
from *Waging Peace:
Global Adventures of a Lifelong Activist*

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Resources for Further Study and Action: What You Can Do

If you have been moved by the stories in this book, here are some things you can do.

Together we can make peaceful change possible!

PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT

- 1.** Practice nonviolence in all areas of your life—thoughts, conversations, family and work relationships, and with challenging people and situations. Read Gandhi and King to gain a deeper understanding of nonviolence, and how to integrate nonviolence into your life as you work for change. One valuable resource is <http://www.godblessthewholeworld.org>
- 2.** Explore nonviolent ways of relating and communicating where compassion and active listening guide your interactions with others. Alternatives to Violence Project (<http://www.avpusa.org>) and Non-violent Communication trainings (<http://www.cnvc.org>) are excellent and engaging ways to practice these invaluable skills.
- 3.** Watch or listen to *Democracy Now!*, *Bill Moyers Journal* on PBS, and public news stations which are independently operated, non-commercial, and listener-supported. They provide a more progressive political orientation and counterbalance what is promoted by the mainstream media: <http://www.democracynow.org>, <http://www.pbs.org/moyers/journal/index.html>, <http://www.pbs.org>.
- 4.** Participate in a Global Exchange “Reality Tour.” These socially responsible educational tours develop a deeper understanding of the poverty, injustice and violence facing so many around the world. Frequently, long lasting personal relationships are made as you

empower local communities and learn how to work for change in American polices, which are often the direct cause for these adverse conditions: <http://www.globalexchange.org/tours>.

5. Be the change you want to see in the world. People seeking a caring, compassionate, just, environmentally sustainable and peaceful world can begin by living their own lives by the values they would like to see in the world.

PERSONAL WITNESS—SPEAKING OUT

6. Write letters to the editor of your local newspaper, and to members of Congress, about issues which concern you. By contacting local, state, and federal elected officials and government agencies, you are “speaking truth to power.”

7. Participate in a short-term international delegation to get to know people living in conflict areas, and to experience their reality. Meet locals who are working for peace and justice, and learn how you can become their ally. Witness for Peace (<http://www.witnessforpeace.org>); Interfaith PeaceBuilders (<http://www.interfaithpeacebuilders.org>); Meta Peace Teams (<http://www.mptpeaceteams.org>), Christian Peacemaker Teams (<http://www.cpt.org>), Friends Peace Teams (<http://www.friendspeaceteams.org>) all offer these valuable opportunities.

8. Contact the above groups and volunteer to work on a peace team in a conflict area to help support local human rights defenders, protect civilian populations (an estimated 80 percent of the people killed in wars are now civilians), and support local peacekeepers working for nonviolent resolution of conflicts. Ask a local church, religious community, or civic organization to support you in volunteering for three months to a year doing this work.

9. Counter-recruitment—Educate young people who are considering the military (frequently to get financial assistance for a college education) about the reality of that choice, and the horrors of war. The War Resisters League (<http://www.warresisters.org/counterrecruitment>) and the American Friends Service Committee (<http://www.afsc.org/resource/counter-recruitment>) both offer good educational resources for these efforts.

Assist those who are considering the military with viable, peaceful alternatives and introduce them to veterans who have witnessed war directly such as Veterans for Peace (<http://www.vfp.org>). Where appropriate, help them to apply for Conscientious Objector status. The GI Rights Hotline offers good information regarding that process (<http://>

girightshotline.org). Invite a Veterans for Peace speaker to come to your school/college or religious community.

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

10. Together with others who have read this book, share insights and stories which touched you, or empowered you to address the problems of war, injustice, racism, and violence in our society. Which accounts motivated you to help create a more just, peaceful, nonviolent, and environmentally sustainable world? What would you like to do differently as a result of reading this book?

11. Watch the DVD *A Force More Powerful* with others in your church, community, school, or university. It documents the history of six powerful nonviolent movements around the world. Discuss each featured episode, which explores some of the twentieth century's major struggles in which nonviolent people-powered movements have overcome oppression, dictatorship, and authoritarian rule. Downloadable study guides, and comprehensive lesson plans for high school students, are available on the website. The DVD is available in more than a dozen languages: <http://www.aforcemorepowerful.org>.

12. Read articles in *Waging Nonviolence: People Powered News and Analysis* by authors like George Lakey, Ken Butigan, Kathy Kelly, John Dear, and Mary King. These articles are filled with stories of ordinary people facing conflicts, using nonviolent strategies and tactics, even under the most difficult of circumstances, discuss your responses with others, and decide what you would like to do to create nonviolent change: <http://www.wagingnonviolence.org>.

13. Create a study/discussion group to read or view DVDs and books in the Resources Section of this book. Discuss your feelings, responses, insights on how nonviolent struggle works, and what you might like to do together to put your beliefs into action.

14. To honor Martin Luther King on January 15 (or any other day), organize a showing of one of the excellent films on Dr. King such as *King: From Montgomery to Memphis*, or *KING: Go beyond the Dream to Discover the Man* (by the History Channel). Afterward, talk about what relevance King and the Civil Rights Movement have for your lives, and for our nation today. A Study Guide for this film is available for download: http://www.history.com/images/media/pdf/08-0420_King_Study_Guide.pdf

15. In addition, large public libraries often have good collections of DVDs on MLK and the Civil Rights Movement, like *Eyes on the Prize*:

America's Civil Rights Years 1954–1965. Listen to some of the amazing talks at <http://www.godblessthewholeworld.org> and discuss them with friends. This free online educational resource features hundreds of videos, audio files, articles and courses on social justice, spiritual activism, counter oppression, environmentalism, plus many other topics on personal and global transformation.

