

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 070 713

SO 005 038

AUTHOR McKay, Bidge  
TITLE Training for Nonviolent Action for High School Students: A Handbook.  
INSTITUTION Friends Peace Committee, Philadelphia, Pa.  
PUB DATE Oct 71  
NOTE 49p.  
AVAILABLE FROM Friends Peace Committee, 1515 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102 (\$1.00; Quantity Discounts)

EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.65 HC-\$3.29  
DESCRIPTORS \*Activism; Civil Disobedience; Conflict Resolution; Dissent; \*Peace; Secondary Education; \*Social Action; Social Change; \*Training Objectives

ABSTRACT

The handbook for secondary students advocates nonviolent action, not passivity nor retaliation toward injustices. Emphasis is upon helping students to understand nonviolent action; to be familiar with training information on courses, time requirements, problems, costs, and procedures; and to deal with direct objectives toward peaceful social action. To stimulate thinking, the major portion of the handbook is in the form of questions of interest to students and teachers, and responses which were written by people previously involved in direct non-violent action. Resources and a bibliography for those interested in training for non-violent action are included. An appendix contains a model for fifteen hour weekend course, a list to check before acting, ideas for integrating social change into the curriculum, a copy of an official Selective Service memorandum, a bibliography of films, and ideas on street theater.  
(SJM)

ED 070713

# TRAINING FOR NONVIOLENT ACTION FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS:

\$1.

50005038



MIKE UNTHANK, a high school student, acts as a "civilian casualty" during a street theater scene with the VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR.

## A HANDBOOK

Prepared for Friends Peace Committee  
by Bidge McKay

ED 070713

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,  
EDUCATION & WELFARE  
OFFICE OF EDUCATION  
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRO-  
DUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM  
THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIG-  
INATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPIN-  
IONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY  
REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDU-  
CATION POSITION OR POLICY

**Training for  
NONVIOLENT ACTION  
for High School Students:  
A Handbook**

prepared for

**Friends Peace Committee  
1515 Cherry Street  
Philadelphia, Pa. 19102  
(215) 561-4640**

by

**Bidge McKay  
October, 1971**

**cover photograph by Henry Bryan, Trenton Times  
line drawings by Bob Tatman**

**single copies, \$1.00; twenty-five or more, \$.80 plus postage**

## CONTENTS

Introduction	3
Why is it important for high school students to understand nonviolence?	5
What is nonviolence?	6
What are the steps in nonviolent action?	6
What do you mean by nonviolence training?	7
What are the methods used in nonviolence training?	8
How can I prepare myself to lead training?	9
How do you set up a general nonviolence course?	10
How do you set up training for specific actions	11
What are the time requirements for nonviolence training?	13
Why not learn about nonviolence in history classes?	14
Should nonviolence be a separate subject in school?	14
Where have courses been given for high school students?	16
What did students do as a result of training?	17
What have high school students thought of courses?	18
Problems, Problems, Problems	
How do you get started?	19
How do you get participants for nonviolence training?	19
Where would a group meet?	19
Should we organize a nonviolence course in school or outside of its jurisdiction?	20
What costs are connected with training?	20
Who should lead training?	21
How do you meet some of the direct objections people mention?	21
"don't get involved"	21
"getting anything done in school"	22
"college and work records"	22
"action students should take part in"	22
"problems if arrested"	22
"apathy and submission to authority"	23
"relating to other groups"	23
"we've tried nonviolence"	24

<b>Resources</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>Books to start with</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>Appendix</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>fifteen hour course</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>before acting...</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>integrating social change into the curriculum</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>"channeling"</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>list of films</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>ideas on street or "guerrilla" theater</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>Thanks</b>	<b>48</b>

Dear friends,

I feel that some sort of introduction is needed for this handbook. There are several points that you should be aware of before you either begin reading or put it down as of no concern to you.

What do I assume about those people this handbook is for?

I assume that most of the readers are high school students, teachers and others concerned with high school age people and the problems they face. I assume that students are just as able to organize the types of training and action this handbook advocates as are older people.

I assume that you share my belief that the world is not the way it should or can be. I assume that you are interested in doing something about the problems. I assume that you probably have an area that you are most interested in concentrating on: whether it is creative change within a high school or in the movement for peace and justice on a national scale, I hope that this handbook will help you build a base from which to act.

What don't I assume? I do not assume that you are necessarily committed to nonviolence as a way of life. I do not assume that I have the ability to convince you once and for all that a nonviolent approach is right and that a passive approach or a violent approach is wrong; I ask only that you try out non-violence, experiment with it as Gandhi did.

Who should not read this handbook? If you believe that the world is the way it should be, and you intend to stick to that belief, you should not waste your time reading further. If you are an FBI agent or someone of similar persuasion, you should think twice before reading this or similar materials. You might end up changing your perspective. The person who drew the cartoons in this handbook was once a paid informer for the FBI. He was supposed to report on anti-war and similar groups. In spite of his job, he began to listen to what these groups were saying and eventually changed his views and has become active in such groups. This handbook is not for the person who thinks of nonviolence as a way "to cool things off." It advocates nonviolent action, not passivity. Finally, it is not for use as a required text for any purpose, since such a use of this or other books on nonviolence would be in violation of the voluntary nature of nonviolence.

Why is this handbook in this form? Most pages are printed on the left side only. This is because I hope you will use it as a working handbook and write your own comments on the right. The paper is punched so that you can remove the staples and add other material in notebook form. I would appreciate any comments you have or copies of any materials you add and any reports of what use this handbook is put to. Please send these to Friends Peace Committee so that they may be used for future revisions or inclusion in a future appendix.

Most of the handbook is in the form of questions and responses. The questions have been asked by interested students and teachers. The responses are the result of the work of many people. They have been involved in nonviolent action campaigns and training all over the world. In spite of the accumulated experience which has gone into the responses, the responses are meant to stimulate thinking, not to limit it.

Some hopes I have: I hope that constructive change will occur as a result of the work that you do after you read this handbook. I hope and assume that you are sincerely interested in working to solve some of the problems we face. I hope that you will try nonviolent action as a way of overcoming injustice, not retaliating for it. I hope that you will wish to remove your opponent's hostility, and not try to defeat that opponent.

One of the main problems people active in nonviolence training face is how to transmit the "soul" of nonviolence to others. I don't really know the answer. However, I have found a lot of that soul in this sonnet by the economist and author Kenneth Boulding:

Now am I veined by an eroding doubt,  
 Insidious as decay, with poison rife.  
 Is love indeed the end and law of life,  
 When lush, grimacing hates so quickly sprout?  
 I thought in ignorance I had cast out  
 The sneaking devils of continuing strife,  
 But as the cancer thwarts the surgeon's knife,  
 So does revenge my sword of reason flout.  
 But though hate rises in enfolding flame  
 At each renewed oppression, soon it dies;  
 It sinks as quickly as we saw it rise,  
 While love's small constant light burns still the same.  
 Know this: though love is weak and hate is strong,  
 Yet hate is short, and love is very long.

I feel that this is where so much of the power of nonviolence comes from.

Know this: though love is weak and hate is strong,  
 Yet hate is short, and love is very long.

Bidge McKay

## WHY IS IT IMPORTANT FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS TO UNDERSTAND NONVIOLENCE?

For many reasons, but I believe the most important is:

Many students, if not most, have a generalized feeling of impotence—"There's nothing we can do about it."—in dealing with perceived injustices at home or in school. Students are conscious of severe problems in the larger society. Many regard the United States, if not the entire world, as sick or insane.

Concerned students often study "modern problems" in school, but few schools offer any realistic methods by which students (or anyone) can effect change. Still fewer schools encourage students to take part in any activity for change.

But students know that most schools are far from perfect and in many cases are very oppressive. Students know that racial and economic injustices exist. They know that ecological balance is needed. Young men especially are aware of "The device of pressurized guidance, or channelling" (as Selective Service once referred to itself—see appendix) which pushes men into pre-selected occupations or the military.

When a student mentions an injustice, the common suggestions offered are "Write your congressman" or "Vote for someone else." Others may say "Smash the state" or "Drop out." Neither approach offers any real hope of constructive or visible change.

However, change through nonviolent action is an alternative to the acceptance of injustice. It is just as available to a high school student as to a Gandhi.

With nonviolent action, real change can come immediately. Once one or more people refuse to accept injustice, the old situation is gone forever. When Rosa Parks refused to move to the back of the bus in Montgomery, bus segregation was altered forever. She chose harsh treatment rather than second class treatment. Likewise, when a young man refuses to register for conscription, conscription has ended for him. He chooses other consequences, perhaps prison. But by his act, he helps end the injustice for others. When students hand leaflets to employees of a factory to inform them about the effects of pollution from that factory, the submerged conflict surfaces.

Voluntary and conscious action helps overcome the feeling of impotence. Even a quiet "no" changes the old situation. Such action brings hidden (or not so hidden) conflicts into the open in a manner which assures that all parties have access to the truth. Creative change can then take place. Presumably those who read this handbook believe major change is necessary. Knowledge of how to bring about change is also necessary.

## WHAT IS NONVIOLENCE?

Each person must find an individual answer to this question through experience, study or training. I hope, however that you will find the following outline a useful guide and framework for thinking. This and the following response rely on materials from "A perspective on NONVIOLENCE" by Friends Peace Committee.

Nonviolence is both a way of living and a process which can bring about creative change and resolution of conflict. The power of nonviolence grows as people discover their own power to resist injustice and to act consciously and creatively.

### The nonviolent approach:

Renounces violence as a means.

Seeks and speaks truth.

Seeks constructive solutions.

Directs action toward the injustice concerned.

Allows no retaliation against opponents.

Remains patient and persistent.

Expects its adherents to be willing to suffer.

Gives up resentment.

Seeks reconciliation with, not overcoming of, opponents.

Concerns itself with both the victim of injustice and the perpetrator of injustice.

## WHAT ARE THE STEPS IN NONVIOLENT ACTION?

Let us say that a prolonged injustice exists. A group (yours?), or an individual (you) decides to resist the injustice and act to resolve the underlying conflict. Often the group or individual sees the specific injustice as just one part of a much larger problem that must also be solved. (Lunch counter segregation was just one small part of racial discrimination.)

The steps that often follow the decision to act are these:

**Investigation:** What are the facts? What groups are involved? What parts do they play? How do different people feel? What have others done to solve similar problems?

**Negotiation:** After determining where the responsibilities lie for the injustice, negotiate with the policy makers. Many groups, after investigating well, are successful at this stage.

**Education:** If negotiation fails, educate other groups and the general public so that they understand the situation and will accept, or even expect, peaceful change. The policy makers

may want to bring about change in response to changing public sentiment. New negotiations may be fruitful at this point.

**Preparation for Direct Action:** If the injustice persists and a campaign of direct action is called for, begin spiritual, mental and perhaps even physical preparation. The power of nonviolence is an inner, personal power. Success in a nonviolent campaign depends on the rightness of the goals and the personal resources of the participants, not their control of physical force.

**Direct Action:** If attempts to negotiate have failed and people are unwilling to accept injustice any longer, decide on an appropriate campaign of direct action and begin. The aim is to refuse to accept the injustice, and by direct action aimed at that injustice, to create a situation which will resolve the problem or lead directly to its resolution.

#### WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY "NONVIOLENCE TRAINING"?

Briefly, nonviolence training is a democratic, participatory process. It is a structured, but voluntary means which aids members of a group to learn how to practice nonviolence. The approach varies considerably from group to group, but, hopefully, the methods used are always consistent with the ideas being studied. Participants in training usually gain insight in into interpersonal as well as intergroup situations.



