanings in the multilingual scenario in India.

The book was launched at a special function at the Institute of Public Administration (a premier training institute under the government to train senior functionaries of government as well as academicians and grass-root workers) in New Delhi at which Prof. Paige was also present. A distinguished panel, consisting of Dr. Sanjeev Reddy (Director, IIPA, New Delhi), Prof. S.L. Goel (Vice-Chairman, IIPA, New Delhi), Prof. N.P. Singh (Director, S.N. Institute of Management, Ranchi University), Dr. Vinod Tyagi (Delhi University), Mr. Malaiswamy (Member of Parliament), Dr. C.B. Singh (Gandhi Bhavan), and Dr. Anil Dutt Mishra (Gandhi National Museum) joined the discussion that followed the initial presentation by Prof. Paige and Dr. Radhakrishnan. This was followed by quite a few interesting observations from the assembly of over sixty invitees. The observations ranged from serious reservations on the transformation from the present violence-accepting socio-political order to a nonkilling or nonviolent society. The forceful intervention by Prof. Paige during the discussion and the informal discussions after the function left an indelible impression in the minds of many that the messianic spirit and the conviction with which he espouses the cause will not go to waste. It's a beginning of a new revolution whose impact will be felt only in the long run, as pointed out by a young journalist-trainee who attended a second session the next day at the Gandhi Peace Foundation.

The next day's book discussion, held at Gandhi Peace Foundation was attended by a select gathering of around 30 senior Gandhian activists, intellectuals, journalists, political activists, and a few students of political science from Jawaharlal Nehru University and Delhi University. It turned out to be a delightful experience to those who wanted to know more about the seminal idea Prof. Paige has been striving to communicate through his book. Prof. K.D. Gangrade (Vice-Chairman, Gandhi Smriti and Darshan Samiti) chaired the session at which Prof. Paige was also present to interact with the audience. Vice-Chancellor of Jain Viswabharati University Prof. Sudhamahi, Sri Regunathan (Principal Secretary to the Chief Minister of Delhi), Dr. Y.P. Anand (Director, National Gandhi Museum), Prof. Rashmi Sudhapuri (Director, Gandhi Bhavan, Punjab University), Avadesh Kumar (Chairman, PANI, New Delhi), Sri. Ramesh Sharma and Sri. Babulal Sharma (Gandhi Peace Foundation), N. Vasudevan (Gandhi Media Centre), K.M. Sasidharan Nair (Indian Council of Gandhian Studies), C. Dileep (G. Ramachandran Institute of Non-violence), Dr. Nisha Tyagi (Delhi University) were among those who participated in the discussion which was moderated by Dr. N. Radhakrishnan.

The translators' job was not very comfortable though Dr. Kussum Chadda said at the launch of the book in Delhi that she and her colleague Dr. Bhatia enjoyed doing it. Dr. Kussum said,

Translating Prof. Glenn D. Paige's book *Nonkilling Global Political Science* into Hindi was a labor of love. We felt honored as well as awed by the immense responsibility of passing on the message of the crusader of peace, in the right spirit, to the vast multitude of the Hindi-speaking people of India.

The challenge, however, was worth taking. The first concern was to get an appropriate word for "nonkilling" in Hindi. The importance of "non" not being a prefix but a part of the whole word, was not lost on us. It was similar to the use of negative sounding words for positive concepts generally followed in Sanskrit and Hindi. Since Prof. Paige uses the word "nonkilling" mainly for nonkilling of human beings, we zeroed in on the phrase "*himsa mukta swaroop*" which we believe, did justice to the discussion in the book.

Maintaining the conversational style of Prof. Paige without compromising on the seriousness of the topic under discussion was another challenge. Also, we had to take care of the various examples from European and American history with which Indian readers are not familiar. This was done with the help of suitable annotations. Finally, Prof. Paige had quoted some verses from a Hindi poet, in translation. We substituted these with the original ones.

It is hoped that the readers would feel as if the book was originally written in Hindi itself and marvel at how good Prof. Paige's Hindi is!

The two public functions and a few intimate discussions among us convinced us that the book needed a revision including a change of its title. The two translators also concurred with our view and we began a serious search and earnest effort for a new title. The title that we gave was *Hatya-mukth rajaneeti shastra* which is not a literal translation of Glenn's title. *Hatya* in Sanskrit or in Hindi (so too in many Indian languages) means *kill*. But the expression is used only to refer to homicide. *Mukth* in Hindi indicates devoid of. *Rajaneeti shastra* is political science. In its totality, *Hatya-mukth rajaneeti shastra*, therefore, was felt to be inadequate and the new title we agreed upon was *Rajaneeti shastra ka himsamukth swaooop*. In the Indian cultural context the present title conveys adequately what Prof. Paige seeks to communicate. *Rajaneeti shastra ka himsamukth swaooop* is a longer one but while *rajaneeti shastra* means political science, *himsamukth swaroop*

conveys the framework of nonkilling. Together these words, if not a literal translation, adequately and very forcefully convey the original title.

The redoing of the title and revising the text proved to be very costly and time-consuming. Dr. Kussum and Dr. Bhatia rewrote almost every page which meant almost a year while the printer had to take 172 new plates along with a new cover design and color combination. Then the question of disposing of the old copies remains unresolved.

Before the revised text and the title were finalized, they were sent to two experts in the field for their comments. Prof. B.R. Nanda, the distinguished historian and biographer of Gandhi and Nehru, and Dr. Y.P. Anand, Director of Gandhi National Museum went through the text thoroughly before it was finally sent to the press.

In order to ensure wider circulation the Gandhi Media Centre entered into an agreement with the Gandhi National Museum, New Delhi. The revised edition is a joint project of the Gandhi Media Centre and the Gandhi National Museum and is priced Rs. 150/ (less than 4 US Dollars).

Note on the Japanese Translation

H. Henry “Hank” Fukui
War Plays Project

When I met Dr. Paige the first time, I remember the dark and heavy atmosphere hanging in the air. It was the spring of the 2003, and our nation the United States was debating whether to invade Iraq. As a Buddhist, my mind was clear for opposing this potential war, but I also knew that it was a losing position. When I heard that Dr. Paige was giving a lecture at the Soka Gakkai International SGI-USA Honolulu Culture Center, I felt that I must be there to get direction for the future. His lecture was most impressive and his optimism gave me power to continue fighting for peace.

He introduced me to the Center for Global Nonviolence website, and encouraged me to read *Nonkilling Global Political Science*. I remember that I read the book in two days and was especially impressed by its “Nonkilling Action Principles.” I recognized the importance of the book and the necessity for immediately translating it into Japanese. My attempts to find a qualified Japanese translator eventually failed. Then Dr. Paige encouraged me to take the task. My academic background is in the field of the evolutionary genetics, and I was well aware that I am not qualified to translate this important work into Japanese. However, I took this task because I knew that this important work must be spread throughout the world, and felt that I would be able to understand it much more deeply if I translated it. By hard work the first draft was finished by Hiroshima-Day, August 6, 2006.

After serious consideration, I decided to translate the word “nonkilling” into Japanese as *korosanai* (殺さない). An ordinary way would be to translate it into the Chinese *hisatsu* (非殺) following the example of “nonviolence” *hiboryoku* (非暴力). However, I felt that this Chinese phrase does not convey the numerous killings around us in our daily life; it is too distant and too formalistic. I understand that the book’s thesis is to challenge the unquestioned assumption of politics and political science that killing is an inescapable factor at all levels of politics among people of all classes, cultures, races, and nationalities.

The book presents much information from a wide variety of fields. Therefore, it challenges not only a translator’s language abilities but his or

her knowledge in a wide variety of fields. This was a pleasant surprise for me because I was trained to be highly specialized in a narrow, but well defined area of study to be an effective research natural scientist. For that reason it was a great eye-opening and joyous experience to engage in this challenging endeavor, although it was a very difficult task indeed.

I am hoping that my translation will communicate to Japanese readers Dr. Paige's original intent. I am continuing to work on the translation to improve it so that Japanese readers will be able to understand his intention and initiate the journey to create the community, society, nation, and world where no one will be killed.

Korean Translator's Note on Nonkilling Experiences

Yoon-Jae Chung
The Academy of Korean Studies

It has been 23 years since I first met Prof. Glenn D. Paige. In 1984, I took his course “Nonviolent Political Alternatives” as a doctoral student at the University of Hawai‘i. He began the class with the question, “Is a non-violent society possible?” He argued that most modern political theories, from Machiavelli to Hobbes, Locke, Marx, and Weber, accepted violence as inevitable. I found this argument very provocative. He asserted that Plato’s inclusion of the military class in his ideal state of *The Republic* was due to a lack of imagination. He also criticized liberalism and socialism for not questioning violence, both in theory and in practice. One memory in particular that has stayed with me was when he had all of the students go outside with him to pick up litter as a practice of nonviolence.

Upon meeting him again last summer in 2006, I asked my old teacher some questions regarding the current issues facing South Korea. “Right now in Korea, the conservative and progressive camps are having a heated debate over the issue of whether to dismantle the statue of General McArthur in Incheon. What do you think?”

He replied “Yes, of course, all soldiers are killers by profession. But does that mean that we should tear down all war monuments? No. It is better to keep them as monuments to remind humanity that we have failed in nonkilling. Instead of destroying them, why not erect, beside them, statues of heroes and heroines who opposed killing? General McArthur was a model soldier. He commanded both successfully and disastrously in the Korean War. But a few years later, in 1955, he made a classic speech against war, saying, ‘The next great advance of civilization cannot take place until war is abolished. The leaders are the laggards... We must have new thoughts, new ideas, new concepts... We must break out of the strait-jacket of the past.’ You can engrave this speech on his statue as a lesson about learning from the violence of the past. I think that would be more important.”

I had expected a more radical answer from him, given his passion for nonviolence, so this response came as a shock. But then I remembered that

he always stressed the importance of the leadership approach in politics, considering the “creative potential” of political leaders. At the same time, I was reassured that his political theory of nonviolence is not a destructive, negative approach to violence and the reality of violence but rather a constructive, positive one to help realize and expand the nonviolent potential and possibility of human beings. He emphasizes the importance of developing and spreading nonviolent leadership academically and politically.

Remembering the slogan, “No More Killing,” written above the North and South Korean flags—with the American flag in between—hanging on his office wall, I asked why he uses the word “nonkilling” rather than “non-violence.” “The concept of nonkilling is more specific than nonviolence or peace. Nonkilling can be measured. Casualties can be counted, so it favors empirical scientific research.”

Presently in Korea, political leaders and intellectuals are seriously talking about the necessity of paradigm shifts towards a new civilization that is peaceful and sustainable. In this context, the publication of the Korean translation of *Nonkilling Global Political Science* in Seoul on the occasion of this Global Forum is especially timely. It took me about three years to finish the translation. The Korean title is *Pisalsaeng chongch'ihak: segye p'yonghwa rul uihan sinchongch'ihakron* [Nonkilling Political Science: New Political Theory for World Peace]. The words chosen for nonkilling are: *pi* (not), *sal* (kill), *saeng* (life). *Saeng* has the connotation of all forms of life with Buddhist overtones prevalent in Korean culture. The manuscript was sent to the publisher Baeksan Sodang [White Mountain Publishing House] last spring. The co-presidents, Mr. Lee Bum and his wife Mrs. Chol-mi, read the manuscript and agreed to publish it without reservations.

The book has two Forewords that recommend it. The first is by Kim Dae Jung, former Korean President and Nobel Peace Laureate in 2000. He writes: “In the history of humanity in the 21st century, in the history of advances to nonviolence and peace, this book will make an extremely valuable contribution.” The second is by political science Professor Ahn Chung of Seoul National University, editor of a festschrift to Prof. Paige published in Korean by ten political scientists (eight Korean, one Japanese, and one Thai) in 2004. The title is *Pisalsaeng chongch'ihak gwa chigu p'yonghwa undong* [Nonkilling Political Science and the World Peace Movement]. Professor Ahn calls upon all political scientists to join in the task of advancing knowledge and practice toward a nonkilling future world.

Nonkilling Global Political Science

Malayalam Edition

Ahimsatmaka Aagola Rashtra-thantram

N. Radhakrishnan
Indian Council of Gandhian Studies

Malayalam is the language spoken in Kerala, the southernmost State of India. Though the population is only around 40 million, the Keralites have spanned out to every nook and corner of the world and have made their presence felt as a group of hard-working and intelligent people. In literacy, Kerala ranks number one among the provinces in India and the *Kerala Model of Development* is spoken very highly around the world now. For decades, women of Kerala enjoy a pre-eminent position in society and Kerala is one of the traditional “matrilineal” societies in the world. Comparatively, it is a clean state which has taken advantage of education as a tool of empowerment, development and societal transformation. This explains perhaps the importance it has accorded to education.

It has also been a melting point of cultures and religions. Christianity entered India through Kerala and Jews too had a sizeable presence in the state at one time. The role played by the Church and missionaries in the field of education and health is highly appreciated and in the matter of religious harmony, this state remained comparatively quiet until recently.

The high percentage of literacy that the province boasts about undoubtedly brought with it several advantages, such as admirable social and political awareness and highly commended reading habit among the public. Bengal led India in the Literary Renaissance in the second half of the 19th century by introducing the Western novel, short stories and poetry through translations. This led to the birth of the earliest Indian Novels and other literary forms in the Bengali language. Bengali literature, Bengali music and Bengali intellectuals became trend-setters and some of the writers of those periods are still read widely and respected even today.

Kerala followed Bengal in the Literary Renaissance. Surprisingly, as an agrarian society Kerala also witnessed an admirable political awakening, thanks to the very high literacy rate and the Literacy Renaissance that followed. The Communists coming to power in Kerala through democratic

election in 1957 is a landmark development. In it, the role played by arts and literature is very significant.

Keralites, though in number not very significant demographically, in bureaucracy, army, medicine, technology, and national politics, they are a very important segment in India even from the days of Sankaracharya, who had begun his campaign of “Advaita” (non-dualism) from Kerala. Gandhi’s disciple, Vinoba Bhave, who led the Land-gift movement to persuade the rich to part with excess land to the landless, also began his movement from Kerala. The Shantisena (Peace Brigade of Gandhi) also was introduced during Vinoba’s tour of Kerala.

This “God’s Own Country,” as Kerala is introduced by the provincial government, certainly influences national politics in a big way. The practice of different political parties coming together under one or several umbrellas to fight elections and form governments began in Kerala in the 1970s when all non-communist political parties under a common minimum program formed an Anti-Communist Front which defeated the Communists convincingly in the elections of 1970. The Communists replied in the same pattern by roping in all those who were opposed to the ruling Congress at the centre by forming an anti-Congress Front. Since 1970 no single political Party has fought elections alone and either the LDF (Left Democratic Front) or the UDF (United Democratic Front) call the shots. What began in Kerala in the 1970s became a national pattern when all those who were opposed to Indira Gandhi came together under Jayaprakash Narain and defeated her. The present National Government is also a conglomeration of several political parties that came together to fight the Bharatiya Janata Party. Literacy is considered a powerful weapon in the state where there is a large reading public that enjoys reading classics and literary works of great merit published anywhere in the world.

It is felt, therefore, that *Nonkilling Global Political Science* should be translated into Malayalam. My association with the Tamil and Hindi translations, and the several discussion sessions I organized on the book during the last four years, have given me new insights into not only the craft of translation, but also the cultural sensitivities of each linguistic group. Sri. Ajith Venniyur, a highly qualified Gandhian scholar, came forward to undertake the translation. A writer of repute in Malayalam, Sri. Ajith Venniyur has been associating with the Gandhian movement in India in several capacities. He was Director of Programs and Secretary at Kerala Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and I was happy to know that he evinced interest in translating this book. But then, knowing him as I do, his busy schedule and heavy commitments in

various institutions would make it next to impossible to get the work completed in time whatever his promise. It is now over two years since he indicated his willingness and I am quite confident that he began his work seriously only during the last two or three months.

A versatile writer that he is, Ajith Venniyur initially was quite confident and comfortable with his text. But as in the case of the Hindi and Tamil translators, he too got stuck with the profundity of thought and expressions in several parts of the original. Though the Malayalam language belongs to the Dravidian group of languages and has great structural and syntactical affinity with Tamil, it has evolved a basic structure which allowed a large number of Sanskrit, Hindi and even English words in its conventional and written or spoken vocabulary. With the rise of the Dravidian movement in Tamilnadu, there was a conscious political and administrative effort to throw out Sanskrit words from Tamil in order to maintain and foster the purity of the Tamil tongue. In Kerala no such efforts were made, though there were also a few linguistic fanatics who would like to establish the primacy of the Malayalam language, both as medium of instruction and language of administration.

Sri. Ajith's focus throughout was to present the entire thought of Prof. Paige without any loss of ideas, not even in fragments. I could see he has got into the heart and soul of the text and there is a remarkable lucidity and clarity in the presentation of the thoughts. A translator and writer of repute, Sri. Ajith knew too well that the message will be lost half-way if the book reads like a translation. The creativity of a translator is best reflected in the dexterous manner in which he presents his work which would in all respects could be read as original. Sri. Ajith's achievement in this regard is convincing and creditable.

The title of the Malayalam translation itself announces this great quality of the work. "Nonkilling" is transcreated as *Ahimsatmaka*, while "Global" is *Aagola*, "Political Science" is *Rashtra-thantram*. It is therefore, *Ahimsatmaka Aagola Rashtra-thantram*—a comprehensive and illustrative transcreation, instead of a conventional translation of the title, *Nonkilling Global Political Science*. We arrived at this title after serious discussions. Taking a lesson from the Hindi translation, we were convinced that before we printed a large number of copies, we might discuss both the content and title with a few more knowledgeable seniors and experts in the field. As with the other two translations in India, the Gandhi Media Centre is the publisher of this edition.

On the Mongolian Translation

Batchuluun Baldandorj
Freelance Writer

In *Nonkilling Global Political Science* the calamities of war, violence, murder, and masterful ideas against them are expressed absolutely clearly. There were no serious problems in translation because Professor Paige's intent and the book's content were closely similar to my own thinking. Besides, the intelligible writing helped to translate it into Mongolian.

In previous political studies, war and violence were not so much challenged as today. Paige is the first to bring the matter into political studies on a comprehensive scale. Mongolian professors and researchers in Political Science say that they have become fully aware that the ultimate aim of Political Science is to rid mankind of murder, violence and war.

Statistics and facts in the book were previously unknown to political scientists. They can be used in the work of other researchers and experts. The book enables Mongolian politicians and political studies professors to know more about countries where the death penalty has been abolished. Also we are able critically to evaluate the size of the military budget in a country where the economy is so weak. The book points out abundant inhuman aspects of the military. It also provides criticism of politics and policies that support violence and murder. It is of great importance for it will surely help people to understand and avoid crime in Mongolia where the crime rate is increasing.

Professors and experts in universities and colleges emphasize the importance of the book because it is about the inhuman aspects of killing and violence, and presents theoretical and practical methods for avoiding them.

Translating *Nonkilling Global Political Science* into Russian

Galina Startseva
St. Petersburg State University

I have always abhorred violence and murder in any form, but when I opened Glenn Paige's book, given to me by my long-standing friend and colleague Tatiana Yakushkina, and started reading it, my first thought was that it is an absolute utopia. But the further I read, the more optimistic I was. Maybe optimistic is not the right word—more hopeful, rather.

The book seemed to be the first attempt I came across to explain the idea of a nonkilling science and society to non-specialists, non-political scientists. I thought that maybe when people read it, it will at least make them think that we all can contribute something towards creating a society where human life really is precious and cannot be taken from an individual by anyone on purpose. From my experience the most frequent argument I have heard in Russia against the possibility of a nonviolent society is that violence and aggression are inherent to human nature. The book gives statistics and data proving that it is not so. We are not biologically programmed to be violent; it's mostly the social conditions that make us aggressive.

All these considerations sealed my decision to start translating the book. The translation of the key word “nonkilling” into Russian was, of course, the most difficult and crucial problem. I have finally chosen the two-word collocation that can be literally translated back into English as “non-acceptance of murder,” because, as the author himself explained in the preface, the term nonkilling focuses sharply upon the taking of human life.

I am happy that I, among other dedicated people, have become the facilitator of making the nonkilling thesis available to readers of my country. Russia is a country of extraordinary cultural heritage, the native land of Leo Tolstoy with his famous doctrine of “non-resistance to violence by violence,” and at the same time it is a country that in the twentieth century alone lost millions of its citizens to wars, revolution and all possible and impossible kinds of violence, tyranny and terror. That is why, I think, we need more books like this one, books that propagate nonviolence, respect for human beings and for every single human life. It is high time our state stopped treating its citizens like small and insignificant cogs in a huge

mechanism, and it is high time the citizens themselves started realizing that their contribution to the life of the state is precious, unique and irreplaceable. I can only hope that the book will leave some trace in the public opinion and mind of Russia, and will be a contribution towards a safer world in the future. It is really a small world.

Nonkilling Global Political Science Sinhala Translator's Experience

Sunil Wijesiriwardena
Vibhavi Centre for Alternative Culture

I consider it a fortune of my socio-political activist life to get the chance of translating the pioneering work of Glenn D. Paige. I came to know this book and its author through A. T. Ariyaratne, the founder of the Sarvodaya Movement in Sri Lanka. It is difficult to sum up my gratitude to him, even for this mere introduction.

From 2001 I have been volunteering at the Peace Secretariat and the Sarvodaya Unit devoted to political empowerment of grassroots communities. My interest in Nonviolence as a method of active struggle to transform the individual and society had sharpened due to this engagement and it gave way to a critique of the problematic ways in which this is interpreted in Sri Lanka. It is in such a context that A.T. Ariyaratne gave me a copy of the book *Nonkilling Global Political Science* somewhere towards the end of 2003. "Read and see; perhaps you can translate it if you find it useful."

I read this book in a breath. It was easy to recognize the book as a groundbreaking academic work in Political Science. It also expanded the horizons of the spiritual and political discourse on social transformation I was exploring at the moment. I felt that the paradigm-shifting discourse of this book was founded on a combination of Wisdom and Compassion and hence was a powerful weapon that could contribute to the Great Turning of humanity by its idea of nonkilling.

I took to translating this book as eagerly as a swan takes to water. I considered it a book indispensable to me, to us. I must say that I faced some challenges as a translator. A work of excellence aiming at the academic world is characterised by rigorousness in formulating concepts and ideas and concision and clarity of language. I wanted the Sinhala translation to reach beyond political scientists, academics and experts to a more general audience and socio-cultural activists committed to a humane society. But this was not an easy task. It was obvious that I had to create a new vocabulary and technical terms, since the new framework of the book surpassed

the standard usage of Sinhala social and political science academia. The word “nonkilling” itself was one of them, to begin with.

The author indicates that this might be the first time the word nonkilling is used in the title of a book written in English. It is the same with its Sinhala equivalent. There is no noted record of the Sinhala word *Nirghatha* in our usage. We had to create this word by using the prefix “non” as “*nir*,” which could be used in many ways to connote the negative and negation. Though the word *ghatha* is not a word in our common parlance, there are few words that take root from it. For instance, the Sinhala words for “killer” and “killing” (noun) are formed from this word. However, the word is live enough to denote meaning in our present circumstance. I unearthed some interesting facts in my search for this word: in 200 BC, the Tamil King Elara who ruled the ancient kingdom of Anuradhapura, enforced a rule named *Maghatha* which prohibited any sort of killing or taking life. Elara is known in our folklore as the most righteous king in the long list of kings.

The concept of nonkilling includes more than a society without killing. It denotes a society that is devoid of threats or socio-political and cultural structures that propagate killing. In trying to find a word that illustrated the depth and comprehensiveness of this concept, I coined the word (Nir+Ghatha), *Nirghatha*.

Vishvalekha Publishers of Sarvodaya undertook the task to publish and introduce the Sinhala translation to our society, and the book was ready by October 2004. The book launching in November 2004, organised by Sarvodaya with the participation of 500 people’s activists was a splendid occasion. Professor Paige had flown in especially for the event. In communicating his unique, delightful speech to a Sinhala audience, I had to become his translator again. It was a pleasant experience.

My university student life was spent in the 1970s in Moscow. Key words to my search for ways to engage with the world, aiming for the well-being of humankind at the time could be described in three related words: Modernism, Secular Humanism and Marxism.

In the past thirty years my way of seeing things has undergone a major transformation. I am no longer a Modernist, Secular Humanist or a Marxist. However, I cannot explain my present cognitive world independent of these discourses as well. Now I do not see social transformation as a separate socio-political process but a one that is integrated with cultural and spiritual transformation. I believe that modernist liberationist ideologies are failing because they try to fix things by transforming social relationships taken separately, blind to the other two relationships of humans—one with

oneself, one with environment. What we need is a way to engage to heal all three relationship areas in a holistic manner. So, I am more comfortable now with the emerging discourse of Engaged Buddhism and the way thinkers like Ervin Laszlo, Joanna Macy and Johan Galtung view social transformation. Paige's nonkilling concept matches my radical thinking in an integral way. I feel it is appropriate that I illustrate some examples of how this concept influences my activist life.

As a peace activist for the past twenty years in Sri Lanka, my foremost interest is focused on the cultural and spiritual dimensions of Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict. My understanding as a Sinhalese is that Sinhala society cannot move to overcome the present crisis and transform the violent conflict in peaceful manner, and towards a deeper reconciliation, without exploding the problematic post-colonial constructs of culture, heritage and identity. Thus it is natural that my activism turned towards history, heritage and cultural property.

I have contributed to the field of drama in many ways; writing several plays as a playwright, translating important European plays and a drama critique. Thus I was able to write the play *Ratnavalli* in 2006 and pass it to a young producer. This was a result of my historical and cultural anthropological research of many years. I called it a Para-modern Buddhist Play. An important perspective elucidated in this play is to bring the paths and choices we face in the present moment through the investigation and evaluation of the paths and choices our ancestors have made in history. Since this play addresses an extremely powerful moment of history and memory within Sinhala conscience, I expected it not only to create controversy but also to incite extremist threats within the present political circumstances. Thus, my chief strategy in writing this play was to provoke and challenge the collective Sinhala-Buddhist conscience into an open dialogue rather than threaten it. Understanding the concept of nonkilling comprehensively was essential in facing the challenge of presenting my *Ratnavalli* through a creative and artistic medium. I felt that if I touch the deep rooted Buddhist concepts of nonviolence and nonkilling in Sinhalese psyche, I might be successful in facing this challenge.

This play analyses dramatically a few conflict dimensions within the individual and society in a given historical context. A main conflict of interest is between two types of Buddhism: the state endorsed institutionalised Buddhism and a humanist Buddhist tradition coming down from the earliest Buddhist sources. One Buddhism accepts killing as an unavoidable part of the State building process, set at the conjuncture of the Agricultural Revolution, while the other points towards alternative nonkilling paths through re-

iterating the concept of nonkilling. Thus, the play *Ratnavalli* could also be called a Nonkilling play.

The second example springs from my constant and unceasing engagement with peace activists in Sri Lanka. There is an understanding among many of us, that what is lacking in Sri Lanka is a broad people's peace movement. But there are many approaches to understanding the problem, hence many different strategies and methods of action are being proposed. The National Anti-War Front in Sri Lanka and many groups affiliated or associated with it, now for some time have been thinking of the possibility of launching a nonviolent radical action—a Satyagraha Campaign—that should provide direct facilitation for the initiation and growth of the envisaged People's Movement. But it was not clear for a long time what should be the main focus of this Satyagraha.

It is crucial at this point, I argued, that the question as to how passive observers could be made ready to be transformed and how they could be made active citizens who would support the transformational process. To do this, I thought the Satyagrahees have to focus not only on the adversaries out there, but adversaries within.

Shouldn't the basic direction of a Satyagraha campaign be to light hope for a dignified human life, challenging the deterioration of human values and the crisis of human existence?

1. The main point in this matter would be to challenge not only the war, but the overall killing culture.
2. Hence it should challenge the society that tolerates and passively accepts human killings that come in diverse forms. Hence, the idea should be to morally condemn killing in the society, to morally empower people, so they could collectively work towards abolishing all killing machinery, killing structures and factors behind them in the society.
3. It is necessary to show that killing is totally against basic human morals and killing should not be accepted or tolerated in our society. We need to achieve a radical shift in consciousness of people. A popular ideology and a discourse need to be created that would gradually make human killings impossible, in war or in any other situation.

Finally the National Anti-War Front has come to lead a nonkilling Satyagraha campaign in collaboration with a number of such activist groups and

organisations. On International Peace Day, September 21, 2007, the first nonkilling Satyagraha activists of Sri Lanka gathered at 22 different locations across the country and took a fivefold Oath of Nonkilling, thereby inaugurating the historic campaign:

Fivefold Nonkilling Oath

1. I will not kill anyone.
2. I will not contribute to or invite, not even in my thoughts, the act of killing anyone.
3. I will not be a member of any organization or party that holds or is supportive of ideas or political ideology that justifies killing.
4. I will personally commit myself to eliminate the factors/structures and machineries of killing from our society.
5. I will work together with others to transform the culture of killing of this country and build a nonkilling culture.

We have realised by now that these regional activists need a lot of capacity-building and strengthening. A foremost Gandhian peace activist from India, Dr. N. Radhakrishnan, as well as some other foreign experts have already agreed to help the process. I believe that we can contribute towards reconciliation and healing of Sri Lankan society, and hence the global Great Turning of our times, through empowering grassroots movements in Sri Lanka, by broadening and deepening the nonkilling Satyagraha movement, and collectively working towards regional political-spiritual activism.

Nonkilling Global Political Science traduction en kiswahili

Mabwe Bwanga Lucien
Center for Global Nonviolence - Afrique des Grands Lacs

L'œuvre *Nonkilling global political science* de Monsieur Glenn Paige constitue l'ossature principale de notre enseignement prônant l'avènement d'une société non meurtrière.

En effet, dès notre affiliation au Center for Global Nonviolence, Hawai'i (mai 2005) après la découverte du site web www.globalnonviolence.org, nous avons reçu cette précieuse œuvre en version française *Non-violence, Non-meurtre: vers une science politique nouvelle*.

Ayant un seul exemplaire au départ, 4 membres de Mleci asbl l'ont lu et exposé devant le Conseil d'Administration de l'Association.

Cet exposé s'est effectué à Uvira (DR Congo) du 28 Septembre au 3 Octobre 2005. Comme application, à la fin de cet exposé, le Conseil d'Administration est alié enseigner dans les villages environnants. Miracle: 278 personnes sont devenues des Centres de Non-violence devenant ainsi le Comité Exécutif de Mleci-CGNV. Les idées révolutionnaires de Paige sont acceptées et propagées de bouche à oreille comme un évangile libérateur.

Les besoins des séminaires populaires et plus appliqués se firent sentir dans cette région, l'une des plus meurtrières du monde. Deux séminaires furent tenus sur la Non-violence Globale:

- A Baraka *Bâtissons Fizi non meurtrier* du 7-9 Nov. 2005 pour 135 participants.
- A Bibokoboko *Bâtissons la RDC non meurtrière* du 19 au 21 Janvier 2006 pour 201 Tutsi Congolais.

La plupart des participants devinrent de "Centres de Non-violence" et propagèrent les idées reçues à travers vallées et collines. Notons qu'à travers les séminaires et au cours des enseignements divers au sein de la population, de nombreuses voix ont réclamé la disponibilité de cette œuvre en langue locale, notamment en Kiswahili, langue principale parlée en Afrique Centrale et Orientale (notamment au Burundi et au Rwanda).

Cette demande nous l'avons jugé opportune, appropriée et l'avons acceptée. Entretemps, nous avons déjà implanté des filiales de Center for Global Nonviolenace au Burundi, au Rwanda et élit Bujumbura, capitale du Burundi, comme siège régional de CGNV-Grands Lacs (Burundi, Rwanda et RD Congo).

La traduction s'avéra encore plus nécessaire dans cette région où les lettrés sont peu nombreux et où le niveau scolaire répandu est primaire.

Une nécessaire traduction: Travail d'équipe. La traduction de cette œuvre s'avéra donc une priorité à la poursuite des enseignements de la Non-violence dans notre région. Tant désiré au Burundi, au RD Congo qu'au Rwanda, la traduction proposée devrait refléter la diversité des peuples de Grands Lacs. Cela impliqua l'option de «Travail d'équipe» plutôt que l'approche de «Traduction individuelle.»

Un Kiswahili de l'Afrique des Grands Lacs. Le Kiswahili proposé est celui utilisé couramment au Burundi, DR Congo et au Rwanda. C'est un Kiswahili différent de celui parlé en Afrique Orientale (Tanzanie et Kenya). En effet, il y a une nette différence tant dans le parler que l'écrit de ces deux types de Kiswahili. Celui utilisé en Afrique Orientale est plus «arabisé et anglicanisé.» En Grands Lacs il est plutôt «francisé» avec des intonations plus accentuées des langues locales. Mais des différenciations tangibles sont aussi remarquables au niveau de vocables. Tel mot est utilisé en Grands Lacs et est inconnu en Afrique Orientale. Vice-versa.

Mot	Kiswahili Grands Lacs	Kiswahili Afrique Orientale
20	<i>Makumi mbili</i>	<i>Ishirini</i>
Vendredi	<i>Siku ya tano</i>	<i>Ijumaa</i>
Cahier	<i>Kayé</i>	<i>Buku</i>

Mais cette traduction devra toucher l'homme simple, dans un langage courant et net. Cette œuvre devra être abrégée compréhensible à Monsieur Tout le monde.

Choix des membres de l'équipe de traduction. Au delà de critère «diversité» il fallait intégrer le facteur compétence et faire un compromis judicieux avec le Kiswahili de l'Afrique Orientale. C'est pourquoi le Docteur Malabi Kyube, Congolais mais ayant vécu et travaillé en Tanzanie pendant une décennie fut choisi pour présider les travaux ; il sera secondé par le Pasteur Mabwe Lucien, Congolais, habitué à des prédications en Kiswahili à travers l'Afrique Orientale et l'Afrique des Grands Lacs. S'ajoutèrent alors comme membres 4 Burundais, 3 Congolais et 1 Rwandais.

Déroulement des travaux

Le travail s'est déroulé d'une manière minutieuse et appliquée pendant six mois. C'est un travail lent où chaque terme choisi est vérifié tout en établissant une étude comparative des mots courants en ces 3 pays. A la fin, c'est un compromis judicieux qui est opéré. Le travail de traduction terminée, Mr. Jonas de souche tanzanienne a relu le livre en y apportant une note de l'Afrique Orientale.

Difficultés, impression et distribution

A l'heure actuelle où le document est fini, reste le problème d'impression et de publication. Presque tous nos membres ont souhaité vivement que l'impression se fasse ici même à Bujumbura et que la sortie officielle et la publication se fassent dans cette même ville. Pour la première impression, nous envisageons 1.000 exemplaires. Il reste à trouver la somme pour l'impression. Une fois l'impression terminée, des séminaires, conférences et débats seront organisés à travers des villes ci-après :

- Bujumbura, Bubanza, Cibitoke, Kayanza, Makamba, Muramvya, Ruyigi, Mwaro, Muyinga, Kirundo, Cankuzo, Gitega, Bururi, Ngozi, Rutana et Karusi pour le Burundi.
- Bukavu, Goma, Kindu, Kisangani, Lubumbashi, Mbuji Mayi, Kananaga, Mbandaka, Bandundu, Matadi et Kinshasa pour le DR Congo.
- Kigali, Kibuye, Rwamagana et Kinyihira pour le Rwanda.

Ces séminaires se feront en même temps que la distribution.

Nonkilling Global Political Science

Tamil Edition

N. Radhakrishnan
Indian Council of Gandhian Studies

The Gandhi Media Centre, which took the initiative in association with BINOWS to get Prof. Glenn Paige's classic work translated into Tamil, was keen on this project. A book in Tamil, which is spoken in several states of India and in many parts of the world where Tamil professionals could be seen in considerable numbers, had a good chance of being read by a large number of people. Tamil is one of the oldest languages of India, has a rich ancient literature, and is being spoken in all Southern States of India.

Prof. S. Jeyapragasam, a distinguished scholar and Gandhian activist who has been associated with the Madurai Kamaraj University as Professor of Gandhian Thought, volunteered to translate *Nonkilling Global Political Science* into Tamil.

Prof. Jeyapragasam was very happy to undertake the translation since he was convinced that a *Nonkilling Global Political Science* is very much in line with the Gandhian vision of a warless world. Without justice, this is impossible and the instinct of man to kill is not in tune with nature's general design and order. The idea of *vasudeiva kudumbakam* (Global Human Family) as enshrined in the Vedic ideal will sound hollow, if a new order based on the concept of nonkilling society is not ushered in.

Prof. Paige has virtually stunned humanity, with the epoch-making book, *Nonkilling Global Political Science*. Even computers remind us of this whenever the word "nonkilling" is typed, indicating that it is not an accepted word. The red underline we see whenever the word "nonkilling" is typed perhaps reflects our dilemma.

But the big question is: how long can we resist and prevent change? Change is the law of nature. What was considered impossible yesterday has been made possible by courageous seekers of truth and revolutionaries who are undeterred by temporary setbacks or lack of support and enthusiasm from the public. It is not easy to change a system and one of the facts of life is that whenever a change is sought, the system will fight back fiercely. Another fact, which cannot be forgotten in this context, is that very few have stopped fighting the system because of the ability of the system to fight back.

Those who have won are those who were never worried about these aspects. They were always guided by their vision and resolute determination to pursue it. Prof. Paige is one such courageous soul and his Magnum Opus, *Nonkilling Global Political Science*, is the *Magna Carta* of this great vision for a new world order.

The Tamil language has great flexibility in communicating even abstract ideas. As a translator, Prof. Jeyapragasam, who had earlier translated Gene Sharp's classic *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* and some of the works of Acharya Mahapragya, the Jain philosopher-saint, was well-versed in the intricacies and nuances of every expression in Tamil. In several discussions with me he had explained the great care he was taking to ensure absolute honesty in his translation. He had to tread a careful path since the Tamil mind will not tolerate inaccuracies and misrepresentations. Hence I knew he had made his translation a sort of Mission. He took six to seven months to complete the translation and another three months for printing, which also was done under his supervision.

The launching of the book was a major national event in New Delhi's *India International Centre*. Former Prime Minister of India, Sri I.K. Gujral released the book. He normally chooses his words carefully and is considered to be very economical in their use. While releasing the book he burst out with encomiums in full praise of this pioneering work. He seemed to have read very carefully the advance copy we had sent him. He referred to many observations of Prof. Paige and commented on them.

He suggested that "this book should be made a textbook in Indian universities for every student of political science and public administration to read and reflect upon." The entire hall of about 150 distinguished invitees cheered the former Prime Minister in approval. The office bearers of Tamil literary societies, Tamil educational institutions, and a former judge of the Supreme Court of India, several members of Parliament, and quite a few journalists and academicians joined the discussions that followed.

Sri. Veeraraghavan, former Secretary of Culture and Education in the Government of India, introduced the book and made an extensive analysis. He argued that humanity has no alternative but to work toward nonviolent and nonkilling societies. He observed that the well-crafted arguments of the book hold out great promise for humanity. He was the first to point out that the virtue of the nonkilling thesis is that it is *measurable*. He congratulated both Paige and the translator Prof. Jeyapragasam on their commendable work.