16. Organize a study group using Pace e Bene's workbook titled *Engage: Exploring Nonviolent Living*. This twelve-part study and action program offers participants a wide variety of principles, stories, exercises, and readings for learning, practicing, and experimenting with the power of creative nonviolence for personal and social change: <http://www.paceebene.org>.

Nonviolent, LOW-, AND NO-RISK ACTIONS

17. Get involved in Pace e Bene's Campaign Nonviolence to build a movement to end war, poverty, and the climate crisis: <http://www.campaignnonviolence.org>.

18. Identify a problem in your community, the nation or the world, and find others who share your concern. Join together and organize to address that problem, using Martin Luther King's Six Principles of Nonviolence, and his steps in organizing nonviolent campaigns, included at the end of this book. Working together we can create what King called the "Beloved Community."

19. Participate in peaceful demonstrations that focus on your area of concern (antiwar, national priorities, banking reform, immigration, education, health care, Social Security, etc.). They are a good way to expand your contacts and energize your spirit for the longer campaigns.

20. Work at the grass roots level. You don't need to go to Washington to create change. Start where you are, as Martin Luther King did with the bus boycott in Montgomery (1955), and with the voting rights campaign in Selma, Alabama (1965). "Think globally. Act locally."

21. Whatever your spiritual or faith path, live by the values and beliefs you profess. Beliefs don't have much meaning without action. If you are part of a faith-based community, work to help make your church or spiritual community a beacon of justice, peace, and love in the world.

22. All the struggles—justice, peace, environmental sustainability, women's rights, etc.—are interconnected; you don't need to do everything. Pick an issue you feel passionately about and focus your efforts on that. Find ways to support others who are working on different issues, especially at critical times when a major effort is needed.

DIRECT ACTION

23. Participate in nonviolence trainings which create opportunities for participants to learn more about the history and power of nonviolence, share fears and feelings, build solidarity with one another, and form affinity groups. Nonviolence trainings are often used as preparation for actions, and give people a chance to learn specifics about that action, its tone, and legal ramifications; to role play interactions with police, officials, and others in the action; and to practice applying nonviolence in challenging situations. For more information about trainings contact: <http://www.trainingforchange.org>, <http://www.pacebene.org>, <http://www.ruckus.org>, <http://www.trainersalliance.org>, <http://www.organizingforpower.org> or <http://www.warresisters.org> and <http://eastpointpeace.org>.

24. “Speak truth to power” with others. Develop a nonviolent campaign aimed at a specific injustice or issue, for example: gun violence, the environment, wars and occupations, the use of drones, or redefining our national priorities. Pick an achievable goal, focus on that for some months or even longer. “A campaign is a focused mobilization of energy with a clear objective, over a time period that can realistically be sustained by those who identify with the cause” (George Lakey, “History Is a Weapon: Strategizing for a Living Revolution”). Use King’s “Four Basic Steps in Any Nonviolent Campaign” (“Letter from a Birmingham Jail,” April 16, 1963) or refer to the Movement Action Plan in Bill Moyer’s book *Doing Democracy* (2001), <http://www.doingdemocracy.com>. One example of a nonviolent campaign is the National Priorities Project: Bringing the Federal Budget Home. They seek to “end the wars and military bases around the world, and bring our tax dollars home—for schools, health care for all, parks, job training, care for the elderly, head start, etc.” (nationalprioritiesproject.org).

25. In the spirit of Henry David Thoreau, Mahatma Gandhi, and Martin Luther King, consider engaging in acts of nonviolent civil resistance to challenge unjust laws or policies which you consider immoral, or illegal under international law. These might include the use of drones, the use of torture, or nuclear weapons development. It is highly recommended that you do this with others so you can support one another, and that you go through Nonviolence Training first (see #22 above).

26. Consider refusing to pay some or all of your taxes that pay for war. War Tax Resistance is an important way to withdraw your cooperation from participation in U.S. wars. In order to sustain their war efforts,

governments need young men and women willing to fight and kill, and they need the rest of us to pay our taxes to cover the cost of the soldiers, the bombs, the guns, the ammunition, nuclear weapons, the planes and the aircraft carriers that enable them to continue fighting wars. Alexander Haig, President Nixon's chief of staff, as he looked out the White House window and saw over two hundred thousand antiwar demonstrators marching by, said "Let them march all they want to as long as they pay their taxes." Contact the National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee (NWTRCC) for assistance and additional information (http://www.nwtrcc.org/contacts_counselors.php).

27. Imagine what might happen if our country put even 10 percent of the money we presently spend on wars and military expenditures into building a world where every person has enough to eat, shelter, an opportunity for education, and access to medical care. We might become the most loved country in the world—and the most secure. See the website for the Global Marshall Plan: <http://www.spiritualprogressives.org/gmp>.

If you would like to work actively to support nonviolent movements around the world, contact Peaceworkers@igc.org.

Whatever you do, thank you. *Together we shall overcome!*

Ten Lessons Learned From My Life of Activism

1. Vision. It is important that we take the time to envision the community, nation, and world we would like to live in, and create for our children and grandchildren. This long-term view, or vision statement, will be a continual source of inspiration. Then we can explore practical ways we can work with others who share our vision to create that kind of world. I personally envision a world without war—where there is justice for all, love for one another, peaceful resolution of conflicts, and environmental sustainability.

2. The oneness of all life. We are one human family. We need to understand that deep in our souls, and act on that conviction. I believe that through compassion, love, forgiveness, recognition of our oneness as a global community, and our willingness to struggle for that kind of world, we *will* realize worldwide justice and peace.