"Now repeat after me:  
Non violence is..."

To illustrate how this process might be applied, let us assume that a group of high school students plan to hand out leaflets during lunch time at their school. The group might train itself in the following way.

The group makes general plans. Then they act out situations they anticipate using role playing. (the most common training method) One or two take roles as those giving out the leaflets. Others act as students going to lunch. One or two act as teachers. Those not in the role play remain silent and observe closely what takes place. After acting out the scene, the group should stop and discuss what happened: Why did people react as they did? How did different people feel in their roles? What would have been a more effective approach?

Then they could explore other problems they might face by repeating the roleplay with variations in some roles. One student might be hostile to the leafleters. A principal might come up and tell them to stop.

After discussing what happened in the role plays, the group can review its plans and make improvements where necessary.

Usually, one or more people act as "trainers". The trainer has the responsibility of setting up the role plays and other structures. The exact content of the various exercises is based on the needs of the group. As the group gains experience, it should be able to invent its own scenes for role plays and other exercises as it goes along. Thus a sharing of skills takes place with the "trainer" often learning as much as any other participant.

Often the person acting as trainer is not a member of the group being trained. There are many groups (listed later), such as Friends Peace Committee, which are interested in helping others explore nonviolence. These trainers create situations and pose problems for the group to handle, but do not impose solutions. The trainer should create a non-threatening situation in which participants can learn from insights and error alike, and in which the group can stick to its tasks and problems.

#### WHAT ARE THE METHODS USED IN THE NONVIOLENCE TRAINING?

This is a list of the most commonly used "tools" for training. Brief descriptions and suggested uses are included. Training manuals (see bibliography) go into more detail about these and how to use them. These manuals should be consulted by people intending to train others.

Our hindsight always seems more accurate than our foresight. These tools allow their users the advantage of working through problems and seeing what happens. Then, when you are in a real situation similar to those you have worked through, you have some idea of what to do.

**Role Playing:** This is the most common tool. A scene is pre-determined by the group or the trainer dealing with negotiation, action or whatever concerns the group. It is then acted out and analyzed. This allows participants to explore conflict on the emotional level as well as the intellectual. This is an excellent approach to testing our responses in potentially confusing or hostile situations.

**Strategy Games:** These encourage groups to make, carry out and review long range plans. Two sides usually play, one representing the activist group, one the establishment. The teams meet in separate places. All moves are made in writing.

Each group has five or ten minutes to make each move. More than two teams can be used to represent other groups.

**Situation Analysis:** This is simply diagramming a situation of possible conflict on a blackboard and discussing it. Different symbols represent different groups and individuals. Use of the diagram helps keep discussion on the subject. This tool is especially useful for visualizing situations which may involve large numbers of people.

**Quick Decision Making:** People in groups of two to four get 30-60 seconds to decide what they should do in a situation stated by the trainer. (eg.-30 seconds, you are in a large, orderly march. Someone near you starts telling people to throw rocks at the "pigs". What do you do?) The group then discusses the answers the small groups come up with. This is especially useful for preparing people to carry out an already-made plan.

**Scenario Writing:** Each person (or small group) writes out in 30-60 minutes a "future history" of a nonviolent campaign. Scenarios can then be read to the group and compared, discussed, and the best points of each can be used.

**Brainstorming:** The group has a topic or problem. Everyone contributes thoughts and answers. One or two people record these, but no discussion is allowed until an allotted time is up. This gets all the good ideas (and bad ones) from everyone, not just the "leaders" or the persuasive talkers. Once all ideas are out, the group can begin to analyze their value.

**Other Tools:** Those above are most common. Theater games and other non-tactical exercises help loosen people up and get them acquainted with each other. Singing, cooperative work and games can be very important. The chance to talk to people who have had unusual or extensive experiences can be inspirational and helpful. Films (see appendix for partial list) and other recorded material can be useful, especially for getting people to start talking and thinking.

**Action-Evaluation:** This is one of the most important parts of a training course. In order to gain confidence and trust in each other, and to gain experience in public situations, most groups find that there is nothing better than going out in public and Leafleting, Street Speaking, or doing Guerrilla Theater. After such action the group can evaluate its action, and reaction to it. In many ways this can be the bridge from training to action and is usually done near the end of a course.

#### HOW CAN I PREPARE MYSELF TO LEAD TRAINING?

A good approach would be the following:  
Take part in nonviolent direct action.

Attend a nonviolence training workshop run by one of the groups listed under "resources" or by an experienced trainer.  
 Attend sessions run specifically for trainers.  
 Assist someone else in running sessions.  
 Read one or several books on nonviolence theory, practice and training.

Do these in any order you can. But don't feel that this is the only way to begin. Many of the most pure nonviolent acts, especially by individuals, have been without any particular preparation to act nonviolently. These nonviolent acts and lives have sprung from the loving creativity of these people, people who have been able to go beyond our usual, violent, conditioning. Hopefully, training helps those of us who are not so free as these individuals who are so unfortunately rare. Training allows us to learn new responses for stress and conflict situations so that we can remain cool enough to begin to act creatively rather than just to react in the manner expected by our opponents.

But the important thing is to start training and acting. By reading about nonviolence and training and then just picking up a manual like a cookbook, you can start. Acknowledge your inexperience to your group but don't be overly defensive. Someone has to start things. Those of us connected with training centers believe that training is very important, but we also believe that when action is demanded by injustice, it would be wrong to refrain from acting because you were not prepared by the approach suggested in this or any other book.

I have heard that a group of students in the South during the Civil Rights struggle decided to integrate lunch counters in their area. They organized, prepared themselves for, and carried out a successful campaign. Their inspiration and advice came mainly from a comic-style booklet called "Martin Luther King and the Montgomery Story"! (published by Fellowship of Reconciliation)

#### HOW DO YOU SET UP A GENERAL NONVIOLENCE COURSE?

Recently I was the trainer for a group of fifteen high school students and three parents. I had been invited there by the two students who had organized the training. They had taken the first steps in setting up a general, explorative course. They had found a place and time to meet. They had contacted people with concerns like their own and had gotten many to come. They had made the practical arrangements for meals, etc. We then got together to arrange the structure for the sessions.

We looked at what was common to the group. All were connected with the same high school. All had feelings that many changes

should be made in their school. Most had tried to talk with the administration about their views, but all agreed that the administration paid little attention to suggestions or ideas from students. Most agreed that apathy was a major problem in their fairly conservative community. Most disagreed on what they should do!

With these ideas in mind, we planned the first day and made an outline of the next two days. We left it flexible enough to meet group wishes. We also planned the evening session which the two students led on their own.

At the first session, we stated what we planned to cover and what methods we planned to use. We then asked people to suggest specific situations that they would like to deal with. In this case there was lots of interest in student rights, so much of our content dealt with putting rights into practice in a nonviolent manner.

In general, my suggestions are these: Find people who share your interests in specific areas such as nonviolent change in a high school or with respect to the draft, or perhaps in nonviolence generally. Ask the people who plan to participate to tell you what problems, situations and injustices they want to learn to deal with in a nonviolent manner.

See to it that the suggestions they make are included. At the same time, let the general principles of nonviolence flow into the exercises. In this way participants have the opportunity to try out nonviolent responses in conflict situations and then discuss nonviolence within a working context. For example, in a strategy game, the student activists would be given the direction that their actions must be nonviolent. If they chose to threaten the school with "real trouble" if certain demands were not met, the group would discuss this after the game. "Are threats nonviolent?" Whoever played the part of an administrator could then tell the rest of the group what it felt like to be threatened. The group can then make its own decision about whether it is nonviolent or not. Hopefully, the idea—that a threat can violate just like a physical attack—will be much more clear than if a lecturer made the same point.

(See the appendix for an outline of a fifteen hour general course.)

#### HOW DO YOU SET UP TRAINING FOR SPECIFIC ACTIONS?

Let us assume the following hypothetical situation. Your group of fifteen has done considerable exploration of nonviolent action and has investigated your high school situation. It has concluded that the most important area to focus on is "student rights."

You feel that suppression of rights is the main cause of the apathy you feel so strongly. You have decided that you must begin to act if you are to make any improvements in the school. Although you have many other concerns and believe that the problems are much broader than just restrictions on students rights, you realize that you must start somewhere. You have planned a campaign in which you will not only advocate your rights and the rights of others, but exercise them and take any consequences in a nonviolent manner.

Your plan calls for a "Student Rights Week" to coincide with the week of Election Day. On Monday your group plans to hand out leaflets. These urge students to speak out about school problems, curriculum, political ideas or other matters which they consider important. The leaflets also invite students, faculty and administration to a meeting on Friday of Rights Week. This meeting will be on the football field (no practice that day!) and is to discuss improvements which should be made in the school.

Your plans for Tuesday are to meet at a local church (where the minister is sympathetic) to prepare for the rest of the week. On Wednesday you plan to have speakers in homerooms, during free periods, during lunch, and before and after school. They will speak about student rights and will encourage people to think about and attend Friday's meeting.

At Friday's meeting you plan to initiate about ten discussion groups around topics of interest. You plan to encourage these groups not only to talk, but to make plans for what they should do.

With such ambitious plans and a group of fifteen out of a school of fifteen hundred, you would no doubt want to be well prepared. Training for the specific plans would be very useful.

At a planning meeting, your group could use a strategy game to project the results of such a campaign. After informing teachers, administrators and students of your plans for the week by word of mouth, you could hold a Friday night training session for all those who plan to leaflet on Monday. Such a session might include the following parts.

Short review of plans for Monday and the rest of the week.

Review of the reasons for the plan.

Report on reactions of teachers and administrators.

Short question, answer and discussion period.

Training based on situations you anticipate.

Role plays and discussion of possibilities (indifference, hostile teacher, open administrative opposition or whatever)

Quick decision making— What will you do if...?

Summary and discussion of nonviolent discipline

Such a procedure gives people practice in responding to others within a nonviolent framework. Even if no one else joins your initial group, such training will be valuable.

Although it is relatively easy to make bold plans, the difficulty comes in carrying them out. Often our goals are fine, but we counter them by our means. Ira Sandperl put it very well. "You get what you do, not what you intend." We may intend a creative, loving, nonviolent approach. Our responsibility as nonviolent actors is to learn to do what we intend.

#### WHAT ARE THE TIME REQUIREMENTS FOR NONVIOLENCE TRAINING?

Most general courses given by the various training groups have been on weekends with four to six, three hour sessions. (similar to the outline in the appendix) This seems to be the minimum amount of time for a general introduction. Weeks of intensive work, or even months would be fine, if such were practical!

When you are preparing for specific actions, much can be done in short time periods. A good core group which plans and prepares well can do quite a bit.

A group of about twelve Parkway Program high school students led three hour tactical sessions for other high school students who were going to participate in the actions for peace and justice in the Spring of 1971. The main aim of these sessions was to help the participants carry out their plans in a non-violent manner. The Parkway students who were leading the training had all been through at least six, three hour sessions of general and specific training.

The question of intensity of time periods is also important. The experience that Friends Peace Committee has had with the Parkway Program has strengthened the feeling among trainers, that intensive, rather than extensive courses are best.

In the Fall of 1970, Parkway had once-a-week classes of two hours each. During the Winter term there were two, weekend, live-in courses instead. About three-fourths of those who took part in the weekends had previously taken once-a-week courses. Every student who had participated in both courses rated the weekends as much better. They felt that the weekends were more interesting and more productive. They were able to get to know each other and to share work, fun and sessions as well. They felt that this approach allowed them to ask and answer questions in depth and, as one student put it, the weekends were "emotionally educational" and more effective than usual class scheduling.