A Brief Report on Translation into Urdu

Syed Sikander Mehdi
University of Karachi

After reading the pioneering book of Professor Glenn D. Paige on nonkilling politics, I realized that this remarkable work was highly relevant for the world in general and for Muslim societies in particular. I also realized that this book needed to be circulated and read in a violent society like Pakistan. I also thought that the circulation of the book in English would reach only those who are well versed in the English language and it should reach a wider circle of people who may not know English, but who can read and write in Urdu. I approached Professor Paige for permission to get the book translated into Urdu and he readily agreed.

Soon after, two important problems surfaced: first, who will finance the translation and publication of the book in Urdu and who should translate the book? In fact, the most important task was to locate someone who was not only very good in Urdu, but who had a proper training of translating books into Urdu and who had some grounding in social and human sciences. The issues raised in the book were highly complex and the ideas were very innovative. Thus I looked for someone who might have been involved in the peace movement in Pakistan.

It took quite a while in selecting a good translator who could not only translate the book, but ensure that the ideas in it were properly presented in a readable translation. Finally, we thought of contacting Ms. Zaheda Hina, a highly respected journalist, an accomplished novelist and short story writer, a peace activist and a women's rights activist in Pakistan/South Asia. When I contacted her and told her about the book and the ideas it contained, Ms. Hina readily agreed. She took about six months in preparing several drafts and finally created a remarkable translation.

When I asked her about her experience in translating the book, she admitted that she faced certain difficulties in translating several uncommon terms including "nonkilling politics" itself. She added that it was not a straight historical narrative, not something descriptive. The book was philosophical and contained very innovative ideas. Her concern was to ensure that the

translation conveyed the ideas and that the arguments were built up in their proper setting and perspective. This often proved to be very challenging. However, since Ms. Hina was experienced in nonviolent action on many fronts and since she also supported many of the ideas in the book, she really enjoyed translating it. Ms. Hina further said that she liked the book a lot and refers to it in many of her talks given in national and international seminars.

While translation of the book was in progress, I looked for a publisher. The task was no less challenging. The publishers asked for money to publish the book in Urdu. They were a little bit apprehensive about publishing the book itself. They also thought that the book would have very limited circulation and it wouldn't be easy to market it. Finally, I contacted a publisher in the city of Lahore, Fiction House, which has a reputation for publishing books which contain innovative and dissenting ideas. The publisher agreed and the book was published a couple of months after we had delivered the camera-ready copy.

I travel around a lot in Pakistan, frequently address students and faculty in different universities, and talk to younger people. I was amazed to find that many students not only knew about the book, but had also read it in Urdu. Some of them sought clarifications and most of them were full of praise for the book and its innovative ideas. However, many expressed doubts as well and wondered if a nonkilling world would ever be possible. These are young people who have little access to the nonviolent literature produced in the West in particular and have little knowledge about successful nonviolent movements and peace and power in nonviolent struggles.

**Publication
of English
Editions**



From Oxford to Xlibris

Story of an American “Samizdat”

Glenn D. Paige

Center for Global Nonviolence

After some 25 years of research, teaching, travel, and writing, the first manuscript of “Nonkilling Global Political Science,” accompanied by twenty favorable reviews, was submitted for consideration by the Oxford University Press in 1999. The Academic Division senior editor wrote, “Whilst the topic is certainly an interesting one, I don’t think it is suitable for the OUP list... I wish you success in finding a suitable publisher.” Essentially the same response was received from the acquisition editors of the Harvard, Yale, Princeton, State University of New York, and University of Hawai’i presses. None requested professional political science reader reports. Response was the same from the commercial Free Press. Only the commercial Lynne Rienner Publishers requested an evaluation by a political scientist who advised against its publication: “Even as I stand by [my critique]... I do know that 200 yrs[sic] from now analysts will be asking why there was not fuller discussion of these issues in the field and why this book was not published.”

A uniquely insightful response was received from the major political science textbook publisher, Houghton Mifflin: “What you have developed is a powerful argument for a complete restructuring and reorganization of the academic discipline of political science and the world at large. Given your book’s approach, it is more suitable as a trade or academic press book. The books I sign for Houghton Mifflin reflect the discipline as it now stands rather than seeking to restructure the discipline from the ground up.”

At this point Professor George Simson, founding Editor of the interdisciplinary journal *Biography* suggested self-publication through Xlibris in Philadelphia which had been founded “to liberate authors from ownership by presses.” After nearly two years of author-Xlibris interactions going through eight galley proofs, the electronic pdf file for printing on demand became available in early 2002. Since the author owned the book, the file was immediately shared with the Gandhi Media Centre founded by Dr. N. Radhakrishnan and Dr. N. Vasudevan, which released the Indian English edition at an international conference in Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala, on February 7, 2002. Gandhi’s India became the home of the book’s first publica-

tion. The first Xlibris printing was on April 1, 2002. The full text of the book was placed on the website of the Center for Global Nonviolence (www.globalnonviolence.org) where it became freely accessible to readers worldwide and for republication or translation without fees or royalties.

In retrospect, reluctance of leading Anglo-American academic and commercial presses to publish the book favored global diffusion and translation of its nonkilling thesis. By Xlibris author ownership additional English editions and translations could be published without costly press contracts requiring fees and royalties. By 2007 four English editions had been published (Xlibris, India, Philippines, and Nigeria). Translations were being made in over 20 languages (30 in 2008).

On the other hand, the refusal to publish by Oxford or leading American university or commercial presses has hampered the nonkilling thesis from being seriously considered by the American political science profession (professors, students, administrators) and by political scientists influenced by it throughout the world. As of 2007 no American political science journal or newspaper had reviewed the book.

One measure of progress toward a nonkilling world will be when American political scientists and others begin to explore the nonkilling thesis as a subject for research, teaching, and public service. Another will be increased vitality of the concept of “nonkilling” in cyberspace produced by a Google single keyword search for it.

Nonkilling Global Political Science's Indian Edition

N. Radhakrishnan
Indian Council of Gandhian Studies

As this writer in his *Foreword* to the Indian edition of *Nonkilling Global Political Science* observed,

Nonkilling Global Political Science, the result of three decade's research, meditation, interaction, intensive dialogues with some of the best brains of the world, is a landmark publication by Prof. Glenn D. Paige. As the writer rightly believes this may be the first book in the English language to contain the word, "nonkilling" in its title. In a socio-political-economic and religious milieu which not only justifies killing but takes the legitimate pride in it, what will be the fate of someone like Glenn D. Paige who challenges with conviction and courage the prevailing assumption that killing is an inescapable part of the human condition? Will his passionate plea be lost in the wilderness of the present-day hypocrisy and intolerance to change and reason or will it resonate and generate healthy discussions and change of attitude?

Professor Paige argues passionately and with conviction that a nonkilling global society is possible and that changes in the academic discipline of Political Science and its social role can help to bring it about. The assumption that killing is an inevitable attribute of human nature and social life is convincingly challenged by the author in this book.

The Gandhi Media Centre, the publication wing of the Indian Council of Gandhian Studies (New Delhi) and the G. Ramachandran Institute of Non-violence in Thiruvananthapuram in south India, were delighted when Prof. Paige informed us that he would gladly let us print an Indian edition of *Nonkilling Global Political Science*.

The Indian edition was launched at Thiruvananthapuram and Delhi simultaneously in February 2002 on Sarvodaya Day. At Delhi, Dr. Y.P. Anand, then Director of the National Gandhi Museum, chaired the function while the distinguished Gandhi biographer Prof. B.R. Nanda received the first copy. Sri. Nanda, commenting on the book, said:

Prof. Paige raises very pertinent issues in this book. Freud while talking to Einstein says that in the very process of creating a peaceful society, certain bad elements have to be brushed under the carpet. Gandhi maintained that man is born divine and it is the environment which denies him. The efforts of Prof. Paige are highly commendable.

Reproduced below are a few of the comments by those who participated in the discussions that followed. K.D. Gangrade (Vice Chairman, Gandhi Smriti and Darshan Smriti):

The title of Prof. Paige's book has intrigued me as also others. I was, however, happy to note that the definition extends to animals and other forms of life. But nonkilling of humans is a minimum characteristic which needs to be achieved. Of course, the late Indian Scientist Prof. Jagadish Chander Bose's research had proved that even plants have life like humans. I personally feel that even plants have life like humans. I personally feel that we shall not be able to reach our dream-goal of a Nonkilling society unless we give up non-vegetarian foods.

A.K. Merchant (Representing the Bhahai community):

The idea seems fine, but going by the present situation unless and until there is a "World-Government," just a few individuals taking an initiative will not go far. There are several issues that need to be considered. The movement initiated by Professor Paige has great potential and it is a revolution similar to those humanity witnessed in the past.

Sushila (Delhi University):

The basic issue is that of Power. If the U.S.A. could act the way it has been acting now it is because of its military and economic superiority. Buddha as a world teacher did not go to the people with this kind of power. He went with a different kind of power to the people. Give it any label but it is not possible to develop such a power today in a violent capitalist society where consumerism and marketism rule the roost. You need to think about a post-capitalist society before you ask any other question.

J.P. Sharma (Lecturer in Political Science, Delhi University):

In the last 50 years, nonviolence as an instrument for peace is a very difficult proposition. For example, in the Middle East, peace has been treated as a bargaining commodity by both sides.

Pandav Nayak (Vice Chancellor):

The world's top five exporters of arms and weapons are also the members of the Security Council and are also supposedly responsible for maintaining peace. The 20th Century has witnessed 65 million people dying in genocidal war. In such a situation, can we achieve our goal of peace by confronting the present reality than by simply phi-losophizing about peace?

Sumita Mehta (Journalist):

If an individual desires peace, then he'll work for it and if a society desires peace, so will it be. It is this attitudinal change which is needed.

S.K. De (Former Secretary Gandhi Peace Foundation):

The main crux of the problem is the concentration of economic power in a few hands and it is these very hands which wield these weapons. Both the state and the weapons are powerful and this situation is very difficult. The only method is a nonviolent people's movement to meet the enormity of both the State and the weapons. It is the human dilemma which needs to be dealt with, the dilemma being—"I don't do what I want to do and I do what I don't want to do." Hence, unless and until this human personality can be changed, nothing can be done.

Lee Olsen (a Holocaust Survivor):

Simply organizing mass movements may be essential but insufficient unless and until there is a development and revolution in individual behavior.

Edward Wells (Electrical and Bio-medical engineer, USA):

If one is a pessimist then nothing will happen. Fear of the dog comes from this human feeling of separation and duality from the dog. The question is whether there is a way to change the society individual to believe in *Ahimsa*. These methods were devised in India. If all these one billion people would live that consciousness then the problem would be solved.

Shabia Mathur (Indian Institute of Mass Communication):

If we need time to think, then by what time will we finally achieve a non-killing society? By the next millennium?

Kusum Chadda (Faculty Member, Political Science, Delhi University):

The infinite human capabilities to devise suitable alternatives to ensure both survival and sustainability of all that constitutes life will ultimately, might be gradually, have to accept Prof. Paige's prophetic formulations. No saint was ever understood and accepted that easily.

Political-scientist-turned diplomat, Balwant Bhaneja said at Thiruvananthapuram:

The term Nonkilling unlike nonviolence is not as comforting because it confronts us with the modern violent reality that we witness regularly on our TV screens. The reality is that mighty nations still consider that they can assert pre-emptive wars, last experienced during the Third Reich and the Soviet period, without qualms. Professor Paige's use of the term is very specific, neither advocating pacifist philosophy nor religious faith. It is grounded in the evidence-based approach of behavioral sciences. Paige shows that both violence-accepting politics and political science in the last century have failed to suppress violence by violent means. The study of government and international politics has been unable to lay the groundwork and methodology for policy advice that goes to the roots of the causality of global violence.

As part of the efforts of the Gandhi Media Centre to make copies of this book available in all major libraries in India, 200 copies were sent to important libraries in Universities and other centres as complimentary copies with the request to heads of institutions to encourage discussions among the readers of it.

On Publishing the Philippine edition of *Nonkilling Global Political Science*

Jose V. Abueva
Kalayaan College

In 2003 Dr. Glenn D. Paige and I agreed to the co-publication of *Nonkilling Global Political Science* by the Center for Global Nonviolence and our Kalayaan College at Riverbanks Center, Marikina, Philippines. I deeply appreciated its nonkilling global thesis. I saw its relevance to the Filipino struggle to bring about a peaceful society in the midst of recurring violence and political instability, and in our quest for law and order and a just and humane democratic society.

I was then chairman of the Aurora Aragon Quezon Peace Foundation whose Peace Awards Program was established by the Concerned Women of the Philippines to recognize and honor individuals and organizations or institutions that had significantly advanced the cause of peace in the Philippines. Beyond the awards program I wanted to involve the Foundation more deeply in the work of various groups and institutions doing basic and applied research: to better understand the conditions that contribute to violence and deprivation, and to achieve lasting peace and sustainable development.

In fact, in 2004, the Aurora Aragon Peace Foundation and Kalayaan College joined hands in sponsoring a series of lectures by scholars and leaders on the common theme: "Is a nonkilling Filipino society possible? If 'Yes,' why and how will it be possible and realizable? If 'No,' why is it not possible?" I have a companion short paper on the outcome of our university lectures and their publication in *Towards a Nonkilling Filipino Society: Developing an Agenda for Research, Policy and Action* (2004).

In order to involve many more Filipinos in our multi-ethnic and multicultural nation in the quest for a nonkilling Filipino society, Kalayaan College decided to collaborate with Dr. Paige to have his challenging and inspiring book translated into Filipino, our evolving national language. When we can raise the needed funds, we shall also translate into Filipino and other regional languages our own book: *Towards a Nonkilling Filipino Society: Developing an Agenda for Research, Policy and Action*.

The Nigerian Edition of *Nonkilling Global Political Science*

An Assessment of its Significance
for a Nigerian Society Free from Killing

Fidelis Allen
University of Port Harcourt

A Nigerian economical English edition of *Nonkilling Global Political Science*, written by Professor Glenn D. Paige, was arranged, with an introduction written by me, and printed in Nigeria in 2006. A breathtaking preface was written by Chief (Dr.) Addison Wokocha, a Professor of Education at the Rivers State University of Science and Technology and Provost of the Rivers State College of Education, Rumuolumeni, Port Harcourt. The book was then launched at the cinema hall of the Obi Wali Cultural Centre in the city of Port Harcourt on the 14th of October, 2006.

Significance of the publication in Nigeria

The Niger Delta, now noted for violence since the beginning of the 1990s, begs for every opportunity that can contribute to the resolution of the conflicts and peace building there. The publication of the Nigerian English edition has been in a very significant way, an educational strategy for this contribution towards addressing the conflict, especially for the work of CGNV-Nigeria.

Before the publication, the idea of “nonkilling” could only be described as strange within the context of academic, social and media discussions in the cities of Port Harcourt and Yenagoa of Rivers and Bayelsa states respectively. Many have come to knowledge of the major argument of the book. Following from this publication several school children and their teachers, Political Science and Sociology students at the University of Port Harcourt, Rivers State College of Education and other schools, university teachers, youth leaders and social activists in the Niger Delta now have access to the book. This signals the emergence of an important resource tool for the intensification of a counterculture against violence through education and mobilization. Although it remains to be seen how this can be sustained and expanded, it is a clear demonstration of how an educational resource can

help to modify thinking and behaviours that promote peace. Two journal articles already have been written in response to launching this book in Nigeria. The idea is now spreading, foretelling the emergence of a new research agenda for academia.

The decision to publish a Nigerian edition of the book was prompt and apt for the work of CGNV-Nigeria, especially for its “Nonviolent School Project,” in which copies are distributed free to some participants in our various workshop/seminar meetings.

The “Nonviolent School Project”¹ has been designed to address the problem of youth violence from the perspective of education. Its premise is that if violence, including criminal and cultic activities in the Niger Delta, is more associated with youth in the region, then it makes a whole lot of sense to preempt it by a conscious effort to educate young people in a very practical way on the dangers of violent behaviours and show them various incentives to follow the path of nonkilling. Besides, there arose the need to demonstrate to them that a nonviolent Niger Delta is achievable. This process calls for participatory methods for discussing the problem of violence and killing in the Niger Delta and grounds to believe that a nonkilling society is possible in the region.

Young people constitute the bulk of the members of criminal gangs, cult groups and other violent organisations in the region. Many of these young people are found in secondary schools and tertiary institutions. To be sure, the practice of cultism is now more rampant among secondary schools than at any other level of the educational system in the region. Since secondary schools are numerous and far outnumber those of tertiary institutions, a project of the sort started by CGNV-Nigeria, utilizing the book as resource material has had a great impact towards achieving a nonkilling society in Nigeria.

The book is like a manual for operating a machine. Talking about “nonkilling” in workshops/seminars could have been a little complex without the book. Participants have shown great excitement to receive and read it. Beyond that is the fact that the book easily reaches out to provide the theoretical basis of the message of the CGNV. For example, on a radio phone-in programme which CGNV-Nigeria hosted, participants who went home with copies of the book later called to express their gratitude for the con-

¹ The project has the following objectives: To educate teachers and students on the dangers of killing and other violent behaviours; to strive for the attainment of a nonkilling society in Nigeria through a process of education; and to teach and encourage behaviours among citizens that are necessary for peace and democratic advancement. The publication of the book has indeed facilitated these processes and made the goals of the programme highly practical.

tent of the book. Besides, for us as members of CGNV-Nigeria, publication of the Nigerian edition has been inspiring, giving the logistical and other problems that are usual for organisations like ours that are just emerging without financial muscles. At the Rivers State College of Education Rumuolumeni, students who read the book have created for themselves a Nonviolent Club with the aim of preaching nonkilling to students on campus. In a general way, the club and its members reflect the practical way towards realizing the nonkilling society as set forth in the book.

The book is like a manual for the realization of the nonkilling society in Nigeria. Indeed, being perhaps a new concept for many, I can rather say that it is actually a flight strip of entry into grasping and practicing the nonkilling idea for many of the students and teachers who have participated in our workshops and seminars. Our workshops, seminars and training programmes have made more sense for students after reading the book. It is something that they can regularly fall back on for clarity of the concept of nonkilling and theoretical grounds to believe that it is possible.

Education remains an important component in the realization of a nonkilling society in Nigeria. The publication of the book has helped and will continue to do so in reinforcing this belief as we continue to hold both young people of school age and teachers as important agents in social transformation, character change and peace-building in the society. Indeed, teachers are important agents of social change. This fact can be appreciated more when it is realized that equipping the teachers with information and necessary skills is also important for them to play their roles. For us, the skills for resolving relational conflicts can begin with teachers who relate with their students on a daily basis. The publication of an English edition in Nigeria has facilitated this process. What remains is sufficient circulation of copies, and perhaps translation into key languages in Nigeria in order to be able to reach the rural communities.

Conclusion

Publication of an economical English edition in Nigeria has provided a ready source of theoretical tools for achieving a nonkilling society. It also serves as a tonic for the spirit of peace now crying for embrace by all in the Niger Delta world, a society that must escape from lethality in order for Nigeria and her citizens to enjoy real development. In the near future as our work in Nigeria progresses, from the book a code of conduct will be designed to guide various Nonviolent Cells (Clubs) that we hope to create in all secondary and tertiary schools. This dream will be realized in a short time from now.

**Community
Awakening
Experiences**



Towards a Nonkilling Filipino Society

Developing an Agenda for Research, Policy and Action

Jose V. Abueva
Kalayaan College

The book bearing the above title was co-published by the Aurora Aragon-Quezon Peace Foundation and Kalayaan College in 2004. It is a collection of the lectures given by its co-authors in their individual responses to the same question: “Is a nonkilling society possible in the Philippines?”

The question was inspired and challenged by the original question posed by Dr. Glenn D. Paige: “Is a nonkilling global society possible?” Although many around the globe would believe it impossible or even unthinkable, given so much violence and killing in the world, the answer to the question is “YES,” according to Dr. Paige, the author of *Nonkilling Global Political Science* and Founding President of the non-profit Center for Global Non-violence (CGNV) in Honolulu, Hawai‘i.

This seminal work is so important. One indicator of this is that it has been published in fifteen foreign languages so far, including Spanish, Arabic, French, Russian, Portuguese, three Indian languages, and Filipino. More translations are in progress.

In 2002, Kalayaan College co-published with the CGNV a Philippine edition of the book. Prof. Paige is internationally recognized for his pioneering research in the scientific study of political leadership and nonviolent alternatives to social transformation.

Based on the theory of nonkilling global society, in February 2004 we posed this thematic question to a group of Filipino social scientists and leaders in various fields: “Is a nonkilling Filipino society possible?” If “Yes,” why and how will it be possible and realizable? If “No,” why is it not possible? We asked them to examine the prospects and requirements for bringing about a peaceful, nonkilling society in the Philippines in the quest for law and order and a just and humane democratic society.

Sponsored by the Aurora Aragon Quezon Peace Foundation and Kalayaan College, we asked the group to deliver a series of lectures at the University of the Philippines Diliman, Ateneo de Manila University, Kalayaan College, and Ateneo de Davao University.

In our collected lectures, the keynote lecture by Dr. Paige summarizes his theory of a nonkilling society. According to him: “a nonkilling society... is a human community, smallest to largest, local to global, characterized by no killing of humans and no threats to kill, no weapons designed to kill humans and no justifications for using them; and no conditions of society dependent upon threat or use of killing force for maintenance or change.”

Most of us authors believe and hope that a nonkilling Filipino society is attainable if it is consciously and seriously sought by our leaders and people as part of the national vision and goal. If certain basic problems and obstacles are met head-on continually to clear the way and make progress. If our leaders and citizens are committed and determined to realize the goal of a nonkilling Filipino society. But two or three of us doubt the possibility of a nonkilling society in our country and state the reasons why.

In his lecture, Ambassador Howard Q. Dee makes this qualification: “A society, to qualify as a nonkilling society for us to emulate and aspire to attain, must be a benevolent life-sustaining society in all aspects of life, in all human activity and in all human relationships, internally amongst its own people and externally in dealing with the peoples of the world.” He poses seven propositions in responding to the question “Is a Nonkilling, Life-Sustaining Society Possible in the Philippines?”

Prof. Randy S. David says that a nonkilling society is possible in a future that we desire. He imagines “a nonkilling society to be one that has successfully rid itself of the need for coercion and violence in the quest for freedom and order...a society that has managed to substitute rational negotiation and normative commitment for coercion as the basis for compliance and cooperation among citizens.”

Commenting on Prof. David’s lecture, Prof. Benjamin T. Tolosa emphasizes that a nonkilling society resists evil and injustice and asserts our human dignity and solidarity.

Fr. Jose C.J. Magadia, S.J. says that we must overcome our basic problems, reform our institutions, and reconfigure our personal values in building a nonkilling society.

As Executive Director of the Gaston M. Ortigas Peace Institute, Ms. Karen N. Tañada offers her reflections on a nonkilling society from a peace movement perspective. She says the question “Is a nonkilling society possible in the Philippines?” is new. Usually, the peace movement speaks of a just peace, ending war and armed hostilities, and addresses the roots of conflict.

Prof. Natalia M.L.M. Morales asserts that a nonkilling society is definitely possible in the Philippines. She indicates that faith, science, and the global

peace movement converge on the imperative of universal peace and this will support our pursuit of a nonkilling society.

Commenting on Ambassador Dee's concept of a nonkilling society, Dr. Oliva Z. Domingo points to some developments that may be light at the end of the tunnel of killing and violence.

For her part, as well as for the other authors, Prof. Miriam C. Ferrer raises these challenging questions: "But can our history and norms as a people provide us with some foundations for a nonkilling society? Can our institutions be transformed? Are we capable of creating new ones? Are our political and economic elites capable of becoming law-abiding citizens? Is the ordinary Filipino citizen likewise able to rise above self-interest and think of the good of the whole?"

As a peace builder and advocate, Representative Risa Hontiveros-Baraquel shares her thoughts on peaceful politics in a nonkilling society and on some contradictions in our values and behavior.

As a peace activist and then Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process, Secretary Teresita Quintos-Deles affirms that the possibility of a nonkilling society is thoroughly convincing and extremely practical. She does this in the context of the peace process involving the government and the rebel organizations.

Commenting on Secretary Quintos-Deles' lecture, Dr. Loreta N. Castro points to the imperative need to reverse our conditioning that killing and violence are inevitable.

Quite simply Mr. Reynaldo Pacheco, advocate of a Gunless Society and head of the Kapatiran Party, accepts the proposition that a nonkilling society is possible and shows why and how.

Writer Dennis M. Arroyo then calls attention to a wider range of non-lethal weapons for a nonkilling society.

Dr. Jovito R. Salonga, statesman and civil society activist, expresses his hope for building a nonviolent, nonkilling society in our violent society and world. He laments the fact that the lone superpower is the one that most needs to believe in and become a nonkilling society.

Dr. Macapado A. Muslim, peace scholar and advocate and Chancellor of Mindanao State University at General Santos, underlines the need for multiculturalist governance in moving towards a nonkilling society, starting in Mindanao.

Fr. Albert E. Alejo, anthropologist and reform activist, restates the question as follows: "Is a Nonkilling Society Imaginable? Celebrating the Ques-

tion.” He seems to say that a nonkilling society is imaginable but maybe not possible in our time.

Again, in Howard Q. Dee’s wisdom: “At the end of the day, the question is not whether a nonkilling society is possible for us or not. The question is: Do we have the desire and the will to make it happen and how long shall we wait to muster the courage to begin the task, even if all odds appear to be against us and when all evil forces are conspiring against us.”

For Filipinos to succeed in building a nonkilling society, I stress that the quest for peace and development and the building of an authentic democracy towards our emerging Filipino vision of “the Good Society” must go hand in hand. Therefore, all aspects of the Filipino vision of “the Good Society” largely embodied in the 1987 Constitution, plus the specific ideal and goal of nonkilling, should be developed and pursued as an interactive and interdependent whole. Only in this way can a nonkilling Filipino society be approximated and made sustainable. A developing, nonkilling society in the Philippines and an increasingly nonkilling global society will be mutually reinforcing.

Filipinos have struggled long for national development with very modest success. We authors have no illusions about how difficult and how long it will take us to achieve these goals to an appreciable degree.

But now, for a change, we have begun to define the specific challenge of building a nonkilling society as the foundation for peace and development and democratization in our country, and this gives us hope. The subtitle of our book defines what we, Filipinos, must do: *Developing an Agenda for Research, Policy and Action*.

Indeed, we are inspired by two great Indian leaders who said, as quoted by Paige: “The questions that a country puts are a measure of that country’s political development. Often the failure of that country is due to the fact that it has not put the right question to itself” (Jawaharlal Nehru); “We are daily witnessing the phenomenon of the impossible of yesterday becoming the possible of today” (Mohandas K. Gandhi).

To reiterate, most of us, co-authors, believe a “nonkilling society” as a defining aspect of the emerging Filipino vision and goal of “the Good Society” is possible. Problematic, most certainly, but not unthinkable. So is a nonkilling global society in the long perspective. Sooner, if the vision and goal can inform and propel the determined efforts around the world by more and more people and political leaders.

As the Center for Global Nonviolence, headed by Dr. Paige, asserts: “Everyone can be a center for nonviolence.” Likewise, everyone can help

make a nonkilling society possible, from the smallest communities to the global level. "Stop the killing!"

Towards shaping a nonkilling global society, we need to engage the human and physical sciences, technology, culture and the arts, and all religions. We also need the good sense and political will of citizens and leaders in all nations.

Conscious of our human limitations, we cannot overemphasize the need for faith and spirituality even in our mundane endeavors as a nation. How much more in trying to solve our most difficult problems and achieve our noblest human aspirations? Beyond human reason, will and struggle we believe in God's will and power; for to Him nothing is impossible.

The Aurora Aragon Quezon Peace Foundation and Kalayaan College join our authors and collaborators in humbly dedicating this book to people everywhere who love peace and, starting in their own country, help in consciously building a nonkilling global society. No matter the obstacles along the way and however long it takes.

Founding of the Centre for Global Nonviolence Nigeria

Fidelis Allen
University of Port Harcourt

The Center for Global Nonviolence Nigeria started in early 2005, as a response to the dream and objectives of the Center for Global Nonviolence in Honolulu, Hawai'i, in addressing the question of achieving nonkilling societies in Nigeria. Beyond that was the need to contextualize the problem of killing in order to understand how to work towards achieving a nonkilling society in Nigeria through education, publications, social programmes and the like that are necessary for peaceful relations among individuals, groups and the government.

CGNV-Nigeria

As a form of preamble to the birth of CGNV-Nigeria, following my contact and reading of the online copy of *Nonkilling Global Political Science*, I became a bit agitated on how the thesis in the book could be utilized to influence conflict transformation in the Niger Delta. I did not know how.

Apparently, it all started when Professor Glenn suggested that I should share the idea of the nonkilling thesis with colleagues at the Rivers State College of Education in Port Harcourt where I was a lecturer at the time. When I did, the majority expressed doubt about such a society in Nigeria given the character of politicians and social conditions in which citizens face despite relative wealth accruing from natural resources such as oil. Professor Wokocha Addison Mark and Pastor Lysias Gilbert differed, and displayed faith in the attainment of a nonkilling society in Nigeria. Celestine Akpobari, although a strong Ogoni activist, also bought into the whole idea and the three made up their minds to work with me, voluntarily, towards spreading the idea.

Registration of CGNV-Nigeria with the government was done in 2006 in Rivers State. This has enabled us to do programmes and to take off on good legal note, at least at the level of the state. CGNV-Nigeria also needs to be registered with Nigeria's Corporate Affairs Commission in Abuja as an NGO and thereafter shall have a governing council and board of trustees.

Programmes of CGNV-Nigeria began in 2005 after the publication of the economical Nigerian edition of Paige's *Nonkilling Global Political Science*.

Given the state of violence in the Niger Delta, and especially in the city of Port Harcourt, the decision to begin any programme that negates violence and the interests of its perpetrators was not easy for us. We had some fears concerning acceptance of the message of nonkilling. Besides, the culture of violence, which has become rampant in the region, was also to present us dangerously as being in a movement for counterculture before violent groups and their entrepreneurs. These fears were reinforced by frequent news about the killing of certain persons who had dared to challenge some of the violent groups. However, we were encouraged by the mere fact that though there has been much violence in the region, most people do not like the violence and desire peace. We were also encouraged by the good number of persons who profess Christianity in the Niger Delta and have been praying for the peace on the region. Most important was the fact that there are more people who do not kill at all and would not want to do so for any reason.

Radio/Television Programmes

The media has proved to be an important partner in the realization of the dreams of CGNV-Nigeria for Nigeria. For instance, the Federal radio station in Port Harcourt, F.M.98.5 is currently in collaboration with our organization presenting programmes of discussion and counseling on nonviolent problem-solving. Jingles are also running on a daily basis with messages against violence and the need to embrace peace. Media coverage that publicized our work have been aired free in different media in the Niger Delta. The national Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) and African Independent Television (AIT) have been invaluable partners in reporting our activities and running programmes that featured our work.

Our radio jingles in Rivers State saved the lives of two little babies who were to be thrown away to die by their mother because the young man supposed to be responsible for pregnancy denied being the father. It was a quick and urgent call on CGNV-Nigeria. The mother of those babies is now a member of CGNV-Nigeria after she and the babies received support from the Center.

Lecture, Seminar/Workshop Series

Our lecture, seminar/workshop series have taken us to secondary and tertiary institutions, with many more yet to be reached. We invite professionals from all walks of life to our workshops to speak in our meetings, and the

results have been great (See reports on <http://www.globalnonviolence.org>). We engage students and teachers in our meetings to answer the question of the possibility of a nonkilling society in Nigeria.

Training Programmes

CGNV-Nigeria partners with other local organisations and now gets invitations to train and build leadership capacity for nonviolence among youth groups in the Niger Delta. For example, on November 25, 2006, the Centre for Environment, Human Rights and Development, CEHRD, hosted me and another member of the Centre for Global Nonviolence at Otuesega town hall in Bayelsa State of Nigeria to train local women on nonviolent struggles. The title of my paper was “A Nonkilling Perspective to the Niger Delta Struggle.” The concept of a nonkilling society was highlighted and several grounds for believing in its realization in the region were considered during question and answer sessions of the training event.

On August 17, 2007, a member of CGNV-Nigeria and I were at another training workshop by the same organisation at Tere-Ama in Rivers State to train youth leaders on nonviolent struggles. We are, however, currently lacking training materials such as public address systems, film projectors and other teaching materials that could aid training and teaching to influence social transformation.

Conclusion

CGNV-Nigeria intends to continue with its school project on nonviolence in the coming year (2008) along with other programmes that are educational in nature. There are well over 200 schools yet to be covered in Rivers State.

The CCNGD

Philosophy, Structure, Progress and Outlook

Max Paul

Université Jean Price Mars

The Centre Caraïbéen pour la Non-Violence Globale et le Développement Durable (CCNGD) exists since July 31, 2004. Fifteen scholars have founded it and an Administration Council of seven founding members leads it. The main goal of the CCNGD is to contribute to the transformation of Haiti into a nonviolent, nonkilling, prosperous and just society.

Philosophy

The idea to create a Centre of Non-Violence in Haiti came to my mind after having heard Apostolic Noncio Luizi Bonazzi's message addressed to the nation on the occasion of the celebration of the 20th anniversary of Pope Jean-Paul II's visit in Haiti. In this message he said that Haiti should leave the axis "*Koupe Têt Boule Kay*" (Cut off heads, burn houses) and embrace a new axis "*Respekte Moun, Bati Kay*" (Respect life, build houses). I discussed with friends and colleagues Bonazzi's point, which we believe was right and joined to it another aspect, "*Marronnage*" (Escapism), an important practice in the struggle against slavery in colonial Saint-Domingue.

Upon this starting point, and reflecting on Haitian history and culture, we came to the conclusion that Haiti's drama lies in the fact that it is captured by these destructive concepts, "*Koupe Têt, Boule Kay*" and "*Marronnage*." Its deep culture is fed by them and is violent. Since its political Independence in 1804, Haiti lives in a situation of a permanent latent civil war, which depraves social life, interpersonal relations, politics, etc. For example, politics constitutes a dangerous infernal quadrature for anyone engaged actively in it. And he may know one of these fates: assassination, exile, prison, defamation.

Prof. Glenn D. Paige played a major role in the formation of the CCNGD through programmatic mail sent to me in December 2003, his invitation to participate at the Conference in Manila, the Philippines, in February 2004, organized by Prof. Jose Abueva on the theme: "Is a Nonkilling Filipino Society Possible?"

Paige's book, *Nonkilling Global Political Science*, besides Mahatma Gandhi's work, Martin Luther King's work, Johan Galtung's work, Marshall

Rosenberg's work, and Dr. Legrand Bijou's work (*Des moeurs qui blessent un pays*) give the CCNGD its basic theoretical and philosophical materials for its actions and activities in Haiti in order to contribute to the transformation of Haiti into a nonviolent, nonkilling, prosperous and just society.

The CCNGD is committed through nonkilling, nonviolent action theory, TRANSCEND theory, and nonviolent communication theory to help Haitian individuals, and Haitian groups build new constructive concepts, to re-educate themselves and change their deep violent culture into a deep peaceful culture. This is the long and sure way that Haitians should envisage to take to build a sovereign, prosperous, politically stable, ecologically and economically viable nation.

Structure of the CCNGD

The 15 founding members elect an Administration Council which includes: President, Vice-President, Secretary, and three Counselors. The President assisted by the other members administers the CCNGD or manages it if he plays the role of Executive Director. Other members or employees do the same.

The CCNGD has its headquarters in Port-au-Prince where the Administration Council acts as the planning, coordinating and managing unit. It implements other regional CCNGD Branches with a structure similar to the one of the Administration Council. Actually the CCNGD has Branches in Arcahaie, Jacmel, Port-Salut, and Savanette. In the near future, it will extend to different communes of the Department of the Artibonite, to the Department of the North, and to some communes of the Department of the West.

Progress of the CCNGD

From July 2004 till May 2005 the CCNGD was busy structuring itself, meaning doing its best to have indispensable office materials and a minimal administrative team. The German Embassy in Haiti gave the CCNGD funds to acquire these materials: personal computer, photocopy machine, printing machine, etc. A founding member rented the CCND office space in a building in Pétiion-Ville. This was a good starting point. The CCNGD office remained there until September 2006 and then had to move to Bourdon, rue Garnier/Impasse Inginac #7 to reduce administrative costs. For the same reason the administrative staff were reduced. Since then the CCNGD has been functioning on the voluntary work of its members to carry its different activities. However, because of the extension of the CCNGD and the

growing load of activities, this situation must change partially. The CCNGD needs an employed permanent administrative secretary and two other employees. The CCNGD is working on ways to assure the necessary financial means to pay regularly. Then it will be necessary to acquire other office materials like two more computers, and to reinforce Internet capacities.

The priority of the CCNGD was primarily to educate potential leaders in the theory of active nonviolence and nonkilling, resolution of conflicts, the TRANSCEND approach, nonviolent communication, and culture of peace.

The CCNGD has first taken the initiative to translate *Nonkilling Global Political Science* into French. Thus this major book became available in 2005 here in Haiti and in the Francophone world. In May 2005 the CCNGD organized a Seminar on the theme: “*Une Société sans Violence, sans Meurtre, sans Koupe Têt Boule Kay, sans Marronnage possible?*” Students, university teachers, and political and religious leaders among other people participated in this two-day seminar in the Montana Hotel in Pétiion-Ville. It was an opportunity to launch the CCNGD and for Prof. Paige to sign copies of the French translation, *Non-Violence, Non-Meurtre: Vers une Science Politique Nouvelle*.

Between July 2004 and November 2007 the CCNGD organized various training seminars in Port-au-Prince and other regions of Haiti. Nowadays, besides senior experts, young trained CCNGD members participate as interveners in the course of these seminars. This a good sign; however the CCGND needs more and more such young experts in active non-violence, nonkilling and conflict resolution in order to carry out awareness and education projects in all regional Departments of Haiti.

For example, the CCNGD plans among other projects a pilot project of Seminars and Workshops in Schools and Youth Associations in the period January-June 2008. Subjects will include violence in Haitian history, active nonviolence, resolution of conflicts through peaceful means, and nonviolent communication. Nonviolent documentaries will be debated. This Project will be expanded in other regions of the country. More experts and more financial means will be needed for this extension.

The CCNGD has also organized seminars on specific occasions such as the September 21, 2007 International Peace Day and the October 17, 2007 International Day for the Reduction of Poverty. Particularly with its seminar on “Haiti and the Millennium Development Goals” on October 17, the CCNGD has begun to tackle the other pillar of its objectives; namely Creation of Wealth and Sustainable Development.

One objective of this activity is to sensitize the Haitian public on the originality of the UN Millenium Development Goals which should be every-

one's concern and to come to the formation of a CCNGD Commission responsible for the Campaign around these goals. This sustainable development axis is important in Haiti where people are suffering under extreme poverty and where the process of environmental degradation is advanced.

The CCNGD has been able to carry out all these activities with financial aid given by individuals, foreign, public and private institutions. Needless to say it has not been easy to raise funds in this country. The policy of the CCNGD in this matter is to keep its independence through varying as much as possible its financial sources. It will keep this policy in the future.

Outlook for the CCNGD

Looking back on the path of the CCNGD, one can be satisfied. For more people, more organizations are talking about no-violence here in Haiti these days. It is a good thing. However the CCNGD sees as part of its tasks to educate them, demonstrate to them that is possible to conceive politics, economy, education, university, communication interpersonal, and social relations differently and to make politics, economy, education, university, all forms of communication different—nonviolent and nonkilling.