3. Nonviolence, a powerful force. As Gandhi said, Nonviolence is the most powerful force in the world, and it is “an idea whose time has come.” People all over the world are organizing nonviolent movements to bring about change. In *Why Civil Resistance Works*, Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan have documented that over the past 110 years nonviolent movements have been twice as likely to succeed as violent movements, and much more likely to help create democratic societies, without reverting to dictatorships or civil war.

4. Nurture your spirit. Through nature, music, friends, meditation, reading, and other practices of personal and spiritual development, I have learned the importance of nurturing our spirits and pacing ourselves for the long haul. When we confront violence and injustice it is our spiritual practices that help us discover our inner resources, and

enable us to move forward with the courage of our deepest convictions. “Only from the heart can you touch the sky” (Rumi).

5. Small, committed groups can create change. Margaret Mead once said, “Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has.” In times of doubt and discouragement about the current situation, those words, and my own life experiences, have re-inspired me with the certainty that we can make a difference! Even a few committed students can make substantial change, as we did during our lunch counter sit-ins (Arlington, VA, 1960). We had been inspired by four African American freshmen who sat down at Woolworth’s “whites only” lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina (February 1960). Their action sparked many sit-ins like ours, and led to the desegregation of lunch counters throughout the South. “Ordinary people,” can make change. The most successful campaigns I have participated in were with friends who shared concerns, and organized together to make changes in the larger society. Our schools, churches, and community organizations are excellent places to develop such support groups. Although one person can make a difference, it can be very challenging working alone. However, together, we can overcome!

6. Sustained struggle. Every major movement that I have studied, or been a part of, required sustained struggle over months, and even years, to bring about fundamental changes in our society. Examples include the abolitionist movement, the movement for women’s suffrage, the civil rights movement, the anti-Vietnam War movement, the United Farm Workers movement, the sanctuary movement, and many others. All had the common thread of sustained resistance, energy, and vision.

7. Good Strategy. Yes, holding a sign and putting a bumper sticker on our car is important, but if we want to bring about fundamental change in our society we need to create long-range goals that build toward our vision for the future, and then develop good strategy and sustained campaigns to achieve those goals. (See George Lakey’s, *Toward a Living Revolution: A Five-Stage Framework for Creating Radical Social Change*, Peace News Press, London, 2012.).

8. Overcome our fear. Do everything you can to overcome your fear. Governments and other systems try to instill fear in us to control and immobilize us. Claiming that Iraq had concealed weapons of mass destruction scared people and gave the Bush administration justification to invade Iraq, even though no such weapons were found. We must not fall into the traps of disinformation set by the authorities. Fear is

a major impediment to speaking truth to power, to acting to stop wars and injustice, and to whistle-blowing. The more we overcome it, the more powerful and united we become. A supportive community is very important in overcoming our fears.

9. Truth. As Gandhi said, “Let your lives be ‘Experiments with Truth.’” We must experiment with active nonviolence, and keep hope alive. I share Gandhi’s conviction that “Things undreamt of are daily being seen; the impossible is ever becoming possible. We are constantly being astonished these days at the amazing discoveries in the field of violence. But I maintain that far more undreamt of and seemingly impossible discoveries will be made in the field of nonviolence.”

10. Telling our stories. Sharing our stories and experiments with truth is critically important. We can empower one another with our stories. There are many inspiring accounts of active nonviolent movements, such as those portrayed in *A Force More Powerful* (Peter Ackerman and Jack DuVall, 2000). Archbishop Desmond Tutu said, “When people decide they want to be free . . . there is nothing that can stop them.” I invite you to share your stories of experiments with active nonviolence on the website for this book (<http://www.peaceworkersus.org/wagingpeace>) and help challenge others to join in making a difference.

Hartsough's Sentencing Statement for Nonviolent Protest Opposing Drones at Beale AFB

David was arrested along with eight others blocking two entrances at Beale Air Force Base, where they closed the main entrance for over three hours.

Drones have killed thousands of innocent civilians and are immoral and illegal under U.S. and international law. They also recruit many more people into Al Qaeda.

We are one human family. All people in the world are children of God and are our brothers and sisters. If someone attacks our blood brother or sister, we would do everything in our power to stop them. This is the way we feel about innocent civilians being killed by drones in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Yemen.

One hundred and seventy-eight children and thousands of other civilians have been killed by drones in Pakistan and Yemen. Does this strengthen our national security? Is this making the world a safer place?

Drones are totally immoral and are against everything we have been taught in our religious faiths: love one another, love your enemy and do unto others as you would have them do unto you. This is a question of religious freedom. I am a Quaker and my religious faith requires me to try to stop the killing of innocent people.

How would we feel if Russians or Chinese or Afghans or Pakistanis were flying drones over the United States and killing American people?

It is illegal under international law to go into another country and drop bombs on people our government doesn't like. The Nuremberg Principles require citizens to attempt to stop crimes against



Along with Shirley Osgood, Janie Kesselman, and Sharon Delgado, my wife Jan and I protested drones and closed the main base entrance for three hours before being arrested at Beale Air Force Base, CA (2012). [Photo: Sherri Maurin]

humanity and killing innocent civilians is a crime against humanity. Doing nothing or remaining silent is complicity in these crimes. In protesting at Beale AFB, I was trying to uphold international law.

The United States is making decisions to kill people without them ever coming before a court or found guilty. The U.S. government is playing Judge, Jury and Executioner. Is this what we call the rule of law?

Using drones and killing many innocent people is creating more and more enemies of the United States. Every person we kill has at least fifty family members and friends who will mourn the loss of their loved ones. Many will seek revenge on the people and nation that has killed their loved ones or friends.