Nonviolence training is a lot like learning woodworking. It would be pointless just to study the theory of woodworking and never make anything. Practice is needed if you are going to do a good job. Also, like woodworking class, you need time to get your materials out and you need time to put them away. A one hour class might yield a half hour of real work. So it seems to be with nonviolence. You are probably better off with a three hour session, getting two and a half hours of work done, than you are with three, one hour classes, getting in only one and a half hours of work.

#### WHY NOT LEARN ABOUT NONVIOLENCE IN HISTORY CLASSES?

Great. Too often wars and kings and governments are all that people learn about. Don't miss the nonviolent aspects and examples that your history class covers. Here are several you might investigate, perhaps for a paper. There are plenty of others.

During the Roman Republic, the ordinary people of Rome had several serious complaints against the ruling class. When no attention was paid to their complaints, the plebians simply walked out of Rome in an orderly manner to another hill and threatened to set up their own city. The ruling class realized that they needed the plebians and quickly worked out an accord.

During the First World War, women seeking the vote picketed the White House and handed out leaflets. They were arrested and refused to cooperate with their sentences by fasting while in jail. Their determination and willingness to suffer for their beliefs turned public opinion in their favor. In 1920 a constitutional amendment gave women the right to vote.

Nonviolent resistance in Denmark and Norway during the Nazi occupation gave the Nazis at least as much trouble as violent resistance. (The Swedish department of defense has recently commissioned a study of how organized nonviolent resistance could be used for national defense.)

There are many other examples of nonviolent resistance by labor, students, farmers and other groups. But as I mentioned before, nonviolence training is like woodshop. You have to do it. Theory, lectures and reading are not enough.

#### SHOULD NONVIOLENCE BE A SEPARATE SUBJECT IN SCHOOL?

There are several main problems to consider. Let me comment briefly on each one.

There is something of a conflict between the compulsory nature of most schools and the voluntary nature of nonviolence. In elective subjects as well as required ones, students are usually expected to attend all classes and usually have it counted against them if they don't. Grades, even of a pass/fail nature, are a related problem. How do you decide who "passed" a nonviolence course?

The relationship between "trainer" and other participants in a nonviolence course is totally different from the usual relation of teacher to student. Those who act as trainers in nonviolence reject the idea that they know the "truth" and are passing it along to others. Their function is to aid the group, including themselves, in a search for truth.

Even those teachers who can free themselves from the usual relationship to students (and I assume that most teachers reading this are in that group) face other problems as they consider including nonviolence in a curriculum. Nonviolence training involves learning from the world, while, as Ivan Illich has expressed it so well, the structure of schools teaches students that learning about the world is more valuable. I quote from Illich's article "The Alternative to Schooling" from Saturday Review, June 19, 1971.

"In order to see clearly the alternatives we face, we must first distinguish education from schooling, which means separating the humanistic intent of the teacher from the impact of the invariant structure of the school. This hidden structure constitutes a course of instruction that stays forever beyond the control of the teacher or his school board. It conveys indelibly the message that only through schooling can an individual prepare himself for adulthood in society, that what is not taught in school is not worth knowing. I call it the hidden curriculum of schooling, because it constitutes the unalterable framework of the system, within which all changes in curriculum are made.

...students learn that education is valuable when it is acquired in the school through a graded process of consumption; that the degree of success of the individual will enjoy in society depends on the amount of learning he consumes; and that learning about the world is more valuable than learning from the world."

Those considering including nonviolence in the curriculum should also realize that even if they get over these hurdles successfully, there is still the chance that they will organize a very good course, get the students turned on and involved in nonviolent social change. They might then have to contend with others who are in some way related to the school who will have serious objections to student participation in any sort of action!

Another consideration to keep in mind is this. Some schools, faced with violent outbursts, or being aware of them elsewhere, have gotten interested in nonviolence because they equate it with "no overt violence." Encouragement has been given to several groups for this reason. Groups have used "nonviolent" in their names when what they were really interested in was not social change and elimination of systemic violence, but preservation of a calm outward situation and the suppression of attempts to resolve conflicts. Such groups have tended to inhibit any action, violent or nonviolent, using the name of nonviolence.

Personally, I think that we need a systemic commitment to nonviolence. I feel that we must recognize that we already teach values in school, and that many of these are wrong and we are now seeing their harmful effects. I will not argue here for my personal values, only that we recognize that certain values are a part of education, and that we consciously chose what these values will be. I wish the best to those students and teachers who take on the difficult task of incorporating nonviolence into their schools.

#### WHERE HAVE COURSES BEEN GIVEN FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS?

Several training groups have done extensive work with high school students. A Training/Action Group, San Francisco; Nonviolent Training/Action Center, Chicago; Quaker Project in Community Conflict, New York; and Friends Peace Committee, Philadelphia have given many high school courses. Well qualified individuals, like Bernard Lafayette in the Boston area, have also run excellent programs. Of course, SCLC and other groups involved in the Civil Rights struggle trained many high school students.

In the Philadelphia area, many high school students have taken part in courses offered by Friends Peace Committee. Many others have been in training for specific actions. In the past two years, there have been training courses in a dozen or so private and Catholic schools, for the Parkway Program of the Philadelphia school system and with high school groups not officially connected with the schools they attend.

More than one hundred and fifty colleges offer courses connected with nonviolence. Students at some of these have worked with nearby high school students.

I hope that this gives you an idea of what is being done. Much more is needed. Carry on this work by starting a new group or training course.

### WHAT DID STUDENTS DO AS A RESULT OF TRAINING?

As a result of training, many high school groups have come together. The following examples indicate some of the results. These seem representative and you might expect similar ones.

At an Ohio boarding school a number of students had been interested in making some changes in rules and other matters. The students were somewhat disorganized and unclear about what they really wanted. Immediately after the weekend (and I now quote a letter from the principal) "For whatever reasons --and some of them may be quite intimately connected with the nonviolent training weekend--the Self-Gov. organization set about a radical attack on the whole problem and in a session of Self-Gov. meetings and committee meetings drew a set of recommendations relaxing certain aspects of the social code and regulations, stating carefully the objectives and the recognition of limitations and dangers, and making careful acknowledgment of the adult community's feelings and responsibilities, and presented it to the faculty as a pretty carefully refined document. There were three major sections in the recommendation. The faculty felt easy to accept two of them instantly--and may I add parenthetically, to the total shock of the student community--and has expressed willingness to discuss the third, which involves the use of space for which a policy decision has not yet been made."

In the Philadelphia area, many students have taken part in training in nonviolent action and guerrilla theatre. When the Vietnam Veterans Against the War asked Friends Peace Committee to assist them by organizing "civilians" to take part in guerrilla theatre over the Labor Day weekend in 1970, about half of the "victims" were high school students. (Like Mike Unthank, shown on the cover of this handbook.) When the Veterans went to Washington in April of 1971 for their week long stay on the Mall, they invited the same "civilians" to join them.

A group of students in Philadelphia's Parkway Program, "the school without walls", trained other students for the Spring Actions for peace and justice in Washington in 1971. Some of the same students helped to organize one of the most creative groups which took part in the activities of early May.

In Bucks County, Pennsylvania, a group has formed around a nucleus of students who took nonviolence training. They have been active in draft related work, with local programs connected with a coffee house and on an anti-hunger project. They invented a "tree-in". They stayed in a tree as long as people contributed money to their anti-hunger program.

At a private day school, some students learned in a non-violence course that they need not be afraid of letting others know their ideas. They soon felt free enough to collect signatures on the People's Peace Treaty during lunch time .

### WHAT HAVE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS THOUGHT OF COURSES?

Most have at least found the weekend courses interesting and enjoyable. Many students have said that they learned about people and how they feel in everyday situations, not just about nonviolent direct action in public circumstances. These students feel that they get along better with parents and teachers as a result of this. The quotations below are from evaluations made by Parkway Program students after finishing nonviolence courses. These are included with their permission.

"I feel I benefitted greatly from this course. Not only by learning techniques and facts, but by learning about a way of life. Nonviolence is not something that's there for 2 hours a week, but it's a whole way of life; the way our lives should be. I think most people have to be taught this, or reminded of it. The true way of overcoming our enemies is by nonviolence. It may not prove physical results, but the feeling experienced inside is so good because you know it is right. If we look, there is always reason to show love toward one another. If we can't find the good in everyone, it's our hangup, not theirs, because God put it in all of us and it's our duty to seek it in everyone."

"This weekend was fantastic."

"I'm glad I took the course. It was an experience, and I learned a great deal."

The trainer "was experienced in what he taught and could always give us examples." He "had a way of getting everyone involved in the group, and making us feel a part of it."

Role playing "was an important part of our group. We acted out different situations taking different sides. This made us able to view the situation objectively."

Everyone who has attended nonviolence training or who has heard about it does not share the enthusiasm of the students quoted above. Some have considered it subversive! Others have been afraid to get involved or have been pressured by their parents not to. Apathy keeps many students away. Others have come to courses and dropped out for various reasons.

This, however, is one of the main differences between nonviolence courses and most usual school courses. Participation is welcomed and encouraged, but it is up to you to determine whether or not you participate in training and what you get out of it.

**PROBLEMS****PROBLEMS****PROBLEMS**

There are a lot of problems to solve as you start any form of nonviolence training, but none are insurmountable. Many other people have solved similar ones.

In this section I am going to list questions and problems that others have faced. The comments and questions that follow each initial question are intended as guides, not as complete responses.

**HOW DO YOU GET STARTED?**

You already have by reading this far!  
 Why are you interested in nonviolence?  
 Why are others interested, or why might they be?  
 What issues concern you that might require nonviolent direct action?  
 What should you read about nonviolence?  
 Where is the nearest person or group that could assist you?  
 What existing group could you participate in?

**HOW DO YOU GET PARTICIPANTS FOR NONVIOLENCE TRAINING?**

What does training have to offer the people you know?  
 How can you best communicate this to them?  
 Can people who don't consider themselves "nonviolent" benefit from training?  
 What specific knowledge and details should you have before contacting people?  
 Have any people you know used any form of nonviolent action?  
 Are you already associated with any group which should use nonviolent action?  
 If you have only a few people interested so far, why not apply some of the training techniques to help build your group? Role play talking to others and getting them involved, for example.

**WHERE COULD A GROUP MEET?**

What homes might have a big room and sympathetic parents?  
 In what churches, synagogues, or meetings might you be welcome?  
 What creative solution can you think of? (One group held a campout in a park and did training for a weekend!)  
 Does the local school have any provision for community groups to use its facilities?  
 Can you get a sponsor to assure a property owner that you will take care of things?  
 Will the place that you can get give you any problems related to: fire regulations, insurance, public accomodation laws?  
 Will loud noises or late hours bother neighbors or draw police? (Some role plays seem very violent and well meaning people have made interesting reports to police about what is going on.)