The CCNGD pursuing this goal has established strong working, affiliate relationships with the Center for Global Nonviolence (CGNV) in Honolulu, Hawai'i and TRANSCEND International in Cluj-Napoca, Romania. At the national level, it cooperates with various organizations offering them competences in different aspects of peace culture and organizing timely activities with them. There is no question of integrating them in the CCNGD.

CCNGD's objective in the near future is to reinforce its administrative structures in Port-au-Prince and subsequently the administrative structures in the other CCNGD Branches. Measures are considered to assure means for annual financial administrative functioning. In May 2008 the CCNGD plans to organize a fund-raising ball with a famous orchestra and well-known singers. Great sponsors here should be convinced to support this CCNGD activity.

The CCNGD will become more formal without becoming bureaucratic. More work should be done in order to offer young, competent, dynamic CCNGD leaders the opportunity to participate in international events and seminars. In this context it should be mentioned that funds are sought to allow three CCNGD members to participate in the Annual Youth Crime Watch Meeting in Miami in March 26-29, 2008.

The CCNGD Millennium Development Goals Commission should be structured and should become operational by July 2008.

The CCNGD has organized since August 2007 an *Atelier de Maroquinerie de Bureau et de Petite Maroquinerie*. Trained and gifted young CCNGD members are running the Workshop. It produces various articles which are sold on the Haitian market. It is planned to look for German Senior experts in *maroquinerie* (leather craft) to come and train the CCGD *maroquinerie* workers. The Atelier needs equipment. This CCNGD activity is an effort to create wealth and allow young Haitians to develop usefully their talents. And it meets Haitian government policy to promote Haitian national production.

With such activities, the CCNGD is furthering its two pillars: creating new nonviolent, nonkilling, peace activists, and peace leaders; and creating wealth through sustainable development actions of new entrepreneurs.

The CCNGD is determined to contribute to the transformation of Haiti into a prosperous, just, peaceful, and sovereign society. The road toward this goal may be long, difficult, hard and dangerous, but it is not impossible to reach this goal.

La société non meurtrière est elle possible en Afrique des Grands Lacs?

Mabwe Bwanga Lucien
Center for Global Nonviolence - Afrique des Grands Lacs

Une zone meurtrière

Les pays dits «Grands Lacs Africains» se composent du Burundi, DR Congo et du Rwanda. Sont appelés Grands Lacs car l'espace qu'ils occupent «Rift Valley» logent de nombreux lacs (Tanganyika, Kivu, Albert, Edouard, Moero).

Cycle de violence à répétition. L'histoire pré- et post- coloniale de ces pays est émaillée des violences, meurtre et guerres.

- Période pré-coloniale: Des royaumes de ces étendues se faisaient de guerres régulièrement. Au Burundi et au Rwanda les noms de certains rois étaient associés à des guerres de conquêtes.
- Période Post-Coloniale: l'antagonisme Hutu-Tutsi (deux principales ethnies du Burundi et Rwanda –Hutu agriculteurs majoritaire et Tutsi éleveurs minoritaire) a engendré dans ces pays de violence et assassinats en masse (pour le Burundi: 1965, 1969, 1972, 1988 et 1993-2000; pour le Rwanda: 1959, 1963, 1990, 1994).

Quoique la RD Congo a connu des guerres civiles 1960-1965, 1976, 1988, l'ampleur de massacre et élimination physique s'illustre en 1996-2004 avec l'animité Hutu Tutsi exporté au Congo. Dés seulement 1970 à nos jours, ces trois pays totalisent à eux seuls environ 4.800.000 tués (RD Congo 3.100.000, Rwanda 1.100.000, Burundi 600.000).

Ingéniosité à tuer. Ces pays s'illustrent à tuer en faisant souffrir grandement la victime; des méthodes inouïes sont utilisées:

- Entasser la victime dans un trou d'1 m² et allumer le feu au dessus ou entourer la victime d'un pneu à son cou qu'on allume;
- Enterrer la victime jusqu'au cou et commencer à l'entailler la tête par machette;
- Faire pénétrer un bâton pointu de l'anus à la tête;
- Ouvrir le ventre de la victime femme et y enlever le fœtus qu'on pile;
- Trancher (couper) une partie de corps qui saigne jusqu'à ce que la mort s'ensuive etc.

Au-delà de ces méthodes ignobles, les meurtres et assassinats sont opérés par tout, en n'importe quelle circonstance. Mais aussi des voisins, des collègues, des amis, des conjoints et des parents s'entretuent. Des outils usuels sont devenus des armes pour ôter la vie.

Des thèses du Professeur Glenn Paige vérifiées

Malgré un tableau bien sombre des sociétés de l'Afrique des Grands Lacs, une lueur d'espoir s'est fait jour:

- On a vu des Tutsi cacher des Hutu rechercher pour être tué et vice-versa; des Banyamulenge ont caché des Bantous Congolais qui devraient être mis à mort (vice-versa) (seule une minorité tue).
- Au Burundi, la Radio Isanganiro a répertorié environ 2000 personnes qui ont aidé les autres de tribus différentes à ne pas être tué. Un soldat qui devrait fusiller un ami, lui a poussé à s'enfuir en lui indiquant le chemin alors qu'il tirait en l'air.
- Nous avons vu tant au Congo qu'au Burundi la plupart des gens ont refusé de tuer en invoquant le commandement divin. Les musulmans et les témoins de Jéhovah ont montré de bons exemples (Racines spirituelles).
- La clinique psychiatrique dite «Kwa le gentil» à Bujumbura a pu accueillir beaucoup d'assassins pour des soins, qui sont actuellement guéris et qui se comportent actuellement bien. La plupart d'exécutants de génocide du Rwanda errent ça et là dans les forêts congolaises, étourdis et perdus—comme Caïn.
- Au sein de les Grands Lacs, il y a émergence de la capacité de ne pas tuer.
- Des individus se sont dévoués pour le non meurtre (Archevêque Kataliko, Est de la RDC).
- Des institutions comme Shalom au Burundi (dirigée par Sœur Marguerite).
- Des luttes politiques non-violentes ont vu le jour (Tshishekedi et l'UDPS –Congo; Frodebu au Burundi).

Cadre particulier de la Non-violence: CGNV-Grands Lacs

Naissance. C'est durant l'année 1999 où des massacres, tueries et attentats sont généralisés à l'Est de la RDC, où la violence atteint un point inégalé jusqu'alors (viols de femmes, pièges mortels, élimination physique sans pro-

çès...) que naît GERBB (Groupe d'Etudes de Rêflexion et Réconciliation de Banyamulenge et Babembe). Dirigé par Mabwe Lucien et Rubyutsa Paul respectivement Mbembe et Munyamulenge, il lutte contre les violences de toutes sortes et va s'élargir aux autres tribus pour devenir Mleci asbl prônant la paix, la cohabitation pacifique, la réconciliation et luttant contre toute forme de violence. Des filiales de mêmes objectifs furent créées au Burundi (Ubuho asbl-2005) et au Rwanda (Amahoro, 2006) après la découverte du site www.globalnonviolence.org.

Actions

Enseignement. L'inspiration et les enseignements de *Non-Violence, Non-Meurtre vers une Science Politique Nouvelle* furent mis en application.

Au RD Congo: Des enseignements furent donnés à Uvira où 278 personnes se considèrent comme Centres de Non-Violence et forment le Comité Exécutif de Mleci CGNV.

- Des séminaires grands publics furent organisés à Baraka (135 participants) à Bibokoboko (201 participants). Les participants devinrent des Centres de Non-Violence et propagèrent la bonne nouvelle à travers vallées et collines.
- La T.V. et vidéo (ambulatoires) qu'on a montrée dans des villages Kabumbe, Lusambo, Malinde, Kikonde et Kazimia a fait des adhésions. La bande vidéo Paige (*Nonkilling Toda webcast Tape*) est envoyée aux organes de Presse (RTNC).
- Le Complexe Scolaire Martin Luther King, implanté à Kazimia, donne des enseignements de Non-Violence à 103 petits enfants. Mais tout le village connaît déjà qui est Martin Luther King et commence à faire sien «La Non-Violence». Aussi le Complexe Scolaire deviendra un centre de rayonnement en arts, chanson, théâtre de non-violence.

Au Burundi des enseignements de Non-Violence furent donnés à des paysans et autorités à Kayanza et à Makamba (au Nord et Sud du pays): La Bande vidéo (*Nonkilling Toda webcast Tape*) est envoyée aux organes de Presse (Renouveau, RTNB, Isanganiro, Bonesha).

Au Rwanda: Les enseignements sont donnés à Kigali.

- *Bonne gouvernance*. Le CGNV á travers ces associations participent á la bonne gouvernance agissant en tant qu'observateur des élections au DR Congo, Burundi et au Rwanda.

- *Lutte contre la faim*. Les guerres dans la région ayant créé de conditions de vie difficiles, les disettes et les famines étant endémiques, nos enseignements ne peuvent être écoutés ni suivis avec des ventres creux. C'est pourquoi, nous avons favorisé les travaux de terre pour «le manger» ou la distribution de semences et des outils de travail. Kazimia, Lusambo, Nundu, Kagando, Malinde, Baraka (RD Congo), Makamba, Buterere (Burundi) Gisenyi (Rwanda) ont bénéficié des semences. A Baraka, des semences ont été accompagnées par des outils de travail (Houe, Machette et Vêtement).

Affirmation

La société non-meurtrière en Afrique des Grands Lacs est possible et pensable. Tout au long des différentes crises, les Grands Lacs ont trouvé des raisons d'espérer en expériences et en capacités créatives de leurs hommes. Le spirituel et le scientifique concourent également á la possibilité d'un Grand Lac non meurtrier. Mais le dévouement des certains hommes, des institutions qui se lèvent a et lá sont des raisons de penser á la société non-meurtrière.

Dans ce cadre, l'œuvre pionnière que développe le CGNV Afrique des Grands Lacs (á travers Mleci asbl - Ubuho-Amahoro) et ses résultats tangibles ne fait qu'affirmer "Oui, l'Afrique des Grands Lacs peut devenir non meurtrier."

Bátissons Fizi non meurtrier

Contexte général. Aprés les enseignements de non-violence donnés á Uvira (RDC) par le Conseil d'Administration où 278 villageois sont devenus Centres de Non-Violence et membres de Mleci CGNV, il était nécessaire, d'étendre la non-violence dans une des régions les plus meurtrières du DR Congo. Nous citons Fizi, notre zone d'origine.

Le territoire de Fizi (20000 km²) est depuis longtemps réputé comme frondeur, rebelle et contestataire. De 1960, á Fizi s'est propagé la rébellion dite "Muleliste" une guérilla promarxiste contre Kasavubu et puis contre Mobutu. Cette contestation armée a perduré jusqu'en 1981 sous la direction de Laurent Kabila (futur président assassiné). Notons qu'en 1965, Che Guevarra s'est séjourné á Fizi pour réorganiser cette lutte armée.

Durant la période de guerre 1996-2004, Fizi s'est encore illustré négativement sur son sol avec 9 groupes armés qui se combattaient: les armées rwandaises, les armées ougandaises, les armées burundaises, les rebelles du Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie (RCD), les Mayi Mayi (Autochtones et anciens Mulelistes), les rebelles de Force pour la Défense et la Démocratie (Burundais), les dissidents Banyamulenge de Masunzu, les dissident Banyamulenge de Nyamushebwa, FDLR-Interahamwe (Anciennes milices et soldats Rwandais accusés de génocide).

Des meurtres, des assassinats, des atrocités de tous genres ont été commis: 215 Banyamulenge sont tués á coup de lance et des machettes sur la place publique de 9h á 15h á Baraka (1996), les habitants de 3 villages de Talama sont rassemblés et fusillés publiquement par les Banyamulenge (1998), plus de 1000 habitants sont enfermés et brulés vifs par les Banyamulenge á Makobola (1999), l'armée Rwandaise rase des vaches et villages Banyamulenge Bibokoboko (2001), 80 hommes des villages Kiimino, et Ibwe sont violés devant leurs femmes par une unité des combattants non identifiés (2002), 11 employés de Tear Fund qui réparaient les tuyaux d'eau sont massacrés (2003), 243 femmes sont violées et parfois mutilées par des groupuscules armés (2004).

Hélas, des atrocités sont innommables et la liste macabre est trop longue pour en citer. Il fallait un courage pour organiser, afficher et programmer une banderolle "Batissons Fizi non-meurtrier" en 2005. Car toutes sortes de violences continuaient á se commettre. Nous avons pris un risque, nous l'avons accepté.

Organisation

Ce séminaire allait se passer á Baraka en terre Bembe, une des tribus les plus féroces du Congo. La majorité des participants devraient être Bembe. Mais fallait aussi associer d'autres tribus vivant á Fizi, tenant compte de leur diversité culturelle et socio-économique.

- Nombre: 135 participants.
- Religions représentées: Chrétienne, Musulmane, Bahai, Animistes (Kitawala), Mystique (Sainte Famille, Malkia).
- Tribus: 100 Babembe, 2 Burundais, 10 Bazoba, 7 Babwari, 5 Banyindu, 4 Banyamulenge, 2 Bifulero et 5 Babuyu.
- Sexe: 102 hommes et 33 femmes.
- Autorités politiques et administratives: 6 Rois (des tribus), 2 Administrateurs (du territoire), 8 Représentants des armées et services

des renseignements, 16 Agent d'Administrations centrales (services généraux), 7 Chefs locaux, 7 Représentants des Communautés religieuses, 13 Représentants des ONG locales, 6 Représentants des Partis politiques différents, 8 Représentants des tribus. Autres: métiers libéraux, Enseignants, Eleves, Pécheurs, Cultivateurs, Sans emplois, Commerçants et Villageois.

Ces participants sont venus d'environ 24 villages différents de Fizi.

Déroulement du séminaire

Les enseignements sont issus entièrement de *Non-violence, Non-Meurtre: vers une Science Politique Nouvelle* (après des généralités officielles). Nous les avons adaptés aux réalités du territoire de Fizi tout en touchant l'aspect general. L'approche suivie en general et en particulier au chapitre premier "Définition et états des lieux de la violence á Fizi" est participative: Inciter les participants á travers les jeux questions –réponses, á s'exprimer afin en vue d'engager les débats constructifs; Etalés sur trois jours, les participants prennent un repas á midi et reçoivent les frais de transport.

Conclusion, Application et Résolutions

Au début du Séminaire 22 participants avaient accepté la possibilité d'une société non meurtrière mais á la fin 130 affirmaient la vie non-meurtrière. 131 ont accepté de devenir de Centre de Non-Violence et se sont engagés á enseigner et promouvoir la non-violence. Nous avons convenu que chacun devra enseigner la non-violence et qu'une réunion de restitution –évaluation allait se tenir ultérieurement. Plus tard, nous avons reçu 17.521 noms des personnes qui ont accepté de devenir du Centre de Non-Violence á partir de ces 131 séminaristes. La liste continue á s'allonger.

Recommandations issues du séminaire

- Multiplication des Séminaires á travers le DR Congo et chez toutes les tribus (en particulier á Bibokoboko).
- Participation active des femmes dans des séminaires.
- Traduction du manuel *Nonkilling Global Political Science* en Kiswahili.
- Séminaire de réconciliation des peuples du Congo.

De l'avis de tous, le contenu –matière de “Bâtissons Fizi non meurtrier” est l'un des meilleurs et des plus convaincants qu'ait été entendu en terre Fizi.

Séminaire de Bibokoboko

Contexte general. Le Séminaire de Bibokoboko (19 au 21 janvier 2006) entrait dans un cadre global des enseignements de non-violence qu'on menait au Congo. Ces séminaires visaient la cohabitation, la réconciliation et l'apaisement au sein des populations congolaises en incitant les gens à renoncer à la violence. Le dit séminaire avait un cachet particulier, car il touchait le peuple Banyamulenge appelé aussi Tutsi congolais, un peuple “particulier,” accusé de tous les maux qui sont survenus au Congo, ces derniers temps.

Qui sont les Banyamulenge ou Tutsi congolais? Les Banyamulenge ou Tutsi congolais (environ 200.000 habitants) sont un peuple nilotique (Hamite) éleveurs, dont les caractéristiques physiques générales sont: Grande Taille (élançée) nez affilé. Ils sont minoritaires au sein de l'Afrique Centrale où peuple les bantous (Agriculteurs, petite taille et nez basané).

Les Tutsi congolais seraient venus du Rwanda, fuyant les guerres et recherchant les pâturages pour leurs troupeaux. La date de leur arrivée au Congo est source de polémique et dispute. Ils occupent les hautes terres des territoires de Fizi et d'Uvira. Le Nom “Banyamulenge” qu'ils se sont donnés récemment est sujet aussi des disputes.

En effet, depuis longtemps, on les appelait les *Banyarwanda* (les Rwandais) car leur langue ou leur mode de vie ne diffèrent en rien de celles des Rwandais. Mais aussi, ils vivent à l'écart des autres tribus. La grande question reste celle de leur nationalité. Tantôt, selon l'humeur des dirigeants congolais, ils étaient de nationalité congolaise, tantôt Rwandaise.

Evolution conflictuelle. Durant cette période de répulsion et d'acceptation au sein de la société congolaise (1980-1994), la situation politique régionale connaît des bouleversements qui vont influencer les comportements des Banyamulenge.

Le maquisard MUSEVENI (aidé par les Forces régionales Tutsi) prend le pouvoir en Ouganda (1982), les Tutsi au Rwanda débutent la guerre (1990). Au Burundi, les Tutsi tuent le Président Hutu élu démocratiquement (1993). En 1994 les Hutu du Rwanda massacrent 800.000 Tutsi avant de fuir au Congo. Les forces Tutsi régionales pourchassent les génocidaires Rwandais au Congo et sous couvert des Banyamulenge ils prennent le pouvoir au Congo. Mais également ils reprennent la guerre en 1998.

Comportements polémiques. Durant la période où les Banyamulenge étaient aux affaires, on les a amputé certains méfaits et massacres et ont attiré contre eux une antipathie vive d'autres tribus. Ils tuent, et eux aussi ils sont tués: ils enterrent vivants des habitants de Kasika (2001), ils sont prêts à tuer 5.000 hommes qu'ils ont fait rassembler au stade d'Uvira (1997), ils tirent sur la foule de manifestants à Uvira (1998), 215 Banyamulenge sont tués à Baraka, ils violent et tuent des centaines des gens à Bukavu (2005), 175 Banyamulenge sont massacrés au camp de Gatumba au Burundi (2005), etc.

Pire, même des Congolais de souche bantoue qui prenaient leur défense, eux aussi subissaient le sort réservé aux Banyamulenge. Aucune autre tribu au Congo n'a été rejetée, si haïe et si injuriée car considérés comme des cruels.

En outre, ils sont accusés d'être à la base de toutes les guerres qui en-deuillent le Congo (guerre de libération (1996), déclenchement de la 2^{ème} rébellion (1998), insécurité sur les hauts plateaux –Makaniki, Bishogo, 2006–Etat de guerre dans la plaine de Rusizi (2002-2005), Révolte du Colonel Mutebutsi à Bukavu (2005) et violence du Général Nkundabatware à Bukavu et Nord-Kivu (2005-2007). Cette situation perdure jusqu'aujourd'hui.

Un séminaire de non violence chez les Tutsi congolais: un double risque

D'abord les Tutsi congolais vivent dans des villages sur les hautes montagnes qui surplombent le lac Tanganyika ou la plaine de Rusizi. Atteindre leurs villages en ces périodes, c'est délicat. Les chemins d'y arriver sont truffés de barrières de milices. Mais, faudrait-il qu'on vous accepte d'y organiser des séminaires.

Mais aussi, les communautés Bantoue voient d'un mauvais oeil tout bantou qui séjourne en terre tutsi. On le considère comme vendu ou agent du Rwanda (Mr Mwenemalongo, Président Mleci a été limogé de son titre du Président de Communauté Bembe à Uvira depuis son passage à Bibokoboko). Nous avons surmonté tous ces handicaps et porté la non-violence à l'une des tribus la plus controversée de l'Afrique Centrale.

Organisation

La majorité des participants étaient évidemment des Banyamulenge (Tutsi congolais). Nombre: 201. Tribus: 1 Rwandais, 14 Babembes, 3 Bafurero, 4 Nyindu, 179 Tutsi Congolais. Sexe: 148 hommes et 63 femmes. Autorités politiques et administratives: 1 Roi, 1 Administrateur du territoire, 4 Hauts Officiers, 2 sans gradé (Militaire), 5 chefs locaux, 17 agents de l'administration générale, 5 Représentants de congrégations religieuses, 4

représentants des ONG, 4 Représentants des partis politiques. Autres: Cultivateurs, Eleveurs et artisans. Le gros des participants sont arrivés de 17 villages peuplés de Banyamulenge.

Déroulement du séminaire

Curieux et soupçonneux, les Banyamulenge ont répondu massivement à nos invitations. C'était la première fois que des Congolais Bantous arrivaient dans leurs villages y donner des enseignements de non-violence. Après quelques minutes de frottement, l'ambiance était joviale et sereine. Nous avons été adoptées.

L'exposé est tiré de *Non-Violence, Non-Meurtre: vers une Science Politique Nouvelle* mais adaptée aux réalités de la R D Congo. Etalé sur trois jours, les participants prennent un repas à midi et reçoivent les frais de transport chaque jour. A travers le jeu question-réponse, le public s'est de plus en plus enthousiasmé en participant au débat. Quel chahut, Quelle rigolade, à celui qui répondait mal! Quelle discipline à table!

Conclusion, Application et Résolution

Etonnants ces Banyamulenge, dès le début du séminaire presque 180 participants avaient déjà admis la possibilité d'une société non meurtrière et à la fin tout le monde, convaincu, a accepté de devenir Centre de Non-Violence et chacun s'est résolu à promouvoir la Non-Violence. Nous y avons ouvert une antenne de Mleci asbl et quelle jolie pagaille quand nous avons voulu établir le Comité de Mleci asbl. Plus tard 6.400 noms, nous ont été transmis de nouveaux Centres de Non-Violence.

Recommandations

- Organisation d'une grande conférence de Non-Violence et de réconciliation avec toutes les grandes tribus de Fizi et du Sud-Kivu.
- Visites régulières d'exhortation chez les Banyamulenge.
- Initier des projets socio-économiques chez les Banyamulenge.
- Construction d'une route pour le désenclavement de leur région.
- Traduction du livre *Non-Violence, Non-Meurtre: vers une Science Politique Nouvelle* en Swahili à distribuer.

Les Banyamulenge se sont sentis réconfortés par notre arrivée en leur terre. Notre séminaire avait réveillé en eux l'esprit de paix et d'amour.

Le Complexe Scolaire Martin Luther King

Kazimia, siège de Mleci asbl où est implanté «Le complexe scolaire Martin Luther King», est un centre villageois «coutumier» d'environ 20.000 habitants. C'est un poste, situé au Sud-Est de Fizi, à l'extrême Sud de la Province Sud-Kivu, sur le Lac Tanganyika.

Kazimia a été martyrisé depuis 1960 par l'état de guerre qui a secoué l'Est de la République Démocratique du Congo. De 1963 à 1980 et de 1996 à 2004 le village a été déserté à cause de l'insécurité. La majorité de la population est allée en refuge en Tanzanie.

Cet état d'insécurité permanente a fait que la région soit restée véritablement sous développée: peu d'infrastructures socio-économiques, le taux de scolarisation est l'un de plus faible du pays, la pauvreté est excessive et la famine régné.

Conditions difficiles des enfants

Comptant deux établissements primaires (une d'obédience catholique et l'autre protestante) et un établissement secondaire (cycle incomplet), ces infrastructures scolaires sont payantes. Ces écoles sont vides. Oú des parents appauvris par les guerres avec ses cohortes de misères peuvent –ils trouver des moyens de financer les études de leurs enfants?

Mais aussi, les effets négatifs du SIDA, des enfants soldats, de guerre a fait que la situation des enfants devienne plus miséreuse. Des enfants erraient ça et là sans aucun avenir. Certains sont violés quand ils accompagnent leurs mamans aux champs. D'autres sont rejetés, abandonnés ou accusés de sorcellerie pour qu'on le chasse du toit paternel.

Création de Complexe Scolaire Martin Luther King

Objectifs. Devant cette situation désespérante des enfants, nous avons initié une école non payante et contre toutes les violences qu'a subies la région: Le Complexe Scolaire Martin Luther King. L'école a pris le nom de l'un de leaders mondialement connu de la Nonviolence. En créant cette école, nous visons les objectifs ci-après:

- Permettre aux démunis, aux pauvres et déshérités de recevoir un enseignement de qualité, gratuit et orienté vers de nobles idéaux.
- Donner un enseignement classique à une population sans avenir en vue de leur donner un espoir de vie

- Former une génération future qui agira et défendra l'avènement d'une société non-meurtrière.
- Apporter un développement socio-culturel évident dans un environnement miné par le désespoir et l'obscurantisme.
- De répandre les enseignements de non-meurtre et de non-violence dans la région hantée par les guerres.
- Former un homme nouveau conscient de méfait d'une société et un environnement meurtriers en vue de favoriser l'avènement d'un monde non-violent.
- Faire émerger un leadership de non-violence dans la région et par là en Afrique.
- A partir de «l'Ecole», initier un centre de rayonnement, de recherche, de la célébration des arts et culture du non-meurtre modèle à travers l'Afrique.

Organisation

Le Complexe Martin Luther King est fonctionnel depuis l'année scolaire 2006-2007. 103 petits enfants (5 à 6 ans) de toutes conditions ont fréquenté le cycle maternel en classes A et B. Encadré par 2 enseignants, une surveillante-cuisinière, un secrétaire et le Directeur, l'école a pu terminer l'année sans problème.

Le programme est constitué des notions classiques des enseignements de l'écrit, parlé et calcul auxquelles sont ajoutées les notions de violences, guerre, nonviolence, paix, de biographies sommaires de Martin Luther King, de Glenn Paige et des objectifs globaux de CGNV. Le cursus complet est en train d'être élaboré.

Notons que, le complexe utilise (loue) des maisons des particuliers comme salles d'études et qu'un repas léger était offert aux jeunes élèves. Pour beaucoup d'enfants, c'était le seul qu'ils prenaient pendant 24 heures.

Pour cette année scolaire 2007-2008, deux salles d'études en adobe (non dure) ont été construites par la population abritant deux autres salles d'études. 4 enseignants, 1 secrétaire, une surveillante et le Directeur constituent le staff actuel qui encadre 180 petits enfants.

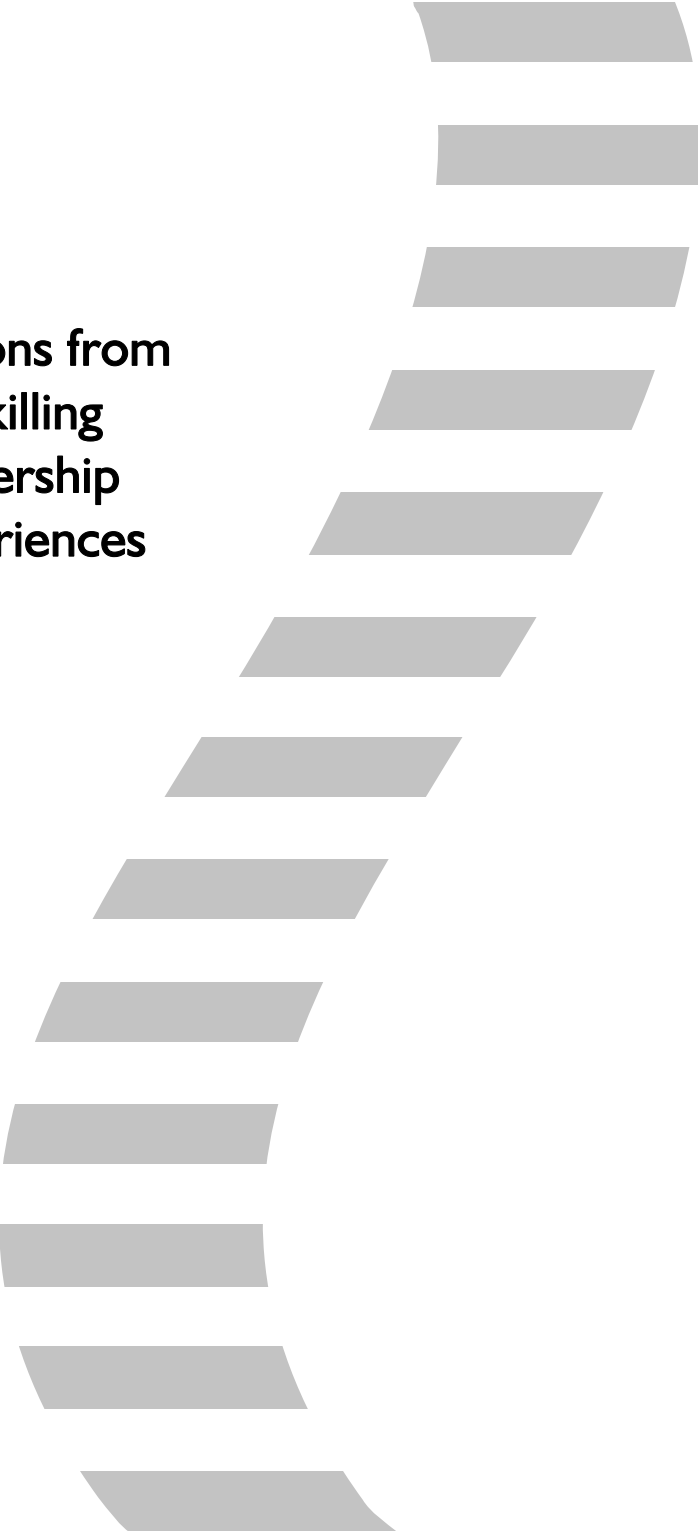
Difficultés

- Nous n'avons pas de ressources pour octroyer des primes à notre personnel.

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- Les enfants ont besoin d'une soupe pour pouvoir suivre les cours. La construction des salles d'études en dure et en moderne s'avère nécessaire.
- Les matériels didactiques et d'équipement font défaut et doivent être pourvus.
- Le CLMK doit être soutenu pour la crédibilité de notre œuvre.

**Lessons from
Nonkilling
Leadership
Experiences**



Transforming Leadership

James MacGregor Burns
Williams College

I salute the eminent men and women taking part in this creative meeting and wish only that I could attend. I look forward to reports of the discussions and to hearing Glenn Paige's reflections. Glenn has asked me to comment in advance of the meetings on the role of leadership both in thinking about titanic problems such as nonkilling and others such as poverty and inequality. I should explain that I began academic life as a political scientist, and am still one, but I soon branched out into studies of psychology, history, and especially philosophy. From there I went on to do in the mid-20th century some of the early work on leadership, which I defined broadly as to encapsulate studies in all the above disciplines and others.

Early on in my research and thinking about leadership I began to make a distinction between transformational (or transforming, which I prefer) leadership and transactional. By the latter term, transactional, I mean the kind of leadership that is exercised through bargaining, negotiating, give-and-take. This leadership is exercised in all societies, I believe, to different degrees and in different ways, and is crucially important in settling differences, but often disintegrates into selfish and even criminal behavior.

I became much more interested in transforming leadership because of its role in the great decisions that societies and nations must make—and may form part of your discussions of nonkilling and its highest hopes. Transforming leadership rises above transactional in order to study and promote change in nations' and peoples' handling of crucial issues of war and peace, social and individual justice, health, environment and to me the most crucial problem, encapsulating all the foregoing—poverty, poverty in all nations but especially in deprived or neglected areas around the world. I associate transforming leadership with leaders as different as Gandhi in India and Roosevelt in America, although your distinguished participants will know of many other examples. Transforming leaders have the capacity to rise above the day-to-day give-and-take and meet the broadest challenges facing their societies. To do this requires both vision and the capacity to change institutions and constitutions and laws.

To discuss transforming leadership, however, makes it imperative to do two things. First, to analyze perhaps the most neglected aspect of leadership—followership. How often do we read about the great leaders who succeeded or failed, without any mention of the followers who supported or opposed them? Obviously you cannot have leaders without followers, leadership without followership. Ultimately the test of leadership, indeed, is its ability to mobilize followers and convert them into new leaders who ultimately replace the old.

The second crucial aspect of transforming leadership consists of the principles and ideals—the values—by which it is measured. Here again the distinction between transformational and transactional leadership is important. The latter kind of leadership—negotiators, brokers and the like—must operate by what I call ethical standards—honesty, responsibility, reciprocity. Much of our day-to-day political and financial brokerage depends on people living up to their promises, and the like.

Even more important, in my view, are the values undergirding transformational leadership—values related to freedom, equality, security and the like. These are sometimes called “Western” values but I think of them as global—your able participants would have a better knowledge of this than I. But what I do know is that there was a so-called Western Enlightenment, which was a huge and complex and often messy movement, but which fundamentally tested Western societies and government by certain ideals. I do not need to pontificate about this—these ideas and ideals were superbly enunciated and embodied in America’s greatest document—the Declaration of Independence, specifically in the resounding words—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Life meaning security of persons and nations, liberty meaning all that we associate with the broad term freedom (as in Franklin Roosevelt’s Four Freedoms), and the pursuit of happiness a kind of vague but evocative Jeffersonian concept. But the crucial aspect of the Declaration is not these high-sounding words alone but the fact that they presented a rational conflict over time in American (and I would add in British, Continental and other worldly societies). Over time Americans and others have argued about security—national or personal, restrictive or life affirming? About liberty—protection against government or realizing broader freedom through government, as in FDR’s Second Bill of Rights? Happiness—open to endless debate, but in my view the greatest underpinning of happiness is social and economic equality.

I hope that these feeble words might make a bit of a contribution to what I expect to be creative and constructive discussions in your beautiful land.

Tolstoy and the Doukhobors

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Aloha! Tolstoy's literature is like a huge ocean of creativity and inspiration.

In the evolution of ideas of getting rid of the institution of militarism and war—the creation of a society based on the new paradigm of love and nonkilling—the lessons of Tolstoy and the Doukhobors merit special attention.

My ancestors the Spirit Wrestlers or Doukhobors evolved centuries back stemming from the Bulgarian Bogomils in the 1200s and the Raskol or Big Split in the Russian Orthodox Church in the mid-1600s. They disposed entirely with church trappings and argued that God exists in every person in spirit and truth; that man is his own church; and there is no need for priests (Tarasoff, 2002: 411). For them the notion of the Spirit of God, Buddha or Christ in each of us is practically synonymous with love, beauty, and justice. It is similar or identical to what the Society of Friends or Quakers call the “Light Within.”

As hardworking pioneers living in a communal setting, the Doukhobors first settled in the Crimean region of southern Russia in 1700s. Later they were exiled to the Caucasus between the Caspian and Black Seas. In 1899 one-third or 7,500 were exiled to Canada where some 40,000 reside today. A similar number reside in scattered areas of Russia.

The Doukhobors' two acts of defiance against militarism in 1895 have been a profound inspiration for them up to the present time. First, on Easter of that year, the young soldier Matvey Lebedev and ten other Doukhobors threw down their guns while training in the Elizavetpol reserve battalion in the Caucasus region of southern Russia, stating that war and Christianity are incompatible. The result was that the dissidents were sent to a disciplinary battalion and exile along with 60 other Doukhobor young men in active service who followed their example (Tarasoff, 2002: 262-263).

Second, on midnight of June 28-29, 1895 (Old Style; new style is 11-12 July), 7,000 Doukhobors in three districts of the Caucasus set ablaze piles of their rifles, pistols and swords (mostly government issues) in the first mass protest in history against war and militarism. The Tsarist government perceived this as treason and its response was swift with severe floggings, killings and exile.

This event that literally shook the world (Tarasoff, 2006: 244) attracted the attention of Lev N. Tolstoy, the most popular Russian writer and philosopher of the day. Doukhobors normally lived in peaceful communities. They worked hard, did not kill and were real Christians in action. Tolstoy saw his moral ideas implanted in the life of the Doukhobors.

Lesson 1. Learning, inspiring, cooperating and acting with conviction

The Arms Burning event was unique. Geographically isolated, it was of a scale, visual impact and ideology that could not be ignored by the government, the church, the media, as well as the most prominent writer of the day Lev Tolstoy. The Doukhobors were prepared for persecutions and death, even though their leader Peter V. Verigin (who was in exile, was influenced by Tolstoy ideas and was in correspondence with him) hoped to receive support from Tolstoy (Sanborn, 1995).

Lev Nicholaevich Tolstoy, his Son Sergei, his friends and the Quakers came together for this great cause of nonkilling and helped the Doukhobors from becoming extinct. Tolstoy penned an "Appeal for Help," completed his book *Resurrection* and helped 7,500 Russian dissidents (the most persecuted, about one-third of the whole) to immigrate to Western Canada in 1899.

As a Great Russian writer and philosopher Lev Tolstoy (1828-1910) was indeed a literary artist who was dedicated to nonviolence/nonkilling. His many writings reflected his philosophy. Gradually he evolved from a rich spoiled child to a moral figure, as shown in the evolution of his literary works. At the end of 1856, Tolstoy retired from five years of military service and soon made a six-month tour of Europe. While in Paris, he was so shocked by the guillotine execution of a prisoner that he later was stimulated to lobby for the end of capital punishment. His major epoch work *War and Peace* (1864-1869) showed the wider picture of war between Russia and Napoleon, and the absurdity of it all.

Lesson 2. Exposing the truth about war and killing is a way to discover alternatives

Tolstoy was one of the first to seriously question the very nature of war, especially the act of killing. In his writings *Prisoners of Caucasus* and in *War and Peace* he looked at the psychological causes of war. Why war? What is it about? Why is it driven by some tyrannical power of the divine right of kings, the Gods, or the Empire? Why is it that states conscript men and resources to maintain power (Samson, 1987)?

In answer, Tolstoy exposed the falsehood, hypocrisy and absurdity of war. Soldiers, he said, glory in the mystique of power to the point that they are persuaded to go against their conscience and moral upbringing of "Thou shalt not kill." They believe in cannon-fodder because they have been hypnotized from childhood in school books, church services, sermons, speeches, books, newspapers, poems and monuments, writes Tolstoy (1893: 508).

Today we can truly say that war is a blight on our civilization and a slavery of our times. It reverberates through the centuries including the hope in recent times of the United Nations to get rid of the scourge of war. The military and their generals, together with the politicians who dictate that men must kill for the state as a patriotic duty as well as the religious leaders who support the cause are all part of the institutions that keep people in slavery. They perpetuate the act of state-sponsored murder and hinder the path towards a nonkilling society. The way to stop the wholesale slaughter of people, wrote Tolstoy, is to refuse supporting war as we have done with the trading of human slaves.

Lesson 3. The importance of values, education, and work for the health of humanity

The search for truth and the meaning of life gave Lev Tolstoy width and depth in becoming a world literary figure as well as a moral leader. In his Socratic quest, he was not afraid to question personal behaviour and societal injustice.

In *Anna Karenina* (1873-1876) he unveiled the Russian society with its aristocrats, peasants, the military and the church. Then in his book *The Kingdom of God is Within You* (1893) he laid down his philosophical/religious principles of life. The Kingdom of God which is within you can only be reached by effort, he said, through responsible action and through the search for truth.