Instead of drones and dropping bombs on people we need to send Peace Corps people to build schools and medical clinics and help people in these countries recover from the wounds of war. We could be the most loved country on earth rather than the most hated.

By our silence we condone this senseless killing. We must speak out and act to stop this madness. By our nonviolent protest at Beale AFB, we were acting to uphold God's law, U.S. law, the Nuremberg Principles and international law.

We call on our fellow Americans, people in churches and synagogues and mosques, students, all people of conscience to join us in

stopping drones before they kill more innocent people and recruit more people into Al Qaeda. Unfortunately, our “war on terror” is a recipe for perpetual wars and endless suffering and death for people around the world.

Judge Delaney, at a time when our country is preparing to rain down missiles and bombs on Syria, which could start a much larger war in the Middle East killing thousands or hundreds of thousands of people, perhaps the best place for people of conscience is behind bars.

I am at peace with whatever you sentence me to. I cannot pay a fine or accept probation for a nonviolent action in which I was trying to uphold God’s law, U.S. law and international law. Judge, if you so decide, I am ready to do community service or spend time in prison.

Suggested DVDs, Books, and Websites for Further Study and Action

DVDs

A Fierce Green Fire: The Battle for a Living Planet (2012). Spanning fifty years of grassroots and global activism, this documentary brings to light the vital stories of the environmental movement where people fought—and succeeded—against enormous odds.

A Force More Powerful (2000). Documents the power and success of non-violent movements around the world in the twentieth century; there are six half-hour segments: Gandhi, civil rights movement in United States, nonviolent resistance to Hitler, Solidarity in Poland, peaceful transformation of South Africa, and nonviolent overthrow of dictator Pinochet in Chile.

Beyond Rangoon (1995). Provides a cinematic account of the Burmese non-violent uprising of the 1980s from the point of view of an American doctor; shows the true story of Aung San Suu Kyi courageously and peacefully confronting and leading a multitude through the line of armed soldiers.

Bringing Down a Dictator (2001). Shows how a nonviolent student-led resistance group built a powerful nonviolent movement which brought down Serbian dictator Slobodan Milosevic.

Budrus (JustVision.org, 2009) Inspiring film about the successful non-violent resistance of a village in Palestine protesting the separation wall running through their community.

Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years (1986). A PBS miniseries that traces the grassroots emergence and progression of the American Civil Rights movement during the King years.

- Freedom Riders* (2011). A PBS documentary about the courageous and powerful Civil Rights freedom riders, who integrated buses in the South in 1961.
- Gandhi* (1982). A cinematic portrayal of the life and work of Mohandas Gandhi.
- Hearts and Minds* (1974). A documentary on the Vietnam War that contrasts the lies of the administrations with the reality of what was happening on the ground in Vietnam. Columbia Pictures refused to distribute the film, and it was only rarely seen publicly until after the end of the war.
- King* (2008). A documentary that gives viewers a look at the extraordinary life of Martin Luther King Jr., going beyond the legend to portray the man, questions and myths about King; includes interviews with MLK Jr.'s son, his campaigners, Bill Clinton, Condoleezza Rice, and Bono among others.
- King: From Montgomery to Memphis* (1970). Chronicles the life and work of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., from the Montgomery Bus Boycott to his assassination in Memphis.
- Orange Revolution* (2007). Looks at when there were fraudulent elections in Ukraine in 2004 and thousands of people did courageous non-violent resistance—resulting in the elections being declared null and void. New elections were subsequently held.
- Pray the Devil Back to Hell* (2008). Details the efforts of the Liberian women whose combined efforts and commitment to active nonviolent resistance forced the government and armed resistance leaders to negotiate an end to the country's civil war.
- Sir No Sir* (2005). The suppressed story about the powerful GI movement to end the war in Vietnam.
- Soundtrack for a Revolution* (2010). Highlights the important role that music played during the U.S. Civil Rights movement in the South.
- What I've Learned about U.S. Foreign Policy: The War against the Third World* (2000). A compilation of videos of key activists by Frank Dorrel that reveals the true nature of U.S. foreign policy (<http://www.addictedtowar.com>).
- You Can't Be Neutral on a Moving Train: A Personal History of Our Times by Howard Zinn* (2002). An autobiographical film that provides an eloquent, personal account of the movements for civil rights, against the Vietnam War, and organized labor. It's also very hopeful.

Books

- The Power of Nonviolence: Writings by Advocates of Peace* (Beacon Press, 2002), 216 pages. A chronological anthology of the most persuasive writings on nonviolence, with an introduction by Howard Zinn.
- Peter Ackerman and Jack Duvall, *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 560 pages. The authors share the history of powerful nonviolent movements in the twentieth century which have changed history. This shares in much detail the stories shared in the film, *A Force More Powerful*. We learn how popular nonviolent movements have overthrown dictators and secured human rights and built democratic societies.
- Mary-Wynne Ashford with Guy Dauncey, *Enough Blood Shed: 101 Solutions to Violence, Terror and War* (New Society Publishers, 2006), 288 pages. Focuses on the power of ordinary people to make a difference; the author outlines the steps to build a culture of peace.
- Peter Blood and Annie Patterson, *Rise Up Singing: The Group Singing Songbook* (Sing Out Publications, 2004), 288 pages. Great collection of songs for peace and justice from around the world.
- Andrew Boyd, ed., *Beautiful Trouble: A Toolbox for Revolution* (OR Books, 2012), 460 pages. An excellent compilation of nonviolent tools as proposed by various grassroots organizations working for transformation of our society.
- Ken Butigan et al., *Engage: Exploring Nonviolent Living* (Pace e Bene Press, 2005), 320 pages. A study program for churches and other community groups to strengthen their understanding of nonviolence and how to apply it in their everyday lives and how to work for peace, sustainability, and justice in their communities and around the world.
- Paul K. Chappell, *Peaceful Revolution: How We Can Create the Future Needed for Humanity's Survival* (Easton Studio Press, 2012), 224 pages. The author shares his journey as a West Point graduate and an Iraq War Veteran to the peace activist he is today, and explains why he believes that nonviolence can end wars.
- Paul K. Chappell, *The Art of Waging Peace: A Strategic Approach to Improving Our Lives and the World* (Prospecta Press, 2013), 336 pages. This book shows how we can become active citizens with the skills and strength to defeat injustice and end all wars.
- Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict* (Columbia University Press, 2011), 320 pages. Chenoweth and Stephan study 323 violent and nonviolent movements over the past 110 years and find that