## SHOULD WE ORGANIZE A NONVIOLENCE COURSE IN SCHOOL OR OUTSIDE OF ITS JURISDICTION?

What restrictions would a school course impose on you?  
 Would participants be encouraged to take part in action?  
 How long would it take you to go through the procedures required to have it in school?  
 What advantages are there to having it in school?  
 What disadvantages are there?  
 Is there a teacher who would sponsor training and be willing to go out on a limb if necessary?  
 Do people have any negative feelings toward school which might transfer to a nonviolence course there?  
 If you had a course in school, would it be open to all?  
 Could a student function as a trainer, or would the trainer have to be a teacher?  
 Would attendance be restricted, or required?  
 What creative alternatives are available?  
 Does it have to be either "in school," or "outside"?  
 If you look at the list of schools that have had some sort of nonviolence course recently in the Philadelphia area, you will see it is quite extensive. A lot of work went into making satisfactory arrangements. Working with some sort of institution does have the advantage of getting parental consent more readily.  
 --Compare: "A bunch of John's friends are spending the weekend at his house to train ourselves for nonviolent action." "The human relations club is sponsoring a weekend training workshop in nonviolent action." Which gets parental support first?

## WHAT COSTS ARE CONNECTED WITH TRAINING?

Most people connected with training try to keep expenses as reasonable as possible. A group can purchase books and share them, or they can be borrowed from a library (if it has them).  
 --Idea: Suggest that your school library add some of the books from the following bibliography to its collection. Most schools are overjoyed when students request books and use them.

Places to meet, with very low fees, or free, are available. You can make yourself welcome by doing an hour or so of unskilled work for the owners. Fifteen to thirty people can find something as simple as picking up fallen sticks a lot of fun and a very good group-build exercise!

There is a list of training groups under "resources". Some of these run training and workshops at their own locations while others usually work at a place provided by the group wishing training. These training centers expect reasonable fees which depend on the number of trainers required and the amount of travel and time involved. Most of these groups are on very tight budgets. However when there is sincere interest from a

group, and trainers would not have to travel far, some fee adjustments can usually be made when a group cannot afford much. However, if the members of a group can afford to pay their fair share, they are expected to.

You can get food for reasonable prices if you are careful. Is there a food co-op around? You might find good prices there. Even at an ordinary grocery store you can do well if you are careful. Quaker Project in Community Conflict is known for its fine, inexpensive recipe suggestions. (See resources--Write and ask for them and send a quarter or some stamps to cover their costs.) Having everybody pitch in and share the cooking and cleaning up is one of the best parts of a weekend!

#### WHO SHOULD LEAD TRAINING?

Who can your group get who will be detached enough not to impose solutions on others?  
 Who is willing to do the self-preparation necessary?  
 Who is most experienced in action situations and can inject reality as much as possible?  
 Who can fill the role without creating in-group conflicts?  
 Can the trainer relate to the different sub-groups which may be involved?  
 Can the trainer deal with problems which may arise?  
 Can the trainer handle sharp disagreement within the group?  
 Can different people within a group take turns acting as the trainer?  
 Can several people work out plans together, with different people leading the training at different times?  
 Could all or most members of a group learn about the training process so that the group can discuss problems it faces and expect different members to suggest and/or lead training at different times?  
 How will your group decide how to answer these?

#### HOW DO YOU MEET SOME OF THE DIRECT OBJECTIONS PEOPLE MENTION?

"My parents don't want me to get involved in anything radical."

Aren't you already involved (in life)?  
 Perhaps a group planning to begin exploring nonviolent action should begin by dealing with possible parental objections like this. Why not role play with some people as parents and some as students. Try to explore why parents might object. Find out how to deal with their fears.

"The school schedule has fifty minute periods. How can we get anything done?"

Probably you can't. Perhaps you can begin as a club with reading and discussion. Then organize for a longer time, evenings, a Saturday or a weekend. Some students and faculty in a fairly conservative Catholic school took an approach something like this and eventually used the school's facilities for an all day nonviolence program on a Saturday.

Perhaps the conflict between usual school scheduling, and time needed for intensive, emotional learning, is an indication that usual courses might also be better with a change in method and scheduling.

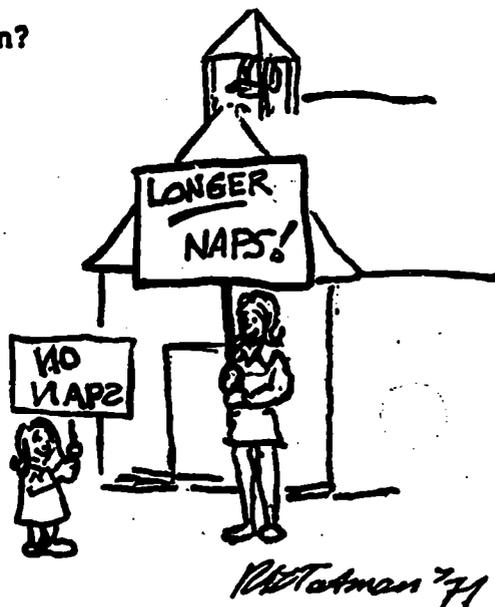
"If I do anything it might go on my record to college or work."

Do you want to go to a college or a job where you are not accepted as you honestly are? Of course, it helps if any records about you are accurate. Being open and nonviolent makes this more likely. Why not let colleges and employers know where you stand?

On the other hand, if you are just thinking about nonviolence as an "in" thing to do, and you are not personally involved in the cause you are in, maybe you better keep your record clear for a while longer.

"What action should students take part in?"

To this, I can only give you a smile from the cartoon and another question: What action should you take part in? I suppose the "average student" takes part in nothing whatsoever. But age has never been a real barrier to action by sincere young people. Many aided the Civil Rights actions greatly. Young men who refuse to register for conscription have broadened the resistance movement. Dedicated students have made many significant changes in school systems. It's up to you.



"What if I get arrested doing something? Minors can get lots of problems.

They certainly can. Often the proceedings are very unfair.

I suggest that you get good legal advice before you and your group do anything which might lead to arrest. Then you can make decisions consciously.

Often minors can be very helpful and necessary as part of a group by not getting arrested when others do. As I mentioned before, several of the "civilian" guerilla theater people working with the Vietnam Veterans Against the War in Washington in April of 1971 were high school students. Four agreed not to get arrested at one point when it looked as if arrests would occur. They would help get bail for those arrested, make phone calls, continue theater and other necessary work. Happily, the government decided not to arrest those camped on the Mall. I guess the real question is "What sacrifices and risks am I willing to accept for what I am working for?"

"Everybody is either apathetic, or too willing to submit to authority."

I hope you won't hold it against them. I know that I was apathetic for a long time. Perhaps you were too. I now ask myself, "What am I doing or saying that appeals to the interests of others?" If the other person sees no need for change, how can I expect that person to be interested in nonviolent action to bring about change?

A salesman rarely makes a sale by talking about why he wants the customer to buy something. He must be aware of what the other person wants. You have the advantage of wanting to share something, not sell it. What benefits can you, your group and your ideas offer to others--students, parents, faculty, administration and community?

"How should a high school group relate to other groups outside of the local area or school?"

Should you affiliate with other high school groups? Should you relate to larger groups concerned with peace and justice? What do you do if people put you down as a bunch of "radicals"? Are the real interests of other groups the same as yours? Can working with other groups formally, informally or not at all, be most beneficial? I have no real suggestions about this, except to be honest about any connections you have.

"We've tried nonviolence and it didn't work."

A friend of mine drew this, based on a comment by Martin Luther King: It was to the effect that when you throw water on a fire and the fire doesn't go out, you don't conclude that water doesn't put out fire, you get more water!

For those who make, or have heard, comments like this, I have some questions. Have you really tried enough? Are you well organized? Are you pursuing truth, not just your own interests? Are you really being nonviolent? Or are you passive and subordinate? Have you suffered any consequences as a result of your efforts?



"You're wasting your time!  
I tried water and it didn't  
put out the fire!"

## RESOURCES

There are many centers which can assist groups interested in training for nonviolent action. Most of these are listed below. There are also a large number of individuals even more widely scattered who have had considerable experience in action and/or training who would be glad to help. Write or call one of the groups nearest you for more information.

However, if for some reason you are not able to get in touch, go ahead on your own. Start a group, using materials available, and your own ingenuity. Start your own training/action program. From time to time there are regional, national and occasional international conferences, training sessions, etc. which you may want to attend. Let other groups know of your existence and keep in touch with others.

### NEW YORK - NEW ENGLAND

American Friends Service Committee  
 Cambridge, Mass. 02130: 48 Inman St.  
 New York, N.Y. 10003: 15 Rutherford Pl.  
 Syracuse, N.Y. 13210: 821 Euclid Ave.  
 West Hartford, Conn., 06119: 144 S Quaker Ln.

Committee for Nonviolent Action: RFD#1,  
 Box 197B, Voluntown, Conn. 09384

Nonviolent Direct Action Group: 48 Inman  
 St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139

\*Quaker Project on Community Conflict  
 217 Second Ave., New York  
 New York 10003

### MID ATLANTIC

American Friends Service Committee  
 Baltimore, Md. 21218: 319 E. 25th St.  
 \*Phila., Pa. 19103: 112 S. 16th St.  
 (national office)

Center for Nonviolent Conflict Resolution:  
 Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.  
 (research in training and non-  
 violent direct action)

Friends Peace Committee: 1515 Cherry St.,  
 Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

\*Life Center: 1006 S. 46th St., Phila., Pa.  
 19143

Quaker House: 2121 Decatur Pl. N.W.,  
 Washington, D.C. 20017

### SOUTH

American Friends Service Committee  
 Coconut Grove, Florida 33133:  
 300 S. Bird Ave.  
 High Point, N.C. 27261: PO Box 1791  
 St. Petersburg, Florida 33705:  
 130 - 19th Ave. S.E.

\*Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial  
 Center: 671 Beckwith St., S.W.  
 Atlanta, Ga. 30314

Southern Christian Leadership  
 Conference: 334 Auburn N.E.,  
 Atlanta, Ga. 30304

WIN: PO Box 7477, Atlanta, Ga. 30309

### MID WEST

American Friends Service Committee  
 Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104: 1414 Hill St.  
 Chicago, Ill. 60605: 407  
 Dearborn St.  
 Dayton, Ohio 45406: 915 Salem Ave.  
 Duluth, Minn. 55802: 24 E. First St.  
 Iowa City, Iowa 52240: 311 N. Linn  
 Kansas City, Mo. 64110: 4723-1/2  
 Troost Ave.  
 Lawrence, Ka. 66044: 107 W. 7th St.  
 Minneapolis, Minn. 55414: 807  
 Fourth St S.E.  
 St. Louis, Mo. 63112: 447  
 De Baliviere

Staughn, Ind. 47387: c/o Carl Landis,  
Route #1  
Wadsworth, Ohio 44281: 282 Crestwood Ave.

Center for Nonviolent Social Change: 1001  
Wright St., Champaign, Ill. 61820

Center for Conflict Resolution: 420  
N. Lake St., Madison,  
Wisc. 53715

Committee for Nonviolence: Kent State Univ.,  
Kent, Ohio 44240

Michigan Institute for Nonviolence: 816 W.  
Shiawasee, Lansing, Mich.

Nonviolent Study Group: 122 W. Franklin,  
Minneapolis, Minn. 55404

\* Nonviolent Training and Action Center: 542  
S. Dearborn, Room 1403, Chicago,  
Ill. 60605

#### SOUTHWEST

American Friends Service Committee  
San Antonio, Texas 78295: PO Box 3198

War Resisters League/Southwest: 116-B  
Hermoso S.E., Albuquerque, N.M.  
87108

#### WEST

American Friends Service Committee  
Denver, Colo. 80203: 1460 Pennsylvania St.  
Pasadena; Ca. 91103: 980 N. Fairbanks  
San Francisco, Ca. 94121: 2160 Lake St.