Serfs were the majority of the Russian people until 1861 and had no rights. The rich aristocracy had the power and rights. Here Tolstoy reassessed his past, and at his Yasnaya Polyana home he started to understand the injustice of life of his own peasants. He saw the beauty of the common man and was the first to liberate them. Tolstoy opened a school for peasants on his family estate before helping to found 20 more schools in neighbouring villages. He believed in freedom of information and allowed his students to study whatever they desired. As editor of an educational journal, Tolstoy wrote that upper classes had as much to learn from peasants as peasants had to learn from upper classes. The aristocrat-turned-teacher taught them the

Golden Rule and believed that truth alone is capable of relieving our global community from the “incalculable ills produced by war” (Tolstoy, 1951: 591).

Today, more than 100 schools in Russia work according to Tolstoy’s ideas. These ideas offer a new content based on nonviolent communication between human beings. The students study new disciplines and read many of Tolstoy’s works. When entering these classrooms, Vitaly Remizov, the head of the Tolstoy Museum in Moscow, says one feels “the living breath of Yasnaya Polyana’s dweller, Lev Tolstoy, his invisible presence in everything which is done for the sake of Good and Love. I discover new sides to the author of *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina*—as a teacher whose name is next to the wise of this world. When you reread his lesser known books (because they were banned in tsarist Russia and then in Soviet times)... you realize that there is indeed freedom and truth in this world which can make your life full of meaning” (Remizov, 1998: 52).

No doubt the acceptance of a nonkilling society is a long term process beginning with childhood upbringing as well as family, community, political and social supports. Children’s stories of nonkilling will encourage them to turn to these examples as models of behaviour. Exposing children to Good Works and cooperative games where people work together to solve problems is a step in the right direction. Once this idea of nonviolence/nonkilling is accepted as the norm, then leaders in society could be persuaded to develop new laws reflecting this spirit. Examples include: abolishing capital punishment, recognizing Conscientious Objectors in society, allowing people of conscience to divert their war taxes for a special fund, establishing Departments of Peace in our legislatures, and prohibiting genocide.

Lesson 4. Letters build networks and wisdom for cultivating world citizenship

Tolstoy received over 50,000 letters from all over the world in some 15 languages of which he knew five fluently, but was helped by friends with others. His example of transcending political boundaries around the world is a source of inspiration for all. As he discovered gems of wisdom in his letters, he recorded these in his Diary and later published them in *A Calendar of Wisdom*. Although he was Russian born, he felt that he was a citizen of the world.

The extent of Tolstoy’s impact on world literature is enormous. In 1893 a French critic Theodor de Wyzewa wrote:

The moral writings of Count Tolstoy have not so far fully converted anyone; but there is no one who does not take them seriously, and their influence upon every truth-loving spirit is becoming stronger day by day. I

can think of no philosopher since Rousseau whose words have attracted so much attention (Edgerton, 1990: 1-2).

At home, no less a writer than Chekhov confessed in 1884:

Tolstoyan philosophy made a powerful impression on me, and ruled my life for six or seven years, and what affected me was not the basic principles, which I had been familiar with even before, but the Tolstoyan manner of expression, its reasonableness, and probably its special kind of hypnotism (Idem).

Among leading writers and public figures in other countries his moral influence can be traced in the life and works of Mohandas Gandhi in India, Arvid Jarnefelt and Minna Canth in Finland, Romain Rolland and Paul Margueritte in France, Edouard Rod in Switzerland, William Dean Howells and the jurist Ernest Howard Crosby in the U.S.A., Jaime de Magalhaes Lima in Portugal, Tokutomi Roka and Mushakoji Saneatsu in Japan, Albert Skarvan in Slovakia, and Eugen Schmitt in Hungary (Edgerton, 1990: 2).

We can see Tolstoy's influence everywhere: in world literature, cinema, theatre, education, and university studies. Today almost a century since his death, hundreds of volumes have been published, translated and dedicated to him around the world. In 2010, a major exhibition in Russia is being planned for Tolstoy's Centennial.

Lesson 5. The Law of Love is central to understanding the peaceful life

Tolstoy reminded us that love is a powerful motivator of life. It is the opposite of what he termed as the Law of Aggression or the Law of Violence. Love provides meaning to life and is central to our morality. As the highest law that guides human life, love can be fulfilled through effort and personal responsibility.

Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God is Within You* is a classic expression about creating a nonkilling world society. It is as fresh and relevant today as it was when Tolstoy wrote it in 1893. One of those people Tolstoy corresponded with was the son of William Lloyd Garrison, the famous champion of the emancipation of Blacks and who coined the phrase "Our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind."

In 1838, Garrison took part in a discussion in a Society for the Establishment of Peace among men—on means of preventing war. He came to the conclusion that the establishment of universal peace can only be founded on the open acknowledgement of the doctrine of nonviolence, as

understood by Quakers with whom he had friendly relations. Garrison drew up and laid before the Society a *Declaration of Sentiments* which the Conference adopted in Boston in 1838. The *Declaration* stated that war is not only wrong itself, but all preparations for war are wrong (Maude, 1951: 7). The Declaration was so radical that it frightened people and distanced them from it. For that reason, the document is almost unknown today. Yet Tolstoy remembered this Declaration and included it in his book. For Tolstoy, as for the Doukhobors, love is central to human relations and the creation of a society based on human goodness, equality, and justice for all. The doctrine of love is revealed in each of us directly and immediately without intermediaries in spirit and in truth, says Tolstoy. Based on personal action, the law of love is not strictly a precept, but the expression of the very essence of Christ's teaching from his Sermon on the Mount. Its ideal is nonviolence and love of our enemies. According to Tolstoy, "the recognition of the sanctity of the life of every person is the first and only basis of all morality" (Tolstoy, 1893: 373). The life of man is sacred!

Lesson 6. We can indeed introduce Tolstoy as a nonkilling literary leader

Tolstoy was one of the Big Masters of the Century who raised the Big Issues of society. His works were translated into many languages. Many Russians have endeared him with the title of "Dedushka Tolstoy" [Grandfather Tolstoy]. This is a title that no other Russian writer has received. Several dozen Tolstoy colonies were established in Russia and abroad. A colony in Bulgaria survived for nearly half a century with its own newspapers, journals, publishing houses, book stores, an agricultural colony and a vegetarian organization (Edgerton, 1990: 20).

Tolstoy is relevant today because humanity still faces the same problems of war, torture, disparity between the rich and the poor, inequality, illiteracy, and environmental degradation. The presence of these ills is a scar on us as Homo Sapiens. Tolstoy's views persist because they were well founded and based on practical experience.

Gandhi regarded Tolstoy as his mentor and used peace and Christian value ideas in his search for justice in India during the rule of Great Britain. Also Martin Luther King Jr. used Tolstoy's ideas when he peacefully wrestled for the rights of African Americans.

If Tolstoy the wise were alive today, he would be very proud of the Leadership Forum in Honolulu. As a creative teacher whose stature is next

to such thinkers as Socrates, Confucius and Pascal, he would recognize that his seeds sown earlier are now taking root across the seas.

All of us here are talking about creating a nonkilling society in the future. Tolstoy had this vision in the late 1800s when he saw the Doukhobor actions and called them as “people of the 25th century.” Maybe he was right. However, we cannot wait for the looming catastrophe. In the 1800s, 14 million people were killed in wars. In the 1900s, 150 million died of institutionalized murder and many more were crippled.

We know the way, as did Tolstoy when he put his theories into action. He put himself in the situation of strife in the face of government and church both of which succumbed to the outmoded practice of war and violence. He survived and that is why he is remembered today as an important beacon of light on the road to a nonkilling world. He proved that where there is a will, there is a way. Also he reminded us that one wedge (a good creative idea or an invention) drives out another one.

Like a small stone thrown in the water creates ripples, the circle of these ripples widens with the contribution of others. Tolstoy gathered a circle of friends for support. Through his team work, the Doukhobors survived and today carry the seeds of nonkilling by working together with other peace groups, meeting with Gorbachev in the late 1980s, helping children of Chernobyl, lobbying politicians and writing letters to the editor, and using the World Wide Web to foster an idea whose time has come.

The ideas of Tolstoy, Gandhi, King, Doukhobors, Quakers, Mennonites and members of the wider peace community are important because they have shown another way of creating a just and peaceful society without resorting to the outmoded habit of war and violence. Their experience and lessons can make a difference. The sooner each of us understands this, the better we will all become, the more good we will bring to Earth.

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Nonkilling Leadership Lessons from Gandhi

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Lesson I. Power of Satyagraha

The series of training programs in non-violence that this writer has been organizing in various parts of India and the 100 Special Satyagraha lectures and discussions which I have been privileged to lead in India and abroad in order to understand the Contemporary Relevance of Satyagraha and the need for developing and organizing sustained training in nonviolence, offered me very valuable leadership lessons from Gandhi.

1. While the training programs in nonviolence were living experiences the special lectures and discussions were intellectual encounters with a cross section of people. The emphasis at both these exercises (the training in nonviolence and special Satyagraha lectures) was to help the participants discover how Gandhi demonstrated from his life the power of Satyagraha.
2. We learnt from Gandhi that Satyagraha is action and before one resorts to Satyagraha, one has to become a "Satyagrahi." In Gandhian Satyagraha, it is never the numbers that count; it is always the quality and dedication, more so when the forces of violence are uppermost.
3. It is often forgotten that it is never the intention of a Satyagrahi to embarrass the wrong-doer. The appeal is never to his fear, it is always to his heart.
4. The Satyagrahi's object is to convert, not to coerce the wrong-doer. He should avoid artificiality in all his doings. He acts naturally and from inward conviction.

The qualifications Gandhi prescribed for every Satyagrahi are very important in all circumstances, particularly the following five points:

1. He must have a living faith in God, for he is his only Rock.

2. He must believe in truth and nonviolence as his creed and therefore have faith in the inherent goodness of human nature, which he expects to evoke by his truth and love expressed through his suffering.
3. He must be leading a chaste life and be ready and willing for the sake of his cause to give up his life and his possessions.
4. He must carry out with a willing heart all the rules of discipline as may be laid down from time to time.
5. He should carry out the jail rules unless they are specially devised to hurt his self-respect.

Thus Satyagraha to Gandhi was a “surgery of the soul” and not a political expediency. Training in nonviolence should also lead to this creative awakening.

Lesson 2. Complementary nature of duties and rights of citizens

It is Gandhi’s concern for the poor and his own apprehension that any alienation between the masses and the rulers would generate unhealthy tendencies that would retard social justice that one sees in this well-thought-out advice of Gandhi. It also shows that Gandhi’s humanism was not skin-deep and he was convinced that any system that fails to take care of the basic necessities of the people will be a sin to society in particular and humanity in general. A system that fails to feed the starving millions will symbolize only falsehood. To a hungry man God appears only in the form of bread, he reminded his countrymen.

In the schemes of things Gandhi visualized, all are supposed to be partners and mutually supportive and dependent. The trusteeship idea, an extension of Sarvodaya mooted by Gandhi, has not been properly understood and implemented. It envisages the willingness on the part of those who have extra wealth to take care of the less privileged on the basis of the awareness that wealth like the other natural resources does not belong to any particular individual. All have equal right over all that nature possesses. Those who have excess of what others don’t have should feel that they have to play the role of the custodians of society.

For Gandhi, rights and duties are complementary and a citizen who is not conscious of his duties has no right to think of his rights. Similarly, Gandhi believed, “There can be no Ram Raj in the present state of iniquitous inequalities in which only a few roll in riches, while the masses do not get even enough to eat.” Does this Gandhian passion for social justice remain a far cry? No one knows. The ruler, in the modern context the state, like Lord Ram, Gandhi’s

ideal King is Custodian of not only the physical domain of the people but also an inspirer of his people to higher realms of spiritual attainments.

Lesson 3. The relevance of the seven social sins Gandhi identified

It may be useful here to remember in this context the advice Gandhi gave to the new rulers of India, which is now known as Gandhi's *Talisman*. Gandhi advised:

I will give you a talisman. Whenever you are in doubt or when the self becomes too much with you, apply the following test:
 Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man whom you may have seen and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him. Will he gain anything by it? Will it restore him to a control over his own life and destiny? In other words, will it lead to Swaraj for the hungry and spiritually starving millions?
 Then you will find your doubts and your self melting away.

The visionary and practical nature of most of the Gandhian formulations for social change are revealed in the manner in which Gandhi reproduced in his journal seven sins which a reader had sent him as a note. They are: *Politics without Principles, Wealth without Work, Pleasure without Conscience, Knowledge without Character, Commerce without Morality, Science without Humanity and Worship without Sacrifice*.

Even a school child will laugh derisively today if anyone mentions any of these qualities. Such is the alarming level to which our public and moral lives have degenerated. And the Gandhian vision of Ram Rajya by which he meant a classless and just society has acquired political and religious overtones also and has been reduced to the level of a political debate mostly of academic interest.

Lesson 4. From National Campaign towards a Violence-Free Society (Himsamukth Samaj)

Gandhian Leadership lessons were best revealed in the massive and ambitious national campaigns launched four years ago under the combined auspices of several Gandhian organizations, Voluntary organizations and Universities in India. The *Himsamukth Samaj* (Violence-Free Society) initiative sought to encourage discussions:

- To bring about a thorough social change for the establishment of a nonviolent social order as Gandhi dreamt.
- Expose the evil intentions of the anti-social elements that prosper very often on violence, death and destruction.
- Co-ordinate the activities of youth who are involved in various social works for the establishment of an ideal social order.
- To be vigilant against narrow communal/political/ regional interests.
- To organize awareness-creation campaigns against anti-social elements.
- Every time, everywhere, there have been appropriate and motivated agencies, individuals and social groups working against violence and promoting goodwill among people.
- On the basis of the information gathered and insights received from various quarters, it is intended to prepare comprehensive work reports to which the attention of the authorities is to be drawn.
- To ensure the co-operation of various organizations and Government machinery to ensure a tension-free society which will be possible only if social justice is ensured, and discrimination of all sorts and exploitation ended.
- To make effective propaganda to recognize violence and tensions dangerous to progress and well-being of the society.
- To ensure a violence-free society, ensure co-operation of young men and women who will be prepared to join any initiative, provided they are properly motivated.

Former President of India Shri R. Venkitaraman is the Chief Patron of this campaign while Dr. N. Radhakrishnan is the National Convener and Chief Campaigner of this on-going campaign. The campaign has led:

1. To the successful enlisting of over 168,000 families committed to nonviolence as part of a multi-tier people's campaign against violence, intolerance, and injustice. The focus of this phase was to recognize the importance of families and encourage them to embrace nonviolence as the guiding principle in their life. This was emphasized on the basis of the disturbing manner in which the family as an institution is disintegrating and dialogue as a sustaining force is becoming scarce.
2. To the special programs of National Conferences, Regional and State level discussions and special 100 Satyagraha Centenary Lec-

tures, held in India and abroad as part of the Satyagraha Centenary Programs

3. To the efforts that were made to involve Universities and higher learning to develop peace education programs and involve student communities in conflict management initiatives.
4. To work out the details of 100 Community Peace Centres (CPC) as a joint initiative of Indira Gandhi National Open University and the Indian Council of Gandhian Studies and launch them on October 2, 2007 with a view to:
 - linking communities with educational institutions,
 - inculcating values in children and youth,
 - bringing academics and activists together,
 - developing conflict-free zones, and
 - contributing to sustainable development.

Though some of these initiatives brought together a large number of Gandhian Activists, Educators, Human Rights Activists, Scientists, Technocrats, National Leaders, and Political Activists, the Organizers feel that they have to go a long way in order to make it a truly National Movement which will address the basic problem of violence and encourage people to explore the Gandhian option for development. The enormity of the manifestations and power of violence in our society is such that only a Gandhi, Vinoba Bhave or J.P. Narayan could galvanize and sensitize people in large numbers to effectively counter the forces that are responsible for much of the violence the nation witnesses in its daily life.

Terror and violence are spreading like a cancer threatening the very existence of the nation. The State despite all the measures it has been taking seems to be under heavy pressure. The sheer size of the nation and the deep penetration made by the forces of violence and terror send shock waves all around. Innocent citizens are blown up and the heartless perpetrators of violence are rejoicing. While all this is happening, the citizens who are caught up in the cross-fires remain fear-struck and helpless expressing just indignation.

In such a situation, can the citizens remain unconcerned, leaving protection of civilians and their properties to law-enforcing authorities of the State? Should not the citizens also join the efforts of law-enforcing and protection of lives of innocent citizens? The public also has a big role to play in an emergency. We are in such an emergency that terror and violence have assumed such shape that national, massive and well-orchestrated initiatives

need to be undertaken in the wake of the emerging and frightening situation in the country and elsewhere.

Violence—leading to killing of all kinds, destruction of properties, harming nature's balance and leading to a variety of unhealthy trends—needs to be checked. Gandhian Satyagraha and lessons learnt from it are very valuable antidotes.

Building Nonkilling Muslim Societies: Relevance of Abdul Ghaffar Khan

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Human killings in Muslim societies abound. Since the end of the Second World War and especially since the end of the Cold War, humans in these societies are being routinely slaughtered and maimed by their own government forces, by the forces of the warlords and by foreign troops. Perhaps it would not be wrong to say that more Muslims have been killed in wars, conflicts and violence in the post-Cold War era than the combined total of the non-Muslims killed during the same period. Furthermore, different kinds of killing are taking place. On the one hand, there is the murder of men, women and children through the direct use of violence in Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan and several other Muslim societies, and on the other hand, there is the slow murder of the people because of unavailability of basic human facilities and denial of fundamental human rights. And killing of minds—a sort of genocide of human intellect and human spirit—has been going on in these societies and the world takes very little notice of it.

Worse still, the wholesale slaughter of humans and genocide of the mind and spirit in contemporary Muslim societies are being justified on one pretext or the other. While the powerful media and public opinion leaders including the clash theorists and policymakers in the developed world are busy crafting arguments in support of demonizing, tribalizing and Red Indianizing the Muslims living in these societies, the Muslim societies themselves are being driven to the ghettos of exclusion and medieval caves by their tyrannical rulers and power elites and by the puritan Muslim protagonists brandishing swords in hands, while romanticizing bigotry and villainizing other faiths and cultures. Both justify human killing. Under these circumstances, is it possible to build up nonkilling, humanistic, progressive, democratic and enlightened Muslim societies? Can such a scheme of things fit into the nonkilling world of Glenn Paige? Can the republics of fear, humiliation and shame (what these Muslims states are in at the moment) be transformed into republics of hope, pride, and peace? Answer to these and other related queries ask for visiting Paige's nonkilling world.

Paige's nonkilling world, one may point out here, is not a dream world; it is a world which can be real. It is a realizable world, but one has to have a new way of looking at things in order enter this world, to rediscover the culture of peace which was very much there in the different worlds in different eras, to go back to the campaigners of nonviolence, peace and nonkilling and listen to them and plunge into peace action. Likewise, nonkilling, humane, democratic and enlightened Muslim societies are possible, but for this, the politics of the blame game has to be given up. Concerted and focused efforts have to be made for qualitative political and social change. The peace heroes of Islam and the Muslim societies must be rediscovered and their relevance for building nonkilling Muslim societies must be examined, assessed and appreciated.

It is in this context that this short essay touches upon certain unique features of Ghaffar Khan's nonviolent struggle during British colonial rule in India and after partition in Pakistan. It highlights the importance and relevance of his role and message for contemporary Muslim societies in particular.

Born in 1890 in Hashtnagar, now known as Asghatnager or "eight towns" in the village of Utmanzi, Ghaffar Khan is perhaps the greatest Pathan of all times. Undoubtedly he is the most prominent apostle of nonviolence after Gandhi in modern India and one of the outstanding nonviolent leaders of the twentieth century. However, awareness about his life, nonviolent struggle and sufferings is still rather limited and his remarkable contribution to peace is still widely unrecognized. It is only in recent years following the protracted war and violence in Afghanistan after entry of Soviet troops in Kabul in December 1979—with unending upheavals and acts of terrorism, especially in the Pakhtun belt cutting across Afghan-Pakistan borders—that the post 9/11 panicky world is turning to him for salvation. Being alarmed because of the upsurge of Muslim anger and militancy around the world, the concerned power centers, leading international research institutes focusing on Islam, Muslim societies and terrorism and on peace and nonviolence in these societies in particular look at Ghaffar Khan as the saviour of the future.

Ghaffar Khan, son of Behram Khan, belonged to a very powerful and resourceful family of Utmanzai. He learnt the early lessons of history and politics from his father and learnt more from the narratives of the heroics of his forefathers. The very fact that his grandfather, Saifullah Khan, always sided with his oppressed brethren whenever the British had any clash with the tribes or tried to subjugate them had a profound impact upon him. What also made him proud and prepared him to endure all kinds of sufferings and not to compromise on principles was the shining example of his father's grandfather, Obaidullah Khan, who was hanged by the Durrani, the rulers,

for his enlightenment and patriotism.

Popularly known as Bach Khan, Ghaffar Khan entered the challenging world of nonviolent action at an early age and launched a fearless movement against the British colonizers. He traveled the length and breadth of the Indian sub-continent, addressed small groups and big crowds, took part in rallies and demonstrations, mobilized the masses on numerous occasions, and refused to be either purchased or intimidated by the colonial lords. He was frequently arrested, sent to jail or confined in his own house. After India's partition in 1947, he was harassed, victimized, humiliated and arrested by successive Pakistani governments. The total number of years he spent in the British Indian jails and Pakistani jails and in confinement at home is thirty long years, but he remained defiant and uncompromising on principles. Little wonder that he ruled over the minds and hearts of the Pathans and other freedom- and democracy-loving people in India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and beyond. Even after his death, he continues to rule.

Certain important features of his nonviolent struggle are:

- Ghaffar Khan had a religious family background. He was a practicing Muslim, but he never hated other religions or the people of other faith. He used to read the *Bible*, *Gita* and *Qur'an* and even during the period when the area was in the grip of communal violence, he helped, assisted and guided the people of different religions and frequently went to the riot-torn areas to help the affected people.
- He was never intimidated by the religious zealots. He condemned religious bigotry and always said that Islam is a religion of peace and humanism and the best way to serve Allah was to serve his people.
- He was very critical of the bad traditions of the Pathan society and often reprimanded the Pathans for glorifying wars, fights and revenge.
- He not only emphasized the importance of education for both men and women and for boys and girls, but also actively campaigned for opening schools in the villages and cities.
- He was a champion of women's rights and encouraged women to actively participate in political, social and economic activities.
- He was a fearless freedom fighter and struggled all his life against all sorts of slaveries. He mobilized the great *Khudai Khidmatgar* (Servants of God) force and trained them to wage their struggle nonviolently.
- He was also an active campaigner for democracy and people's rights. He demanded equal opportunity for all and for equitable power and resources-sharing in the independent, sovereign state of Pakistan.

- He was a people's man. The people had full trust in him. They knew that he would not betray their cause and Bach Khan never betrayed their expectation.
- He was a champion of Hindu-Muslim unity. As a matter of fact, he was a promoter of the idea of universal love and harmony and peace.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was very critical of the power elites in Pakistan and condemned state terrorism, increasing religious bigotry and sectarian violence. He challenged the tyrannical rule of the successive governments and condemned the government for its involvement in the Afghan crisis. He was opposed to military rule in Pakistan or elsewhere and always said that the people were supreme and sovereign. He strongly favoured peaceful relations between India and Pakistan, between Pakistan and Afghanistan and between the former Soviet Union and Pakistan. He always strongly supported the movements for peace in Pakistan, in its neighborhood, in the Muslim societies and in the world at large.

Ghaffar Khan is highly relevant to this age of terrorism, rising religious militancy, proliferating insecurities and widespread dehumanization. His entire political life spread over eighty years or so is a remarkable record of peace action, fearless and humanistic approach to the critical issues of his time, tremendous consistency in political thinking and action, and willingness to sacrifice and suffer for the cause of the common good. The killing fields of the Muslim societies can clearly be converted into peace zones and productive zones, and the failed and failing Muslim states and the terrorizing states may become more just, more peaceful, and more humane if they follow the footprints of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and listen to the Gautama Buddha of the twentieth century. He was laid to rest in Jalalabad in Afghanistan in the year 1988, but the Khan who is also known as the Frontier Gandhi must be very restless in his grave—watching with great sadness the killing of humans in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq, and beyond.

Lessons from the Life of Martin Luther King, Jr.

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The life and philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr. provides a text for learning how to understand and live in a world of conflict and change without creating conflict or becoming a passive victim of the negative conflict and violence. He was able to create a psychological framework, philosophical understanding and a theological position to establish an effective strategy to respond to the surrounding violence in a way that transformed the violence rather than conform to it.

He taught that refusal to retaliate to violence was not an act of cowardness, but could be an act of strength or even courage. King insisted that to practice his philosophy courage was required. Courage in the face of violence is a form of resistance. He was a non-conformist. The strength that King acquired from taking courageous stands against injustice came as a result of his vision of a “Beloved Community.” He was acting in a way to show others his vision of a new kind of community, a new way of life, a new relationship that was possible with one another as people in the global society. For him the “Beloved Community” was a destination that required a pilgrimage, which involved change. First, it requires change of ourselves. How we see ourselves influences how we see others. How we see others impacts our behavior towards others. King calls upon us not only to see others in a different light but also to try to see ourselves and the world through the eyes of others (especially our opponents). By seeing the world and ourselves through the eyes of the opponent, we can pinpoint the change we want to make to create that “Beloved Community.”

Nonviolence is not only standing against what is wrong, but also standing for what is right. For King the “Beloved Community” is not a distant geography in the sky, but rather a day to day existence of revolving relationships with loved ones and ones to be loved. Love is the basic ethic that informs the methodology and strategy for achieving the goal. The means cannot be justified by the ends. In order to achieve a “Beloved Community” the process

must be consistent with the end. Unjust means cannot be used to achieve a just end. *Agape* is the love force employed in the nonviolent process.

Martin Luther King, Jr. was recognized as an American philosopher by the American Philosophical Association. Most philosophers have an ideal society or utopia. For King the “Beloved Community” was his utopia.

However, his utopia is found in micro-communities as well as the global community. Interpersonal relations are equally important in King’s view. The King approach denied one’s emotions to take the lead when responding to a conflict. The response has to be based on an understanding of the conditions that surround the conflict or issue. To attack the person or persons involved is not a solution to the problem but rather a temporary halt to a pending onslaught.

In most cases violence or injustice is couched in a condition that victimizes the perpetrators as well as their intended victims. While the behavior of the individual(s) must discontinue, the policies, political and economic structures that support the conditions must also be addressed, otherwise no permanent change will occur.

While examining the conditions that host the conflict, violence or injustice, it is essential to study the history of those conditions. Most often the conditions are influenced by a set of values. These values have to be taken into consideration. For some people values are relative, interchangeable and caught rather than taught. Some people operate on a set of values based on the environment at a given time. Some people have personal values that are different in group settings.

Dr. King focused on systemic change rather than replacing individuals and leaving the conditions in place. In the process of changing the conditions, it was important for King to identify to what extent those who stand by in silence support the system. In many cases those who suffer from the system help to perpetuate the condition by cooperating with it. Therefore, one of the first steps in changing an unjust condition is to persuade the victims to withdraw their participation from the unjust system. It may mean accepting suffering. This type of suffering is voluntary and is for a good cause that leads to change. Non-cooperation requires that the individual take many things into consideration. Among them would be the relationship of individual non-cooperation compared to group non-cooperation. The larger community may not be directly affected by the condition, but may support such as by sympathetic strikes.

King’s approach was to raise awareness of the conditions by dramatizing the injustices. By dramatizing the injustices he was fully aware that the op-

position power structure would react in a way to reinforce the conditions using a greater amount of physical force. This direct action served to bring to the surface the inhuman conditions that support the system, thus creating a power base of sympathy that served to counter-balance the power of the opponent and weighed in on creating a just solution.

This approach was seen as a strategy in addition to taking a personal stand against an unjust condition. When one takes a stand against an unjust condition, it does not require one to have a mean spirit or negative attitude against the person or persons. In fact, it is necessary to move against the injustice or violence with the force of love. One must avoid doing violence to one's own spirit or the spirit of the opponent. It is not effective to make decisions based on anger and negative emotions.

Our goal in nonviolence reconciliation is to win the opponent over by showing a better side of ourselves as human beings. Our example must be one that should be replicated by others. Therefore, we must be at our best by showing our better side.

Leadership is critical in any campaign, especially in a nonviolent campaign. The leadership sets the tone. When attacks are being made against the group, whether verbal or physical, the leader cannot retaliate in kind. In such circumstances the leader must be strong, courageous and resistant by taking the high ground. In the words of a popular freedom song, "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me Round."

King as a strategist knew that an important factor in mounting a campaign was to carefully select the focus of the campaign. Problems usually have many components. These components are like spirals that connect to a central base. To focus on one or two spirals would be futile because the others would continue to grow. Therefore, it is necessary to identify the points of connection and identify the problem as a whole with its many facets. However, when selecting a specific issue, one should select a goal that is within range, one that can be reached in a short period of time.

It is important that the main action be local but the problem be identified in a much broader arena. It is necessary to show the relation of the local condition to global conditions. "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere," teaches M.L. King, Jr. It is necessary to continue to relate the local issue to a change of perception and a change of behavior. Local action is controllable and can be continued and sustained over a period of time.

Escalation of action should be in proportion to the reaction of the opponent. The concept of negotiation/direct action according to King's teachings is that one must always be willing to negotiate. However, it is not nec-

essary to stop action while talking. In fact it is thought that action helps to keep the talks more sincere. It was King's view that one must always give his opponent a way to save face and that any outcome that is considered a victory must be a collaborative victory to be celebrated.

King also aimed at a solution that was over-arching and embraced a number of issues. An example would be the Selma Movement that addressed voter registration problems and voting practices in a number of states in both the North and the South. The poll tax in Texas, election procedures in Illinois and literacy tests in New York, as well as in a number of other states were eliminated as a result of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Act locally, aim globally.

A critical stage of any movement is when the opponent's acts of violence have overwhelmed the proponents for change and the spirit is down. The question is how does one maintain the momentum and confidence that the campaign can succeed? Dr. King was faced with many such moments in the course of his movements.

One of the most important lessons King taught us was to never lose faith in the cause. The first step is to keep on pushing even when you are not strong. Never lose faith in yourself and do not be overcome. The inspiration to continue comes from those who have given their lives to the cause and for the cause. The inspiration comes from the writings of those who have faced more difficult struggles in the times of their lives.

Finally there is the music, which is the blood in the life of the movement. As long as we can sing, we will always be free.

We've got some difficult days ahead. But it really doesn't matter with me now because I've been to the mountaintop. I won't mind. Like anybody, I would like to live a long life. Longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's will and he's allowed me to go up to the mountain. And I've looked over and I've seen the Promised Land. I may not get there with you but I want you to know to-night that we as a people will get to the Promised Land.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., April 3, 1968.

Nonviolent Buddhist Leadership of A.T. Ariyaratne

Arjuna Krishnaratne
Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement

It was a full moon day—calm and serene. There was a slight drizzle. Wind was cold but made no noise.

We gathered in front of the Sarvodaya district centre, a few hundred meters away from the Buddha's tooth relic temple in the sacred city of Kandy. Around four in the evening we started our walking meditation towards the temple grounds. Around two thousand white clad men, women and children silently walked along the banks of the historic lake, through the temple to the meditation grounds. While we silently sat on the grass a group of youngsters, including yellow robed monks were looking at us as if we were violent criminals. They did not like us talking peace, advocating nonviolent ways and means and above all meditating for peace.

In a country where government troops were fighting minority rebel group LTTE (probably the deadliest guerilla group in the world) for the past 30 years, where we breed suicide bombers and trade them for arms, while over 100,000 have died in the war, it's only natural the word "peace" has become taboo.

Sarvodaya—the country's premier civil service movement is the only organization that fearlessly advocates peace on all fronts. Their approach to peace is three-pronged: peace in the mind, peace in the environment and peace in the society. Sarvodaya strongly believes in a solution based upon spiritual grounding—a shift in consciousness. Sarvodaya had been conducting peace meditation programmes all over the country including the war-ravaged Jaffna in the northern peninsula. Since 2002 easily several millions have participated in this nonviolent, compassionate move towards sustainable peace.

On this day we were not allowed to use microphones. We were not even allowed to use a megaphone. So we sat silently and closed our eyes. Obviously I sat right behind Dr. Ari and other elders who were in the front line. Minutes later I heard a voice quite abusive. I opened my eyes to see a group of youngsters obviously belong to the Buddhist extremist front slowly approaching the silent meditators. I got up and stood right in front of Dr.

Ari and soon they threw a rubber slipper. I held it with one hand and put it down before they threw the next and the next and the next.

Then they approached the innocent Muslim girls and abused them in filth. They walked up to elderly meditators and pulled them from their jackets and shirts. I looked at Dr. Ari; he was still meditating with his eyes closed. They finally approached the inner circle. We managed to hold hands and gave Dr. Ari and other elders protection. After almost 45 minutes Dr. Ari said, "Let's chant the *Metta Sutra*" (Sutra on Loving Kindness). No sooner had we started when they they began hooting at us. But we chanted unto the last stanza.

Only then the Police came and asked Dr. Ari to leave the place. He said, "Why don't you officers ask the mob to leave but only us innocent meditators?" He silently walked away, while white clad villagers gave their leader the utmost protection. I can still hear the echo of the *Metta Sutra*. I can still remember his last words, "Today we did justice to our teachers—Buddha, Gandhi and King. I am happy they attacked us because I was able to teach the younger generation a lesson—the true meaning of non-violence."

It was May 14, 2002.

We were to have history's largest meditation with 500,000 people in the sacred city of Anuradhapura. The last batch of Sarvodaya staff was busy at the headquarters making final arrangements. Professor Joanna Macy was sleeping in the front room of Dr. Ari's house. We went to the common kitchen to make coffee. We heard a big noise. Someone shouted "a bomb blast!" Every one of us and everything around us came to a standstill. YES, it was a bomb blast right in front of Dr. Ari's house. Right next to Prof. Joanna Macy's room. Slowly we approached the front gate thinking of catching the destructor. All gone. Only us. The youngest in our group suggested, "For sure they will throw bombs at us tomorrow too, let's cancel the meditation blah blah blah." Dr. Ari smiled and asked all of us to go and sleep. So did he. It was the most successful meditation ever with more villagers joining in, thinking that the same extremist group will harm their leader. Nearly 650,000 innocent villagers took part in the meditation. You would never imagine the sound of silence. The sound of bombs not blasting and rockets not launched. The whole environment became still and the clouds surrounded the area providing us with soothing shade.

People gathered around the sacred Bodhi tree to invoke blessings for a peaceful settlement for our 30-year ongoing war. A mother while hanging a prayer flag told me that her son is a soldier fighting the war and she came specially to pray that this war will end soon so that he can come home.

Believe me, two weeks later the Government and the Tamil rebels signed a peace agreement which lasted for two years. There was peace and millions of people crossed the borders for the first time in their lives. That's not all. At the end of the meditation, Dr. Ari called the young boy and said to him, "Fear is a dirty word."

Everyone calls me Krishna. I have known Dr. Ari for nearly seven years. I can go on writing story after story. But I am too close. I may get personal. In short he is fearless. He never lets us feel so either. But the remarkable thing is that his fearlessness is grounded in the true principles of nonviolence. His compassionate actions are scientific, always trying to remove the causes to suffering. He is practical, but deep within him he does not want to say NO. He is a leader with a mission not to become politically powerful but to attain the supreme bliss of Nirvana by sharing with others.

Lessons from the Nonviolent Political Leadership of Governor Guillermo Gaviria

Luis Botero
Government of Antioquia

What to do?

Let Guillermo Gaviria himself, in his own words, answer this question. To do that, let us go through his most important written legacy: the Letter to the Antioquian People, written just before the beginning of the March to Caicedo; Letter to the FARC-EP, April 20, 2002 (during the march); Letter to his Father, January 2, 2003 (while in captivity); and his diary, written during the captivity and then published as *Diario de un gobernador secuestrado: Guillermo Gaviria Correa* (Revista Número Ediciones, 2005, 339 pages) [English translation to be published by Cascadia Publishing House as *Diary of a Kidnapped Colombian Governor*.]

Excerpts from “Letter to the Antioquian people”

“Dear Antioquian People:

The trust you have put on me when I was elected as your Governor, obliges me to search, without rest, the roads to overcome the pain that the use of violence and injustice cause to our people. This search has moved me to the task of undertaking the ‘Nonviolent March of Reconciliation and Solidarity with the people of Caicedo’.

With this pilgrimage I want to invite you to apply the strategy of Nonviolence. The philosophy of nonviolence gets spirits closer, gets souls closer, gets human beings closer and will allow us, together, to build true roads to social transformation.

Nonviolence is not simply saying ‘No,’ to violence because it would end being confused with passively accepting suffering, injustice and abuse. Nonviolence is a way to overcome violence, investigating and discovering just means to oppose injustice.

Nonviolence is not only about neutralizing all forms of direct violence, but also all manifestations of structural violence, because it builds peace through justice and solidarity and helps to prevent future forms of violence, by offering arguments and models of peaceful struggle to those social groups left out and sacrificed by unbalanced power and systemic maladjustment.

If you are reading this letter it is surely because the FARC were not able to listen or understand my message. If I have been murdered, my spirit will be praying for peace in Colombia. In this case I hope that Anibal, my brother, will take the flag I have been carrying on to build a new Antioquia.

God bless the Antioquian people.”

Excerpts from “Letter to the FARC-EP”

“Very good day dear countrymen:

I have decided, in the midst of this March, to send you this message to try to make clear to you the motivations and purpose of this March.”

“First of all, this is a march of reconciliation and solidarity. This is a march to look for reconciliation and forgiveness between the Antioquian people, particularly between the people of Caicedo and those who have in the past used violence in this region.”

“I think that that you, my countrymen, and I, share many purposes of social transformation and we want to talk to you about them, peacefully.”

“Our country, after the breakdown of the negotiations, is getting closer to a war that, like any other war, will only bring more people killed, more poverty and more social underdevelopment.”

“We want to talk to you about nonviolence. We want to propose to you this alternative to be adopted by all citizens of Antioquia, but very especially by its government, so that we do not continue increasing military power to solve the problem, as mistakenly it is believed. We have done that for 40 years and we have accomplished nothing. This is a different choice.”

“If you allow this march to continue we will be sending all over the world a message different from war.”

“I have no political interest other than try to stop a *hecatombe* [tragic bloodshed] that seems impossible to stop.”

“I believe in Nonviolence. I am sure that we, together, are able to build peaceful solutions. My will is so determined, my commitment is so big, that I have asked the military forces not to intervene to demonstrate respect to the peaceful spirit of this March. I am putting my security and my physical integrity, and that of all of the marchers at risk.”

“This alternative is now in your hands; is in God’s hands and is in your conscience.”

Excerpts from “Letter to his Father”

“Very dear Father:

I remember that when I first began to think about the March to Caicedo, I consciously avoided talking to you about it. I knew you did not share my proposal.”

“As far as my wellbeing, and that of our family and our loved ones; as far as the possibility to continue my efforts to correct the course of Antioquia; as far as the low probability that the FARC could understand the great opportunity that the March offered to them; as far as those three issues, you were right.”

“Despite all the limitations that this captivity is imposing on us, I believe that something of my initial purpose has been preserved and even has surpassed my own expectations. I am talking about the diffusion of the Nonviolence philosophy among the Antioquian people. Sometimes we want to accomplish social transformation in a few months when they require several generations.”

“I know Father that sowing and promoting a way so demanding to understand our role in society is a challenge that will demand the commitment of a lifetime. I also know that many people in Colombia, many of our ‘leaders,’ believe that ‘we are too violent’ to accept this way of thinking and acting. It may be called stubbornness but I prefer to think of it as perseverance, because I still think that earlier than later the Antioquian people, and why not Colombia, are going to look for the strength of Nonviolence.”