nonviolent movements have been at least twice as likely to be successful as armed movements in overthrowing oppressive regimes and creating lasting change; nonviolent movements were also more than twice as likely to end up in democratic societies and not revert to civil wars or dictatorships.

David Cortright, *Gandhi and Beyond: Nonviolence for an Age of Terrorism* (Paradigm Publishers, 2006), 280 pages. The author provides an analysis of nonviolent movements and looks at the philosophy behind nonviolence and how nonviolence can be used effectively in the age of terrorism.

John Dear, *A Persistent Peace: One Man's Struggle for a Nonviolent World* (Loyola Press, 2008), 456 pages. Jesuit priest John Dear's account of his thirty-year journey as an activist. The book focuses on Dear's spiritual journey experimenting with nonviolence.

John Dear, *The Nonviolent Life* (Pace e Bene Press, 2013), 150 pages. John Dear articulates a vision of the power, meaning and impact of the spiritually grounded, nonviolent life and invites us to live a nonviolent life and join the global grassroots movement of nonviolence.

Richard Deats, *Active Nonviolence Across the World* (Create Space Independent Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2012), 102 pages. A booklet giving an overview of active nonviolent movements around the world, in many of which Deats played an active role.

Sharon Delgado, *Shaking the Gates of Hell: Faith-Led Resistance to Corporate Globalization* (Fortress Press, 2007), 176 pages. The author shares how people of faith can challenge corporate greed and globalized institutions.

Louise Diamond, *The Peace Book: 108 Simple Ways to Create a More Peaceful World* (Conari Press, 2001), 191 pages. The author outlines ways to cultivate, promote, and sustain peace.

James Douglass, *JFK and the Unspeakable: Why He Died and Why It Matters* (Touchstone, 2010), 560 pages. An examination of President Kennedy's gradual conversion from cold warrior risking nuclear war with the Soviet Union to working for a policy of lasting peace, and how this contrasted strongly with the Cold War agenda of the military industrial complex, the FBI, and the CIA, and why that conversion got him assassinated.

Lisa Fithian, *Kicking Corporate Booty: A Manual for the People*. A flexible model of strategic organizing to help ordinary people take on corporations and win.

- Bruck K. Gagnon, *Come Together Right Now: Organizing Stories from a Fading Empire* (Just Write Books, 2008), 264 pages. Stories about grassroots organizing, international alliance building, the peace and labor movements, the conversion of the U.S. economy from weapons to human needs, the preservation of life on earth and the weaponization of space.
- Mohandas Gandhi, *All Men Are Brothers* (Continuum, 1980), 208 pages. A collection of some of Gandhi's most powerful writings on truth, non-violence, and religion.
- Mohandas Gandhi, edited by John Dear, *Mohandas Gandhi: Essential Writings* (Orbis Books, 2002), 192 pages. An excellent collection of Gandhi's writings; gives a deeper understanding of his profound message of nonviolence.
- Judith L. Hand, *The Beginning of War, the Ending of War* (Questpath Publishing, 2014), 329 pages. Explores why we have war, why war is not inevitable and a vision and strategy for how we can end war.
- Vincent Harding, *Martin Luther King: The Inconvenient Hero* (Orbis Books, 2008), 164 pages. The radical King that the establishment doesn't want us to remember; the King who challenged militarism and economic injustice, as well as racism in our society (an edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring).
- Vincent Harding, *Hope and History: Why We Must Share the Story of the Movement* (Orbis Books, 2010), 223 pages. Shares the spirit, history and power of the freedom movement of the 1960s and encourages us all to consider what we can do today to continue that important work.
- Chris Hedges, *War Is a Force that Gives Us Meaning* (Anchor, 2003), 224 pages. The author uses his own experiences combined with historical works to illustrate how war can overtake, seduce, and corrupt those who are around it. Hedges believes only massive nonviolent civil disobedience can transform this country into a real democracy at peace with the world; see also Hedges's weekly columns in Truthdig.com
- Chris Hedges, *The World as It Is: Dispatches on the Myth of Human Progress* (Nation Books, 2013), 432 pages. A collection of the author's recent articles in which he provides social and political critique on a variety of subjects, including the Middle East and the decay of the American Empire.
- Daniel Hunter, *Strategy and Soul: A Campaigner's Tale of Fighting Billionaires, Corrupt Officials, and Philadelphia Casinos* (Hyrax Books, 2013), 340 pages. A great how-to manual for building non-violent campaigns.