A Training Action Group: 80 Pierce St.,  
San Francisco, Ca. 94117

Institute Mountain West: Institute for the  
Study of Nonviolence, Box 570,  
Golden, Colo. 80401

Institute for the Study of Nonviolence:  
Box 1001, Palo Alto, Ca. 94302.  
(Only conducts seminars on non-  
violence, resistance, organizing,  
corporate projects, life style)

War Resisters League/West: 833 Haight St.,  
San Francisco, Ca. 94117

#### NORTHWEST AND PACIFIC

American Friends Service Committee  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822: 2426 Oahu  
Portland, Oregon 97215: 4312 Stark  
Seattle, Wash. 98105: 814 N.E.  
40th St.

Seattle, Wash. 98155: Irwin Hogenauer,  
310 N.E. 170th St.

#### CANADA

Canadian Friends Service Committee:  
60 Lowther Ave., Toronto 5,  
Ontario, Canada

Notes: There are several centers in  
Europe and elsewhere.

Those groups indicated by a \* are the  
ones most likely to be able to travel  
distance to work with groups.

AFSC offices do not all have training;  
they can put you in contact with their  
national action/training program out of  
the national office in Philadelphia.

## Books to Start With

On this page I have made a few notes about some books that are worth reading as you start exploring nonviolence. They are readily available and quite useful. Of course, those listed in the bibliography may be just as useful to you or more so. My main aim is to encourage you to start. [in bracket I have noted where you could send for each book and its approximate cost in paperback in case it is not available to you locally. The mailing address of FOR is Box 271, Nyack, N.Y. 10960; FPC is 1515 Cherry St., Phila., Pa. 19102; AFSC is 112 S. 16th St., Phila., Pa 19103.]

"What do you mean, NONVIOLENCE?", by Sue Gottfried is one of the best, short (32pp) introductions available. (Fellowship Publications, Nyack, N.Y.) [FOR, FPC, \$.50]

The Power of Nonviolence, by Richard Gregg is one of the classics, now in its third(?) edition. (Schocken, N.Y., 1959) [FOR, FPC, \$1.95]

Nonviolent Resistance is a good introduction to Gandhi's writing. (Schocken, N.Y., 1961) [FPC, \$2.25]

In Place of War is fascinating, especially for those interested in how nonviolence might be applied to national defense. By AFSC. (Grossman, N.Y., 1967) [AFSC, FPC, \$1.45]

Stride Toward Freedom, about the Montgomery bus boycott and Why We Can't Wait, about the struggle in Birmingham, are two books by Martin Luther King that are well worth reading. There are many parallels between the situations in Montgomery and Birmingham and the situations in many schools. (Harper and Row, New York, 1958 and 1964.) [FPC, \$.75 and \$.60]

"On the Duty of Civil Disobedience," written by Thoreau during the war against Mexico in 1849, still is relevant. (Mentor or Modern Library and other Thoreau anthologies.)

"Revolution: Violent and Nonviolent" is a pair of essays by Regis Debray and Barbara Deming advocating different approaches to the world's problems. (reprinted from Feb. 1968 "Liberation") [FPC, \$.35]

Training for Nonviolent Action by Theodore Olson and Lynne Shivers presents a clear and precise coverage of training and its tools. (WRI& FPIRC, London) [FPC, \$1.00]

A major new book on nonviolent theory, strategy and training is being written by Chuck Noel, Bob Levering, Brian Yaffee and Carl Zietlow and will soon be available. Inquire at FPC or AFSC after November 1971. [two to three dollars]

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

28

- American Friends Service Committee, In Place of War, Grossman, New York, 1967.
- Ashé, Geoffrey, Gandhi, Stein and Day, New York, 1968.
- Badan, Hugo Adam, Civil Disobedience: Theory and Practice, Pegasus, 1969.
- Bondurant, Joan, Conquest of Violence, Univ. of Calif, Berkeley, 1967.
- Bose, N.K., Selections from Gandhi, Navajivan Publishing House, 2nd Enlarged Edition, April 1957. Available Arthur Harvey, Canterbury, N.H.
- Camus, Albert, "Neither Victims Nor Executioners," reprinted from Politics Magazine and Liberation Magazine in Seeds of Liberation, Paul Goodman, ed., Brasiller, 1964.
- Dolci, Danilo, The Man Who Plays Alone, (tr. Antonia Cowan), Anchor, New York, 1969.
- Erickson, Eric, Gandhi's Truth: On the Origins of Militant Nonviolence, Norton & Co., New York, 1969.
- Fanon, Frantz, The Wretched of the Earth, Grove Press, New York, 1961.
- Fischer, Louis K., The Essential Gandhi, Vintage, New York, 1962.
- Friends Peace Committee, Training for Nonviolent Responses in Social Conflict: A Manual For Trainers, Friends Peace Committee (mimeo), Phila., 1969.
- Gandhi, Mohandas K., An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth, Beacon, Boston, 1957.
- Gandhi, M.K., Nonviolent Resistance (Satyagraha), Schocken, New York, 1951.
- Gandhi, M.K., Satyagraha in South Africa, Navajivan, Amedabad, 1961.
- Gregg, Richard, The Power of Nonviolence, Schecken, New York, 1938.
- Huxley, Aldous, Ends and Means, Harper, New York, 1937. (out of print, available in libraries only.)
- King, Martin Luther, Stride Toward Freedom, Harper & Row, New York, 1958.
- King, Martin Luther, Why We Can't Wait, Harper & Row, New York, 1964.
- Kuper, Leo, Passive Resistance in South Africa, Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, 1957.
- Lakey, George, Strategy for Nonviolent Revolution, Peace News Reprint (12 Dec. 1969), from AFSC, 112 S. 16th St., Phila., Pa.
- Lakey, George & Martin Oppenheimer, A Manual for Direct Action, Quadrangle Books, Chicago, 1965.
- Lewis, David L., King-- A Critical Biography, Praeger, New York, 1970.
- Lincoln, C. Eric, Sounds of the Struggle: Essays on Civil Rights, Morrow, New York, 1967.
- Lomax, Louis, The Negro Revolt, New American Library, New York, 1962.

- Lynd, Staughton, ed., Nonviolence in America: A Documentary History, Bobbs-Merrill, New York, 1966.
- Mangione, Jerre, A Passion for Sicilians, Wm. Morrow, New York, 1968.
- Matthiessen, Peter, Sal Si Puedes or Escape if You Can: Cesar Chavez and the New American Revolution, Random House, New York, 1969.
- Merton, Thomas, Gandhi on Nonviolence, New Directions 1965 (NDP197).
- Miller, William Robert, Nonviolence: A Christian Interpretation, Schocken, New York, 1966.
- Olson, Theodore & Gordon Christiansen, Thirty-One Hours: Report of an Extended Roleplay, Canadian Friends Service Committee, (available AFSC, 112 S. 16th St., Phila, Pa.)
- Olson, Theodore & Lynne Shivers, Training for Nonviolent Action, War Resisters International and Friends Peace & International Relations Committee (England); (available Friends Peace Committee, 1515 Cherry St., Phila., Pa.)
- Oppenheimer, Martin, The Urban Guerrilla, Quadrangle, Chicago, 1969.
- Prasad, Devi, ed., Grandan: The Land Revolution of India, War Resisters International, London, 1969.
- Quaker Action Group, Resistance in Latin America, American Friends Service Committee, Phila., 1970.
- Randle, M. and A. Carter, Support Czechoslovakia, Housmans, London, 1968.
- Roberts, Adam, ed., Civilian Resistance as National Defense, Penguin, 1969.
- Rose, Thomas, ed., Violence in America: A Historical and Contemporary Reader, Random House, New York, 1969.
- Sharp, Gene, Civilian Defense: A Political Equivalent for War, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York, 1966.
- Sibley, Mulford, The Quiet Battle, Beacon Press, Boston, 1963.
- Sibley, Mulford, "Revolution and Violence," Peace News, March 1969.
- Sorel, Georges, Reflections on Violence, Collier, New York, 1961.
- Tennyson, Hallan, India's Walking Saint, Doubleday, New York, 1955.
- Thoreau, Henry, "Civil Disobedience," 1849, (included in every Thoreau anthology).
- Waskow, Arthur, From Race-Riot to Sit-In, Anchor, 1957 (A557).
- Weil, Simone, The Iliad, or the Poem of Force, Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pa. 1940.

## Appendix

I hope you will find the following materials interesting and useful.

1. A model of a fifteen hour weekend course--a general introduction for high school students. It is meant to be exploratory in nature and is not aimed at preparing participants for a specific nonviolent campaign. It was put together by Chuck Noell.
2. BEFORE ACTING... is a set of notes taken by Ross Capon which gives sort of a checklist which you may find useful.
3. INTEGRATING SOCIAL CHANGE INTO THE CURRICULUM by Chris Moore is part of a longer paper. Hopefully, the ideas expressed may be useful in your school.
4. "Channeling" was quoted earlier. Although it was withdrawn as an official Selective Service document after its publication in Fellowship in 1968, I wonder if the same intentions do not still prevail?
5. A short list of films you might want your school or group to see. From a much more extensive list available from the Life Center 1006 S. 46th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19104 (\$.25 stamps or coin for handling)
6. Some Ideas on Street or "Guerrilla" Theater based on work done by Caroline K. Schrag and others.

Model of a high school level course. Contains a large number of experimental roleplays and games. We would appreciate feedback from those trainers who try these, noting their uses, limitations, and effects with different groups.

### FIRST SESSION: INTERPERSONAL CONFLICT AND NONVIOLENCE

(1) Introductions: Informal discussions, finding out names, peoples' interests, emphasizing lack of answers and importance of exploring questions together. When asked to articulate concepts of nonviolence, students may give such replies as the absence of physical retaliation, passivity, talking instead of acting, etc. Someone may question what is violence, and whether you need physical coercion to have violence. The trainer emphasizes that we can try to deal with actual experiences through roleplaying.

(2) Introduction to roleplaying: Classroom Dissenter  
scene: A Teacher, a few students, and one Dissenter. The Dissenter is opposed to the war in Vietnam, the Teacher and other students support it. Half-way through the class discussion, the Trainer asks the Dissenter to switch to supporting the war, the rest to switch to opposing it.  
discussion: Questions is whether the difference in ideological positions makes any changes in the way the Dissenter and the rest of the class relate to each other. Emphasis on non-verbal communication -- how do people communicate to each other underneath their words: the difference between trying to win arguments and "put the Dissenter down," and trying to listen for "the Truth in every man."

(3) Pig  
scene: The Disciplinarian has been beating certain students, and the Principal has refused to listen to student requests for an investigation. A small group of students is now sitting in his office, and says it will stay until he has such an investigation. A Policeman arrives with orders not to make arrests or do anything to give either the school or police department a bad image. Now, the students may say or do anything they like, only they must always refer to the Policeman as "pig."

discussion: Feelings of rising frustration and hostility-- potential for explosion into violence; question of losing sight of goal of action. General discussion of name-calling and stereotyping as psychological violence, their effect of alienating observers; importance of seeing the "opponent" as a human being for any possibility of communication-- desire for honest communication as one aspect of nonviolence.

(4) Guess Who's Coming to Dinner  
scene: A son or daughter shows up with a black or freaky friend to announce that they are going steady, getting married, or she is pregnant.

discussion: Questions of nonverbal communication, approaching each other as people, similar to above. The question of reopening dialogue/reconciliation as aspects of interpersonal nonviolence; effect of relationships of authority and dependency-- economic, legal, and psychological. Violence as a psychological phenomenon within the family.

optional technique: alter ego: An Alter ego stands behind the speaker and, when moved, voices what he feels the speaker is really thinking or feeling underneath the words. (Father: I just can't understand-- after all we've done for you. Alter Ego: You always were an ungrateful brat.) This technique can help move any roleplay more quickly into the issue of nonverbal communication.