“In the midst of captivity I get comfort in thinking that I have contributed to making Nonviolence an alternative route, a complementary one if you wish, to get our people to think about the urgent necessity of changing our attitude.”

“I am conscious that my acts have consequences that affect others: very harsh and sad for you, my Mother, all members of our family and my Wife; and very serious ones for my children Mateo and Dany.”

“On the other hand, what is the right action of a government official in Colombia if his convictions lead him towards Nonviolence? Should he always avoid any danger to escape from his own suffering and that of his family? How can he reach equilibrium between his own safety and the risk that public tasks carry for any government official in Colombia today? Can you govern, using Nonviolence as your philosophy, without exposing yourself to the violence that in diverse forms is all over our territory? How can we face injustice, to overcome it, if we are always trying to stay safe? Is not that

small fortress that we have built around any government official, to grant his safety, which is preventing us of seeing the reality in which our people live?"

"My convictions about the benefit of diffusing and promoting Nonviolence in Antioquia have been strengthened. It is not about using it as the tool to transform the FARC's attitude. Before that, it is necessary that the people of Antioquia know and accept it. We really need Nonviolence as a society to overcome our failures and to transform the reality that overwhelms so many people in Antioquia."

"Here in captivity I have thought about the kind of leadership that I can offer to my countrymen. The message that I can and want to give them is that of the transforming power of Nonviolence—its capacity to extract the best of a human being even under the worst circumstances—and that we have to start working towards a more just and inclusive country without reverting to violent actions."

"I feel that today in politics it seems to be accepted that 'the ends justify the means.' To me, that sentence is not acceptable anymore. If we want a just end we better start taking care of the means."

"Our task, if we want a new Antioquia, is to open the door to the possibilities that Nonviolence offers in all aspects of life: family, education, interpersonal relations, communities and nations; war on poverty and construction of the progress of our nation with human criteria."

"I feel that we can not longer accept the 'inevitability' of violence and the 'spontaneity' with which we revert to it."

"Nonviolence allows us to think of humans as being able and not unable in their nature. We are able to pursue the highest ideals and the best solutions."

"Now is my turn to share these ideas with the Antioquian people by giving an example. That is what I have done by suffering in my own flesh the most unjust torture that torments the Colombian people: kidnapping."

"I am totally convinced that democracy cannot exist without Nonviolence."

Note by Luis Botero

Governor Gaviria was kidnapped by the FARC on April 21, 2002 at the end of the 1,000-persons March to Caicedo seeking dialogue with FARC leaders. He was killed by FARC captors with nine others during an abortive military rescue attempt on May 5, 2003.

As Advisor on Nonviolence (Asesor en Noviolencia) to the Governor, my judgment on lessons learned from the March and its tragic aftermath can be summed up briefly as follows.

1. We did not have enough training.
2. We did not make a detailed plan in advance.
3. We did not have a “B plan” in case our leaders were kidnapped.
4. We abandoned nonviolence as the strategy to follow to obtain their release.

“She Belongs to the Ages” Petra Kelly (1947-1992)

Feminist, Nonviolent Activist and Green Peacemaker

Nancie Caraway
University of Hawai‘i

Context and Personality

The reductionist description required by the publicist of my play *Soulmates, The Passion of Petra Kelly*, which was performed at the National Women’s Museum in Washington, DC in 1992, cannot begin to capture the spirit and gravitas and courage of the historical Petra Kelly. Although the inspired sweep of Kelly’s rambunctious life evokes high drama, lofty ideals, and the tragic mood of grand opera, Kelly’s worldview and political originality are deeply grounded in modernity’s most audacious experiment in radical social change.

It was here in this sacred space, the Mu Ryang Sa Korean Buddhist Temple in Honolulu, that I first met Kelly in the mid-1980s. I feel her presence in this nurturing space. Kelly would have been 60 years old at the end of this month (November 29, 2007)—and to honor the materiality of this connection, I have brought mementos (books, photographs, Tibetan prayer flags, Die Grünen posters, and the silk scarf given to me by The Dalai Lama in Kelly’s memory) to symbolize her life and works. In addition, I wanted to add nuance and texture to an academic talk because, inarguably, Petra Kelly was unlike any other of the male nonviolent leaders discussed here today.

She was a modern, high-spirited, playful woman—“larger than life” would not be an exaggerated description of her personality. Kelly’s political theory was influenced by the very European leftist theorists and activists about whom I was devoting my graduate research at that first meeting back then: Rosa Luxembour, Emma Goldman, and the revolutionary German Social Democrats. Her life embodied their teachings—defused of male aggression and the residual patriarchy common to all social theory at which the Greens directed their critiques. Like Luxembour and Goldman, Kelly possessed riveting rhetorical brilliance, humanity and compassion. Her fierce commitment to a nonviolent politics and world remains her most powerful teaching.

Overblown clichés like “tireless” and “selfless” hover over Kelly’s image, but it must be said that her commitment and dedication to the most vital causes of the end of the last century—world peace, nonviolence, human rights, environmental protection and feminism—astound in their intensity. She wisely eschewed the corruptions of hero worship and moralism, but displayed considerable residues of determination. The world of political expediency, compromise and greed—the “old, top-down politics from above” as the Greens defined the status-quo political zeitgeist—would more than once exert a wounding personal toll on Kelly.

Kelly’s ideas—and those of her daring, albeit bellicose, colleagues in the Greens, sparked a burning global movement to change politics as usual and to link leadership to the grass-roots as Green principles avowed. The Greens’ ideology was based on the following major “pillars”:

- Ecology
- Social responsibility
- Grassroots, people’s democracy
- Nonviolence

The eclectic Greens’ triumphant march into the German Bundestag in March of 1983, ushered an epochal moment into global reformist politics. The bold German experiment quickly swept to Western Europe, the US, Australia, Canada, Japan and the metropolises of Latin America. The sight of the long-haired, casually-dressed Green parliamentarians—Kelly herself wore blue jeans, high boots, and carried a tree seedling—in their parade to the Parliament—became iconic images to the world media. Kelly said of these exhilarating times, “When we entered the Bundestag, we offered a splash of irreverence to those somber chambers.”

By virtue of Kelly’s charisma and her fluency in English (she had attended school and university in the US), Kelly became the spokesperson for the Greens. Masters of creating daring symbolic politics and slogans, Green ideas quickly spread to other fledgling Green initiatives around the world. The “new paradigm” for authentic politics taught:

- Think globally - act locally.
- Greens are neither left nor right, but in front.
- Greens are the anti-party party.

Lessons, Pedagogy and Petra Kelly's Legacy

Given the combative, verbal mode of German political debate, the Greens were not immune to jealousies and criticism. Kelly, possessed of a healthy ego herself, became the lightning rod for much of the internal Green dysfunction. Coupled with a largely un-treated tendency toward panic attacks, Kelly was often hospitalized for "exhaustion." She often spoke of feelings of anguish and loneliness to her close confidants. In this her life illustrates the existential implications of political life—and a lack of commitment among the Greens to acknowledge the need for nurturing antidotes (retreats, exercise, meditation, conflict-resolution skills). The structural demands of working with hostile "mainstream" attributes of German public life, contributed to breakdowns between principles and *realpolitik*:

- The dichotomy between the personal and the political
- The savage interpersonal dynamics within the Greens—ideological battles among the "red" (Marxist) and "green" (spiritual/feminist) factions
- The difficulty of transforming a grassroots social/citizen's movement into an electoral, parliamentary system.

Moving into the electoral system placed enormous stress on the Greens and Kelly in particular. The demands of campaigning and the constant critical scrutiny of the media, always ready to highlight fights among Greens and ridiculing their "hippie" dress, etc.—intensified negative interpersonal relations. The Greens were expected to spit out fully-developed positions on scores of issues almost as soon as they were elected. And because "true" Green politics demanded nothing less than "a transformation of the self," their own efforts at achieving a "peaceful" politics failed. Kelly wrote in her 1994 collection of speeches and essays *Thinking Green*:

But eight years of self-destructive and fruitless infighting among our various factions had paralyzed our political activities and created an atmosphere steeped in jealousy and distrust, and this was too much even for the Greenest voter. In the course of eight years in Parliament, our internal feuds grew worse and worse. We became intolerant, know-it-all, and smug... In weekly intervals, we fought our battles in the most aggressive and inhumane ways, often denouncing each other, quarreling, and pointing fingers at whatever faction was unwelcome at that particular moment. We could not succeed if the ways we treated each other made more headlines than the substance and aims of our policies (p. 123).

Kelly felt this existential challenge perhaps more acutely than the dominant male Green leaders, surely to her disadvantage. Her isolation intensified when she suffered a humiliating loss in her bid to join the national executive board of the Greens in 1991, receiving only a few votes. The story of Kelly's alienation from the party for whom she had been the leading candidate for European elections in 1979, is a complicated spiral of betrayal and disappointment, and beyond the scope of this paper (See Sara Parkin's biography *The Life and Death of Petra Kelly*). A nuanced understanding of her life as a path breaking feminist public figure, is indeed a cautionary tale about the personal toll that can be exacted on highly-visible women public figures. Buffeted by jealousies and the loss of a public platform as a Green leader, Kelly's sense of abandonment was intense. Friends report positive steps in her struggle to rebuild her public life at the time of her brutal murder at the hands of her fellow Green, Gert Bastian, in 1992. The cruel irony that the life of one of the world's most visible nonviolent advocates ended by the ultimate violent human action, murder, echos back to the motivating impulse for a nonkilling politics itself.

Kelly's legacy is rich in inspiration. Her life warns us to avoid the urge toward self-righteousness. Kelly's uniquely tragic life doesn't offer a vision of sainthood—she subscribed much too deeply to a modern consciousness of pessimistic optimism which condemns us to live together in a constant challenge of co-existence. I think that Kelly would say to us in our own moment of global vulnerability—a world more threatened than the one she left in 1992—we may not succeed in transforming our deepest selves, but that we may revisit our losses with less regret.

As with the lessons learned from the tumultuous history and anguished wisdom of President Abraham Lincoln, Petra Kelly now “belongs to the ages” (Adam Gopkin, “Ängels and Ages: Lincoln's Language and its Legacy,” *The New Yorker*, May 28, 2007). She lived in the skin of our times and tried to embody the peacemaker's maxim: “Peace begins here with me.” In *Fighting for Hope* (1984), Kelly's meditation on nonviolence, she evokes Martin Luther King's struggle: “We are not armed and we make an easy target, but we will not cut ourselves off from life. We have gentleness, force of numbers, freedom from domination on our side, and the solidarity to overcome all divisions. Our motto is: ‘*Be gentle and subversive*’” (p. 32; italics mine).

If this motto—to be both gentle and subversive—animated Kelly's life, it most certainly reveals her contradictions as well. In the end, her life as a nonviolent peacemaker is worthy of the highest celebration and the most passionate observance.)

Leadership Legacy of Petra Kelly

Eva Quistorp

Former Member of the European Parliament

Petra Karin Kelly (1947-1992). *An outstanding peace and women's activist, consumer lobbyist, writer, speaker, since 1968 a visionary, co-founder and a queen of the Greens 1978-1992, a German-American woman talking truth to power and truth to the so-called powerless, an eloquent and passionate speaker to grassroots people as well as to parliaments and presidents, against all mass destruction weapons especially nuclear weapons and its twin nuclear energy as well as against the arms race, a leader for a nonviolent world society and a passionate eco-feminist with women for peace in East and West, a winner of the Alternative Nobel Prize, admiring others like Vandana Shiva or the Dalai Lama, a media star for a while and a suffering person, one of the rare women in the memory of public international life, giving inspiration to younger activists, criticizing corporate and information-disinformation technology speed-driven globalization and greedy life styles, creating alternatives with politics of hope* [Petra Kelly Archive, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin (www.boell.de) and Petra Kelly Foundation, Munich.]

Petra Kelly became my personal and political friend in Dublin during the Festival of the Holy Spirit in 1978. It was at an anti-nuclear energy conference organized by the Trade Union for Transport and the Housewives Association of Ireland. Maybe this was leadership of the holy mother earth spirit. In 1979, I worked with her, Joseph Beuys, her friend Roland Vogt, and women from regional citizen groups to build up the Greens in our first European electoral campaign. From 1980 on we worked to build a new kind of party. Petra and I introduced a quota for women and we worked for other measures such as rotation in office and limitation of income to distinguish Greens from ordinary politicians.

The last time I talked to her was sometime before her death in 1992 at an international conference for victims of low-level radiation and uranium mining in Berlin. We saw a film about the children of Chernobyl and went to the first European Buddhist conference with the leitmotiv "Unity in Diversity." It was also the founding slogan of the Greens, often quoted by Petra and me. We thought about what it meant to live it—in personal rela-

tionships, in traditional and alternative institutions, and in the Greens which she wanted to be an “anti-party Party.”

In October 1992 it was only a few hours after I received the news of her death and that of her friend Gert Bastian, who was suspected as her murderer, that I received a telephone call from Glenn Paige in Hawai'i who asked, “Eva, did you receive the package with Petra’s speeches in the book we published *Nonviolence Speaks to Power?*” This is a wonderful book which reached me at the right moment. I recommend it to you all. (Text online at www.globalnonviolence.org.) The book is not only about Petra but about the thinking and actions of the nonviolent social movements and thousands of creative nonviolent actions in Germany and Europe, Australia, the USA, and India where Petra traveled. There are speeches which touch upon current debates such as the ongoing scandal of millions of children dying of hunger and HIV while budgets of the military, arms industries, and security research rise in millions. (See Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, www.sipri.org; and International Peace Bureau, www.ipb.org.)

Historical Context

Petra Kelly’s life and death by being killed, her writings, talks, and political actions can only be understood in the context of 20th century history—the role of German militarism and different counter forces, strong trade unions, left parties, and the strong forgotten former women’s peace movement with Bertha von Suttner, Lydia Gustava Heymann, Anita Augsburg, and the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom.

Petra learned her political lessons in the Civil Rights Movement and election campaigns of Hubert Humphrey and Robert Kennedy in the USA. Like many of her generation she had the chance to admire Martin Luther King, Gandhi, the Berrigan brothers, the women’s liberation movement, the Boston health collective, Bella Abzug, Jimmy Carter, Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, Mahalia Jackson, John Lennon and Yoko Ono, Nelson Mandela and Miriam Makeba, Rachel Carson, and the nonviolent United Farm Workers led by Cesar Chavez and Dolores Heurta.

The historical context at the end of the 1970s when Petra stepped forward to provide nonviolent leadership to bring different milieus, groups, and personalities together was extremely violent. There were heavy debates and internal struggles about the use of violence among left and anti-nuke movements, anti-imperialist and anti-militarist groups and sects, and about the Soviet Union and guerrilla wars in Latin America. 1977 saw left

terrorist violence of the Red Army Fraktion (RAF), partly state overreaction, and the start of terrorist violence in Palestine with invitations to young fanatics to join terrorist training camps.

To be engaged and lead within social movements amidst such burdens, internal struggles, and media hysteria was difficult. Are you on the side of the state or with left violence? Only small groups in Germany such as members of the War Resisters International (WRI) were fully convinced believers in nonviolence. Most people had no knowledge of the nonviolent actions of Gandhi, Rosa Parks and the Montgomery bus boycott, Solidarity in Poland, or Gene Sharp's history of the power of nonviolence (*The Politics of Non-violent Action*, 1973). The thinking of Hannah Arendt, George Orwell, or Vaclav Havel was not known to the broader public or even to the academic community before the 1990s. The thinking of Erich Fromm ("To have or to be—the art of love") had come up in the 1960s but had been forgotten. Many did not like the violence of the left but had no clear spiritual and political leaders for nonviolent alternatives. Rudi Dutschke, the German student movement leader, a friend of mine who supported the Greens in 1979, had been nearly killed when he spoke out clearly against terror in the history of the left and against so-called counter-violence against violence of the state and imperialist powers.

Many Germans did not know about nonviolent resistance at various times in their own history. For example, parts of the Protestant Reformation can be seen as a wave of nonviolent change before the outbreak of the Thirty Years War. The democratic struggles in Europe around 1848 can also be viewed as part of a nonviolent tradition of social and democratic change which provided the context for Petra, the Greens, and the people's movement of the 1980s.

Lessons

Given this context what are some important lessons from Petra's leadership experience?

1. Petra Kelly was open and talented to learn critically about the history of her birth country Germany and to learn in the United States, a more free country at that time, how to empower herself as an academic woman and how to get involved in public debates and election campaigns for the sake of peace and disarmament, for defense of the climate, environment, and consumer interests. She

prepared herself well to be ready to take a public role, speaking different languages and collecting professional experiences in the European Commission, reading about international security politics and knowing its institutions.

2. Petra was very much motivated to be almost overactive and courageous because she saw herself first as a representative of her little sister Grace who died young from leukemia which she attributed to nuclear radiation. Petra followed her suffering in the hospital. Then she came to see improving the dignity of ill and dying persons in hospitals as a global issue. This led her to fight against nuclear radiation from uranium mining, testing of weapons, and building and deploying nuclear weapons. She vowed that war crimes such as Hiroshima and Nagasaki as well as using indigenous people as “guinea pigs” for testing should never happen again. Petra was very sensitive to the suffering of people both near to her and far away. She sought to give them voice and to organize help and recognition of their dignity. She did not fear to show emotions and sometimes to express them directly. She had high moral standards and worked to change the situation of suffering people, including verbally attacking those who caused their pain.
3. Petra wanted daily violence against women and girls to be taken as seriously as academic debates about new weapons systems. She brought a lawsuit against the magazine *Stern* because they portrayed her in a sexist way, something that males and even gay politicians nowadays do not need to suffer. She was aware that non-violent leadership for women faced more tasks and challenges in view of centuries of violence against women in different cultures and religions, renewed in the modern media age by commercialization of nearly every value and sensibility. Leadership of women is an especially complicated challenge when they are not imitating the rules of competition, authority structures, quotation circles, and power games—but wish to have children, care for their parents or grandparents, and want to be independent of narrow role models. Women leaders face daunting tasks when they stand against sexism, subtle forms of discrimination, disrespect of good mothers, while expressing emotional and spiritual qualities and carrying on the unseen and mostly unpaid work of integrating and empowering groups and democratic movements.

4. Petra wanted and could relate directly and indirectly to democratic traditions and nonviolent traditions of resistance in European, American, and German history. She related directly to Sophie Scholl and the White Rose, to Pastors Niemoller and Bonhoeffer of the confessing Church, to the many women who helped Jews to survive, and to those who fought against propaganda of the Nazi regime even in 1933. Many of them were murdered like those who tried to kill the tyrant Hitler and Goebbels as did George Elser in Munich in 1939. One of her heroes was Rosa Luxembourg who believed that the international workers' movement could stop the First World War. Another was the less mentioned but important role model for peace activists and journalists, Bertha von Suttner, who founded the German Peace Society, and organized women against the First World War. Bertha von Suttner inspired many in the anti-war movement with her book *Die Waffen Nieder* (*Lay Down Your Arms*, 1889) and encouraged her friend Alfred Nobel to establish the Nobel Peace Prize.
5. Petra's leadership emerged amidst the pregnant momentum and birth giving of the new anti-nuclear and ecology movements of the 1960s and 1980s when creative actions were possible and new thinking and forms of organizing started all over Europe and in parts of Latin America, the United States, and Asia. It was a time of reforestation and tree planting by Wanghaari Mathai in Africa, of food cooperatives, first solar cookers, of houses for battered women, of new rural and urban projects in community family living. It was at a time of struggle between community living projects, critical scientists, and trade unions against Reagan superpower Cold War policies involving NATO. Then Petra Kelly and the German Greens got their moment in history in cooperation with dissident groups in Eastern Europe.

They grasped the moment and started to build new democratic institutions, created a broad critical public and electorate, new forms of democratic political participation, alternative media, and new peace and ecological research institutions. It was our chance and we used it with fresh enthusiasm for a lively democracy and more participation of citizens in global issues to defend our common goods. We should not forget that Charter 77 started at the same time in Czechoslovakia and that Solidarity in Poland started in 1980 one year after the Greens were founded.

6. Petra Kelly, like some other founding personalities of the Greens and coordinators of the national peace movement, knew how to use the moment of global awakening in the fields of ecology and women's rights. They built upon growing citizen groups and knew how to use the very good postwar German Constitution for a democratic experiment to institutionalize new alliances of eco-women, peace movements, and projects. They used the spirit of Willy Brandt, his new Ostpolitik and the North South Commission. Not to forget! "*Demokratie wagen!*" Take courage for democracy!
7. One of Petra's talents for nonviolent leadership was always to be well informed about different views in the country in which she was traveling and acting. She sought to support democratic tendencies wherever she went through nonviolent interventions. Like many women activists of the 1970s and since, she linked the rights of women and girls with issues of peace and a just world economy. She stood against the politics of hunger and poverty by big business, global banks, financial speculations, unjust terms of trade, industrial agriculture, and structural adjustment programmes of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Beyond protest, however, all the speeches and writings of Petra Kelly are marked by enthusiastic search for nonviolent alternatives.
8. Petra was open to learning from and cooperating with personalities and groups in different fields who were struggling for new thinking. Among them, Mikhail Gorbachev, whom we both met in Moscow in 1987; writers like Nobel Literature laureate Heinrich Böll in Germany and Lew and Olga Kopelew in Russia; Ralph Nader, consumer lobbyist against big multinational corporations; common friends like Daniel Ellsberg, Randall Forsberg, and Joan Baez in the USA; Vandana Shiva in India; Solange Fernex in France; Helen Caldicott in Australia; Freda Meissner Blau in Austria; Emma Bonino in Italy; and not least the Dalai Lama whom she loved a lot and to whom she introduced me in 1987. She also was writing letters to Pope John Paul II.
9. Like many leaders for active nonviolence, justice, and disarmament, Petra could not continue her work and life as she hoped. She could not finish the work and plans she had in mind. She died too early at age 47, probably murdered by her friend, Gert Bastian, whom she called "soul mate," with whom she had been living for many years and who suffered from some kind of depression.

How this tragedy happened and under what conditions are heavy questions which perhaps we cannot answer. But we have to pose them with sensitivity and clarity. This is because we cannot make too simple heroes and angels out of leaders for strategies for nonviolent change in international politics, not even Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela, or the Dalai Lama who did not have the difficulty of being a woman in that role. Maybe some secret services were involved in her murder as in other political cases. But human weaknesses always have an influence in victories and defeats of social movements and in implementation of visions. Among them envy, jealousy, fear, lust for power or fame, sexism, anti-Semitism, racism, lack of patience, procrastination, lack of a sense of reality and of the historic or social moment, incapacity for good compromise, maximalism, opportunism, and illusions.

Petra Kelly Today

What would Petra Kelly say or do if she were active today? How would she see her own party and movement in different countries? What would she have learned about herself?

This is what I think as a longtime political friend and partner in the global women's peace movement and in the European and global Greens. I think she would relate to lady leader Aung San Suu Kyi in Burma and to journalist Anna Politovskaya in Russia. She would have invited both of them to the German parliament. Especially at a time when the politics of the empire of fear are not only weakening democracy and reason in the USA but also in Russia, China, Iran and other areas. She would join human rights and women's rights activists to develop multiple critics of power in the globalized world economy faced with the challenges of climate change and the nuclear arms race in Asia and the Middle East. Petra immediately would have flown to Guantanamo and put questions to Parliament on if and where secret services are using torture.

She would have criticized Al Gore and Bill Clinton for not signing the Kyoto Protocol or the Treaty for the International Criminal Court. She would have participated in the World Social Forums in Porto Alegre and Mumbai together with Arundhati Roy. She would support the Climate Alliance of Cities and Mayors for Peace. She would visit Shirin Ebadi in Teheran and little Greepeace groups and students in prison there. She would miss Anna Lindh, the murdered foreign minister of Sweden. She would deeply miss her Grandmother.

But maybe Petra would take more time to listen to music, to go to the grave of her sister Grace, and to buy local food or cook with products from fair trade—boycotting products of Monsanto, Nestle, and Coca Cola and all the structural killing done by biopirates of multinational companies and their legions of scientists. Maybe she would learn to walk without fear along the river Rhine and choose men more luckily who would support her. She would think about her own carbon emissions by flying and try to reduce them or compensate.

She would love to be with everyone in the First Global Nonkilling Leadership Forum in Honolulu and to join the work in progress for creating a Center for Global Nonkilling and a Global Nonkilling Leadership Academy.

I close by quoting her: *“Peace has a wide meaning, I believe, for all of us here; it means far more than the absence of weapons of mass destruction and the absence of the thinking of military blocs. Peace is also the positive external and internal condition in which people are free, are not exploited and are living so that they can grow to their full potential.”*

Ron Mallone and the Fellowship Party

Glenn D. Paige
Center for Global Nonviolence

In the process of political evolution in which competition among electoral parties seeks to replace armed combat among contenders for power, the appearance of leaders to create a party dedicated to nonkilling principles and programs merits special attention.

The experience of Christian pacifist socialist Ronald Stephen Mallone—co-founder on June 11, 1955 of the Fellowship Party, Britain’s only pacifist political party, offers lessons for future nonkilling political party leadership. Principal co-founders of the Fellowship Party with Ron Mallone were Eric Fenner (agnostic anti-war socialist), and John Loverseed (a veteran Battle of Britain fighter pilot who had earlier fought fascism in Spain and subsequently became a pacifist Methodist). About 40-50 pacifists were present at the founding.

The immediate impetus for mobilizing peace activists to form the Fellowship Party in 1955 was opposition to NATO nuclear war-fighting policies that included deployment of nuclear missiles in Europe. Britain’s traditional parties—Conservative, Labour, and Liberal Democrat—had acquiesced in those policies. Prayers, petitions and protests had been ineffective in opposing them. Thus it was decided that a new party was needed to elect pacifists to Parliament and other institutions of democratic decision-making power.

The Fellowship Party, whose title was later extended to add “Peacemaking, Social Justice, and Environmentalist,” proclaims “Eight Objects and Principles” to guide party work. They serve as the basis of annual policy-making conferences.

1. Through direct constituency action to work for a government which will act on the principles of nonviolence and social justice.
2. To place loyalty to moral standard above sectional and personal interest and to try to spread these standards everywhere.
3. To work to abolish war by (a) renouncing armed force as an instrument of national policy, (b) by refusing to make, possess or use all weapons of war, (c) refusing to let British territory be used by the armed forces of any country, (d) opposing military conscrip-

tion, (e) refusing to take human life in war and other armed conflicts, and (f) educating our children for peace and against war.

4. To try to persuade all religious organizations and governments to renounce war.
5. To reunite people of all nations irrespective of race, colour, or creed in a nonviolent movement to end war and tyranny and to establish equal rights and opportunities for all beings.
6. To replace power politics by a system of international cooperation based on negotiation, arbitration and conciliation.
7. To work with other countries to end poverty, pollution, ignorance and diseases around the world.
8. To remove barriers to freedom of travel and exchange of ideas among nations.

Ron's long record of nonviolent leadership, continuing courageously at age 91 in 2007, offers lessons to inspire and instruct future nonkilling leaders. Five are noted here.

Lesson 1. The powerful inspiration of nonkilling faith

Ron Mallone became a pacifist at age 15 in 1931 after reading the Sermon on the Mount (*Matthew* 5, 6, 7). Henceforth nonkilling Christian faith, inspired by the life and teachings of Jesus has consistently served as source and guide for all efforts to bring about a demilitarized, free, and economically just society in Britain and the world. Ron became a conscientious objector to conscription in WWII, and was deprived of teaching employment in public schools. He was a staunch campaigner for the Independence of India and supporter of the Gandhian movement.

Lesson 2. The importance of persistent effort

Since first standing for Parliament in 1959, Mallone as General Secretary of the Fellowship Party has campaigned "unsuccessfully" thirty times for parliamentary and local council seats in London, Woolwich, Kidbrooke, Blackheath, and Greenwich. His highest vote was 1,189 and lowest under 300. Yet he has continued to dialogue personally at 3,000, 30,000, and 60,000 doorsteps over three to six weeks until recently prevented by health limitations. For the long-term task of nonkilling social change, he provides an example of indispensable "attempted leadership" that will even-

tually bring “successful” occupation and “effective” performance of nonkilling transformational decision-making roles.

Lesson 3. The importance of communication skills

Ron Mallone demonstrates the importance of diverse communication skills from doorstep dialogues, to lay sermons in pacifist-sympathetic churches, to letters to editors, and to producing *Day By Day*, the extraordinary voice of the Fellowship Party, published every month for 45 years. Written largely by Ron, *Day By Day* in about 20 stenciled pages presents a critique of selected stories from the British press and world events from the perspective of Fellowship Party principles and pacifist faith. It has a Review of the Arts (books, theater, films) and a Cricket section written by Ron, an avid erudite fan. The more than 500 issues of *Day By Day* constitute a treasure for nonkilling leadership research and training. Ron’s editorship of *Day By Day* may be compared with Gandhi’s editorship of *Indian Opinion* in South Africa and later publications in India such as *Young India* and *Harijan* (B. R. Nanda et al., *The Editor Gandhi and Indian Opinion*, Seminar Papers, New Delhi: National Gandhi Museum, 2007).

Lesson 4. The importance of a companion co-worker

Ron’s leadership would be impossible without the unflinching work of his wife Ursula Mallone who serves as National Agent of the Fellowship Party. She has accompanied him on every campaign. To produce *Day By Day* every month she has cranked the old cyclostyle machine some 70,000 times and has stapled and mailed typewritten copies to subscribers in the U.K. and abroad (the Mallones do not have a computer or copy machine). This suggests the importance of engaging companion co-workers in nonkilling leadership training.

Lesson 5. The importance of successor(s)

At the 51st annual conference of the Fellowship Party in 2005, nine men and three women were present, none younger than 52 years old. Thirty absentee messages were received. The WWII generation of veterans and pensioners is passing. At age 91 in 2007 there is no clear successor to Ron Mallone whose life and legacy of *Day By Day* continues to inspire faithful members and readers. This condition can be compared with other nonviolent leaders whose advanced thought and action amidst contrary violent conditions create a gap to be closed by nurturance or spontaneous emergence of

youthful successors. Youthful potential successors should be engaged in education and training for nonkilling leadership.

References

There is yet no biography of Ron Mallone, a task to challenge writers especially in England where *Day By Day* is accessible. At the urging of readers, Ron began to write an intermittent series of autobiographical memoirs beginning in Vol. 37, No. 391 (October 31, 1999). There is an interview with Ron in the Archives of the Imperial War Museum in London in a series on WWII war resisters. In 1995, on the 50th anniversary of the war, he was included among four pacifists featured in a BBC Two television program, "When Men Refuse to Fight." A brief introduction is Glenn D. Paige, "Beyond Gandhi and Sharp: Ron Mallone and the Fellowship Party," *Ahimsa Nonviolence*, Vol I. No. 3 (May-June 2005), pp. 241-3.

Leadership Lessons from the Sarvodaya Party of India

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Sarvodaya Concept

The “Sarvodaya concept” owes its origin to Mahatma Gandhi. Sarvodaya is a compound word made of two Sanskrit words, *sarva* meaning all and *uday* meaning rise like in sunrise, upliftment, welfare or “prosperity with happiness.” The concept here refers to the “rise of all” with prosperity and happiness in contradistinction to the utilitarian concept of welfare, which means the maximum welfare for the maximum number of people. Gandhiji brought out a small booklet in the Gujarati language entitled *Sarvodaya* as a translation of the book, *Unto This Last* by John Ruskin.

Gandhi’s Legacy

Gandhiji was assassinated on 30th January 1948. Prominent followers of Mahatma Gandhi including his spiritual successor Acharya Vinoba Bhave, Shri Rajendra Prasad, the then President of the Congress, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and other leaders and constructive workers met at Sevagram (Gandhi’s Ashram) near Nagpur in Maharashtra to explore ways to implement the last will and testament of Mahatma Gandhi. At this meeting the formation of the Sarvodaya Samaj, a spiritual fraternity to work for the fulfillment of Gandhian ideas emerged. In addition, another organization, the Sarva Seva Sangh (Service of All Society), a loose federation of all constructive organizations, was established to support all Sarvodaya activities. But this society was not expected to be a political party. Vinoba Bhave held that political parties only divide and not unite; hence he was against a Sarvodaya Party.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave’s Sarvodaya movement did not bring about a nonviolent social revolution as he desired, but the movement brought out the tremendous potentialities of the concept of Sarvodaya and its capacity to bring about a nonviolent social revolution, if applied properly.

Believing firmly in the principles of Mahatma Gandhi and the Sarvodaya ideal, Jayaprakash Narayan, another national leader, conducted his crusade against the social evils with which the country was afflicted, particularly

when Acharya Vinoba Bhave's Sarvodaya movement did not succeed to build up a nonviolent social order. Jayaprakash Narayan's movement, begun in Bihar, was to carry forward the light of Sarvodaya lit by Mahatma Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave. Though the movement was started with the intention of routing out political corruption in the state of Bihar, eventually it encompassed the whole country and became a movement for total revolution. The movement rightly raised the basic questions of corroding corruption, irrelevant education, debasing electoral practices, and unjust economy. It was a challenge to a system that had failed, alienated the rulers from the ruled and perpetuated economic and cultural disparities among people. It was an invitation to the political parties to stem the rot that had crept into the system in making it anti-people. Though all political parties did not join the movement, with the support of some political parties and through participation of the masses Jayaprakash Narayan was able to generate nonviolent peoples' power just as Mahatma Gandhi had done during the freedom struggle. It was able to nonviolently bring down the then ruling government which surprisingly was the Congress Party. The peoples' power generated by the Jayaprakash movement—popularly known as the JP Movement—was able to break the dictatorial government in spite of the declaration of a national emergency with draconian measures including arresting and jailing all opposition leaders and leaders of the JP Movement.

However, just as the Indian National Congress which hailed Gandhi as the Father of the Nation ignored his teachings and advice after his death, leaders of the JP Movement began to pay scant regard to the ideas and advice of Jayaprakash Narayan after he passed away. Once the leaders of the JP Movement got elected and placed themselves in positions of political power of the state they found no use for the principles of Jayaprakash Narayan or Sarvodaya. The net result was what Mahatma Gandhi had anticipated; India remained a country of casteism, corruption, communal hatred and social injustices. Crime and violence have accelerated.

The huge election expenditures of candidates of various political parties alone give a clue to the ever-expanding spiral of corruption. How can a Member of the State Assembly or the Central Parliament spend so much money in his/her election, unless sure of getting a return of multiples of election expenses once he/she gets into the Assembly or Parliament? This political corruption has so penetrated and corroded the entire social fabric that an average Indian has become a valueless, characterless, egocentric brute devoid of any concern for the rest of the society or for higher values of life. It is genuinely felt that it will become impossible to stop this fast de-

veloping degeneration of the Indian social order unless immediate remedial measures are undertaken.

It is in these circumstances that those who were sincerely subscribing to Gandhian philosophy of social action began thinking seriously of taking some effective steps to bring about a social revolution to usher in a new India of Gandhi's dreams. It is this serious concern of some action-oriented Gandhi followers that has culminated in the idea of exploring possibilities of establishing a political party to participate in the democratic processes sanctioned by the Indian Constitution and to strive for the realization of the goal of a Sarvodaya social order.

The birth of the Sarvodaya Political Party

It is in this context that the Gandhian Sarvodaya model emerges as the possible answer. The Gandhian model of social development rests on the fundamental principles of truth, nonviolence and Sarvodaya. There are many men and women in the country who firmly believe that the Gandhian model of social development is the only answer to this country's problems or perhaps the problems of the whole world. There have been discontinuous efforts to keep alive Gandhian ideas and to promote the Sarvodaya ideal. But the Gandhian Sarvodaya model cannot be tried in a piecemeal fashion: to ensure its success it has to be tried holistically and totally. In this sense the Gandhian model of development has not yet been tried in India or in any other part of the world. Therefore, the increasing realization that it was high time that we made an honest effort to give a trial to the Sarvodaya model of social reconstruction encouraged us to launch the Sarvodaya Party. It was expected that the Sarvodaya Party, once established, would generate the values of nonviolence and peace and nonkilling and promote harmony between individuals and groups and undertake to provide an effective alternate model of social development.

For this it was decided that while remaining steadfast to the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi we should not isolate ourselves from the society and existing social realities but actively participate in it to pave the way for an India of Mahatma Gandhi's dreams. So after considerable discussion and perusal of the programmes which Gandhiji himself initiated and those initiated by Acharya Vinoba Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan we decided to reinforce our earlier conclusion to form the Sarvodaya Party. Entering politics did not mean the delegates planned to enter into emerging power politics of the state. It meant that the power of the people would be mobilized in a non-

violent manner through the institution of fair elections and use it for nonviolent social reconstruction.

Subsequently, a group of like-minded people met for intensive discussions. It was their unanimous opinion that it was time for those who believed in the power of Gandhian ideology to come out and take a strategic and vital decision to form a political party to promote the Gandhian dream. The idea was again discussed at the plenary session where a general consensus emerged. On behalf of the group Professor T.K.N. Unnithan (Former Vice-Chancellor and Founder Director of the Gandhi Bhavan of the University of Rajasthan) and Professor S.K. De (who eventually became the Secretary of the Gandhi Peace Foundation, Delhi) announced the formation of the Sarvodaya Party of India. On this historic occasion, it was made clear that we fully realized the limitations of the present political system and the importance of the warnings of great Gandhian disciples and Sarvodaya leaders like Acharya Vinoba Bhave against the drawbacks of political parties.

As a followup of this decision, a National Convention of Gandhians sympathetic to the idea of forming the Sarvodaya Party was held on 3rd and 4th May 1990 at Shivadaspura, a village near Jaipur in Rajasthan, to give concrete shape to the Sarvodaya Party. This national convention brought together all like-minded individuals and organizations. Together they finalized the Party's constitution, its manifesto and programme of work.

Anyone, irrespective of caste, class, race, creed, colour, sex or age was most welcome to join the Party and strengthen the endeavour, provided he/she subscribed fully to the goals of building up a Sarvodaya social order through nonviolent social reconstruction on Gandhian lines. At this convention the Party's constitution and manifesto were finalized on which basis Professor T.K.N. Unnithan was unanimously elected as the National President of the Party and Chairman of the Presidium. (Copies of the manifesto and constitution are available on request.)

The Sarvodaya Party is a registered national party (Election Commission of India's letter No.56/145/90 dt. 8.1.1991. Registration under Section 29A of the Representation of the People Act, 1951 as a political party). In accordance with the norms as per the manifesto and constitution the Sarvodaya Party participated in elections in the state of Rajasthan and Orissa. However, our candidates could not win the elections. But the Party continues to participate in elections at municipal, state and national levels irrespective of the outcome. Lack of "white" funds constitutes a major problem in contesting elections but so far we have tried to raise funds through donations and to reduce expenses.

In order to disseminate the Sarvodaya values of nonkilling and non-violence and to seek “white” funds the Sarvodaya Party set up a Sarvodaya national alliance without insisting upon membership in the Party and “Sarvodaya Mitra Mandal” which means the organization of friends of Sarvodaya. It held occasional meetings and conventions. Also we had undertaken the publication of a newsletter *Voice of Sarvodaya* and another *Dastak*. Dastak means “knock” as a gentle reminder of the Sarvodaya Party.