- Miki Kashtan, *Reweaving Our Human Fabric: Working together to Create a Nonviolent Future* (Fearless Heart Publications, 2014). An inspiring book that challenges us to live and practice nonviolence in our own lives and in our work for social transformation.
- Martin Luther King Jr., *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?* (Beacon Press, 1968), 209 pages. King's last book, including his thoughts on the need to build a movement to challenge economic injustice in our society and build a global community based on justice.
- Martin Luther King Jr., edited by James M. Washington, *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings of Martin Luther King Jr.* (Harper & Row, 1986), 676 pages. A compilation of the most important speeches and writings of Martin Luther King Jr.
- George Lakey, *Facilitating Group Learning: Strategies for Success with Adult Learners* (Jossey-Bass, 2010), 304 pages. A great resource for becoming an empowered facilitator/trainer working for social transformation.
- George Lakey, *Toward a Living Revolution: A Five-Stage Framework for Creating Radical Social Change* (Peace News Press, London, 2012), 304 pages. A five-stage strategy for transforming our society.
- John Lewis, *Walking with the Wind* (Mariner Books; 1999), 496 pages. The personal memoir of John Lewis, SNCC leader and now a member of Congress, details his moving experiences in the civil rights movement.
- John Lewis, *March* (Top Shelf Productions, 2013). A graphic novel and vivid firsthand account of John Lewis's lifelong struggle for civil and human rights, meditating on the distance traveled since the days of Jim Crow and segregation.
- Staughton and Alice Lynd, *Nonviolence in America: A Documentary History* (Orbis Books, 1995), 535 pages. A comprehensive compilation of documents that detail America's history of nonviolence, from colonial times to present.
- Winslow Myers, *Living Beyond War: A Citizens Guide* (Orbis Books, 2009), 180 pages. Wars don't work and there are much better alternatives than war for resolving conflict. We the people have the power to create a world beyond war.
- Bill Moyer, *Doing Democracy: The MAP Model for Organizing Social Movements* (New Society Publishers, 2001), 240 pages. Provides a theory and working model for understanding, analyzing and organizing social movements.
- Michael N. Nagler, *Is There No Other Way? The Search for a Nonviolent Future* (Inner Ocean Publishing, 2003), 352 pages. The author maps

out the historical legacy of nonviolence, from well-known leaders to everyday people, and argues why peaceful action is effective.

David Potorti, *September 11th Families for Peaceful Tomorrows: Turning Tragedy into Hope for a Better World* (RDV Books, 2003), 250 pages. Describes how some families who lost family members on September 11, 2001, rallied to form their own organization dedicated to promoting peace and reconciliation and addressing the root causes of terrorism.

Dennis Rivers, *Prayer Evolving: Five Personal Explorations into the Future of Prayer* (Karuna Books, 2008), 78 pages. Explores the deeper spiritual dimensions of prayer for peace activists: <http://www.prayer.evolving.net>.

Jonathan Schell, *The Unconquerable World: Power, Nonviolence, and the Will of the People* (Holt Paperbacks, 2004), 448 pages. The author looks at the history of nonviolent movements, both small and grand, and illustrates a way to end modern violent conflicts.

Jonathan Schell, *A Hole in the World: A Story of War, Protest, and the New American Order* (Nation Books, 2004), 208 pages. A look into the current political climate in America, and its focus on war, killing, and death; the author also looks at the future consequences of this emphasis on violence and war as a means of resolving conflict.

Nathan Schneider, *Thank You, Anarchy: Notes from the Occupy Apocalypse* (University of California Press, 2013), 194 pages. An up-close, inside account of Occupy Wall Street's first year in NYC, showing both the spirit and excitement and the challenges of the movement.

Gene Sharp, *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential* (Porter Sargent, 2005), 598 pages. The history of powerful nonviolent movements in the twentieth century and budding nonviolent movements in the twenty-first.

Gene Sharp, *From Dictatorship to Democracy: A Conceptual Framework for Liberation* (The New Press, 2012), 160 pages. A guide to overthrowing oppressive regimes; details how to organize movements to withdraw cooperation from and nonviolently overthrow oppressive regimes (available on the web in many languages at <http://www.aeinstein.org>).

Kent D. Shifferd, *From War to Peace: A Guide to the Next Hundred Years* (McFarland, 2011), 240 pages. Presents a realistic analysis of the extent to which the war system has infiltrated all aspects of Western culture, and how it perpetuates war rather than promotes peace. The values and ideas that have grown out of peace activism offer a very real opportunity to outlaw war in the coming century just as slavery was abolished in the nineteenth century.

- Starhawk, *The Fifth Sacred Thing* (Bantam, 1994), 496 pages. An epic tale of freedom and slavery, love and war, and the potential futures of humankind tells of a twenty-first century California clan caught between two clashing worlds, one based on tolerance, the other on repression and how nonviolent defense could work.
- Starhawk, *The Empowerment Manual: A Guide for Collaborative Groups* (New Society Publishers, 2011), 304 pages. A comprehensive manual for groups seeking to organize with shared power and bottom-up leadership.
- David Swanson, *War Is a Lie* (David Swanson, 2010), 372 pages. Great book sharing the truth that all wars are lies.
- David Swanson, *War No More: The Case for Abolition* (2013), 184 pages. This book presents the strongest arguments for the abolition of war, demonstrates that war can be ended, war should be ended, and we the people must end war. A manifesto for the World Beyond War movement.
- Michael True, *People Power: Fifty Peacemakers and Their Communities* (Rawat, 2007), 236 pages. Profiles of fifty peace activists from the eighteenth century to the present.
- Jim Wallis and Joyce Hollyday, *Cloud of Witnesses* (Orbis Books, 2005), 292 pages. Profiles of inspirational peacemakers and spiritual leaders, from Martin Luther King Jr. to St. Francis of Assisi.
- S. Brian Willson, *Blood on the Tracks: The Life and Times of S. Brian Willson* (PM Press, 2011), 472 pages. A chronicle of Vietnam vet turned radical nonviolent activist Brian Willson's battles against social injustice and war, including his involvement in a munitions blockade in which he lost his legs.
- Walter Wink, *Peace Is the Way: Writings on Nonviolence from the Fellowship of Reconciliation* (Orbis Books, 2000), 295 pages. An excellent collection of essays by peacemakers that originally ran in *Fellowship* magazine.
- Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States: 1492–Present* (HarperPerennial, 2005), 768 pages. A detailed and powerful account of the history of the United States as told by the people who are often overlooked by traditional history.
- Howard Zinn, *A Power Governments Cannot Suppress* (City Lights Publishers, 2006), 308 pages. The current state of current U.S. policies is critiqued; in addition, the author explains the often-underestimated power of the people.
- Howard Zinn, *A Young People's History of the United States: Columbus to the War on Terror* (Seven Stories Press, 2009), 464 pages. Howard