(5) Basic Training

scene: There are 5 Trainees, two Corporals, and one Sergeant. The directors assign a specific period to time (10-15 minutes) to train the Trainees to march in formation, come to attention, and in perfect unison, thrust their bayonets forward screaming "Kill!" (Adapted from an actual training exercise at Paris Island. Oftentimes, the workshop leaders will need to ask the Trainees to leave the room, while the roleplay director and workshop participants discuss with the Sergeant and Corporals the best methods to train the Trainees to fulfill their tasks.)

discussion: The dynamics of violence: the use of stereotyping, name-calling, "putting down" certain chosen victims, praising, chanting, etc. to build both submission to the authorities and hostility, which the authorities can channel in whatever direction they wish. The relationship of submissiveness and organized violence.

(6) Summary: students and workshop leaders briefly review the points which have arisen in discussions of the roleplays. Linking of issues of communications, submissiveness, etc. into coherent whole relating to nonviolence in interpersonal conflicts.

## SECOND SESSION: INTER-GROUP CONFLICT AND NONVIOLENCE, NONVIOLENT SELF-DEFENSE

(7) Discussion: Rehash of basic training, potential ways to resist basic training -- individual refusal to cooperate, group organization for mass refusal: noncooperation and Resistance. Nonviolence as phenomenon between groups -- role of groups in supporting each other, or victimized individuals.

(8) The John

scene: Two bystanders, a victim, and three toughs. The toughs decide to give a long-haired victim a "haircut" with razor blades and a cigarette lighter. The scene takes place in a men's room.

discussion: Victim's feelings of helplessness, sense of isolation. (Does sensed isolation tend toward violent responses?) Potential roles of bystanders -- dividing attention of toughs, breaking situation into one-to-one conversations. Uses or roles of body positions, eye-to-eye contacts, attempts to communicate as aspects of nonviolent self-defense. Need for preparation before violent situation -- both contingency anticipation and psychological self-discipline.

(9) The Greasy Spoon

scene: Two couples are in a pizza joint without knowing they are in a certain gang's "turf," when the gang members arrive and approach them.

discussion: Role of pride in sparking violence, pride and sense of "turf." Relation between roles of different sexes, and methods of intensifying or of defusing potential violence; need to try to engage and involve "opponent;" questions of when and how to withdraw from potentially violent situations. General discussion of nonviolence and "vulnerability."

(10) Provocative Behavior

scene: A group is meeting to plan an action inside highschool for a National Moratorium, despite Administration threats to expel "troublemakers." Some members of the group may believe (or even have information, if the director wishes) that the Administration might be planting one of the students in the meeting. Two members show up with some marijuana.

discussion: Issues of secrecy vs. openness, effect on behavior; relations between individual freedom and group discipline in nonviolent action -- difference between personal risk and actions which endanger group/community solidarity.

(11) Discussion: Basic issues of group discipline and building a sense of community, role of self-preparation, searching, discipline in nonviolence: roles of fasting and hartals (symbolic one-day general strikes) in Gandhi's campaigns, of song and prayer in early Civil Rights Movement. Need to organize, anticipation of problems.

(12) Situation Analysis: Attack of Leafleter

situation: presence of two policemen, marshals, one attacker who runs, and two leafleters in a picket line outside Suburban High.

discussion: How to relate to policemen, picking up leaflets, letting attacker go; issues of handling crowds which may gather, of need for vigils or picket lines to maintain own internal order and identity; division of tasks.

(13) The Sign

scene: A small group of highschool students are picketing the school to protest its bringing in military recruiters. One student shows up with a "Kill the Pigs" sign.

discussion: How to handle the matter of newcomers; openness of demonstration, problems involved in alienating public; registration and pre-arranged disciplines; need for persistence, firmness, without violence, in approaching newcomer with sign.

(14) Discussion: summary of points learned in examinations of nonviolence and intergroup conflicts; first discussions of tactics, continued discussions of openness, goal of communicating, etc. as elements in nonviolent self-defense.

THIRD SESSION: TACTICS, NONVIOLENT SELF-DEFENSE

(15) Discussion: Run-down of different kinds of tactics of nonviolent movements. Question of moral witness and protest in relation to concerns for results -- taking nonviolence seriously as a total life-commitment vs. playing at it.

(16) Group Definition of Nonviolence

situation: 10 minutes to define nonviolence by group of 6 to 8.

discussion: different methods of decision-making; ("command" vs. "consensus" authority structures) need for clear definitions of tasks and goals; role of time deadlines.

(17) Group Leadership

situation: Volunteers for another 10-minute discussion leave the room; when they return, they will be asked to plan a procedure for developing a coffee house in space at the local high school.

discussion: The group lists qualities of leadership in advance, while the discussers are outside; during the discussion, they check a mark each time an individual exercises one of the leadership functions. Post-group discussion concentrates on how roles are defined and filled.

(18) Suburban Picket

scene: That disciplinarian is still beating students; the protesters are now picketing the Principal's home to dramatize their plea for an investigation. They have 5 minutes to organize themselves to deal with a reporter, irate neighbor, and the Principal himself.

discussion: Effects of various roles; how well group discipline is maintained in face of harassment; press relations; effectiveness of contingency planning.

**(19) Caesar and Cassius**

**scene:** A teacher feels that an individualistic, argumentative student is trying to undermine his authority-- student Cassius to his Caesar. The Teacher has flunked the student for an unorthodox answer to an essay test question, they have argued about it, and now the teacher has asked the Principal to expel the student as a class disrupter. The players are a small delegation of fellow students who are going to see the Principal to present their view of the situation and request a more appropriate action. The only story the Principal has heard thus far is the teacher's. The students have 10 minutes to prepare for the meeting.

**discussion:** Division of roles, the need to organize for negotiations; problems in negotiations-- the need to stay on the subject, the need to organize points to communicate and requests for action in advance; in general, the role of negotiation in nonviolent actions, problems in communications with authority/subject situations.

**(20) Steal the Body**

**scene:** Students are vigiling for the Moratorium outside Suburban High. A small cluster of students hostile to the demonstration are across the street; two burly types grab the smallest girl and haul her toward the cluster.

**discussion:** tension between need to maintain vigil discipline and order vs. support of individual attacked; roles of marshals, of persons next to victim; problems with immediate reactions to unexpected crises. Further general discussion of nonviolent self-defense-- communicating with hostile individuals, communications of attitudes, role of fear, openness, etc.

**(21) Summary:** General discussion of points learned thus far, and attempt to tie together the content of the first three sessions.

**FOURTH SESSION: STRATEGY**

**(22) Discussion:** Problems in organizing nonviolent campaigns, how to set up a situation with either extended roleplaying or game-playing to dig into these questions.

**(23) Situation:** Suburban High is located in a fast-growing suburb, populated mostly by executive, middle management, and professional types fleeing city problems. There is a small but active John Birch Society which is currently running two candidates for School Board on a platform of anti-sex education and drugs-hippies-SDS influences in the school. There is an even tinner Peace Action Group trying to organize vigils, pickets, seminars, etc. around issues of the Draft and the War. There is little community involvement beyond these, except for little theaters, garden clubs, etc. The suburb is registered 38% Republican (the Birchers are Republican), 29% Democrat, and 33% indifferent.

Inside the school, there is overcrowding, a high teacher turnover, inadequate budgets, and an eighty page rule book with every District regulation since 1922. A third of the faculty is on tenure, another third moonlighting or actively seeking other jobs, and a third in the first three years of teaching; 5 to 15 teachers are trying to organize a teachers' union. The students are mostly college-bound, but find school courses dull and are more interested in cars, parties, status; the student council has jurisdiction over class dances and pep rallies, and, apart from three or four members who like to talk about demanding more influence on policy, is doing little to change this situation. Finally, there is a newly-formed Student Involvement Council, which wants to organize students around issues of the War, Draft, educational reform, students' rights, racism, et. al.

**(24) Option #1: Strategy Game**

The object of the game is to raise the questions strategists must face in thinking through campaigns. Team A is the Student Involvement Council. Team B could be any number of other factors in the situation-- Birchers, Administration, whatever-- depending on which problems the group wishes to experiment with. The following is an intra-school game:

Suburban High has a traditional Armed Forces Week, which includes intensive showing of Pentagon movies, military recruiting, patriotic speeches, poems, and biographies. Team A has decided to hold its first organizing campaign around issues relevant to this week, and has the first move. Team B is the Administration.

**(25) Option #2: Extended Roleplay**

Assuming the same problem as above, roles might include: S.I.C. members, Principal, fellow students, outside support (or attack) group members, teachers, etc. The extended roleplay must be directed so that one incident occurs at a time.

**(26) Discussion:** How goals were set, how particular stages of the campaign were evaluated and goals reconsidered, if necessary; effects of particular kinds of tactics on different groups; use of support groups, legal help, advice, etc.; methods and results of negotiations, effects of direct actions on processes of negotiations; differences between playing aggressive and defensive roles relative to actions; relationships between insulated communities (the school, for example) and the broader community outside; use of press, media, spokesmen; task divisions and implementations.

**FIFTH SESSION: STREET SPEAKING AND/OR LEAFLETING; SUMMARY OF WHAT HAS BEEN LEARNED; EVALUATION OF TRAINING SESSION**

**Street Speaking**

**(27) Step One: Roleplaying** the street meeting should be done for many reasons. The participants have opportunity to simulate experience with hecklers, different speaking conditions, and observe some of the basic elements in a street meeting. This is an opportunity for the trainer to begin to dispel fears and inhibitions that participants may have. One way this is done is through the exaggerated heckling done in the roleplay situation.

The entire group is instructed in the structure of the roleplay, the order of speakers, some elements of speaking and heckling. Some time and examples on the role of crowd technicians. Those who are not speaking assume the roles of crowd members, onlookers, passersby, hecklers.

**Important points to be covered:**

Speaking techniques - Short, concise points; be specific, go into details.

Assigning topics - Agree on a general subject.

Crowd control - Assist the speaker, set the tone in the crowd.

Hecklers - Handle potential disrupters by raising values of fairness, democracy, free speech, etc. Use personal discussion to draw individuals away when necessary.

Police - Note importance of informing them in advance.

Permits - Importance of checking this in advance.

Equipment - A sign, something to stand on, literature.

Personalize the meeting - Introduce each speaker, introduce the group.

If the situation is out of control - Cover methods for ending meeting when disruptions are threatening.

**(28) Step Two: Actual Public Street Speaking:**

The group should understand that the purpose is to explore a miniature conflict situation. It should be prepared to raise and deal with controversial issues. The experience of defending positions publicly is a key to this training segment.

Participants should be able to help attract and bring in a crowd, remove or disperse disruptive discussion centers that form, work to keep attention on the speaker, encourage the speaker with humorous assists and applause.

**(29) Leafletting:**

Leafletting can be done in conjunction with street speaking (or with most demonstrations) or by itself. If it is done in conjunction with street speaking, a leafleter can assist in gathering a crowd, answering questions, encouraging discussion, introducing and legitimizing the street speaking scene to passersby.

Leafletting situations can be roleplayed in the street speaking roleplay session if they are to be done together. Some important points are:

- Key locations of leafleters.
- Genial approach to passersby.
- Aggressive but not overbearing presentation.
- Answer all questions.
- Explain the presence of the crowd if asked.
- Pick up all discarded leaflets.

Leafleters should rotate with crowd technicians and should take their turns speaking. All participants should be involved in all aspects of the action if possible.

