GLOBAL BITS

CHANGE FOR A JUST WORLD

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PARIHAKA

AND THE GIFT OF NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

"THOUGH THE LIONS RAGE, STILL I AM FOR PEACE"

Te Whiti (Parihaka,1881)

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About the theme of this issue

The tale of Parihaka is one of strength, endurance and an uncompromising belief in the principles of equality and non-violent resistance.

It is the forerunner of many of the world's most famous struggles for peace and freedom, and a model for life - a positive code to live by that impacts on all our personal relationships and on everything we do in our homes, communities, political and business lives.

Global Youth Work

- Starts from young people's experiences and encourages their personal, social and political development.
- Works on the principles of informal education and offers opportunities that are educative, participative, empowering and designed to promote equality of opportunity.
- Is based on an agenda that has been negotiated with young people.
- Engages young people in critical analyses of local and global infl uences on their lives and their communities.
- Raises awareness of globalisation within an historical context, and encourages an understanding and appreciation of diversity locally and globally.
- Encourages an insight into the relationships and links between the personal, the local and the global and ensures that these links are based on equity and justice.
- Insists that the peoples and organisations of the north and south are seen as equal partners for change in an interdependent world.
- Encourages active citizenship by giving young people the opportunity to participate in actions, and build alliances, that seek to bring about change locally and globally.

Global Bits is a quarterly publication providing youth workers and educators with information and ideas for exploring global issues and how they impact on youth and their communities. It includes perspectives and suggestions from practising youth workers throughout Aotearoa New Zealand.

Global Bits is free to all youth workers and educators.

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Non-Violence Movements – a Background

"THE WAY MOST PEOPLE DEAL WITH CONFLICT IS BY ASKING THEMSELVES THE QUESTION 'HOW CAN I GET MY WAY?'... BUT THERE IS A BETTER WAY. WHEN WE MAKE NON-VIOLENCE A WAY OF LIFE, THE FIRST QUESTION WE ASK AT A TIME OF CONFLICT IS "WHAT IS THE MOST LOVING THING TO DO?" (DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)

Just a few weeks before Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated, he said that he planned to 'stand by non-violence' because he found it to be a *'philosophyof life that regulatesnot only mydealings inthe struggleforracialjustice, but also mydealings with people,with my own self'*.

He believed that it was possible to overcome the narrow and selfi sh concerns of the ego – and to tap into the *power of the soul.*

What did he mean?

King was talking about a radical shift in thinking. Instead of starting every interaction (whether it's with your family, peers, community, another country, friends or enemies) with the question *what's in it for me?* it is possible to think past our own self-interest and act for a 'higher good' – to fi nd solutions without 'winners and losers', but where there are 'win-win' outcomes for everyone.

It's about resolving confl ict, not with the attitude of a conqueror, but with the motivation of a peace-maker.

And it's about aiming for the good of all – which, in the process, can only serve to make your own life richer and better.

How does this relate to Non-Violence Movements?

From Quakers to WWII resistance fi ghters, Gandhi to Mandela, American Civil Rights heroes to Polish dockworkers, and from Parihaka to anti-GE campaigners, non-violence movements are about the 'little people' standing up for their rights, and the rights of others.

It's the story of David and Goliath... of Luke Skywalker against the Empire... Frodo against Sauron... you against the school bully - everyday people who are drawn to great causes, who build resistance from the ground up. People who have found the power in their soul.

'If you strike me down, I shall become more powerful than you could possibly imagine... (Ben Obi-Wan Kenobi)

Compare Gandhi and King's principles of non-violence...

How are they the same?

In what ways are they different?

How could you use these principles in your own life? How might they change your current relationships and goals?

Can you think of any additional principles you would like to add? Are there any you think should be removed?

Think of some of the current confl icts in today's world (from your own personal confl icts, through to major world confl icts) and apply these principles to them. How could these confl icts be resolved, using non-violent principles as the basis of your solutions?

Principles of Non-Violence:

Gandhi's Principles with regard to Public Policy

1. **Truth and truthfulness**

Unconditional commitment to be truthful and authentic.