The Sarvodaya Party occasionally brings out press releases on important issues in accordance with our manifesto and constitution. Also, the Party has communicated to social activists. Gandhi Peace Foundation workers and others sympathetic to nonkilling and nonviolent action programmes have been informed of the formation of the Party. Their membership has been requested. Though the Party has not taken root in other states, Orissa is a noble exemption. Orissa is considered a backward state and one of our presidium members Babagrahi Misra took the lead and made the Sarvodaya presence felt there.

Some constructive comments

1. The idea of creating a political party on Gandhian ideology grew out of the sincere belief that an alternative, indigenous approach was absolutely needed, because of the growing negative tendencies in the world. The founders of the Sarvodaya Party are academicians of long standing with insight and sufficient theoretical knowledge to justify the merits of Gandhian ideology.
2. The grassroot Gandhian workers, of whom there are very many in India, are involved in constructive programmes as outlined by Gandhi himself: mainly Khadi and village employment oriented programmes. They believe strictly in an apolitical approach to Gandhian ideology and are suspicious of the intellectual approach to Gandhian ideas. They recognize the importance of Gandhian studies, but are more interested in practical action programmes. They were not willing to lend support to the Sarvodaya Party.
3. The Party had no charismatic leader like Vinoba Bhave or Jayaprakash Narayan, who could mobilize the masses at a time in history which was ripe for change.

4. Political activists with progressive leanings from left-to-centre to the left have always doubted the effectiveness of the Gandhian approach. We needed their support and activism, but were not able to get this. Still they are very critical of the existing political scenario in the country and in many ways subscribe to the tenets of Sarvodaya.
5. The active members of the Party were too few and too spread-out over this large country to make an effective impact, even locally. There was no effective plan to build up a cadre and motivate people on a larger scale.
6. The main functionaries of the party had very limited experience in translating Gandhian ideology into political life situations. As Gandhiji himself said: for a hungry man bread is God. And while a hungry man can relate to God, it is difficult to relate to concepts like truth and nonviolence. Moreover, to live according to Sarvodaya principles needs a total change in mind-set, which is extremely difficult to achieve in a short time and especially for people who have grown up in an entirely different socio-political system.
7. On the practical side, the Party did not have enough “white” funds to organize meetings in different parts of India and to sustain a minimum contact and publicity programme. To mobilize even very meager resources was a difficult task.
8. At the moment it appears that the entire world, since the breakdown of the communist countries, is for a US-dominated type of an economy and life-style. The impact of the “Greens” is present in certain countries, but the developing countries, to which India belongs, are following a centralized, globalised, liberalized economy, which promises quick and attractive results. The disastrous effects of this have yet to become more widespread before people are willing to look for alternative models of socio-economic life and governance. Till then the Sarvodaya Party will working to keep itself alive and slowly growing.
9. The Sarvodaya Party has a rotating Presidium, which means every member of the Presidium will preside over the Party in turn. Accordingly, Professor Unnithan the founder president of the Party and member of the presidium has handed over the presidentship of the Party to Professor R.P. Misra, the next senior most member of the presidium, strictly in accordance with democratic and Party norms.

10. Professor T.K.N. Unnithan, the founder president may take up the presidency again in rotation as decided the Party.
11. The Sarvodaya Party is convinced that the question that faces humanity today is how we may attain food, shelter, freedom, peace and contentment for all. Can we obtain them if we pursue the way of self-indulgence and aggressive industrialism, free market economy and globalization which increase the greed for the world's resources and markets with the support of military might? Or should we rather go the Gandhian Sarvodaya way of simplicity and economically self-sufficient small community-organizations, wherein the individuals will live for all through service and self limitation? These alternatives are opposites: while one moves inevitably towards hatred, war and destruction, the other is calculated to lead to love, peace and, welfare and happiness for all alike—to Sarvodaya.
12. The destiny of humanity depends on choice between these two ways. It is high time that both we in India and the world stopped to reflect seriously on the issues involved and select Sarvodaya as our goal. What we need is not a mere nonviolent world but a nonkilling, non-hurting world. Our sciences, exact and social, should understand, develop, and promote nonkilling societies. For this they have to develop nonkilling exact and social sciences themselves, like the nonkilling political science as developed in *Nonkilling Global Political Science*. This nonkilling political science will help the Party with a sound and appropriate theoretical paradigm on which to base nonviolent action programmes and strategies.

The Role of Nonviolence Advisor to the Governor of Antioquia

Luis Botero
Government of Antioquia

The goal is to create a nonviolent culture in Antioquia. Through gubernatorial leadership we work to:

Promote and diffuse the philosophy of nonviolence all over the state. This has been done through two-day workshops, lectures, radio programs, TV programs, forums, magazines, newspapers, peace-days and peace-weeks in universities, schools and towns. According to the General Manager of Teleantioquia, the most important state-owned channel in the country, nonviolence is accepted and recognized as one of the two most important programs in the state in the last 10 years. She thinks that a new way to solve problems has been introduced to the Antioquian people.

Support training of nonviolent leaders

Training of nonviolence leaders is supported. Over 10,000 leaders have attended a two-day workshop; 100 leaders have been trained as trainer-of-trainers (TOT) by LaFayette and Associates; 35 leaders from different towns all over the state have been trained as “leaders for nonviolence and peaceful living”; a group of inmates (20 to 30 people) has been trained in eight different jails all over the state. These inmates have been leaders and teachers of the “Crime Does Not Pay” program which has reached more than 5,000 teenagers and 500 teachers throughout the state. School principals report reduction of fights in the schools and better behavior of students in classrooms. Only two killings in the last five years have been reported in all of those jails. The program has been expanded nationwide by the National Institute of Prisons and Jails.

Both programs, “Crime Does Not Pay” and “Training for Nonviolence and Peaceful Living” have been included in the “Bank of Good Practices to Overcome Conflict” created by the United Nations Development Plan (UNDP) to share good practices with everyone concerned. Many inmates trained in prison are now free and have begun an association called the “Dreams of Freedom Corporation.” They commit themselves not to break

the law again. They study, and provide social support and education through contracts with public entities to teach youth that crime does not pay. They also act as an employment agency. The organization has 238 ex-inmates. Only one has broken the law and has been sent back to jail. This is a very low recidivism rate for any group of law breakers anywhere.

Domestic violence is a high priority since it has been proven to kill twice as many people as the internal war. Research shows that domestic violence is the basic reason to join armed groups in 80% of the cases. The “Working Table for the Prevention and Holistic Attention to Domestic Violence” was created in 2005. Several private and public entities work together permanently on three main issues confronting the Table:

1. Construction of an effective system to detect, respond to and follow up on all reported events of domestic violence. The main problem so far is that there is not a unified way to classify domestic violence. Not even UNICEF has one. Because of that, institutions cannot share information.
2. Strengthening and articulation of all institutions that are working on domestic violence.
3. Promoting and teaching positive, nurturing and nonviolent relations in families.

Teaching advisors to future nonkilling leaders

Since “Example is not the best way to teach but the only one,” any advisor must focus on being a truly nonviolent person. Then the leader has to be taught to behave in a nonviolent way whenever he/she speaks or acts. “Make in yourself the change you want to see in the world.” This only can be accomplished if the leader is truly committed, like former Governor Guillermo Gaviria.

Teaching nonkilling leaders how to use advisors

The way to do this is based on the foregoing. The leader, if truly committed, should understand that he/she has to be as nonviolent as possible. Leaders should have deep nonviolence training and keep permanent contact with their nonviolent advisors, asking them to preview all public speeches, requesting feedback and opinion on most issues. Coherence is essential.

Advising Leaders on Nonkilling Politics

Lessons from inside the National Security Community, Thailand

Chaiwat Satha-Anand
Thammasat University

Almost a decade ago, I wrote an article explaining why it has been necessary to teach nonviolence to states (Satha-Anand, 1999). There I discussed my experiences with the Thai state when it began to show interest in nonviolence as seen from a number of workshops the National Security Council organized on nonviolence, trainings offered to government officials around the country, and the establishment of a most unique committee, perhaps the only one in the world, the Strategic Nonviolence Committee (SNC), within the National Security Council of Thailand, with the Prime Minister as the Council chairman. The SNC, chaired by a former deputy secretary general of the Thai National Security Council, is a group of people comprising academics, senior NGOs, and some security officials. Among other things, its task is to come up with nonviolent alternatives to cope with rising conflicts for the Thai state, through advising the Prime Ministers. In 2003, the SNC advised the Thai Prime Minister to mobilize government sectors with nonviolence in preparation for the impending violent conflicts between the Thai state and the people. The result was the historic Prime Ministerial Order 187/2546 on “Managing Conflict with Nonviolence Policy.” This brief paper begins with a description of this order, followed by outlining lessons learned from advising the government on nonviolence. It concludes with a discussion of how promoting nonviolence from within the security community crystallizes the notion of nonviolence as nonkilling politics.

Prime Ministerial Order 187/2546

On August 14, 2001, the then Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra approved a proposal: “Mobilizing Effective Nonviolence in Thai Society,” put forward by the Strategic Nonviolence Committee, National Security Council. The proposal consisted of two components: an official declaration of adopting nonviolence as a national strategy and a Prime Ministerial Order aiming to implement the strategy. The Grand Strategy aims at national se-

curity construed as attempt to prevent conflict from turning violent and to nonviolently transform conflicts.¹ Its objective is to enhance trust between the state and the citizens and to reduce prejudices that have adversely affected relationships among different peoples in the country.

On September 1, 2003, the now deposed Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatt signed the Prime Ministerial Order 187/2546 called: “Managing Conflict with Nonviolence Policy.”² Reading the future of the country as ridden with various types of conflict especially between the state and the people, it argues that there is a need to reevaluate the ways in which conflicts in Thai society have been dealt with since they have not produced a peaceful and just society where everyone is happy. To continue to use violence would bring about hatred and disunity among the people. The use of violence by the state to deal with conflicts, therefore, would engender extremely high social costs, which would in effect, jeopardize national security.

PM Order 187/2546 maintains that it is the way(s) of life of different peoples who are citizens of the Thai state that needs to be protected; and that protecting and strengthening the ties that bind them together through nonviolence is a national security innovation needed for a new world facing various types of conflict. It categorically states that “government agencies must give priority to implementing this ‘Managing Conflict with Nonviolence Policy.’ But most importantly, perhaps, are its three main principles which serve as the Order’s theoretical grounds. They are:

1. In coping with conflicts, nonviolence is the only way that is just and would engender sustainable peace. It begins with the state and government officials.
2. The attitude which forms the basis of nonviolence is to reduce prejudices and no hatred to peoples who are different. They must not be seen as enemies, but instead as friends in a shared life of suffering. The end of nonviolent means must be just. The state must accept some burdens for the sake of national security and sustainable peace of the people.
3. The atmosphere and theatre conducive to creativity in order that learning and developing appropriate approaches to conflict in Thai

¹ Though the use of “nonviolent conflict transformation” seems rare, it has become increasingly visible. See for example, Mary E. King and Christopher A. Miller (2006).

² Prime Ministerial Order 187/2546 on “Managing Conflicts with Nonviolence Policy.” Bangkok: Strategic Nonviolence Committee/Institute, National Security Council, n.d. [A published pamphlet; In Thai]. The number 2546 is Buddhist Era or 2003 A.D.

society, informed by pools of local wisdom, must be based on the idea that “cultural diversity and differences of ideas are Thai society’s sources of power.” This will, in turn, increase nonviolent alternatives in dealing with conflicts.

These three principles hide three elements extremely important for the constitution of nonviolence policy. They are: inherited nonviolence legacy; local cultural treasures; and political will. Principle no.2 of PM Order 187/2546 has three components: no hatred of anyone; the use of nonviolent actions must be in service of justice; and Thai government officials who follow this Order must be willing to accept self suffering instead of inflicting pain and violence on those who oppose the state. As a matter of fact, this principle is based on a thinly hidden Gandhian legacy of nonviolence. Gandhi once explained that there are four conditions necessary for the success of Satyagraha. They are no hatred, just cause, accept self suffering, and prayers (Gandhi, 1948:61). Principle 2 embodies three of these four conditions.

In proposing nonviolent actions and to make global nonviolence work, I have always found it important to look for local elements conducive to the specific context I have to work within. Contrary to mainstream security discourse where differences are often times seen as security threats to a country, principle 3 of the PM Order maintains that cultural diversity is a source of national strength and that there exists sufficient local wisdom conducive to nonviolence policy and practices on Thai cultural soil.

If the Gandhian heritage is the ground on which the PM Order 187/2546 stands, and if Thai cultural realities are the local potentials necessary to make this Order work, then Principle no. 1 embodies the political will which maintains that nonviolence is the direction this country must take for a sustainable national security. I would argue that the uncompromising nature of the statement in Principle no. 1, “In coping with conflicts, ‘nonviolence’ is the only way that is just,” is at once unprecedented and extremely challenging to both those who are against the use of nonviolence and those who have worked hard to nonviolently transform the world, especially in terms of national policy.

Lessons

One of the first few questions often raised about this unusual episode of nonviolence security policy of a country is: why did the Prime Minister who is known for his acceptance of the use of violence accept the proposal by the

SNC in the first place and, more importantly, sign this historic PM Order? I would say that nonviolence security policy in Thailand has come this far not because the leaders understand and accept it, but because they either don't understand it or don't believe that it could pose a threat to traditional security, both in terms of its theoretical grounds and effectiveness. Moreover, in my experiences, the work for nonviolence policy from within the security is extremely difficult because of two reasons, among others. First, the degree of resistance to nonviolence policy options depends on changing political contexts. In a democratic setting, if the politicians believe that violent options will be more acceptable to the majority, they will not be hesitant in toeing the voters' line. Second, the idea of nonviolence security policy is radically different from conventional security discourse. Officials working on security would either try to accommodate nonviolence as a form of their more familiar discourse such as psychological warfare or public relations efforts or to relegate it to marginal importance within the security community. There is therefore a constant need to educate them on nonviolence.

But in recent years, I have found that nonviolence security policy that seems to be acceptable for the state has been primarily based on nonkilling. This is perhaps a result of the dynamics of a contemporary working state, understood as the embodiment of physical violence—epitomized by its monopolization of the use of killing, in the context of increasing democratization and the globalized gaze. By arguing that killing its own people will compromise the legitimacy of the state in a situation where conflicts are on the rise, the space for accepting the proposal on nonviolence security policy understood more and more by the state as nonkilling within the security community has been critically expanded.

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Introduction to Training Methods



Educating Leaders for Global Understanding

Abdel-Salam Majali
Former Prime Minister of Jordan

Let me seize this opportunity to tell how I think we can create leaders for the future who can contribute to developing a less bloody world. As one reflects on the state of the post 9/11 world, it is clear that it is unstable, riddled with conflict and significant sectors of the world's population live in dire poverty, afflicted by killer diseases such as tuberculosis, malaria and HIV/AIDS or without the basic elements necessary to sustain a living—enough food, water and adequate sanitation. In addition, deforestation, global warming and environmental degradation are making sustainable development increasingly difficult to attain. Democratic institutions and caring, wise and compassionate leadership are two elements that could contribute significantly to the alleviation of the problems cited.

Here I must mention a programme which I helped create with the United Nations International Leadership Academy in Amman. The ideas is every year or so to assemble two or three young potential leaders from as many countries as possible. These young men and women who come from rich and poor countries, and from diverse backgrounds, would meet to interact. Firstly interact among themselves and also with a number of political and other decision-makers. To learn about each other's problems and the problems of the world. The aim of this exercise is to create a leadership community in waiting. A leadership community that appreciates and understands the difficulty of others.

The future of the world is closely connected with the performance of its political and business leaders. Good leadership can transform static countries or organizations into dynamic ones. But it involves a deep sense of responsibility and dedication to serving others. Future leaders can develop these skills and learn about leadership through direct interaction with some of the world's most successful leaders.

The world is our village: if one house catches fire, the roofs over all our heads are immediately at risk. If any one of us starts rebuilding, his efforts will be purely symbolic. Solidarity has to be the order of the day: each of us must bear his own share of the general responsibility.

The TRANSCEND Approach to Simple Conflicts

Johan Galtung
TRANSCEND Network

The point of departure is the conflict ABC-triangle, keeping A for Attitudes (and assumptions), B for Behavior (verbal and physical) and C for contradictions apart. C is the root corner, the essence of any conflict. And Conflict = A+B+C.

A is the inside of the parties, B the outside, and C the “between-side,” the relation between the parties. And it does not have to be C = contradiction, could also be C = consonance for the harmonious relations of positive peace. But the focus here is on conflict. Other words are “clash,” “collision,” dissonance, disharmony, incompatibility. *Regardless of words, the goals are mutually exclusive, in the real world, reality.*

A conflict may start in any corner of the triangle and spread to the others; but negative attitudes like hatred, and negative behavior like violence, do not alone constitute a fully fledged conflict. They are more like symptoms, metastases. The deep problem lies in the objective incompatibility, in the real world. But maybe not so contradictory in a new potential world? What follows is about simple conflicts (complex conflicts have more parties and/or more goals), and they are of two types:

- *The dispute*: two parties over one goal; like disputed inheritance, partner, territory;
- *The dilemma*: one party with two goals; a rich inner vs. a rich outer life, growth vs. distribution.

The dispute is bilateral, between two parties, the dilemma is unilateral within one party. In the dispute the parties, Self and Other, may be seen as struggling over the contested goals. In the dilemma the goals may be seen as struggling over the contested party, to the point of possessing one part each even when the party is a person. The inner Self vs. the inner Other.

The stage is now set for the two sides of the conflict drama to unfold: solving-transforming the contradiction, *and/or* inflicting violence, unilaterally

or bilaterally. Solutions and transformations are new states of affairs, *new realities*. They have to be *acceptable and sustainable*. Solutions are therapies, transformations enable us to manage the conflict nonviolently. Solutions are abstractions, transformations are more realistic. From what has been said it follows that there are usually three stories or narratives associated with a conflict:

- the goal narrative, the world as I/we would like to have it;
- the solution narrative, the striving for goal-attainment; and
- the violence narrative, traumas suffered and inflicted.

The sum of the narratives is a Truth as seen by a party; for the dilemma as seen by one side of the party, or a party inside the party. In a conflict there is by definition more than one Truth floating down the river of conflict history, collecting debris and nutriments on the way, rich in A, B and C stories relating to Self and/or Other. "There is that other side of me saying."

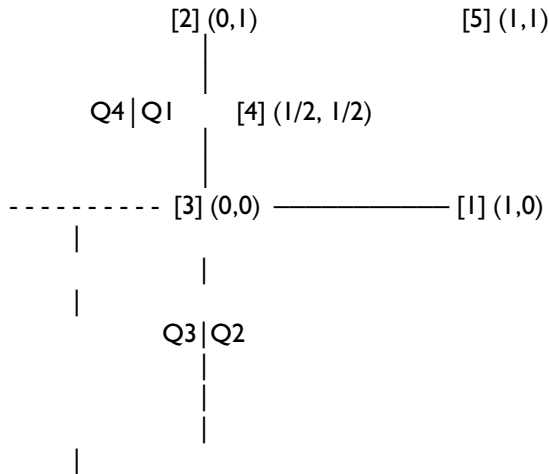
The conflict *process* is the conflict history; the conflict *outcome* is—permanent or temporary—the end of conflict history. Our focus is on acceptable and sustainable outcomes, solutions or transformations. Here is an intellectual map to identify possible outcomes:

Table 1. Goal-attainment for two goals; outcomes, processes

No.	Position	Outcome	Outcome	Process	Sum	Job
[1]	1,0	Either-or	Domination	Struggle	1	1
[2]	0,1	Either-or	Domination	Struggle	1	1
[3]	0,0	Neither-nor	Withdrawal	Postponement	0	2
[4]	½, ½	Half-half	Compromise	Negotiation	1	1
[5]	1,1	Both-and	Transcendence	Dialogue	2	0

But this is only the positive part of a much larger map:

Figure 1. A map for the conflict narratives



Each axis is dedicated to one goal in a simple conflict. The *goal narratives* are located along the positive parts of the two axes, with five outcomes (and the many in-betweens). It may end up with one goal fully attained and the other not at all ([1] and [2]), neither one goal nor the other [3], half or some fraction for both [4], or both-and, both goals attained [5]. As they were incompatible, [5], transcendence, can only be obtained if the old reality is transcended into a new reality.

Example: to have enough food (and clean water, clean air) to survive is a goal for all; to have private property is a goal for many. If all the means of production for food (land, seeds, water, manure, tools) are privatized and monetized they may be unavailable to many in pursuit of food, unless the economy provides them with jobs so they can pay for the food, a welfare state provides jobless with money, or they get food for free. These formulas do not presuppose a new reality.

But [5], transcendence, combining the right to food with the right to property, as can be found in a *cooperative* like the kibbutz is new to many or most. Objections: the food is lacking in quality, and the property right is only a share in collective property, not individual property. But food there is for all and property for all. The contradiction has been transcended.

The example shows a characteristic aspect of the TRANSCEND approach: on the one hand the basic ingredient, creativity, to create something new,

to transcend; on the other, the goals may have to be twisted somewhat, transforming the conflict to one that is more easily handled. That twisting story may then continue on and on, as it was/is in the Israeli kibbutz case.

So much about the outcomes, let us then turn to the *process* of finding a solution-transformation, in other words to the *solution narratives*. The TRANSCEND Approach has three stages, and so does the Mainstream Approach:

Table 2. TRANSCEND Approach vs. Mainstream Approach

The TRANSCEND Approach	The Mainstream Approach
T1: One-on-one with the mediator=elicitor	M1: All parties around the table, mediator=facilitator
T2: Dialogue; mutual brainstorming	M2: Negotiation among parties; warfare by verbal means
T3: Transcendence; a new reality	M3: Compromise, often ambiguous; fitting underlying reality

In the TRANSCEND approach the mediator asks good questions and may indicate new approaches as questions in the subjunctive mode. In T1 he will map the conflict (who are the parties, what are their goals, where are the contradictions), elicit their narratives and Truths, test the goals for legitimacy, using law, rights and basic needs. In T2 he will elicit the creativity of the parties, and in T3, together with the parties, one at the time, design some new reality that bridges their goals.

In the Mainstream approach getting the parties together around the proverbial table (from the legend of King Arthur; the round table-table ronde-Rundetisch) of various shapes and sizes is a major achievement, correctly assuming that an in-between approach is needed for an in-between contradiction.

The TRANSCEND response to that, however, is that the parties are not yet ready for the table. Something must happen inside them first. They are not asked to control anger, hatred, or even violent behavior; a ceasefire is not a condition to initiate the approach. They are, however, asked to clarify their own goals, to understand the goals of their assumed adversaries, to test all goals for legitimacy, and to engage in a search for the conditions for legitimate goals to be compatible. This is demanding, and impossible with other parties listening in, hence the one-on-one approach. They must express themselves freely.

The Mainstream approach then proceeds to negotiation, putting goals on the table, maneuvering by verbal means to get as much as possible of the compromise package. Ambiguity may be used to obtain a ratifiable agreement, each party agreeing to its own interpretation. In the tradition of inter-state diplomacy the goals of the leading states are the leading goals, so the compromise will be tilted in their favor for the outcome to be “realistic.” For the last centuries this means acceptable to Anglo-America as a condition for sustainability. Just look at what happened to the challengers in WWI, WWII and the Cold War!

The TRANSCEND response to this is that this approach is not deep enough for conflicts over goals basic to the parties, like needs to persons or interests to states. Something has to happen to reality, something new must emerge. Creativity is needed.

Negotiation-compromise does not stimulate creativity; dialogue-transcendence does. For the European Community to emerge as solution accommodating Germany after WWII somebody (Monnet-Schuman) had to say something like “Germany has been so atrocious that it has to become a member of the family.” A new reality was about to be born; *sui generis*, of its own kind.

At the end of the TRANSCEND approach are parties presumably at a higher level, “ready for the table.” But they have to come together, and one way might be *to hitch the Mainstream approach onto the TRANSCEND Approach*. Most conflicts in the world can be solved by that “let us come together and talk it over” approach alone. The TRANSCEND approach is for the deep and protracted.

However, there is more to the TRANSCEND approach than just solving/transforming conflict. The focus is not only on empathy, understanding the inside of the other parties, and of all of them for the mediator, by non-violent, peaceful means. The focus is also on the creativity, constructivity and concreteness (3C) needed to create a new reality. Conflict transformation+Alpha as Fumiko Nishimura puts it, and Alpha goes beyond accommodating the goals of the parties at the time of the original conflict. Thus, there are certainly also conflicts in the present EU, but they are very often new conflicts, at a higher level.

So, where on the map are the good outcomes located? We have celebrated [5], but [4], compromise, may sometime be needed as may [3], giving up the goals, possibly doing something else. Any combination [3]+[4]+[5], the *peace diagonal*, has equity in common; necessary if not sufficient for

peace: *good outcomes*. [1] and [2], and [3] as ceasefire only, the *war diagonal*/has inequity, dominance and "not yet decided": *bad outcomes*.

Then the *violence narrative*. Figure 1 has four quadrants, Q1-2-3-4; and we have so far only looked at Q1 to identify a diagonal of equity suspended between [5] and [3] over tepid compromises [4] leaving all dissatisfied, possibly equally so.

Q3 accommodates bilateral violence with both goals-parties insulted, Q2 and Q4 unilateral violence with one insulted, hurt, harmed. The diagonal through Q3 is for balanced violence, not only mutual but (about) equal, of the "an eye for an eye" kind. Violence always produces conflict, and is often a result of one.

Why do human beings use violence, in general? An effort:

Table 3. A typology of Violence based on a typology of goals

	Instrumental goals	Expressive goals
Own goals	conquest defense revenge	consumption Entertainment
Collective goals	punishment decision- mechanism	justice

Violence may be used instrumentally as a means to attain a goal for the party or a collectivity to which the party belongs.

Violence for conquest brings satisfaction from the booty: economic to access resources/markets; political to enforce one's will in a conflict; military to provide access for conquest, and bases; cultural to encode Other with the code of Self. Total conquest, also known as unconditional surrender of Other, covers all of the above. Taking prisoners, human beings, should not be underestimated: economically as slaves/forced labor or as food (cannibalism), politically to bring them to justice, militarily to incapacitate them for any future threat, culturally for brainwashing and sacrifice.

Violence for defense is designed to prevent the above.

Violence as revenge to make Other suffer equally or more is Self-oriented, the end reward being a feeling of satisfaction.

Violence as punishment is collective, for deterrence, warning the same perpetrator not to repeat and/or others not to do the same. There is no booty accruing to the executor.

Violence as decision-mechanism in a conflict may, like conquest, bring in booty, based on might is right, victory, the winner takes all (like in English elections). Violence for conquest may incapacitate the other side till the booty is up for grabs. But violence as decision-mechanism may stop short of that if the culture designates a winner earlier, like at the first drop of blood. Violence stops, the winner goes ahead.

Then there is *violence as a goal in itself*, as consumption expressive of an inner urge, rather than to produce anything.

Violence as entertainment belongs here, frequent in the Roman Empire and frequent as "violence pornography" on Western media, possibly related to imperial decline in both cases.

Violence as justice has been put in this category, at the collective level, as an expression of the will of higher forces. It is not revenge to satisfy the sentiments of mundane actors, nor is it punishment designed to deter. Justice simply is, in and by itself as a state of affairs. September 11 (2001) in New York City and Washington DC may have been an extrajudicial execution of two buildings for justice, whereas October 7 (2001) in Afghanistan may have been for revenge, conquest, punishment.

These are all powerful narratives. Left out is the enormity of human suffering. *And the grand underlying conflict to be solved or transformed*, between people wanting to live their lives unmolested, and violators with such means and goals.

Let us now look more closely at [3] and [5], "neither-nor" and "both-and." At the lowest level [3] is just giving up both goals in the dilemma, or by both parties in a dispute. And similarly for [5]: both goals, in the dispute both parties are satisfied. But nothing new is created between them. No new inner party in the dilemma, no new in-between in the dispute. In [3] they may proceed independently of each other to other pursuits, and in [5] they may each consume their own goals.

An appropriate term for that is *passive peaceful co-existence*. But the term "transcendence"—or more correctly "positive transcendence," reserving "negative transcendence" for [3]—points to something more. C has been transcended but only at that lowest level. Time has come to bring in A and B. Thus, *active peaceful co-existence* presupposes positive action and interaction (B) for mutual and equal benefit; also known as *symbiosis*. Add a transition inside the parties from empathy to sympathy (A), and we come

closer to harmony. Make a jump into We-ness, to a new actor like the European Community; also known as *synthesis*, union, joint project. Make a union of unions and we come closer to spiritual images of positive peace. *Five stages in* [5], beyond the banality of “win-win.” Transcendence is newness and We-ness at ever higher levels of positive peace.

Similarly there are *Three in* [3]; from the low level of giving up old goals new goals may be defined for joint projects, this may lead to fusion into a new We. Thus, in Q1 the sky is the limit. And Q3 serves as a warning about what may happen if Q1 is left unexplored. The mediator will play on the contrast between creative [3]+[5] outcomes and the horrors of violence whether balanced or not. Sometimes that works, sometimes not.

Let us then look at some conflict cases to illustrate 8 different types of conflicts defined as follows:

Table 4. A typology of Violence based on a typology of goals

	Micro Persons	Micro Groups	Macro States Nations	Mega Regions Civilizations
Intra: Dilema	{1}	{3}	{5}	{7}
Inter: Dispute	{2}	{4}	{6}	{8}

The 8 types may not only be related by *causality*—but Freud did us a disfavor by seeing a primary cause of everything in {1} and Marx did the same with {3}—but also very powerfully by *isomorphism*, same structure. Not strange: the conflict triangle and the Figure 1 Fiver-scheme apply to all simple conflicts.

The 12 cases below (all different from the cases used in the basic text *Transcend and Transform*) are easily understood or very well known. The key point is the touch of creativity. That comes with training. Anybody interested may start with her or his own dilemmas, and, gaining experience work the road from {1} to {8} in the Table. That road passes through {3} and {4} where so many conflicts of daily life in the three pillars of society, family, school, work are located. TRANSCEND used in daily life is called *sabona*, Zulu for “I see you.”

In all of this there is a *ground rule*: whatever is proposed as outcomes should be reversible. The proposal may be wrong/not good enough. Diplomats use Review Conferences for this purpose. In presenting the conflicts we follow the basic rule above: who are the parties, what are the incom-

patible goals, and what does [5] and sometimes [3] read like. Not a complete diagnosis-prognosis-therapy discourse, but pointing to one.

{1} *Freud*: Id: give preference to the drives

Super-ego: give preference to the moral commands of society

[3]: neither Id nor Super-Ego: death

[4]: Ego as a compromise, oscillating around a reasonable mean

[5]: finding Super-ego=We in a mutual and equal Id satisfaction

{2} *Marriage*: Man position: convert her to Protestantism

Woman position: regular marriage, religion a private matter

[3]: go secular, find another boyfriend, do not marry, suicide

[5]: they develop a new religion at a higher level spirituality

{2} *Bullying*: School position: bullying totally unacceptable

Bully position: Listen to me, you people never listen!

[5]: What you did is unacceptable, but why did you do it?

{3} *Teaching English*: Position 1: by natives with practice

Position 2: by locals who have studied the language with theory

[3]: stop teaching English, switch to Chinese

[5]: team-teaching: native-local with practice-theory together

{3} *Royalties for second hand books*: Position 1: Pay them

Position 2: Do not pay, think of shop-keeper profit and consumer

[3]: forbid second hand books sales

[5]: authors run second hand bookstores with profits as royalty

{4} *Marx*: Labor: Our needs define the priorities

Capital: System growth makes for more for everybody

[3]: local economy with no division between Labor and Capital

[4]: social democracy, negotiate sharing compromise formulas

[5]: Labor-Capital in a higher national union, like Japan

{4} *Social styles*: Position 1: when in Rome do as Romans do

Position 2: Individual self-expression not collective uniformity

[5]: Harmony=diversity+symbiosis hence symbiosis with Romans

{5} *Okinawa*: USA-Japan position: a base defending USA-Japan

Some in Okinawa: Self-determination, independence as Ryu-Kyu

[3]: do neither, make Okinawa the center of East Asian Community

[5]: do both, with an artificial island for the bases

{6} *China*: Beijing position: One China; Two systems
Some in Taiwan: One China and one Taiwan; Two systems

[5]: Six Chinas in (con)federation: Han-China, Taiwan, Hong Kong-Macao, (inner) Tibet, Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia; Six systems

{7} *Autocracy/democracy*: Autocracy: vision needed for a jump
Democracy: the people's vision above one person's vision

[3]: rule by the political class, like by the party leaders

[5]: rule by one person who incarnates the will of the people

{8} *Development*: MDC-North: division of labor, learn from us
LDC-South: basic human needs, national interests

[3]: Separation in South-South and North-North cooperation

[5]: Cooperation horizontally North-South

{all} Victor-Loser: Victor: I dictate the terms, might is right
Loser: I have already suffered enough

[3]: Past-orientation: mutual forgiveness, put the past behind us

[5]: Future-orientation, build some Big We together

The point of departure for creativity is to imagine what [3] and [5], neither-nor and both-and, could look like in the concrete practice of the case. Thus, what does neither-nor mean for two countries engaged in a dispute over border territory? One answer: they both give up their claims—symmetric, equitable outcome—and leave the territory to Nature, to indigenous living there, to a regional organization, to the UN. And what does both-and mean in that case? One answer: they run it as a joint project, like a binational zone with a natural park or economic free zone, or both. Again a symmetric, equitable outcome.

That opens for a very important factor in any conflict, simple or complex: the degree of coupling between the parties carrying the goals. In the dilemma the integrated personality has a high *degree of coupling* between "the two sides of me" and the schizoid personality a very low degree. The five stages of positive peace imply ever higher degree of coupling to fusion, from zero coupling, referred to as passive peaceful coexistence.

The problem is, of course, that with higher degree of coupling comes broader and deeper interaction and hence more possibilities for incompatible goals to arise, even if the capacity for solution and transformation has increased.

One approach to solution may be to decrease the coupling, even down to zero. For the couple *decoupling* means breaking up, separation, divorce; hopefully ending at level zero with passive peaceful coexistence but often passing through other quadrants, starting with Q2, the man beating the woman and/or Q4, the woman verbally abusing the man. Like for parents vs. children. The North-South, MDC-LDC going separate ways in case {8} above is an example. All of them with *recoupling* as a future possibility.

Varying, calibrating, monitoring the degree of coupling is one example of what might be called the *Third variable approach* to simple conflict resolution, a term covering solution and transformation. The first and second variables are the pursuits of goals, leading into incompatibilities; the third variable is used to loosen up that incompatibility. [5], in the cases above:

- {1} Super-ego and id enhance each other like in good sex-food
- {2} Keeping spirituality but developing it to a higher level
- {2} Couple condemning and listening, classical both-and
- {3} Couple two types of teachers, not antagonistically
- {3} Couple the author and owner roles, not antagonistically
- {4} Couple labor and capital in a higher union
- {4} Couple different social manners, classical both-and
- {5} A higher coupling, beyond the parties to the conflict
- {6} Decrease the coupling of six parts of China, not to zero
- {7} Couple Ruler and People will, with a time limit
- {8} Decouple MDC North and LDC South for recoupling later
- {all} Conciliation: jump from decoupling to coupling

If we refer to all of this as “out of the box” thinking then it is important to know what the box is. The box thinking sees conflict not as being between goals but between parties that stand in each other's way. The only outcomes are the three on the war diagonal: fight ([1] or [2]) or compromise ([4]). A very poor repertory and very frequent in Anglo-America, invoking an elusive justice that always seems to be on their side.

Much of peace culture is conflict resolution culture. But not all conflicts are in for resolution: negative and positive transcendence, and compromise, apply only to legitimate goals. For illegitimacy there is adjudication. But that does not mean that the party with an illegitimate goal is excluded, only the goal. The goal “having slaves” is illegitimate, not the underlying goal “livelihood for the family.” Not only the goals have to pass the legitimacy test but

also the means. And an illegitimate goal may be recast as an illegitimate means for a legitimate goal, inviting the search for legitimate means.

From a conflict triangle point of view the goals are located in A, inside the parties, sometimes verbalized; the means show up in B, as behavior. The TRANSCEND method demands that both are legitimate; neither one can justify the other. It does not help to say “watch what I do, not what I say,” or vice versa. Legitimacy in one cannot be used to hide illegitimacy in the other. The fifth grade bully boy harassing a first grade little girl has done something very wrong even if all he wants is to communicate how much he hates school. And that also applies to the perfect girl student whose only goal is studying boys, not what is taught. Go somewhere else, don't steal space.

Legitimacy is many-headed. We have focussed above on:

- Law: legitimate = Legal, or at least not illegal
- Rights: legitimate = meeting, or at least not breaking Rights
- Needs: legitimate = meeting, or at least not insulting Needs

But there are other sources of legitimacy:

- Science: legitimate = using scientific laws that are True
- Culture, goals: legitimate = pursuit of Good, avoiding bad
- Culture, means: legitimate = doing what is Right, avoiding wrong
- Art: legitimate = doing the Beautiful, avoiding the ugly
- Religion: legitimate = Sacred, avoiding the profane, sinning

These are the classical Greek guidelines—and not only Greek—pursuing the True and rational, the Good and correct, the Right, the Beautiful and the Sacred. All may clash with the Law and lead to disobedience: in the name of scientific Truth, a higher Good (like freedom), because it is Right (Luther: “*hier stehe ich, ich kann nicht anders*”), because it is Beautiful (many artists), because it is Sacred (the pursuit of salvation).

We base legitimacy on the deep nature of basic needs: pursuing human fulfillment and avoiding human suffering, like in the Protagoras *homo mensura* thesis. But there are other legitimacies hidden in deep structure and deep culture.

Kingian Nonviolence Leadership Training

Bernard LaFayette, Jr. and Charles L. Alphin, Sr.
LaFayette and Associates

The authors' experience with nonviolence is deeply rooted in Gandhian and Kingian traditions. Martin Luther King, Jr. and the collective leadership of his 1954-1968 social movements introduced unique applications of nonviolence to the human rights problems of the United States. The nonviolent human rights movement in the United States provides a clear case study in the application of the philosophy that can be instructive to people in other nations as well as to people in the United States. The Kingian Nonviolence philosophy and strategy includes the six universal principles Dr. King articulated during his reflection on the Montgomery Movement. These principles provide the foundation of values for nonviolence. The six steps of Kingian Nonviolence outline the methodology and introduce organization and mobilization methods for developing leadership and community support with the philosophy.¹

Martin L. King, Jr. made a tremendous contribution to the application of nonviolence on a broad scale in our society, because his philosophy and methods were so effective in transforming long-held values and discriminatory social conditions, and because he based his response to repression and violence on his faith and conviction that violence was not a valid means of solving social problems. Dr. King's life stands today as one of the greatest moral forces in history. We can recognize the impact of his continuing legacy when we see Eastern Europeans, South Africans, Asians, Middle Easterners and South Americans singing "*We Shall Overcome*" in countless native languages and applying his methods of nonviolence.

Dr. LaFayette, Jr. and Captain (retired) Alphin, Sr. have taught the Kingian philosophy throughout the United States and abroad in the countries of Cuba, Old Soviet Union, Israel, Palestine, Mexico, South Africa, Nigeria, United Kingdom, Haiti, Colombia and India. The leadership training curricu-

¹ The Kingian Nonviolence Leadership Training is taught to all segments of leadership in a community. All material for the training is taken from *The Leaders Manual: A Structured Guide And Introduction To Kingian Nonviolence: The Philosophy And Methodology*, 1995, Bernard LaFayette, Jr. and David C. Jehnsen, All Rights Reserved.

lum is designed for elementary, secondary and college students, spiritual leaders, educators, community and corporate leaders, prison inmates, law enforcement and correctional officers. The philosophy addresses all types of violence including economic, gender, psychological and physical violence.