**(30) Evaluating Street Speaking and Leafletting:**

The street speaking should be followed up with a group evaluation of the street speaking experience. At least 15 minutes should be allowed for this.

**(31) Evaluation of Training Session:**

This can be done in conjunction with the street speaking evaluation (leave a little more time). Participants should express their reactions to the training experience, criticisms, suggestions, and any suggestions or plans for future activity.

**I. Define the problem.** A problem is something you can get a handle on; it is small enough, a well-defined problem area. (Example: High school students lack accurate information about alternatives to military service.) By contrast, a problem area is huge, evokes feelings of anxiety and powerlessness, and is not a good basis for action. (Example: The Indochina war continues.)

**II. Criteria for selection of a problem.**

1. Can this group do something about it?
2. Is it social service (crisis intervention) or social action for systemic change, which is of several types: REFORMIST; PARALLELIST (i.e. breakfast programs); REVOLUTIONARY.
3. Is it in my self-interest? What is the pay-off for me?
4. Do victims and change-agents want the change? (Who are they?) To proceed without their support will probably be unsuccessful. Agitate for their support, or desist!
5. OK for me and my group to work on the problem? In our tradition?

**III. Define the problem further.** List the data needed. Why is it a problem?

1. How many people suffer? Where are they located? How are they affected?
2. What economic/political/social factors make it a problem? (i.e. racism, sexism, etc.)
3. What conflicting values make it a problem?
4. Identify structures and their key actors, and their policies which need changing.

**IV. More questions**

1. State your group's specific action re this problem--a realizable timebound result. (examples: 1,000 voters registered by Jan. 15; Get Italians out of Libya by...)
2. Review the criteria for selecting the problem. List the criteria which the action goal applies to.
3. Why should you be involved? What values, traditions, materials (legitimation, guidance) in your group support this tradition?
4. Who are your necessary allies? Which structures must be enlisted? Key actors?
5. Who are your potential allies? Structures and key actors?
6. Who is your action group?

**V. Goal: To make a plan of Action**

1. What other strategies are being carried out re this problem? List structures. Maybe link up with them--their goals might be better. What is their plan? If no other groups are working on the problem, closely examine its importance.
2. Outline next steps which must be taken to achieve your goal.
3. List assignments to be carried out, persons responsible, date for completion.

NOTE: You need linkages with establishments--will provide valuable info. (People who have been in "the battle" longer than you have.)

**VI. Goal: To evaluate an Action**

1. Determine the time(s) when your group will evaluate what has been accomplished, what has been learned about social action. List dates.
2. What has been accomplished?
3. What have you learned about social action?
4. What changes have occurred as a result of the last evaluation?

(notes taken by Ross Capon at presentations by Robert H. Bonthius.)

One cannot study American history without being impressed by the heritage of nonviolent social movements which have changed this nation. The resistance to war by early Quakers and Mennonites, the underground railway, the labor movement, the fight for women's suffrage, the civil rights movement, and the contemporary peace movement bear witness to the role which nonviolent social change has played in our history. These historical events combined with a direct action project today, make history a living and continuing process.

English classes can integrate social change by beginning a study of advertising and propaganda. This gives students an insight into how ideas are sold and into the process of conviction. Writing briefs and doing case studies develop writing skills. Drama skills in street theater can be developed. Skits of a political nature can be done on the sidewalk for crowds in an effort to raise their consciousness about a particular social problem.

Art, psychology, religion, political science, sociology, and economics have potential for integration into the social change curriculum. Some science and math classes can unite with social change in the ecology area.

It is important that content and practice be linked in creating a process education course in social change. Content is not lost, but is heightened by its connection to the real world. In the ideal form social change and conflict resolution techniques will not be confined to one or two classes in the school, but will be diffused throughout the curriculum. These tools and methods help people understand the emotions of others and teach individuals how both to control and to release their own emotions in an effort to resolve interpersonal conflict. A social change curriculum not only teaches students and teachers the techniques needed to change institutions but may actually initiate that change. Finally, social change classes combined with process education is an experiment in controlling one's life.

Chris Moore,  
Friends Peace Committee

(This is a copy of an official Selective Service memorandum which has since been withdrawn. The emphasis is ours.)

### "CHANNELING"

One of the major products of the Selective Service classification process is the channeling of manpower into many endeavors, occupations, and activities that are in the national interest. The line dividing the primary function of armed forces manpower procurement from the process of channeling manpower into civilian support is often finely drawn. The process of channeling by not taking men from certain activities who are otherwise liable for service, or by giving deferment to qualified men in certain occupations, is actual procurement by inducement of manpower for civilian activities which are manifestly in the national interest.

Many young men would not have pursued a higher education if there had not been a program of student deferment. Many young scientists, engineers, tool and die makers, and other possessors of scarce skills would not remain in their jobs in the defense effort if it were not for a program of occupational deferments. Even though the salary of a teacher has historically been meager, many young men remain in that job, seeking the reward of a deferment. The process of channeling manpower by deferment is entitled to much credit for the large number of graduate students in technical fields and for the fact that there is not a greater shortage of teachers, engineers, and other scientists working in activities which are essential to the national interest.

More than ten years ago, it became evident that something additional had to be done to permit and encourage development of young scientists and trained people in all fields. A million and a half registrants are now deferred as students. One reason the Nation is not in shorter supply of engineers today is that they were among the students deferred by Selective Service in previous years. Similarly, Selective Service student deferments reduced what otherwise would have developed into more serious shortages in teaching, medicine, dentistry, and every field requiring advanced study. The System has also induced needed people to remain in these professions and in industry engaged in defense activities or in support of national health, safety, or interest.

The opportunity to enhance the national well-being by inducing more registrants to participate in fields which relate directly to the national interest came about as a consequence, soon after the close of the Korean episode, of the knowledge within the System that there was enough registrant personnel to allow stringent deferment practices employed during war time to be relaxed or tightened as the situation might require. Circumstances had become favorable to induce registrants, by the attraction of deferment, to matriculate in schools and pursue subjects in which there was beginning to be a national shortage of personnel. These were particularly in the engineering, scientific, and teaching professions.

This was coupled with a growing public recognition that the complexities of future wars would diminish further the distinction between what constitutes military service in uniform and a comparable contribution to the national interest out of uniform. Wars have always been conducted in various ways but appreciation of this fact and its relationship to preparation for war has never been so sharp in the public mind as it is now becoming. The meaning of the word "service", with its former restricted application to the armed forces, is certain to become widened much more in the future. This brings with it the ever increasing problem of how to control effectively the service of individuals who are not in the armed forces.

In the Selective Service System the term "deferment" has been used millions of times to describe the method and means used to attract to the kind of service considered to be more important, the individuals who were not compelled to do it. The club of induction has been used to drive out of areas considered to be less important to the areas of greater importance in which deferments were given, the individuals who did not or could not participate in activities which were considered essential to the defense of the Nation. The Selective Service System anticipates further evolution in this area. It is promoting the process by the granting of deferments in liberal numbers where the national need would clearly benefit. This is accomplished on the basis of evidence of record in each individual case. No group deferments are permitted. Deferments are granted, however, in a realistic atmosphere so that the fullest effect of channeling will be felt, rather than be terminated by military service at too early a time.

Registrants and their employers are encouraged and required to make available to the classifying authorities detailed evidence as to the occupation and activities in which the registrants are engaged. It is not necessary for any registrant to specifically request deferment, but his selective service file must contain sufficient current evidence on which can be based a proper determination as to whether he should remain where he is or be made available for service. Since occupational deferments are granted for no more than one year at a time, a process of periodically receiving current information and repeated review assures that every deferred registrant continues to contribute to the overall national good. This reminds him of the basis for his deferment. The skills as well as the activities are periodically reevaluated. A critical skill that is not employed in an essential activity does not qualify for deferment.

Patriotism is defined as "devotion to the welfare of one's country". It has been interpreted to mean many different things. Men have always been exhorted to do their duty. But what that duty is depends upon a variety of variables, most important being the nature of the threat to national welfare and the capacity and opportunity of the individual. Take, for example, the boy who saved the Netherlands by plugging the dike with his finger.

At the time of the American Revolution the patriot was the so-called "embattled farmer" who joined General Washington to fight the British. The concept that patriotism is best exemplified by service in uniform has always been under some degree of challenge, but never to the extent that it is today. In today's complicated warfare when the man in uniform may be suffering far less than the civilians at home, patriotism must be interpreted far more broadly than ever before.

This is not a new thought, but it has had new emphasis since the development of nuclear and rocket warfare. Educators, scientists, engineers, and their professional organizations, during the last ten years particularly, have been convincing the American public that for the mentally qualified man there is a special order of patriotism other than service in uniform -- that for the man having the capacity, dedicated service as a civilian in such fields, as engineering, the sciences, and teaching constitute the ultimate in their expression of patriotism. A large segment of the American public has been convinced that this is true.

It is in this atmosphere that the young man registers at age 18 and pressure begins to force his choice. He does not have the inhibitions that a philosophy of universal service in uniform would engender. The door is open for him as a student to qualify if capable in a skill badly needed by his nation. He has many choices and he is prodded to make a decision.

The psychological effect of this circumstantial climate depends upon the individual, his sense of good citizenship, his love of country and its way of life. He can obtain a sense of well-being and satisfaction that he is doing as a civilian what will help his country most. This process encourages him to put forth his best effort and removes to some degree the stigma that has been attached to being out of uniform.

In the less patriotic and more selfish individual it engenders a sense of fear, uncertainty, and dissatisfaction which motivates him, nevertheless, in the same direction. He complains of the uncertainty which he must endure; he would like to be able to do as he pleases; he would appreciate a certain future with no prospect of military service or civilian contribution, but he complies with the needs of the national health, safety, or interest -- or is denied deferment.

Throughout his career as a student, the pressure -- the threat of loss of deferment -- continues. It continues with equal intensity after graduation. His local board requires periodic reports to find out what he is up to. He is impelled to pursue his skill rather than embark upon some less important enterprise and is encouraged to apply his skill in an essential activity in the national interest. The loss of deferred status is the consequence for the individual who has acquired the skill and either does not use it or uses it in a nonessential activity.

The psychology of granting wide choice under pressure to take action is the American or indirect way of achieving what is done by direction in foreign countries where choice is not permitted. Here, choice is limited but not denied, and it is fundamental that an individual generally applies himself better to something he has decided to do rather than something he has been told to do.

The effects of channeling are manifested among student physicians. They are deferred to complete their education through school and internship. This permits them to serve in the armed forces in their skills rather than in an unskilled capacity as enlisted men.

The device of pressurized guidance, or channeling, is employed on Standby Reservists of which more than 2 1/2 million have been referred by all services for availability determinations. The appeal to the Reservist who knows he is subject to recall to active duty unless he is determined to be unavailable is virtually identical to that extended to other registrants.

The psychological impact of being rejected for service in uniform is severe. The earlier this occurs in a young man's life, the sooner the beneficial effects of pressurized motivation by the Selective Service System are lost. He is labeled unwanted. His patriotism is not desired. Once the label of "rejectee" is upon him all his efforts at guidance by persuasion are futile. If he attempts to enlist at 17 or 18 and is rejected, then he receives virtually none of the impulsion the System is capable of giving him. If he makes no effort to enlist and as a result is not rejected until delivered for examination by the Selective Service System at about age 23, he has felt some of the pressure but thereafter is a free agent.

This contributed to establishment of a new classification of 1-Y (registrant qualified for military service only in time of war or national emergency). That classification reminds the registrant of his ultimate qualification to serve and preserves some of the benefit of what we call channeling.