Zinn, with contributions by Rebecca Stefoff, tells the history of America from the viewpoints of workers, slaves, immigrants, Native Americans, women, and others whose stories and impacts are often overlooked by history.

Howard Zinn, *The Historic Unfulfilled Promise* (City Lights Publishers, 2012), 256 pages. Author Howard Zinn questions the political leadership of America, the security of its people, and America's role in the international community.

Howard Zinn, *You Can't Be Neutral on a Moving Train: A Personal History of Our Times* (Beacon Press, 2002), 224 pages. The memoir of Howard Zinn, in which he recalls his life as a teacher, writer, and social activist.

Stephen Zunes, Lester Kurtz, and Sarah Asher, eds., *Nonviolent Social Movements* (Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 330 pages. Shares the stories of major nonviolent movements around the world in the twentieth century.

Websites

Addicted to War: **addictedtowar.com**. Great educational resources for those trying to overcome our country's addiction to war.

Albert Einstein Institution: **aeinstein.org**. The organization founded by Gene Sharp; excellent resources for nonviolent struggle in many languages.

Alliance of Community Trainers: **trainersalliance.org**. Offering knowledge, tools, and skills to individuals, organizations, and communities to empower sustainable transformation.

Alternatives to Violence: **avpusa.org**. A training program helping people learn alternatives to violence in our lives and communities; taught in communities and prisons around the world.

American Friends Service Committee: **afsc.org**. A Quaker organization that promotes peace through justice around the world.

Brian Willson: **brianwillson.com**. Excellent essays and analysis by Brian Willson, author of *Blood on the Tracks*, on the need for radical change in our society and social transformation.

Campaign Nonviolence: **campaignnonviolence.org**. Campaign Nonviolence is building a long-term active nonviolent movement to end war, poverty, and the climate crisis.

Code Pink: **codepink.org**. Code Pink is a women-initiated grassroots peace and justice movement working to end wars and redirect our resources into health care, education, green jobs and other life-affirming activities.

- Common Dreams: **commondreams.org**. A nonprofit independent news-center centered on promoting social justice, human rights, equality, and peace.
- Democracy Now!: **democracynow.org**. A daily news program on TV, radio, and on the web, which tells the truth about peace and justice and environmental issues around the world. (A necessary ingredient for democracy is for the people to know the truth.)
- East Point Peace Academy: **eastpointpeace.org**. The U.S. military trains many of its leaders at West Point. The East Point Peace Academy works to build a nonviolent army investing in peace through non-violence education.
- Fellowship of Reconciliation: **forusa.org**. An interfaith organization committed to replacing violence, war, and economic disparity with non-violence and justice.
- Friends Committee on National Legislation: **fcnl.org**. A Quaker lobby in Washington lobbying for peace and justice, which puts out a good newsletter on issues before Congress and what you can do to influence key legislation.
- God Bless the Whole World: **godblessthewholeworld.org**. A fantastic collection of talks by nonviolence, peace, justice, and spiritual leaders. A powerful collection of recordings, speeches, and workshops.
- Global Exchange: **globalexchange.org**. A human rights organization dedicated to promoting justice around the world. Check out their Reality Tours to countries around the world.
- Global Nonviolent Database: **nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu**. A searchable database of close to a thousand case studies of nonviolent campaigns and case studies, as compiled by students of Swarthmore College.
- Institute for Healing of Memories: **healing-memories.org**. Seeks to contribute to the healing of individuals, communities, and nations who are suffering from violent conflict.
- International Center for Nonviolent Conflict: **nonviolent-conflict.org**. Great resource for groups around the world; for people to fight for rights, freedom, justice, self-determination, and accountable government through the use of civil resistance—including tactics such as strikes, boycotts, protests, and civil disobedience. ICNC also has a weekly news digest of nonviolent actions and movements around the world.
- Liberation Theology: **liberationtheology.org**. Excellent resources on liberation theology from around the world.
- National Priorities Project: **nationalpriorities.org**. Offers citizen and community groups tools and resources to shape federal budget and policy