The educational and training programs in Kingian Nonviolence draw heavily on Dr. LaFayette's personal experiences working with Dr. Martin L. King, Jr. He began his involvement with Dr. King in 1959 as a young Baptist seminary student in Nashville, Tennessee. Dr. LaFayette, Jr. states "there has been no greater lifetime educational experience than an association with Martin Luther King, Jr."

Captain (retired) Alphin, Sr., met Dr. LaFayette, Jr. in St. Louis, Missouri in 1975. At the time Alphin, Sr. was a sergeant in the St. Louis City Police Department and Dr. LaFayette, Jr. was Director of Lindenwood #4, Lindenwood College, St. Charles, Missouri and Associate Pastor, Baptist Church of the Holy Communion. Both had sons in a local high school. Alphin, Sr. called a meeting with African American parents who were disgusted over students being allowed to play sports who were failing academically. Dr. LaFayette, Jr. and Alphin, Sr. worked together along with other parents and changed the policy. It was this successful change that attracted Alphin, Sr. to the nonviolent philosophy of Dr. King. Prior to this incident Alphin, Sr. never believed in Dr. King's nonviolent methods.

For the next ten years, Dr. LaFayette guided and advised Alphin, Sr. through his pilgrimage to accepting nonviolence as a way of life. This guidance included addressing social issues in the community, dialoging with nonviolent Civil Rights activists, including Mrs. Coretta Scott King and Honorable Andrew Young, developing curricula and working with inner city youth, law enforcement officers, international study and travel, study of Gandhi and other nonviolent philosophers, and last but not least semi-annual trips to Atlanta, Georgia for workshops at the King Center. At this time Dr. LaFayette, Jr. served as Dean of the Nonviolent Summer Institute, King Center.

Dr. LaFayette, Jr. was appointed to be National Coordinator of the 1968 Poor Peoples' campaign by Martin Luther King, Jr. The morning of his assassination he and Dr. LaFayette, Jr. were having a personal conversation in his hotel room in Memphis, Tennessee. He told Dr. LaFayette, Jr. "Bernard we have to institutionalize and internationalize nonviolence." Dr. LaFayette, Jr. has followed these orders from Dr. King, Jr. and has been organizing institutions in public and private settings of higher learning and public agencies. These institutions focus on education, training and research on Kingian Nonviolence.

This endeavor led by Dr. LaFayette, Jr. and supported by Alphin, Sr. and others has resulted in developing training-of-trainers curricula. Participants who master the content are certified to teach Kingian Nonviolence. Certification is given in the following areas:

- *Kingian Nonviolence Youth Teaching Certificate*: 40 hours of training. The certification authorizes participants to teach a 4-hour presentation to elementary, middle and high school youth.
- *Kingian Nonviolence Teaching Certificate*: Participants attend 40 hours of training. The certification authorizes participants to teach a 4-hour presentation to adults.
- *Kingian Nonviolence, Level 1, Two-day Core Curriculum*: 120 hours of training. The certification authorizes participants to co-train in the two-day course.
- *Kingian Nonviolence, Level 2, Mobilization and Organization*: 40 hours of training. Certification authorizes participants to give a non-violence analysis of community problems and conflicts and organize the six groups that can carry nonviolent leadership in addressing the cause of the problem.
- *Kingian Nonviolence, Level 3, Establish an Institute*: Establish an Institute of education, training and research in Kingian Nonviolence.
- *Level 4, Ph.D., with a Focus on Nonviolence*: Under the guidance and advice of Dr. LaFayette, Jr.

The training approach uses a modular learning concept that is based on the Kingian Leadership Training program in providing intervention and prevention methods for holistic violence. The curriculum embodies the philosophy of Kingian Nonviolence and its application in personal and community conflicts. It also provides the foundation for leaders to develop an understanding of the principles and methodology of Kingian Nonviolence and its universal application. The training is supplemented by selected readings, videos, and experiential learning activities.

Foundation for Kingian Philosophy Education and Training

Six Principles

1. Nonviolence is a way of life for courageous people.
2. The beloved community is the framework for the future.
3. Attack forces of evil not persons doing evil.
4. Accept suffering without retaliation for the sake of the cause to achieve the goal.
5. Avoid external physical violence as well as internal violence of the spirit.
6. The universe is on the side of justice.

Six Steps

1. Information Gathering.
2. Education.
3. Personal Commitment.
4. Negotiation.
5. Direct Action.
6. Reconciliation.

*Today the choice is no longer between violence and nonviolence.
It is either nonviolence or nonexistence.*

Dr. Martin L. King, Jr.

Brief overview of the Shantisena (Gandhi's Peace Brigade)

N. Radhakrishnan
Indian Council of Gandhian Studies

The Birth of Indian Shantisena

As is fairly wellknown now, one of the last gifts of Mahatma Gandhi as part of his efforts to offer alternative strategies to the problem of violence was to develop what he called Shantisena. It is now known generally as the Peace Brigade or “army of unarmed soldiers.” This dream remained practically unanswered until 1958 when formal Shantisena units were formed in India under the initiative of Vinoba Bhave. It began very promisingly and it was involved in conflict resolution activities at the grass-root level adopting peace-building techniques which, in turn, inspired international groups such as the World Peace Brigade, Cyprus Resettlement Project, and Peace Brigades International (PBI). Though some research studies and a few monographs and critical assessments on this subject were produced subsequently in different parts of India, no systematic attempts were made to document the various facets of the development of the Shantisena, which rendered remarkable services under the leadership of such Gandhian activists as Vinoba Bhave, Jayaprakash Narayan, G. Ramachandran, and Kaka Kalelkar.

No doubt, like all good things, the Indian Shantisena too had its ups and downs. It appears that, except for a few initiatives here and there, it has almost become a thing of the past, gradually becoming a vanishing act of bravery initiated by a few whose enthusiasm no longer inspires even their own close associates, leave alone others who were never their sympathizers.

Shantisena of Gandhi's Dream

To Mahatma Gandhi, the Shantisena ideal had a great potential in providing an effective and enduring alternative to the eventual replacement of army and police which, according to him, symbolize the authority of the State and in that sense are an instrument of suppression which can be effective only if violent methods are resorted to. The genius of Gandhi conceived a certain device by which peace-making, peace-keeping, and preven-

tive peace-building will become the core of a well-conceived peace initiative. That is the Shantisena of his dream.

The Shantisena, as suggested first by Gandhi, and later introduced by Vinoba Bhave during his *Bhoodan Movement* (land-gift movement), was an intensive program aimed at providing a series of opportunities to the citizens to realize the objectives of the program. Besides giving them opportunities to know some theoretical aspect, it was out and out practical involvement, not peace making in the traditional sense of the term, but in realization of life situations of a wide range. What young minds particularly need is exposure to various problems and inculcation of values, both in their private and public life.

The Shantisena with its emphasis on (1) nonviolence, (2) character (3) purity of purpose and (4) purity of ends and means, has every potential to become an ideal instrument of social and individual transformation in which soul force should be the guiding spirit. Soul force must mean everything and physique must take second place. It is very difficult to find many such persons in whatever organization, and if it must be effective, its membership has to be small.

As Gandhi held, nonviolence is not merely a personal virtue. It is also a social virtue to be cultivated like the other virtues. Surely society is largely regulated by the expression of nonviolence in its mutual dealings. What one needs is an extension of it on a larger, national and international level. The principal focuses thus are (a) to identify the structures of violence in daily life and how to overcome them, and (b) to foster intra-and interpersonal harmony which will lead to peace per se.

The following are the objectives of the Shantisena program:

1. To keep a well-trained disciplined "task force" of nonviolent soldiers to meet emergent situations close by and distant.
2. To inculcate in students faith in nonviolence and in the supremacy of moral law
3. To introduce into the student community a sense of collective discipline, love for voluntary social service, interest in active outdoor life and an understanding of the unity of mankind.
4. To inculcate faith in the dignity of manual labour through organized manual labour work camps.
5. To evolve collective discipline.

Gandhi prescribed seven attributes for every Shanti Sainik. They are:

1. He or she must have a living faith in nonviolence. This is impossible without a living faith in God.
2. The messenger of peace must have equal regard for all the principal religions of the earth.
3. Peace work can be done singly or in groups.
4. The messenger of peace will cultivate through personal service contacts with the people in his locality.
5. A peace-bringer must have a character beyond reproach and must be known for his/her strict impartiality.
6. The peace brigade will not wait till the conflagration breaks out but will try to handle the situation in anticipation.
7. There should be a distinctive dress worn by members of the peace brigade so that they would be recognized without difficulty.

Shantisena of Gandhigram Rural University

Dr. G. Ramachandran, a close disciple of Gandhi and founder-Vice-Chancellor of Gandhigram Rural University in Tamilnadu in South India, realizing that youth in the universities should be the first batch to be initiated into this program, put the Shantisena at the centre of the educational experiment he started in Gandhigram. Gandhigram Rural Institute, the first Village University in India, offered rich potentialities for the successful implementation of the program. He had experience, vision, courage and enough academic freedom to introduce innovative programs. He was assisted in the earlier phase by two of the veteran Shantisainiks Dr. S. N. Subba Rao and Sri. V. M. Chandrasekhar who participated in the 1962 Delhi-Peking Peace March to end hostilities between India and China.

Let me reproduce a part of the observations I made in the Introduction to a perceptive study of the Shantisena of Gandhigram University by Dennis August Almeida in his book, *The Training of Youth in Nonviolence as a Way to Peace* (Gandhi Media Centre, 2007).

What cemented the *Guru-shishya* (mentor-disciple) relationship between the great Gandhi-disciple Dr. G. Ramachandran and me, apart from several other aspects, was our commitment to the *Shanti Sena* (Peace Army) of Gandhi. My own interest in Shanti Sena dates back to my childhood days. My father was a Gandhi disciple. He was a good story teller too. He had two favourite themes. Gandhi's heroic initiatives in Noakhali (a province in East Bengal which witnessed large scale death and arson following the Hindu-Muslim disturbance in the wake of the demand for a separate

Pakistan) that made Mountbatten, the last Viceroy of India, call Gandhi “The One-Man boundary Force,” and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan’s Islam-based *Khudai Khidmatgars* (Servants of God) in the North-West Frontier Province, where Ghaffar Khan had become a close disciple of Gandhi.

After my post graduate studies, what took me to Gandhigram University in Tamilnadu and to Dr. G. Ramachandran, its founder, was my keen desire to become a Shantisainik, and to get training in the Gandhian educational experiments for rural reconstruction going on there with commendable commitment in those days under Ramachandranji. Gradually my interest in *Shanti Sena* grew to the level of a passion and it became the most important driving force in all my activities, both inside the campus and in about 100 service villages around the Gandhigram complex of institutions.

It is perhaps this passion that brought into my life another highly creative source of inspiration and guidance, in the person of Prof. Glenn D. Paige of the University of Hawai’i. Inspired by Ramachandranji during the latter’s lecture tour to Hawai’i in 1975 he had rushed to India to study the *Shanti Sena*. While Prof. Paige, after his visit to India, became the most powerful advocate and supporter of *Shanti Sena* at the international level, Dr. Ramachandran remained the lone voice in India.

After Ramachandranji’s departure from Gandhigram in 1979, to those who succeeded him, the *Shanti Sena* was either a convenient instrument to enhance their image and influence, an ornament or an irrelevant vestige of a glorious past. Curiously, Ramachandranji also had done precious little in providing necessary infrastructure and funds for *Shanti Sena* activities. Repeated efforts from our side to get *Shanti Sena* integrated into academic and community life were also frowned upon in the din of euphoria created by the new generation of policy planners and administrators of GRU.

While extraordinary leadership qualities went into the metamorphosis of the Gandhigram Rural Institute into a reputed national centre of rural higher education, the prime place *Shanti Sena* should have automatically received as something unique was neglected. In the new set-up, it had an annual allocation of just Rs. 2000/ (less than 50 US Dollars). Still, my passion for *Shanti Sena*, undaunted by the indifferent attitude of the authorities, continued even stronger until I left the University in 1990 for a national assignment under the government of India in Delhi.

During an interim period in 1989 when I happened to be a part of a three-member Administrative Committee to run the affairs of the University in the absence of the Vice-Chancellor, a *Directorate of Shanti Sena*, with sufficient funds and manpower was created. But alas! It was vetoed and was never al-

lowed to take off. My departure for Delhi in 1990 to take up a national assignment as the Executive Director of the *Gandhi Smriti* and *Darshan Samiti*, which has its headquarters on the hallowed grounds of the erstwhile Birla House where the Mahatma's blood was spilled on 30th January 1948, gave opportunity at GRU to those who always viewed Shanti Sena as irrelevant. Unfortunately the *Shanti Sena* was confined to a Reader "to teach" *Shanti Sena*.

In Delhi and elsewhere in the country, my colleagues and I could plant the seeds of *Shanti Sena*, slightly adapted in the light of emerging realities. There is a young generation which is highly critical of many of the Gandhian initiatives and formulations while the older generation continues to deify Gandhi. In addition, there is also the disturbing fact of mushrooming of several 'senas' in most provinces of India to fight for and protect violently the interests of caste, religious, linguistic and even political groups, thereby devaluing the term *Shanti Sena* in the general perception.

While this is the general scenario, it will be presumptuous to argue that the *Shanti Sena* is dead and gone in India. It lives as a powerful source of inspiration in the hearts of many committed individuals who are not inactive, although not a potent force. The Ramachandran Institute of Nonviolence and Shanti Sena, in Thiruvananthapuram (Trivandrum), a small initiative, now in its silver jubilee year, organizes training programs in *Shanti Sena* on a regular basis to children, youth, and adults. It has a training campus at Rangaprabhat Children's Theatre, about 20 kilometers on the outskirts of Trivandrum. An estimated 300 persons are trained in *Shanti Sena* and conflict management every year. In association with Prof. S. Jeyapragasam in Madurai district, an equal number of teachers, students and constructive workers are exposed to the *Shanti Sena* through short-term programs.

It should also be said to the credit of Dr. William Baskaran, who heads the *Shanti Sena* in Gandhigram Rural University now, that with very little official support, he still succeeds in initiating the concept of *Shanti Sena* to a large number of students. I am only sad that Gandhigram University has missed a historical opportunity to carry forward the pioneering experiments in *Shanti Sena*. Let me plead in this context with the authorities of Gandhigram Rural University to provide necessary infrastructure and resources for building up a model *Shanti Sena* unit. Hence I propose the establishment of a *Centre for Shanti Sena, Conflict Management and Human Rights*. Three other distinguished persons whose services in the field of *Shanti Sena* activities deserve special mention are Acharya Ramamurthy, Narayan Desai, and Professor Ramjee Singh.

To many of us, notwithstanding what happens to the *Shanti Sena* in one institution or place, it is both *an instrument and vision for a warless and nonkilling future*.

However noble and powerful as an instrument for conflict resolution, social change and individual transformation, Gandhi's *Shanti Sena* was, it needs to be reinvented and resurrected like many other Gandhian formulations. Without losing hope, it is in this task some of us are now engaged.

Creative Adaptation and Reinventing of Shantisena

It is precisely this, some of us are doing now in our own way in various parts of the country. The Shantisena Training program has been creatively adapted at the G. Ramachandran Institute of Nonviolence in Trivandrum, a small training Centre founded by me 25 years ago in honour of Dr. G. Ramachandran. The Centre strives to realize the dream of Ramachandranji to make Shantisena an effective instrument of Peaceful Conflict Resolution and service. It organizes general training and short- and long-term training programs in *Shantisena* for children, youth, mothers and others in Peaceful Conflict Management. Others include:

1. Workshops on Nonviolence: Three-day regular workshops for youth in nonviolent leadership. Efforts are afoot to organize these programs in various parts of the country in association with other organizations.
2. Regular Youth Training Programs in Nonviolence: Granted weekend programs in Shantisena and Conflict Management are being offered.
3. Media Watch Group: Media Watch Groups are being set up to monitor and document atrocities on women. The All India Women's Commission, Samatwam and Gandhi Media Centre are collaborating with GRINS in this initiative. A Newsletter, *Sthreeshabdorn* is being published by the Gandhi Media Centre.
4. *Nonviolent Revolution*: The quarterly journal in English, *Nonviolent Revolution*, founded by Dr. G. Ramachandran, which had suspended its publication, is being revived with more features.
5. Diploma course in Gandhian Strategies of Conflict Management: A one year diploma course in Gandhian Strategies of Conflict Management in association with S.N. Institute of Management (Ranchi University), Institute of Applied Management, Madurai and Jain Viswabharati, Ladnun is being run under experienced staff.

The Shantisena Training Centre is housed in the Rangaprabhat Children's complex which is essentially a Centre for Performing Arts. Children and Youth in large numbers are being trained in dramatic arts at the Centre.

At the national level several massive initiatives were undertaken during the 50th anniversary of Gandhi's Martyrdom when from five different places connected with Gandhi's life in India, several thousand youth who were well-oriented and well-trained in nonviolent leadership were involved in a national program called *Gandhi Smriti Sadbhavana Jyoti Yatra* (Gandhi Memorial Flames). It was reported that over a million youth participated in this program which covered 18 provinces in India in about 45 days. What the distinguished freedom fighter and Gandhian Dr. B.N. Pande said about this initiative well sums it up:

This was a major program of mass involvement reminiscent of some of the pre-independence initiatives in which I had the privilege to be part of. My failing health prevented me from joining physically any of the Yatras in 1998 but I could experience through innumerable sources the waves of enthusiasm this remarkable step has generated. I have no hesitation in describing the Gandhi Smriti Sadbhavana Yatras from Porbandar, Champaran, Noakhali, Vaikam and Jallianwalabagh as the biggest youth mobilization campaign since independence. I congratulate Prof. Radhakrishnan and his team on this historic initiative.

Several noble souls helped, guided and encouraged us in these programs. The Honorable President of India, Sri. K.R. Narayanan, Vice-President, Shri. Krishnan Kant, Prime Minister and Chairman of Gandhi Smriti and Darshan Smriti Shri I.K. Gujaral and several others encouraged and supported us with their direct participation in these programs. Among several thousand prominent persons who participated in these programs both in the states and at the national capitals included governors, chief ministers, union ministers, Gandhian constructive workers, vice-chancellors and others.

Dr. Federico Mayor, Director General of UNESCO was one of those dignitaries who received one of the five Gandhi flames on their arrival at the martyr's column at Gandhi Smriti on 30th January. Over forty Ambassadors and High Commissioners of various countries in a rare gesture assembled at Gandhi Smriti on the 31st to pay the International Community's homage to Gandhi (From the Foreword, *Gandhi Smriti Sadbhavana Jyoti Yatra*, edited by N. Radhakrishnan and Savita Singh, 1998).

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Ahimsa Samvaay (Nonviolent Training & Resource Centres)

In a historic development, the G. Ramachandran Institute of Nonviolence associates with the Jain Viswabharati, Ladnun (Rajasthan) which, under the inspiring leadership of His Holiness Acharya Mahapragya the present Head of the Terapanth Jain community, has established five *Ahimsa Samvaay Kendras* (Nonviolent Training and Resource Centres) at Delhi, Jaipur, Rajsamand, Madurai and Trivandrum. His Holiness Acharya Mahapragya has also emerged as the most outstanding promoter of Nonviolence and Champion of Harmony. Over several decades this illustrious seer has been holding the flag of *Ahimsa* for individual empowerment and societal transformation besides uncompromisingly and untiringly campaigning for value-based changes in society through individual empowerment. His commitment to nonviolence as a way of life and the ceaseless efforts he undertakes to spread the brilliance of *Ahimsa*, have made him a living legend and a worthy successor to his mentor, the great and venerable Acharya Shri Tulsi.

The training programs in nonviolent value creation and leadership these Centres have been organizing under the general guidance of Acharya Mahapragya are attracting children and youth in all the five Centres. Besides various programs of interaction at each of the Centres regular fortnightly or monthly training programs in nonviolence are being held. Thanks to this brilliant initiative training in nonviolence has been put on the national agenda. As the General Convener of this innovative training program which is a creative adaptation of Gandhi's Shantisena, I have supreme satisfaction that what was lost in the Gandhigram Rural University is being revived at the National level with great application. A wonderful team of very dedicated nonviolent trainers led by Prof. S. Jeyapragasam, Dr. S.L. Gandhi, N. Vasudevan, and Sanchay Jain under the inspiring guidance of Prof. Muni Mahendra Kumar and Surendra Choraria (Chairman of Jain Viswabharati) are fully involved in the new efforts.

Community Peace Centres & Shantisena

Another significant program being contemplated and which is expected to be launched in January 2008 is setting up of 100 Community Peace Centres—a joint program of Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) and G. Ramachandran Institute of Nonviolence. This will be a pioneering effort of linking educational institutions in community peacebuilding, peace-making and peacekeeping initiatives.

The focuses of these Community Peace Centres are: linking community with educational institutions; inculcating values in children and youth; bringing academics and activists together; developing conflict-free zones; and contributing to sustainable development.

From training youth in nonviolent leadership and conflict management, the attention of those who are associating with these are focused on larger issues highlighted by efforts to establish a Department of Peace and the Violence-Free India Campaign.

Conclusion

One of the lessons I learnt from my four decades of passionate involvement in the Shantisena is that like many Gandhian formulations, the Shantisena needs to be creatively adapted and reinvented. In this, one has to forge effective networking, besides constantly upgrading strategies. Instead of getting stuck up with the historical Gandhi, Gandhian intellectuals, institutions and practitioners have to go beyond the moss accumulated around Gandhi over the decades and earnestly try to discover the revolutionary Gandhi. Partnership-building is very important in this and the current focus is to involve as many institutions, organizations and individuals with a view to broaden the base.

The Jain Viswabharati (Ladnun), the Jain Viswabharati University (Ladnun), the Indira Gandhi National Open University (New Delhi), Shobit University (Meerat), the Wardhaman Mahaveer Open University (Kota), Bhandup Educational Society (Bombay), the Bombay Sarvodaya Mandal, Center for Experiential Learning (Madurai), Gandhi Smarak Nidhi (Karnataka), the Gandhi Darshan Kendra (Chennai), and the Anuvibha (Jaipur) besides the Gandhi Bhavans and Centres of Gandhian Studies in various Universities have evinced interest in the new initiatives and it is hoped that the current interest will lead to the re-emergence of the Shantisena ideal of Gandhi to effectively control killing and violence.

The Shanti Sena of Gandhigram Rural University

Dennis August Almeida
University of Rhode Island

While the rest of the world is engaged in a serious bid to evolve nonviolent alternatives I see in Gandhigram a model for the rest of humanity.

Robert Goheen, U.S. Ambassador to India
Former President of Princeton University

This report draws upon field research conducted in 1986. The Shanti Sena was not an idea that Gandhigram gave birth to. What was novel and remains revolutionary, is GRU's steadfast commitment to integrate the concepts of the Shanti Sena (knowledge, insight and skills of nonviolence and peace making) with academia. "Gandhigram," in the words of past Vice-Chancellor Dr. Aram, "is the only university in the country and perhaps the world which by its charter and constitution has established a Shanti Sena" (Aram, 1984: 224). The communion of theory and practice is as old as the hills; the training of youth in nonviolence and peace—their practical involvement—as a learning process is profound.

Although aspiration toward the ideals of the Shanti Sena are shared by all those involved, be they organizers, students, faculty or administrators, most do not think that it is an ambitious process. We shall see.

The Shanti Sena programme, it should be noted, is never aimed at the impossible. It has never visualized imparting all skills to students who will become perfect peace-loving citizens or soldiers of peace overnight or even in a short span of one or two years. Two or three years of partial or cursory involvement in this programme along with the main burden of preparing for diplomas, certificates or degrees would hardly give him all the training. But the impressive aspect of the programme has been *to provide an opportunity* for the people to know what it is like to be a peace-loving person [emphasis mine] (Radhakrishnan, 1984: 32).

The credit for establishing the first student-based Shanti Sena goes to Dr. Ramachandran who, from the commencement of Gandhigram has kept the Shanti Sena at the hub of the educational and constructive programmes that it conducts in the surrounding villages (Aram; Radhakrishnan, 1984: 9). Every student enrolled at GRU is a Shanti Sainik and is inculcated with the concepts and ideals of the Shanti Sena. Each takes its pledge:

1. To observe truth, nonviolence, and non-possessiveness to the utmost of one's ability;
2. *Nishkam Seva* (disinterested service) without desire for results;
3. Avoidance of all party politics and power politics, while endeavoring to win the utmost possible cooperation from every individual, regardless of his party affiliation;
4. Not to recognize distinction of class or caste and to respect all religions equally; and
5. To give one's whole thought, and as much time as possible, to serve the community around (Radhakrishnan, 1984: 5-6).

Although all inmates of GRU as well as faculty members “and other workers showed remarkable realization of the role of the Shanti Sena in [their] everyday life” (Aram; Radhakrishnan, 1984: 9) and within the Gandhigram community, it wasn't until the Chinese aggression in the early 1960s, during the border clashes with India, that the Shanti Sena became firmly cemented as the essence of GRU (Personal conversation with Dr. G. Ramachandran, at GRU's Guest House, 22 September 1986).

Dr. G. Ramachandran, who had been nurturing the Shanti Sena since its birth at GRU, showed great leadership amid an atmosphere charged with militarism by eschewing the attempts of the state and central government to replace the Shanti Sena with the National Cadet Corps (NCC) during the Chinese aggression (Aram; Radhakrishnan, 1984: 11). “There is no compulsory conscription in India, but military training was compulsory for boys in most Indian universities” (Desai, 1972: 15). Because of Dr. G. Ramachandran's efforts, the NCC training programme was not implemented at GRU, its place having been given to the Shanti Sena. Also, it was only after the “coming together of the Gandhigram community” to resist the government in its attempts to establish a NCC that the two-tiered programme, which had already been designed, was implemented at GRU (Ramachandran, conversation, 22 September 1986).

Gandhigram Community Shanti Sena

Every student by virtue of enrollment at GRU is part of a general body that convenes at general rallies to renew commitment to Shanti Sena ideals, and to undertake extensive group constructive activities, such as campus cleanup, under the supervision of the Chief Organizer (Aram; Radhakrishnan, 1984: 9). “The main objective of this exercise is to maintain a community which is aware of the great potentials of non-violence—a community of students, teachers, constructive workers who can be, if need arises, pressed into emergent situations” (Radhakrishnan, 1984).

Shanti Sena Leaders Training Programme

Each year 150 men and women student volunteers who exhibit keen interest in the Shanti Sena are selected to constitute a task force which will undergo an Intensive Training Programme, the objectives of which are:

1. To keep a well trained, disciplined task force of nonviolent soldiers to meet emergent situations in and around;
2. To inculcate in those students faith in nonviolence and the supremacy of moral law;
3. To introduce into the student community a sense of collective discipline; love for voluntary social service, interest in active outdoor life and an understanding of the unity of mankind;
4. To inculcate faith in the dignity of manual labour;
5. To evolve collective discipline (Radhakrishnan, 1984).

The Intensive Training Programme for the student leaders of the Shanti Sena will form the core of this section which will be presented in an outline format and later, where it serves as a backdrop for the concluding section, it will be reflected upon in an expository style. Before examining the Leaders Training Programme it would be best to present the organizational setup of the Shanti Sena of GRU.

Organizational Setup of the Shanti Sena

The Advisory Committee sits as the apex body that advises and sets guidelines for the conduct of the Shanti Sena and the constructive programmes it undertakes in the villages. The new Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Devendra Kumar (as of September, 1986) is the Chairman of this committee, and serves also as the Patron or Commander of the Shanti Sena. The re-

remainder of the standing committee consists of the Chief and Assistant Chief Organizers of the Shanti Sena, the Deans of Faculties, the head of the Department of Extension and one student representative. The Chief Organizer, Dr. N. Radhakrishnan, a senior English faculty member, is the executive chief of this Advisory Committee and is under the direct supervision of the Vice-Chancellor (Radhakrishnan, 1984: 30).

The day-by-day running of the Shanti Sena is entrusted to the Chief and two Assistant Chief Organizers, who coordinate all activities with the help of the student Captain and student organizers. The two Assistant Chief Organizers are Mr. M.S. Prabhakaran, a reader in the English department, and Mr. William Phaskam, a lecturer in the newly created Shanti Sena certificate course. Mr. William Phaskam is also doing graduate work at Madurai Kamaraj University in the Department of Gandhian Studies and Ramalinga Philosophy. His thesis topic is “The Shanti Sena in Historical Perspective, with special reference given to GRU” (Personal recorded interview with Mr. William Phaskam, 14 October 1986).

Chief Organizer Dr. N. Radhakrishnan, a devoted disciple of Dr. G. Ramachandran, is the heart, soul, and mind of Gandhigram’s Shanti Sena. He has visited over twenty universities in various countries including the U.S.A., South Korea, Japan, England and Costa Rica, where he has lectured, conducted seminars, and delivered papers on the concept of the Peace Brigade (“Japanese award for Indian scholar,” *Indian Express*, 24 September 1986). It was at a breakfast in his honor, hosted by the then acting president of the University of Hawai’i, Albert Simone, at his College Hill home that I first met Dr. Radhakrishnan, and where the seed for this thesis was first sown.

In keeping with the importance that Gandhi stressed on the role of women in a nonviolent society, and his opinion that they make better Shanti Sainiks than men, a woman student is designated the Captain of the Shanti Sena. In the words of Gandhi, “I do believe that it is woman’s mission to exhibit *Ahimsa* at its highest and best” (Gandhi, *Harijan*, 5 November 1938). She, along with a few other student leaders—men and women—constitute the Student Advisory Committee; a committee with little formal powers other than coordinating student activities such as welcoming new members and organizing meetings.

Recruitment and Selection

At the commencement of each academic year circulars are prepared for new incoming students, requesting them to submit applications if they show

interest in undergoing Leaders Training. A preliminary selection is then made from a pool of applicants by an interviewing board consisting of the Chief Organizer, staff members, and one or two student leaders who are presently undergoing the training. After a trial period of two months, a final selection is made based on the students' aptitudes and interest they have shown (Radhakrishnan, 1984: 9). Be that as it may, however, some students that I talked with joined or were recruited by other students because their friends were Shanti Sainiks or because a boy or girl that they were attracted to was a Shanti Sainik. Also, and just as important, was the fact that the Shanti Sena student leaders as a group conducted more student activities; i.e., fun, and offered more opportunities for socializing than any other group on campus—two perfectly legitimate reasons for college-age youths anywhere to give for joining just about anything.

Soon after the beginning of the academic year, usually in the second week of July, a two or three day orientation programme in the format of a mini-work camp is held for the newly selected student prospects. Joining in this orientation camp are the Vice-Chancellor, some important faculty members, current leaders of the Shanti Sena, and the staff in charge. "The aim of this programme is to initiate the students into the basic concepts of the Shanti Sena and provide meaningful discussion and prepare them to face the hard realities that exist outside the campus" (Radhakrishnan, 1984: 10).

What is important during this orientation camp is that an atmosphere of friendship, understanding and trust be developed among the recruits and between them and the current Shanti Sena leaders and organizers. This atmosphere is critical to the functioning of the Shanti Sena as a group when it is called into emergent conflict situations.

Furthermore, general organizing, the day-to-day functioning and all the work, from the preparation of food in the kitchen to the recording of meetings, is undertaken by the campers themselves, which builds cooperation and a sense for collective discipline. This type of communitarian organization is not unlike the running of a U.S. Marine Corps bootcamp, or a training camp that a member of an ROTC unit would attend during the summer. The principles underlying the organization of these mini-camp orientation programmes are:

1. There should not be any paid labour for the camp and all items of work including the preparation of food should be carried out by the campers themselves;
2. There should be sharing of duties and responsibilities;

3. There should be a free atmosphere which should bring [out] the best of everybody and everybody should feel thrill of being together (Radhakrishnan, 1984: 11).

Two student Shanti Sena leaders spoke to me with fond memories of their orientation camp that they had attended together. What was conveyed to me, or what I sensed from our conversation, was that a collective growth, beyond the personal, was obtained during their camp experience. The sharing of work and responsibilities must have led to the beginning of esprit de corps, because the student leaders of the Shanti Sena are a visible entity on the campus of GRU. Radhakrishnan, speaking about the camps stated:

Even a short stay together of people from different walks of life, of communities, from different regions and different intellectual and material attainments will forge at least a small amount of emotional integration. Besides bringing people of different temperaments together, such study camps will help people to come closer, to know each other and to some extent, get over narrow and sectarian outlooks of life. It will definitely broaden the outlook of those who attend the camp (Radhakrishnan, 1984: 32).

Village Placement

Following the orientation programme the Shanti Sainiks are then placed in some villages around GRU where they spend a week working in constructive activities similar in nature to the seventeen items of Gandhi's constructive programme. The work-week gives the Sainiks the opportunity to advance some of the skills that they acquired at camp. It gives them a preview of the type of activities they may be called upon to undertake in some of the conditions under which they may be performed.

For the villagers this cultivates an awareness of the Shanti Sena, its activities and, most importantly, they begin to get acquainted with the Shanti Sainiks. This begins the process of friendship and trust building—important to the nonviolent soldier who, unlike the soldier of war, works better in times of conflict when he is known by the people. The post-camp week is not all work; part of the time is spent in camaraderie, such as group singing. Mr. William Phaskam remembers participating in a dramatic skit that was performed in a village to draw the attention to the evils of alcohol. In Mr. William's words, "We chose alcohol, but it could have been against untouchability, corruption, the dowry system, or other social evils" (Phaskam,

recorded). Upon returning to Gandhigram each new Shanti Sainik takes *The Pledge of the Shanti Sainik*:

I Believe

- (i) In the establishment of a new society based on truth and nonviolence;
- (ii) That all conflicts in society can be and should be solved, more so in this atomic age than ever before, by nonviolent means;
- (iii) In the fundamental unity of man;
- (iv) That war blocks all human progress and is a denial of a nonviolent way of life.

Therefore, I hereby Pledge that I shall

- (i) Work for people and be prepared, if need be to lay down my life for it;
- (ii) To do my best to rise above the distinctions of caste, sect, colour, and party because they deny the unity of man;
- (iii) Not to take part in any war;
- (iv) Help in creating the means and conditions of nonviolent defense;
- (v) Devote regularly a part of my time to service of my fellowmen;
- (vi) Accept the discipline of the Shanti Sena.

The orientation camp followed by the work-week serves as an epitome of the type of programmes and activities that the Shanti Sena will engage in during the academic semester. A general outline of the various programmes and activities follows below. These programmes are arranged in a phased manner throughout the semester, keeping in mind the main academic burdens of preparing for classes, exams and diplomas. "The programmes are usually arranged before or after the regular class hours or weekends, holidays, semester breaks or summer holidays" (Radhakrishnan, 1984: 12).

Intellectual aspect

- a) Discussions/Seminars/Workshops/Debates/Inter-University Dialogues and Essay and Elocution Competitions on topics such as the following:
 - Peace movements in the West - past and present
 - The concept of the Shanti Sena Ideal
 - The work of the Shanti Sainik
 - Experience in Peace Making
 - The training of the Shanti Sainik
 - Importance of inter-religious prayers
 - Peace propaganda among the people
 - The methodology involved in peace education

- Conflict resolution; varieties of conflicts facing them; attributes of a peace worker
 - Armament race and its consequences
 - Jai-Jagat, the one-world idea
- b) Creative expressions:
- Painting, poetry recital and composition and other forms of creative arts

Practical

- a) Shareerashram (manual labor) programmes
- b) Marching and drilling
- c) First-aid
- d) Home-nursing for girls
- e) Yogasana
- f) Cycling for girls
- g) Group games for boys and girls
- h) Lessons in group singing
- i) Fire-fighting
- j) Traffic controlling
- k) Trekking

Extension activities

- a) Organizing children's clubs/youth clubs/women's clubs in villages
- b) Organizing blood donation clubs
- c) Organizing Peace Marches
- d) Organizing cultural programmes for villagers
- e) Village sports
- f) Saturday Rallies
- g) Organizing Adult Education Centres in Villages
- h) Socio-economic survey
- i) Organizing Village Shanti Sena (Radhakrishnan, 1984: 12-13)

Tolerance, Manual Labour and Social Identification

Besides exposure to conflict resolution, emphasis is laid upon three aspects that are of paramount importance to the methodology of peace education with practical involvement: tolerance building respect for manual labour, and cultivation of social identification.

Religion is looked upon as a common denominator among all groups and inter-religious prayer forms an integral part of the training that a Shanti Sainik receives. An interreligious prayer begins all programmes that the Shanti Sena conducts. “The prayer, it has been found over the years, creates a strange feeling of oneness and togetherness. It is aimed at creating necessary awareness in each member that while religion is a personal matter.... religions are different roads converging to the same point. It need not make any difference if we take different roads so long as we reach the same goal” (Radhakrishnan, 1984: 15). For Gandhi God was truth—not merely abstract ideals but a living reality that one could enter into a dialogue with. “He is a personal God to those who need his personal presence. He is embodied to those who need his touch....He simply is to those who have faith. He is all things to all men” (Gandhi).

Inter-religious prayer is the foundation upon which tolerance is built. Each Friday, after classes and just before sunset an inter-religious prayer meeting is held in a large roofed outdoor auditorium. One of the Fridays that I attended we sang three nondenominational songs, one of which was the anthem of the U.S. Civil Rights movement: *We Shall Overcome*. This was followed by readings from the *Koran*, *Bible* and the *Bhagavad-Gita* (all were spoken in English). Religious tolerance is a requirement for spirituality—it spills over into social tolerance and breaks down the walls of ethnocentrism (Personal conversation, Ramachandran, 24 September 1986).

In keeping with a basic Gandhian tenet the Shanti Sena emphasizes the importance of manual labour. A book that had a profound effect on Gandhi was Ruskin's *Unto This Last* (See M.K.Gandhi, *An Autobiography*). From reading it Gandhi learned—among many things—the importance of “bread-labour” and realized that physical labour is equal in importance to the functioning of society as is intellectual work. Group physical labour performed in service of community (Constructive Programme) builds a stronger bond among the Shanti Sainiks and, just as important, brings them closer to the villagers—India's “starved millions.”

“The youth will also learn that the hands which they use very often for destructive purposes can be used for creative and productive purposes” (Radhakrishnan, 1984: 16). Furthermore, Radhakrishnan believes that an individual will develop nonviolent thoughts and actions through creation—be it the digging of a latrine or teaching a child to read. This same individual will not turn to violence to destroy it for he or she knows the value of creation (Personal conversation with Radhakrishnan).

The Shanti Sena cultivates social identification by resolving to overcome social ignorance and apathy through a well-reasoned process involving train-

ing and discussion with practical application and example (Radhakrishnan, 1984: 16). Social ignorance comes about when people cannot identify with their so-called opposite numbers; this in turn leads to apathy. “Apathy is a case of non-identification with others, a lack of trust in development, a lack of social development. It is this apathy that we see as the greatest danger to peace. Apathy and violence are very close; in fact we call apathy “frozen violence” and relate it to the effect of passively accepting injustice over a long period” (Radhakrishnan, 1984: 17-8).