From the individual's viewpoint he is standing in a room which has been made uncomfortably warm. Several doors are open, but they all lead to various forms of recognized, patriotic service to the Nation. Some accept the alternatives gladly -- some with reluctance. The consequence is approximately the same.

Selective Service processes do not compel people by edict as in foreign systems to enter pursuits having to do with essentiality and progress. They go because they know that by going they will be deferred.

The application of direct methods to effect the policy of every man doing his duty in support of national interest involves considerably more capacity than the current use of indirection as a method of allocation of personnel. The organization necessary to make the decisions, even poor decisions, would, of necessity, extract a large segment of population from productive work. If the members of the organization are conceived to be reasonably qualified to exercise judgment and control over skilled personnel, the impact of their withdrawal from war production work would be severe. The number of decisions would extend into billions.

A quarter billion classification actions were needed in World War II for the comparatively limited function of the Selective Service System at that time. Deciding what people should do, rather than letting them do something of national importance of their own choosing, introduces many problems that are at least partially avoided when indirect methods, the kind currently invoked by the Selective Service System, are used.

Delivery of manpower for induction, the process of providing a few thousand men with transportation to a reception center, is not much of an administrative or financial challenge. It is in dealing with the other millions of registrants that the System is heavily occupied, developing more effective human beings in the national interest. If there is to be any survival after disaster, it will take people, and not machines, to restore the Nation.

## SOME FILMS OF INTEREST

The films listed below are in no particular order. After the films are addresses from which they can be obtained.

**KING: A FILMED RECORD...MONTGOMERY TO MEMPHIS**, Martin Luther King Foundation, Inc., variety of rental schemes. An artistically well done documentary of the Black struggle for equality and justice from 1955 to 1968: Montgomery, sit-ins, Freedom rides, 1963 March on Washington, Birmingham, Selma, Chicago Poor Peoples Campaign, Memphis, Dr. King's funeral.

**GANDHI**, 27 min. b&w, Free Library of Philadelphia, fee. Historic footage of Gandhi putting theory into practice. CBS 20th Century series narrated by Walter Cronkite. Includes lengthy scenes of the salt march and fast, roundtable conference in London, visit to Lancastershire unemployed, riots after India's independence and partition, the last walk and the assassination of Gandhi.

**GANDHI'S INDIA**, 58 min b&w, Indiana U. (NET) \$13.50 BBC documentary on Gandhi's life and influence. Gandhi's life, ideas and strategy of civil disobedience; footage of Gandhi and interviews with his associates, followers and others.

**VINOBA BHAVE**, 49 min, color, International Film Bureau, \$22.50 Gramdan and Bhoodan movements in modern India concentrating on village struggle to develop home industries and some footage on training of bhooden workers.

**MARCH TO ALDERMASTON**, 30 min. b&w AFSC \$5.00 A record of the 1960 protest march on nuclear bombs, from London to Aldermaston, including personal statements by people of all ages about their reasons for joining the march.

**THE VOYAGE OF THE PHOENIX**, 54 min. color, LIFE CENTER, \$15.00 Documentary of a case study in nonviolent direct action--the first voyage of the Phoenix which took medical supplies for the civilians use in North Vietnam in the Spring of 1967. Well done. Interviews with crew on their views for going. Problems in dealing with officials. Scenes of Air Force buzzing ship in China Sea, Arrival at Haiphong and tour of N. Vietnam.

**CATONSVILLE 9**, 15 min. b&w Newsreel, \$15.00 Filmed in Baltimore during the support demonstrations for the nine Catholics who were on trial for napalming the 1-A draft files at Catonsville, Md. The film examines some of the relationships between radical Catholicism and the Movement.

**WALK TO FREEDOM**, 20 min. b&w, AFSC, \$5.00. A documentary of the Montgomery bus boycott produced by FOR from historic film footage. The film explores the role of nonviolence in achieving social progress.

**SIT-IN**, 54 min. b&w, Free Library of Phila., free. An NBC documentary on the Nashville sit-in in 1961 showing progress of the campaign, footage of training and lunch counter incidents, and economic boycott. Well done.

**HUELGA!** 54 min. color, Contemporary Films, \$30.00, 1967 film of United Farmworkers grape strike. Interviews with Chavez and strike organizers as well as grape growers, examples of the Teatro Campesino, working conditions in the field, and the Delano to Sacramento march of 1967.

**GARBAGE DEMONSTRATION**, b&w, 12 min. Newsreel, \$15.00 The first demonstration of a NY organization is to dump garbage on Lincoln Center. The film focuses on this demonstration as the groups first organizing attempt.

**WOMEN ON THE MARCH**, 60 min. b&w, Free Library of Phila. free. Documentary of the struggle for women's rights in England, Canada and U.S. including historic photographs and film footage of some of the important leaders and creative tactics used. Highly recommended.

**APPALACHIA: RICH LAND, POOR PEOPLE**, 58 min. b&w, American Documentary Films, \$40.00 White and Black workers join to fight the rape of Appalachia by coal and steel interests in this NET documentary.

**THE HAT-IS THIS WAR NECESSARY**, 18 min. color, Contemporary Films \$15.00 Lively cartoon probing the questions of war and national boundaries, and leading into the possibilities of a human solution to these problems.

**The WAR GAME**, 49 min. b&w, McGraw-Hill \$75.00, restricted \$125 An excellent film and scrupulous attempt-based on information supplied by experts in nuclear defense, economics and medicine-to show what would happen to Britain in the event of a nuclear attack. The images have authentic quality of a newsreel and an impact more forceful than any book or lecture. The film's overall mood is panic; its indispensable message that there is no way to "prepare for" nuclear war, there's no choice but to prepare against it. Produced by BBC-TV it might well be used to lead into a discussion on the human necessity of exploring nonviolent alternatives to war.

**WHO INVITED US?** 60 min. b&w Indiana U. (NET), \$13.50 This documentary reviews the history of U.S. military intervention beginning with the takeover of the Phillipines and continuing through the Viet Nam war. Economic and political motivations are examined.

**BUT WHAT DO WE DO?** 18 min. color, Canyon Cinema Co-op, \$25.00 The true story of an engineer who left his job in a war industry after reflection on news about Vietnam, hearing Joan Baez speak about nonviolence, seeing the Stanford student demonstrations and a session of civilian defense "peace games."

**TWELVE ANGRY MEN**, 90 min. b&w, United Artists, \$90.00 An excellent and dramatic study of group dynamics in a murder trial jury situation applying nonviolent techniques including informal role playing in a group situation. Highly recommended.

**DAVID HARRIS, POLITICAL PRISONER** 30 min. b&w Friends Peace Committee, \$15.00 A serious and involving, and sometimes light-hearted documentary including some good raps on nonviolence and resistance and scenes of David's arrest.

**OPERATION R.A.W.** 60 min. color, Vietnam Veterans Against the War. fee negotiable, often includes VVAW speaker  
A fascinating documentary of the Labor Day weekend march of about 150 veterans from Morristown N.J. to Valley Forge Pa. Representations of treatment of civilians and others in Viet Nam, Reasons people participated, anti war veterans views, comments from people along line of march.

Addresses of films

American Documentary Films, Inc. 336 W. 84th St. NY 10024 (212-799-7440) 397 Bay St., San Francisco, CA 94133 (415-982-7475)  
American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) 112 S. 16th Phila PA 19102 (215-L03-9372)  
Canyon Cinema Co-operative, rm 220 Industrial Center Bldg. Sausalito, CA 94965 (415-332-1514)  
Contemporary/Mcgraw Hill Films 330 W. 42nd St. NY, NY 10016  
Free Library of Philadelphia, Regional Film Center, 114 N. 19th Street, Phila. Pa. 19103 (215-686-5367)  
Friends Peace Committee, 1515 Cherry St. Phila. PA. 19102 (215-561-4640)  
Indiana University, Audio-Visual Center, Bloomington, IN 47401 (812-337-2103)  
Life Center 1006 S. 46th St. Phila. Pa. 19104 (215-EV6-7025)  
Martin Luther King Foundation, Inc. 140 W. 57th St. NY, NY 10019 (212-247-7336)  
McGraw-Hill 330 W. 42nd Street, NY, NY 10036  
Newsreel 322 7th Ave. NY, NY 10001  
United Artists, 16mm., 729 7th Ave NY, NY 10019 (212-CI5-6000)  
Vietnam Veterans Against the War, 25 W. 26th St. NY, NY 10010

### Some Ideas on Street or "Guerrilla" Theater

Theater can be a very useful and worthwhile tool of nonviolent activists. You have the opportunity to communicate ideas clearly, and every time you do theater out in public, you maintain "the right of the people peaceably to assemble."

Caroline Schrag gave a course for the Parkway Program in the Fall of 1970 in guerrilla theater. The following thoughts are based on her work, and that of the group she worked with, as well as other experience.

Some base group is necessary. Well performed and effective street theater depends on knowledge of the script (minimal though it may be) and a clear idea of what your group wants to have happen. Members of the group have to be familiar with each other and trust each other, especially when they move into possibly hostile situations. For example, when you may be performing in front of an unfriendly crowd, it is comforting to know that several members of your group are in the crowd to keep things cool and that someone is ready to deal creatively with police or other authorities who might arrive.

In order to do these things, people should be relaxed with each other and able to work without embarrassment. Some exercises like mirroring, expressing feelings, acting as animals or things, can be very useful for loosening up a group. Building a "what's it?" machine can be good: One person starts some machine-like motion. Others join in, in a coordinated manner and eventually the entire group is functioning together.

Skits can be developed around specific ideas, real life, or by role playing situations and then repeating the role play over and over in an exaggerated manner.

Some examples of how this can be done: With the idea, "The Draft is a machine which produces death," a group took different parts and acted them out mechanically. (draftees, draft board, sergeant, business recruiter, gun maker, etc.) They made the machine function well until one draftee refused to go through the machine. The point that you can resist the death machine was made very clearly.

The Vietnam Veterans Against the War gave civilians they worked with a list of incidents which occur in Vietnam. We then acted them out as realistically as possible (after much rehearsal) in front of whoever happened to be where we had picked to present them. Leaflets were then given out explaining what was happening. At times the scenes were so real that some viewers actually got physically sick at the sight of war.

A third approach might come from role playing a situation which concerns the actors; let us say, lack of communication. A role play of students talking to administrators might be done. Then the roles might be exaggerated and the role play repeated. If the group wanted to convey the idea that neither side really listened to the other, the skit, when finally performed, might have the students at one side, facing the audience and the administrators on the other side, also facing the audience. Both groups could then read prepared papers, neither paying any attention to the other. If the group felt the administration was not listening, but students were, the skit could be varied accordingly.

Some final suggestions: Set your goals. Plan your time for best use. Get ideas from all members of the group. Rehearse well so that you can then be free to be spontaneous. Know what message you want to get across. Avoid sloppy presentations. If you are going to be criticized, it should be for your ideas, not for your performance. Be aware of the circumstances under which you will perform and plan accordingly. Practice and perform.

**THANKS**

Thanks to all those people who have contributed so much to this endeavor. I appreciate very much the assistance of those people, especially the students, who have read earlier drafts and who have offered their suggestions and ideas. I am in debt to those who have helped so much with typing and other work.

I am grateful to the Chase Fund Committee which provided the grants for this handbook and for the Parkway Program courses. Neither of these would have been without their help.

But most of all, I thank those people who have shown me and many others the rightness and power of nonviolence, even with their lives.

Bidge McKay