- priorities which promote social and economic justice—How much money is going from your city and state for wars and militarism, and what could you do alternatively with those resources?
- National War Tax Resistance: **nwtrcc.org**. A website dedicated to opposing militarism, war, and social injustices through refusal to pay taxes for war and redirection of those tax dollars for peaceful purposes.
- Network of Spiritual Progressives: **spiritualprogressives.org**. Network promoting love and caring for each other and caring for the earth as the new bottom line.
- No Nukes: **nonukes.org**. Great website for developments and resources for fighting nuclear weapons and nuclear power around the world.
- Nonviolent Action: **nonviolentaction.net**. A collection of some of the best articles on nonviolent action around the world, updated regularly.
- Nonviolent Communication: **cnvc.org**. A training program in learning nonviolent ways to communicate.
- Nonviolence International: **nonviolenceinternational.net**. Supports non-violent struggles around the world.
- Nonviolent Peaceforce: **nonviolentpeaceforce.org**. The website of Non-violent Peaceforce, cofounded by David Hartsough and Mel Duncan; includes updates on their projects sending peace teams to areas of conflict around the world and how to get involved.
- Pace e Bene: **paceebene.org**. Promotes deeper understanding of non-violence as a way of life and means of social change. Good resources on nonviolence. They are organizing Campaign Nonviolence, which is building a long-term movement for a nonviolent world to end war, poverty, and the climate crisis.
- Parents Circle–Family Forum: **theparentscircle.com**. (PCFF) is a grassroots organization of bereaved Palestinians and Israelis, which promotes reconciliation as an alternative to hatred and revenge.
- Peace Action: **peace-action.org**. Peace Action the nation’s largest grassroots peace network with local affiliates across the country.
- Peaceworkers: **peaceworkersus.org**. An organization dedicated to supporting nonviolent movements, and nurturing peace, justice, reconciliation, and nonviolence around the world and ending all war.
- Popular Resistance: **popularresistance.org**. Daily movement news and resources for the Occupy movement and beyond.
- Roots Action: **rootsaction.org**. An online initiative dedicated to galvanizing Americans committed to economic fairness, equal rights, civil liberties, environmental protection, and defunding endless wars.

- September 11th Families for Peaceful Tomorrows: **peacefultomorrows.org**. Families of September 11th victims working for reconciliation and healing rather than revenge.
- Seven Challenges Workbook: **Communications Skills for Life: newconversations.net/sevenchallenges.pdf**. A cooperative communication skills workbook for nonviolent communication and peaceful relationships at home and at work. Includes listening, self-expression, open-ended questions, gratitude, and more. Free to download from website.
- Sojourners: **sojo.net**. A faith-based magazine that includes articles promoting peace and social justice.
- Training for Change: **trainingforchange.org**. Excellent training resources for nonviolent action and nonviolent movements.
- Truth Dig: **truthdig.com**. Includes weekly columns by social change activists including Chris Hedges, who believes that only massive nonviolent civil disobedience can transform our country.
- Truth Out: **truth-out.org**. A collection of investigative articles highlighting injustices in the world and the need for change.
- United For Peace and Justice: **ufpj.org**. National and international coalition of peace and justice organizations working to end war and oppression, shift resources toward human needs, protect the environment and promote sustainable alternatives.
- Waging Nonviolence: **wagingnonviolence.org**. Includes weekly columns by nonviolent practitioners, including George Lakey, Ken Butigan, Mary King, and others.
- War Is a Crime: **warisacrime.org**. Exposes the lies that create and sustain wars and occupations and works to hold those responsible accountable. Speakers available.
- Western States Legal Foundation: **wslfweb.org**. Working to abolish all nuclear weapons; includes information and analysis on nuclear weapons policies and efforts to work for the elimination of all nukes.
- World Beyond War: **www.worldbeyondwar.org**. Building a worldwide movement to end all war and promote enduring peace. They offer resources which challenge the myths about why war is necessary, effective alternatives to war, and suggestions about how all of us can help end/abolish war.

The Six Principles of Kingian Nonviolence

Principle 1: Nonviolence is a way of life for courageous people.

It is a positive force confronting the forces of injustice and utilizes the righteous indignation and spiritual, emotional, and intellectual capabilities of people as the vital force for change and reconciliation.

Principle 2: The Beloved Community is the framework for the future.

The nonviolent concept is an overall effort to achieve a reconciled world by raising the level of relationships among people to a height where justice prevails and persons attain their full human potential.

Principle 3: Attack forces of evil not persons doing evil.

The nonviolent approach helps one analyze the fundamental conditions, policies and practices of the conflict rather than reacting to one's opponents or their personalities.

Principle 4: Accept suffering without retaliation for the sake of the cause to achieve a goal.

Self-chosen suffering is redemptive and helps the movement grow in a spiritual as well as a humanitarian dimension. The moral authority of voluntary suffering for a goal communicates the concern to one's own friends and community as well as to the opponent.

Principle 5: Avoid internal violence of the spirit as well as external physical violence.

The nonviolent attitude permeates all aspects of the campaign. It provides a mirror type reflection of the reality of the condition to one's opponent and the community at large. Specific activities must be designed to maintain a high level of spirit and morale during a nonviolent campaign.

Principle 6: The Universe is on the side of justice.

Truth is universal and human society and each human being is oriented

to the just sense of order of the universe. The fundamental values in all of the world's great religions include the concept that the moral arc of the universe is long but it bends towards justice. For the nonviolent practitioner, nonviolence introduces a new moral context in which nonviolence is both the means and the ends.

The Six Steps of Kingian Nonviolence

Step 1: Information Gathering

The way you determine the facts, the options for change and the timing of pressure for raising the issue is a collective process.

Step 2: Education

The process of developing articulate leaders, who are knowledgeable about the issue.

Step 3: Personal Commitment

Means looking at your internal and external involvement in the non-violent campaign and preparing yourself for long-term as well as short-term action.

Step 4: Negotiation

The art of bringing together your views and those of your opponent to arrive at a just conclusion or clarify the unresolved issues, at which point, the conflict is formalized.

Step 5: Direct Action

Occurs when negotiations have broken down or failed to produce a just response to the contested issues and conditions.

Step 6: Reconciliation

The mandatory closing step of a campaign, when the opponents and proponents celebrate the victory and provide joint leadership to implement the change.