Apathy and social ignorance cannot be remedied by theory alone; therefore what is emphasized is training that will create among the Shanti Sainiks an awareness of the structural conditions which lead to violence. To kill someone is a direct act of violence; but people are killed every day or are driven to using violence themselves by “structural violence” which encompasses within itself issues like social justice, economic equality and conditions such as malnutrition, lack of water, exploitation of human labour and simple neglect. In the process of the constructive work carried out in the villages surrounding Gandhigram, the concept of peace has broadened for the Shanti Sainiks and the vast amount of their time is given to tracking down the sources of structural violence so that violence can be dealt with at its roots. Remember that a basic tenet of the Shanti Sena is that social justice and nonviolence cannot exist without each other. The following Constructive Programme of Gandhigram’s Shanti Sena as a Task Force is focused primarily at weeding out the roots of structural violence.

GRU's Shanti Sena as a Task Force

The meaningful work that the Shanti Sena accomplishes as a task force within the villages surrounding GRU is like the work of that most astounding programme in the history of the world—Gandhi’s Constructive Programme. And it serves as the nonviolent training for Gandhigram’s Shanti Sainiks. Below are only *some* of the areas that the Gandhigram Shanti Sena has been concentrating on.

- *Organizing blood donors' club.* After educating the villagers that it is not at all dangerous to donate blood, the Sainiks prepared a list showing the respective blood groups of the people willing to donate blood in times of need. The list was then forwarded to the hospitals.

- *Medical check-ups.* With the help of medical personnel from neighbouring hospitals the Shanti Sainiks provide periodic medical check-ups “in areas which are not covered under any medical scheme” (Radhakrishnan, 1984: 21).
- *Tree planting.* In times of economic hardship, especially between harvest seasons, villagers who are starved for money go off into the nearby countryside and hills to chop trees to sell for firewood. To contest against this, a never ending tree-planting movement has been started by the Shanti Sena. “The tree planting does not stop with planting the saplings but they are taken care of by the members of youth clubs started by the Shanti Sena” (Radhakrishnan, 1984: 22).
- *Homes for the homeless.* In collaboration with GRU's extension department, a group of 150 young men and women Sainiks who were “assisted by the staffers in charge camped in a village for 21 days in 1969 helping the villagers in laying foundations and raising walls for 75 semi-permanent houses for a group of landless tribals” (Radhakrishnan, 1984: 22-23).
- *Youth against disease.* A group of Shanti Sainiks led by the Chief Organizer spent 15 days working with Baba Amte among the lepers. It was a valuable experience for the Shanti Sainiks to have associated themselves with the noble efforts of this “saintly social worker.” They came away with the realization “that real service lies in serving such people” (Radhakrishnan, 1984: 23-24).
- *Trench latrines for the villagers.* To improve the sanitation of 30 service villages the Shanti Sena in 1973 undertook to provide 300 trench latrines. “This was followed by frequent village visits by the Faculty of Sanitation to educate the villagers in the use of these latrines” (Ibid.).
- *To the rescue of people in distress.* As an emergency task force the Shanti Sena plays a very effective role in helping and rescuing people who are victims of natural disasters such as earthquakes, floods, fires, and famines. “Every Shanti Sainik who is trained in first-aid with the help of the medical personnel of the University or College finds his job easy in dealing with emergency situations” (Ibid.). The following features are distinctive of this emergency task force:

- a) A volunteer does not carry any weapons.
 - b) The members are easily recognized from their uniforms.
 - c) Every volunteer will carry bandages, scissors, needle and thread, surgical knife, etc. for rendering first-aid.
 - d) He knows how to carry and remove the wounded.
 - e) He knows how to put out fires, how to enter a fire area without getting burnt, how to climb heights for rescue work and descend safely with or without his charge.
 - f) He will be well acquainted with all the residents of his locality. This is a service in itself (Radhakrishnan, 1984: 24-25).
- *Watch and ward duties.* Nonviolence is an empowering democratic process that helps people assume responsibility for their own lives especially when problems arise that would normally call for police intervention. The entire policing of GRU “is done by the Shanti Sena during normal times and even during extraordinary circumstances” (Radhakrishnan, 1984: 27). Even during a visit from the late Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, to Gandhigram the state police force was not allowed on campus and security was provided by the Shanti Sena along with several policemen stationed at various sites throughout the campus.

Training in the Use of Traditional and Modern Mass Media

Through mobile libraries, peace marches, dramatic skits against social evils, the establishment of non-formal education centers, and the showing of documentary films the Shanti Sena has realized the importance of folk and modern mass media. But for Radhakrishnan this realization has not been fully utilized. Upon returning from Great Britain where, under a bursary awarded him by the British Council he underwent courses and training in Mass Media and the Theater Arts (“Japanese award for Indian scholar,” *Indian Express*, 24 September 1986), Radhakrishnan became more convinced than ever that “Art can eliminate violence from the heart of man” (1984: 26). He emphasized further:

Mass media facilities and man's innate urge to listen to stories and tell them and to sing and hear good songs... and dramatic performances should be exploited to the fullest possibility....This aspect has not been fully utilized. This untapped rich and potential area, if exploited, will make the peace educator's job easier (Radhakrishnan, 1984: 27).

The technological power of mass media, with its instantaneous generation of events throughout the world by telecommunication has yet to be exploited, has yet to play an important role in the training of youth for peace. The ubiquitousness of film, an industry that is well organized and highly funded, has the potential of reaching and affecting more people than 10,000 books on peace, nonviolence, love and religion. The mass of people reached and affected by the movie *Gandhi* is a witness to this potential (My reflections while studying).

Colonel Bjorn Egge of the Norwegian Army served in the Congo as part of the United Nations peace-keeping force and believes, as Radhakrishnan does, that the ability of music to soothe emotions in times of conflict has not been fully examined. Colonel Egge “was deeply impressed by the effectiveness of the Nigerian police (not soldiers) who had served in the Congo; simply moving about with their night sticks behind their backs, and with *the wonderful music of their band*, they had been extremely effective in keeping peace and preserving order” (Bristol, 1965: 327; emphasis mine).

A list of reasons gathered from past uses of folk and modern media can be given for the effective use of such facilities in campaigns for peace:

1. They are sure to motivate people towards the efficacy of this programme.
2. They draw the attention of the masses towards the programmes you are planning.
3. They stimulate the awareness of the participants.
4. They involve individual participation.
5. They are concrete methods of teaching because they appeal to success.
6. They are vehicles for rural communication.
7. They enrich the aesthetic side of the youth's personality and awareness (Radhakrishnan, 1984: 27).

Radhakrishnan, and perhaps Colonel Egge, is [are] guided by the belief that music is a powerful force, that it unites people, induces them to new ideas which can spark and nurture change. This sounds very compatible with nonviolence.

Shanti Sena and Conflict Resolution

As intended by Gandhi and implemented by Vinoba Bhave the job of the Shanti Sena is twofold: the vast majority of the time will be spent in the selfless service of the constructive programme and when need arises the Sainiks will respond to conflicts and outbreaks of violence. This also holds true (as the above task force work of GRU's Shanti Sena has shown) for the Shanti Sainiks of Gandhigram.

The Shanti Sainiks' time spent in the selfless work of the task force when contrasted with the actual time spent as a peace-bringer in conflict situations shows a definite lack of symmetry. This was well intended by Gandhi who believed that the work of the constructive programme was the training of the nonviolent soldier from which he or she obtained the discipline, courage and character to be able to use nonviolence effectively against violence. This is not unlike the lack of symmetry in time spent by a member of the United States Marine Corps in training, planning and preparing for war, when contrasted by the actual time spent killing.

Throughout the academic semester the work of the task force is sandwiched between classes, exams, and breaks, but there are times when the Shanti Sainiks are called into conflict situations from which they gain experience in conflict resolution.

Many of these situations are well documented and the following are only two of a list of the many well recorded conflict resolution situations that the Shanti Sena of GRU has been involved in, from which the author could have chosen. The first example was excerpted verbatim from a paper Dr. N. Radhakrishnan presented at Kyung Hee University, Seoul, South Korea. I quote it primarily because it highlights the female Shanti Sainiks—whose potential as nonviolent soldiers and peace-bringers has yet to be plumbed. It started out as a small inter-communal conflict involving two sections of the same religion (caste Hindus and Harijans) in the town of Villupuram near Madras in 1976:

Some unpleasant thing happened between two youths of the two communities but in no time it assumed devastating proportions which eventually led to the fleeing of almost the entire Harijan population from the village. The caste Hindus who wielded considerable economic clout felt that they had succeeded in driving all of their opponents from the town. Tension was mounting gradually and echoes of what happened in this place were heard in other parts of the state as well.

This time it was thought that the women volunteers of the Shanti Sena should be allowed to take a leading role on the basis of the past experience that women are better peace workers than men on certain occasions. What was happening now would be ideally suited to the women trainees to try out. Hence a team of 15 members led by the present writer left for the scene of conflict to take up peace work. There were only two men in this group of 15. It should be admitted that when the intention of taking a peace team to the scene of violence was announced over two hundred students expressed their willingness and out of this more than half were women. As we feared, what awaited these girls at Villupuram was a hostile atmosphere. The caste Hindus had a lurking suspicion that our team was there to find fault with them and force them to agree to a compromise which would result in the eventual return of the Harijans to their moorings. The first experiences were rather very much distressing. But these girls did not give up hope. A few voluntary agencies from other places were also on the scene. We thought it was better to work together and with this aim in mind a meeting of all the agencies was held at which it was decided that the Shanti Sainiks would exploit the power of persuasion and would work through the women of the village—an effective method to influence men. To cut a story short, in the next three days they succeeded in persuading three of the section leaders to attend a public meeting which eventually led to the formation of a peace committee. It was a multi-pronged attack in which several agencies were involved.

While the local leaders were persuaded to adopt an attitude of reconciliation, the Harijan leaders were contacted by more acceptable and influential political bosses to come down to the plain and accept the compromise formula. The final settlement under which the Harijans returned after eleven days of anxiety was really a great moment in the lives of all those who participated in the programme. The people who returned after eleven days of anxiety, harassment and fear were greatly relieved to see that their houses were by and large safe and their cattle and other belongings they left behind intact. In a conflict of this nature there would always be the tendency to take away the property of the fleeing party. It must be admitted here that the Harijans who flew out of the village did not have much to be taken away but whatever they had was found to be intact. The women volunteers stood sentinel to the property of the people who had left the village. There were tears of gratitude in the eyes of the poor women and appreciation in the caste Hindus when on the 12th day the party boarded the train back to Gandhigram (Radhakrishnan, 1986: 13-4).

The following example of conflict resolution is excerpted from a recorded interview with Sri V. Padmanabhan, the Managing Trustee of the Gandhigram Trust, who is also the head of the extension department at

GRU. It was chosen because of the creativity it employed to end a very volatile conflict and because it called into play many aspects and departments of GRU. What is not explained in the text is that when the conflict first broke out a group of Shanti Sainiks rushed to the village and camped there for five days, attempting to foster a genial atmosphere while the Harijans and members of the Gandhigram extension department created a solution.

It was sometime in 1981, the few religious from Subbealeaburan came to us with a problem. They all belonged to the untouchable group in the village, what they call in India as Harijans. A boy from one of the Harijan families had an affair with one of the caste Hindus girls in the village. So the Harijans got together and decided to consummate the marriage. With that in view, they went and approached the father of the girl. The father of the girl took serious objection to their approaching him for an alliance in his family. He said how the Harijans dare get the courage to go and ask for an alliance in the family of the caste Hindus. And he was so worked up that he gathered all the caste Hindus families in a meeting and decided that no one should give work to any of the Harijans in that village on their farms. And, at this stage they [Harijans] came to Gandhigram. Their request was that they should be given some non-formal employment in the village. There were four options. One was to lodge a complaint in the police, and have a confrontation of the caste Hindus. Another was to rehabilitate them, in some non-formal activities.

We asked the Harijans what they would prefer. They said we would be able to sustain a fight with the caste Hindus. Ultimately we'd be defeated, though temporarily we may gain. So they said let us have some permanent solution. And the permanent solution they said could be if Gandhigram could organize a weaving center for the women and girls, they could help them to get an occupation.

We asked them why they preferred weaving. And they said that in that village weaving is one of the main occupations, and already Gandhigram had given some work to about 60 families from the weavers' community. So we agreed, and we introduced a new type of loom called the semi-automatic Nepal loom, that made the learning of weaving very easy. We developed their skill, and within six months they could stand on their own legs. Of course we provided the raw material for weaving and we took back the cloth, finished the cloth, and arranged for the marketing of the cloth.

This really helped the Harijans to come out of the clutches of the caste Hindus and they were able to be on their own. They were so much satisfied. But they were so much concerned that they should not go back to the village and be part of the community, that they saved some 30,000 rupees from their weaving areas, bought the land a little away from the vil-

lage and requested Gandhigram to get some government assistance to put small houses for them. Gandhigram arranged to get some 2,500 rupees per house from the Khadi and Village Industries Commission, and we constructed 25 houses for the 25 families there. As work progressed, more and more women from the Harijan community wanted to learn weaving. Today with the help of the state government, we have got the product sanctioned, to which some 30 girls are employed in spinning, and some 40 girls are employed in weaving.

About 70 people are employed in spinning and weaving, and another 30 in the pre-weaving processes. So nearly 100 people are getting their sustenance from khadi production. And now, the caste Hindus are not able to control or do anything harmful to the Harijans—they're on their own. The initial advantage that the caste Hindus had is gone. Farm wages have also gone up, because they'll have to get labor from outside. So the contact between caste Hindus and Harijans has not only been peacefully solved, it has improved the lot of the Harijans and their style of function. They are not now under the bondage of the caste Hindus (Personal recorded interview with Sri V. Padmanabhan, 25 September 1986).

I will close this exhibit of Gandhigram's Shanti Sena with a short story, a story proudly told to me one evening by Radhakrishnan while we broke bread together. It was based upon a letter that Gandhigram received from a businessman who owns a furniture store in a northern Indian city:

One evening while a young couple was being shown some furniture by a salesperson, their young child defecated on a showroom rug. Once it became known, the couple immediately starting arguing and blaming each other. The salesman, caught up in the emotion of the exchange, was also at a loss for an effective redress. Meanwhile a young fellow who had been observing the conflict suddenly came forward with a dustpan, and with a piece of paper scooped up the source of the conflict and rendered it harmless.

The owner who from a distance had also been observing, went over to offer his gratitude to the young fellow. Engaging him in a conversation, the young fellow explained that what he did, he did because he saw a need for action and besides, he didn't feel that it was a degrading task. Pressed further by the owner he elaborated, but only because he was asked to, that he had done similar tasks as a member of the Shanti Sena while attending Gandhigram Rural University.

With both of his sons already graduated from college, the owner further stated in the letter that he would sincerely recommend Gandhigram to his friends or any young man expressing interest in attending a university. A rather large donation accompanied the letter applauding GRU's product.

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**Appendix
Charter for a
World Without
Violence**



Charter for a Nonviolent World *

Mairead Maguire
Nobel Peace Laureate

Dear Friends,

I am delighted to be attending this Nobel Conference and I would like to thank President Gorbachev, Mayor Veltroni and the City of Rome for hosting this Summit. I am especially happy that at the conclusion of this Summit, an International Charter for a Nonviolent World will be presented by the Nobel Peace Laureates. I believe that, alongside the Environmental challenge, one of our greatest challenges as the human family is to transform our violent cultures into a nonkilling, nonviolent culture for the World. This journey from violence to nonviolence may not be a “Damascus conversion,” but human beings mimic each other, and as increasingly people realize violence, war and militarism are not only wrong, but are bad for our health and the health of our neighbours (like we did with smoking, slavery, apartheid), then change might well happen even quicker than we dared to imagine. Already many people are asking: “How do we stop this violence? Is it possible to move beyond violence? To build Nonkilling, Nonviolent societies, and World?” From my own experience, I believe, the answer is YES! However, where violence of all kinds is endemic, it is easy to be apathetic. Also, particularly in our current world political situation, faced as we are with an ethical and moral crisis brought about by many Governments’ abuse of their power (especially the USA), often civil society feels disempowered and hopeless.

But we should never give up hope. If we continue in this negative frame of mind to accept violence, it will seriously threaten our quality of life, our economic recovery, and our security. The bad news is that all violence—be it bullying, torture, homicide, violent crime, terrorism, violent revolution, armed struggles, suicide bombings, hunger strikes to the death, nuclear weapons, and war—tragically often takes human lives, causes much suffering, and adds to the culture of violence. And all violence, State and Non-state, is a form of injustice.

Killings by Governments, and nongovernmental armed groups, and threats to kill, underlie all other threats to the survival of humanity, damaging peoples’ physical, psychological, economic, social, cultural, and environmental well-being.

* Presented at the 7th World Summit of Nobel Laureates, Rome, November 17-19, 2006.

If we are to reverse this downward spiral of violence we need to uphold the Principle that everyone has a right not to be tortured, or killed, and a responsibility not to torture, kill, or support the killing of others. These are basic human rights enshrined in national and international laws and we, as the Human family, must stand firm on the upholding of these Rights by our Governments and by “armed revolutionaries” or “armed insurgency groups.”

The good news is that we are not born violent. Most humans never kill, and the World Health Organization says Human Violence is a “preventable disease.” So happily we can be cured! Prevention starts with peace in our own minds, with us choosing to reject negativity, changing to a positive, self-accepting, disarmed mindset, having confidence in ourselves and others, and continuing the hard work of tackling the root causes of our own and others’ violence. Peace also starts in our own conscience where we know what is right and refuse to be morally blinded in our mind and heart by nationalist militarism, a moral disease which continues to destroy millions of men and women, not only in Iraq where the USA Government has carried out war crimes, in Chechnya where the Russian Government continues to commit war crimes, in Israel in the occupied Palestinian territories, and in many other places around our world.

Nowadays we hear a lot of talk about security. The greatest power on earth, the United States, decided that the way to achieve security was through “shock and awe,” destruction of countries, and the multiple deaths of people including her own young men and women transformed into soldiers. (Over 654,000 Iraqi civilians and thousands of USA soldiers have needlessly died.) Such violent reactions endorse a culture of violence, rather than a culture of dialogue with its citizens and perceived enemies. In Northern Ireland, we have been through all of that. And we know that it doesn’t work. Violence does not prevent violence. The failure of militarism, paramilitarism, in Northern Ireland is mirrored in Iraq. Should it not be obvious that we are now at a point of human history where we must abolish the culture of violence and embrace a culture of nonviolence for the sake of our children and the children of the world? But is such a quantum leap of thinking possible? Nothing is possible unless we can imagine it. So what is meant by such a society?

Professor Paige in his book *Nonkilling Global Political Science*¹ says:

¹ It is being translated into 24 languages. Former Indian Prime Minister I.K. Gujral has advised, “This book should be read in very political science department and by the public.” In his Introduction to the Russian edition, Prof. William Smirnov, Vice-President of the Russian Political Science

A nonkilling society can be defined as a human community from the smallest to the largest in which there is no killing of humans and no threats to kill (Banerjee, 2000), there are no weapons for killing humans and no ideological justifications for killing—in computer terms no “hardware” and no “software” for killing and there are no social conditions that depend, for maintenance or change, upon the threat or use of killing force.

I would add that it is not enough to decide not to kill but we need to learn to live nonviolently in our lives and families. Nonviolence is a decision to protect and celebrate life, to love oneself, others, and ones enemies, and to bring wisdom, compassion, forgiveness, and reconciliation into our relationships. It is a way of living in harmony with each other, the environment, and all of creation. Nonviolence recognizes principled dissent against injustice and the misuse of power and upholds the right to civil disobedience as an integral part of a democratic society. Nonviolence is based on unconditional love, truth, equality, justice, and respect for life.

To build such a nonviolent culture we need first to move away from dependence upon threat and use of killing force for security, and by that I mean armies and all imitations of armies. Second we must stop using our economic resources for the unholy alliance of arms dealers and warmongers, but use them instead to deal with the root cause of violence, i.e., poverty and injustice. We could abolish poverty. According to one United Nations report, an investment of less than a fourth of the world’s collective annual expenditure on arms would be enough to solve the major economic and environmental problems facing humanity. Ending the military/industrial complex’s stranglehold on Governments policies, and introducing policies which meet the basic needs of people, would help remove many of the root causes of violence. We know what to do, but what is lacking is the will of economic and political leaders, who continue in their policies, to feed the death culture of war, nuclear weapons and arms. This then is just not a political, economic, and socio-cultural crisis but a deeply spiritual and moral one.

The Human Family is moving away from the violent mindset. Increasingly violence, war, armed struggles, and violent revolutions are no longer romanticised, glorified, or culturally accepted as ways of solving our problems. As a pacifist I believe that violence is never justified, and there are always alternatives to force and threat of force. We should challenge the society that tells us

Association and the International Political Science Association has written: “The basic ideas in this unique book can and should become the basis of common values for humanity in the 21st century as well as a programme for their realization.”

there is no alternative to violence. In all areas of our life we can adopt non-violence: in our lifestyles, our education, our commerce, our defense, our governance. Also the Political scientists and academics could help this cultural change by teaching nonviolence as a serious political science, and help too in the development of effective nonviolence to bring about social and political changes. Also by implementing the UN Decade for a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence for the Children of the World, and teaching nonviolence in educational establishments, they can help evolve this new culture.

Nonviolence is an ideal that has seldom been explored. But it is not an impossible ideal. History is littered with examples of nonviolent resistance, many of them successful. Gandhi and King successfully used nonviolence for human rights issues. Italy's own St. Francis, a Mystic-Ecologist-Environmentalist, is a model to us of how to apply a holistic approach to living nonviolently, especially in a world where climate change is one of the greatest challenges to humanity's future. Abdul Khafer Khan, the great Muslim leader, demonstrated the power of courageous Islamic nonviolence through the unarmed Servants of God army and parallel government to liberate the Pathan people from British colonial rule in India's North-West Frontier Province (now in Pakistan). Their example deserves to be known widely throughout the world (Banerjee, 2000).

All Faith traditions can play a role in building this new culture, as each have their own prophets of nonviolence. All faiths can agree to teach the Golden Rule of "Do unto others as you would have them do to you." I myself came into pacifism and nonviolence in the early 1970s. Facing State Violence I asked myself "As a Christian can I ever use violence?" I studied and rejected the "Just War" theory and went to the cross where I believe Jesus' message of love your enemies, do not kill, is most clearly shown. I also agree with the American theologian, the late Fr. McKenzie, who said "You cannot read the gospels and not know Jesus was totally nonviolent." How tragic, in light of Jesus's example, to know that the American Catholic Hierarchy (with a couple of honourable exceptions) have blessed yet again their catholic flock going to Iraq to participate in an unjust, immoral and illegal war, thus ignoring the Pope's guidance on this matter. But, I believe, until the Christian Churches begin to resurrect from their longstanding moral malaise of blessing, and/or ambiguity or consent-bestowing silence, on violence and war, and give Spiritual guidance to their people by living and teaching the nonviolence of Jesus, by abolishing the Just War theory, denouncing all war, nuclear bombs and armaments, it behooves those of us who are Christian (and those who follow

other spiritual paths, or none) to follow our conscience, seek truth in our own lives, and live out of that with as much integrity as possible.

Finally, I have great hope for the future. I believe in the goodness and kindness of people. As world citizens working together in solidarity we can demilitarize Europe and the World, build neutral and nonaligned countries in Europe and around the world, and develop unarmed policing and non-military forms of self-defense. We can establish or strengthen implementing nonviolent institutions such as: Global Nonkilling Spiritual Council; Global Nonkilling Security Council; Global Nonkilling Nonmilitary Self-Defence Security, such as the Nonviolent Peaceforce; Global Nonkilling Leadership Academies; Global Nonkilling Trusteeship Fund; and Ministries of Peace in National Governments.

To build a nonviolent culture will also mean changing Patriarchal and Hierarchical systems which are unjust and under which women particularly suffer from oppressive structures and institutions. It will not be easy, but it is necessary and possible together in our interconnected, interdependent human family, to build a new world civilization with a nonviolent heart.

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Charter for a World without Violence

8th World Summit of Nobel Peace Laureates
Rome, December 15, 2007

“Violence is a preventable disease”

No state or individual can be secure in an insecure world. The values of nonviolence in intention, thought, and practice have grown from an option to a necessity. These values are expressed in their application between states, groups and individuals.

We are convinced that adherence to the values of nonviolence will usher in a more peaceful, civilized world order in which more effective and fair governance, respectful of human dignity and the sanctity of life itself, may become a reality.

Our cultures, our histories, and our individual lives are interconnected and our actions are interdependent. Especially today as never before, we believe, a truth lies before us: our destiny is a common destiny. That destiny will be defined by our intentions, decisions and actions today.

We are further convinced that creating a culture of peace and nonviolence while a difficult and long process, is both necessary and noble. Affirmation of the values contained in this Charter is a vital step to ensuring the survival and development of humanity and the achievement of a world without violence.

We, Nobel Peace Laureates and Laureate organizations,

Reaffirming our commitment to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

Moved by concern for the need to end the spread of violence at all levels of society and especially the threats posed on a global scale that jeopardize the very existence of humankind;

Reaffirming that freedom of thought and expression is at the root of democracy and creativity;

Recognizing that violence manifests in many ways, such as armed conflict, military occupation, poverty, economic exploitation, environmental destruction, corruption and prejudice based on race, religion, gender, or sexual orientation;

Realizing that the glorification of violence as expressed through commercial entertainment can contribute to the acceptance of violence as a normal and acceptable condition;

In the knowledge that those most harmed by violence are the weakest and vulnerable;

Remembering that peace is not only the absence of violence but that it is the presence of justice and the well-being of people;

Realizing that the failure of States to sufficiently accommodate ethnic, cultural and religious diversity is at the root of much of the violence in the world;

Recognizing the urgent need to develop an alternative approach to collective security based on a system in which no country, or group of countries, relies on nuclear weapons for its security;

Being aware that the world is in need of effective global mechanisms and approaches for nonviolent conflict prevention and resolution, and that they are most successful when applied at the earliest possible moment;

Affirming that persons invested with power carry the greatest responsibility to end violence where it is occurring and to prevent violence whenever possible;

Asserting that the values of nonviolence must triumph at all levels of society as well as in relations between States and peoples;

Beseech the global community to advance the following principles:

First: In an interdependent world, the prevention and cessation of armed conflict between and within States can require the collective action of the international community. The security of individual states can best be achieved by advancing global human security. This requires strengthening the implementation capacity of the UN system as well as regional cooperative organizations.

Second: To achieve a world without violence, States must abide by the rule of law and honor their legal commitments at all times.

Third: It is essential to move without further delay towards the universal and verifiable elimination of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. States possessing such weapons must take concrete steps towards disarmament, and a security system that does not rely on nuclear deterrence. At the same time, States must sustain their efforts to consolidate the nuclear non-proliferation regime, by taking such measures as strengthening

multilateral verification, protecting nuclear material and advancing disarmament.

Fourth: To help eliminate violence in society, the production and sale of small arms and light weapons must be reduced and strictly controlled at international, regional, state and local levels. In addition there should be full and universal enforcement of international disarmament agreements, such as the 1997 Mine Ban Treaty, and support for new efforts aimed at the eradication of the impact of victim-activated and indiscriminate weapons, such as cluster munitions. A comprehensive and effective Arms Trade Treaty needs to be enacted.

Fifth: Terrorism can never be justified because violence begets violence and because no acts of terror against the civilian population of any country can be carried out in the name of any cause. The struggle against terrorism cannot, however, justify violation of human rights, international humanitarian law, civilized norms and democracy.

Sixth: Ending domestic and family violence requires unconditional respect for the equality, freedom, dignity, and rights of women, men and children by all individuals, institutions of the state, religion and civil society. Such protections must be embodied in laws and conventions at local and international levels.

Seventh: Every individual and state shares responsibility to prevent violence against children and youth, our common future and most precious gift. All have a right to quality education, effective primary health care, personal safety, social protection, full participation in society and an enabling environment that reinforces nonviolence as a way of life. Peace education, promoting nonviolence and emphasizing the innate human quality of compassion, must be an essential part of the curriculum of educational institutions at all levels.

Eighth: Preventing conflicts arising from the depletion of natural resources, in particular sources of energy and water, requires States to affirmatively and, through creation of legal mechanisms and standards, provide for the protection of the environment and to encourage people to adjust their consumption on the basis of resource availability and real human needs.

Ninth: We beseech the UN and its member states to promote appreciation of ethnic, cultural and religious diversity. The golden rule of a nonviolent world: Treat others as you wish to be treated.

Tenth: The principal political tools for bringing into being a nonviolent world are functioning democratic institutions and dialogue based on dignity, knowledge, and compromise, conducted on the basis of balance between the interests of the parties involved, and, when appropriate, including concerns relating to the entirety of humanity and the natural environment.

Eleventh: All states, institutions and individuals must support efforts to address the inequalities in the distribution of economic resources, and resolve gross inequities which create a fertile ground for violence. The imbalance in living conditions inevitably leads to lack of opportunity and, in many cases, loss of hope.

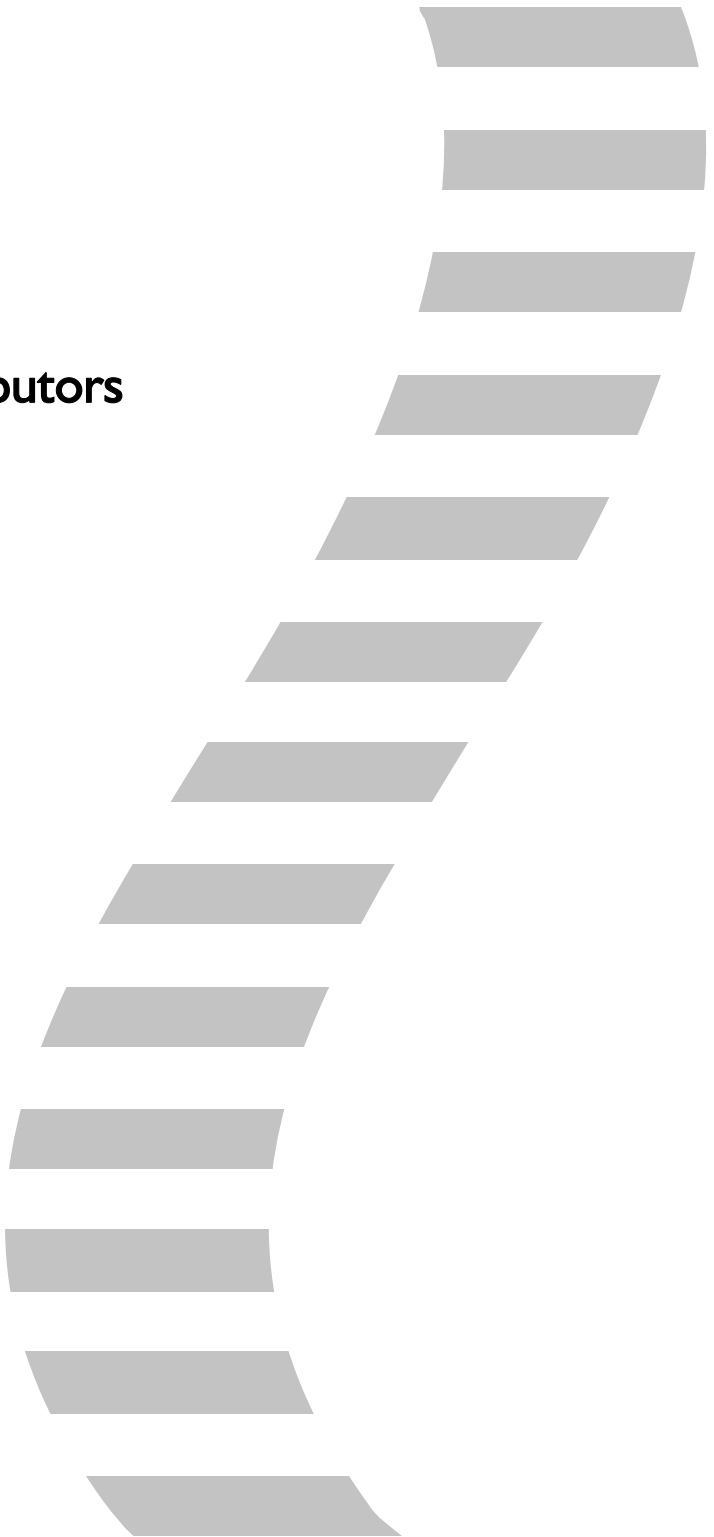
Twelfth: Civil society, including human rights defenders, peace and environmental activists must be recognized and protected as essential to building a nonviolent world as all governments must serve the needs of their people, not the reverse. Conditions should be created to enable and encourage civil society participation, especially that of women, in political processes at the global, regional, national and local levels.

Thirteenth: In implementing the principles of their Charter we call upon all to work together towards a just, **killing-free*** world in which everyone has the right not to be killed and responsibility not to kill others.

To address all forms of violence we encourage scientific research in the fields of human interaction and dialogue and we invite participation from the academic, scientific and religious communities to aid us in the transition to nonviolent, and **nonkilling*** societies.

* Bold added in this edition.

Contributors



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Dennis A. Almeida is a combat wounded and disabled U.S. Marine Corp veteran of the Vietnam War, where he served in 1968. Upon returning he taught social studies and history in the public schools of Massachusetts. He has always been active in the veterans' rights community and from 1999 to the present he has counselled veterans on a volunteer basis. He has an Ed.M. (Harvard University), M.A. in Holistic Counseling (Sale Regina University) and a B.A. in Political Science (University of Hawai'i). He is currently a full time graduate student in the Political Science Department at the University of Rhode Island.

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A. T. Ariyaratne is Founding President of Sri Lanka's Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, a non-profit organization that involves millions of people in 15,000 villages in development projects. Ariyaratne has won international recognition that includes the Gandhi and Niwano peace prizes and the Magsaysay and Hubert H. Humphrey awards. He received the Sushil Kumar International Peace Award in 2006, two years after it was given to the Dalai Lama. Born in 1931, he holds a doctor of humanities degree, a doctor of letters degree (honorary) and a bachelor of arts in economics, Sinhala and education. He has served on Sri Lanka's human rights commission.

Batchuluun Baldandorj worked as Professor of Philosophy at the National University of Mongolia, 1985-1996; Visiting Professor at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1996-98; and Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, State Pedagogical University of Mongolia, 1998-2000. During that time he also worked on consultancy contracts with the Academy for Political Education, the Open Society Forum, the American Center for Mongolian Studies and the Libertarian Foundation of Mongolia. He has held research appointments at Bielefeld University (Germany), Exeter University (United Kingdom), Tokyo University for Foreign Studies, Central European University (Hungary), and Moscow University. His research areas include social and political sciences, cultural anthropology, social psychology, and Mongolian studies.

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- James MacGregor Burns** graduated from Williams College in 1939 and received his Ph.D. from Harvard University. He worked for the federal government and served as a soldier in World War II. Burns began his academic career as a political scientist and became president of the American Political Science Association. He also worked in history, philosophy and psychology, and in the course of this shifted to his main study during most of his life, leadership. His book *Leadership* (1977) opened up a huge flood of sophisticated works in this complex field.
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- Johan Galtung** is Professor of Peace Studies, Founder & Co-director TRANSCEND: A Peace and Development Network. Founded and directed the International Peace Research Institute at Oslo (1959-69) and the *Journal of Peace Research*. Professor at Columbia University (1957-60);

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Sohanlal Jain Gandhi is President of the Anuvrat Global Organization, a transnational centre for peace and nonviolent action associated with the Department of Public Information, United Nations. He was invited by the President of the UN General Assembly as a panel speaker for the interactive hearing organized on the eve of a high-level dialogue on Interreligious and Intercultural Cooperation for Peace at the UN HQ. Currently he is also the coordinator of Jaipur Ahimsa Samvaay Kendra (a nonviolent training centre).

Ha'aheo Guanson is the Executive Director of the Pacific Justice and Reconciliation Center in Chinatown, Honolulu. She served as the President of the Board of Homeland Ministries for the United Churches of Christ and was the Vice President for the United States and International Fellowship of Reconciliation. A trainer and advocate of peace and non-violence, Dr. Guanson continues to teach indigenous peacemaking and leadership. She was the Director of the Matsunaga Peace Institute during its formative years.

Rashida Khanam is Professor and Chairperson of the Department of Political Science, University of Chittagong, since 1979, where she earned a B.A. Honor's and M.A in Political Science, followed by a second Master degree from the University of Waterloo, Canada. Fields of interests include Problems of Political Philosophy, Women and Politics, Bangladesh Politics and Comparative Politics.

Arjuna Krishnaratne I am Krishna, a son of a village farmer. It was a long story, migrating from our little village to Stanford University to study Ethnomusicology. It was like going to the moon. But one day I gave up all to work with refugee children. Soon I will become a monk and live in a forest meditation centre. Until then I am making documentary films on children. My last full length documentary is a gift to His Holiness the Dalai Lama. I am a simple monk. Nothing more, Nothing less.

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- Acharya Mahapragya** is a living embodiment of spirituality, nonviolence and peace, a walking encyclopedia of religion and philoso-

phy. More than being the leader of the Terapanth Jains in India, his devotion and dedication reaches the human core. He has not only enlightened the world with his innovative thoughts but also with his reformative movements. Under his leadership a 'Unity of Minds' conference was organized which has bloomed into an organization 'Foundation of Unity of Religious & Enlightened Citizenship', working with a vision of nurturing respect for all religions, Unity of religious minds, to enlighten citizens with the spiritual touch in life, solving problems of vehemence and more.

Abdel Salam Majali

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Glenn D. Paige

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Max Paul is Dean of the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences at Jean Price Mars University and Founding President of the *Centre Caraïbéen pour la Non-Violence Globale et le Développement Durable*. He teaches post-graduate courses on nonkilling, nonviolence and peace at the Université Notre Dame d'Haïti. He studied Anthropology at the Faculty of Ethnology at the State University of Haiti, continued with studies in Social Anthropology, Philosophy, Political Science at the University of Bonn, where he obtained his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees.

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Eva Quistorp was born in Germany in 1945. Her parents were active in the illegal Confessing Church against the Nazi regime. She studied theology, German literature and political science in West Berlin. Teacher, writer, editor, moderator and organizer of huge eco- and peace rallies in Bonn and Europe 1973-1984. Co-founder of Women for Peace Germany and the Greens in 1979/80; co-president of the German Green Party 1986-88; women eco-peace lobbyist at UN since 1980; member of the European Parliament 1989-94; co-founder of the Böll Foundation and the National Peace Cooperative, co-director and consultant of the International Peace Bureau and co-organizer of the global rallies against the Iraq war.

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Alice Tucker graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Sophie Newcomb College, Tulane University, majoring in languages and communications. She has been Program Coordinator for the Central YMCA of Honolulu and Director of Volunteer and Employee Services for the Rehabilitation Hospital of the Pacific. Alice has served as president of Congregation Temple Emanu-El, Hawai'i Medical Auxiliary, Counseling and Spiritual Care Center of Hawai'i and is currently board chair of Pacific Health Ministry.

Sunil Wijesiriwardena obtained a Ph.D. in Bio Science from the Friendship University, Moscow in 1981. After completing higher studies he came back to Sri Lanka in 1982, and immediately dived into social-political work as a volunteer. He was the Founder-Director of the Vibhavi Centre for Alternative Culture devoted to Cultural Rights and to a Cultural Transformation program in Sri Lanka. As a playwright, literary translator and editor he has been making a notable contribution to fields of Sinhala Literature and Theatre.

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