2. **Ahimsa (non-violence) in relationships at all levels**

One must also accept the fact that all forms of violence cannot be totally eliminated.

3. **Trusteeship**

Each one of us has a unique talent; however, we do not own it but serve as a trustee; our talent must be used as much for the sake of others as ourselves.

4. **ConstructiveAction**

Once acknowledged and balanced, we must use our talents to empower others in creating social change as a whole community.

Gandhi's Principles with regard to Personal Policy

1. **Respect**

To respect others and accept the interdependence and interconnectedness of all life.

2. **Understanding**

We must begin to understand the 'whys' of being here, both for ourselves and others.

3. **Acceptance**

Out of respect and understanding, we can begin to accept one another's differences.

4. **Appreciating differences**

To move beyond acceptance into appreciation and celebration of differences.

King's Principles of Non-Violence

1. Non-violence is a way of life for courageous people.
2. Non-violence seeks to win friendship and understanding.
3. Non-violence seeks to defeat injustices, not people.
4. Non-violence holds that suffering for a cause can educate and transform.
5. Non-violence chooses love instead of hate.
6. Non-violence holds that the universe is on the side of justice and that right will prevail.

King's Six Step Process toward Social Change

1. Information gathering.
2. Education.
3. Personal Commitments.
4. Negotiation.
5. Direct Action.
6. Reconciliation and beginning the healing process.

Source: The King Centre, Atlanta, Georgia.

Parihaka – The Birthplace of Non-Violent Resistance

‘AT PARIHAKA, NINE HUNDRED AND FIFTY FIVE ARMED VOLUNTEERS AND SIX HUNDRED AND FORTY FOUR ARMED CONSTABULARY WERE SENT TO DEAL WITH PEOPLE WHO WERE PEACEFULLY RESISTING THE THEFT OF THEIR LAND. MORE THAN FOUR HUNDRED RESISTERS WERE ARRESTED BEFORE THE INVASION. THE INVASION WAS MARKED BY RAPES; THE LOOTING OF THE RESISTERS’ PROPERTY; THE BURNING OF THEIR HOMES AND THE UPROOTING OF THEIR CROPS; THE FORCED RELOCATION UNDER ARMED ESCORT OF 1507 MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN; ARRESTS WHICH CONTINUED FOR THREE WEEKS AFTER THE INVASION; THEN IMPRISONMENT WITHOUT TRIAL...FOR PERIODS OF UP TO TWO YEARS.’ (‘DENIAL OF THE EFFECTS OF COLONISATION?’ 31 AUGUST 2000, PEACE MOVEMENT AOTEAROA NEWSLETTER)



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Parihaka, a small Taranaki settlement, today stands as one of the country’s most important historical sites. It represents a painful reminder of Aotearoa New Zealand’s colonial history.



G M PRESTON COLLECTION

Te Whiti o Rongomai III

The two men who led their people through Parihaka’s darkest hours truly deserve their place next to other great world peacemakers. Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Martin Luther-King, Nelson Mandela – all followed in the footsteps of **Te Whiti o Rongomai** (of Taranaki and Te Atiawa descent) and **Tohu Kakahi** (Taranaki and Ngati Ruanui).

The Taranaki Land Wars of the 1860s triggered greattraumafor local Mäori, with land confi scation causing dispossession, anger and misery. Violence had already broken out, as settlers demanded more land of their own. When Mäori fought back to protect their rights, the Crown confi scated (took) thousands of acres as punishment – arresting, imprisoning and killing many hundreds of Mäori.

‘We had 66 million acres of it (land); we have less than 3 million acres of it now. We’ve lost all of that in less than 200 years.’ (Hone Harawira)

By the 1870s Parihaka was the largest Mäori village in the country – refuge to the thousands made homeless by government land grabs. Te Whiti and Tohu sought to maintain peace, whilst still protecting their land, cultural integrity and independent authority.

Both men were committed to non-violence and their teachings offered both spiritual and political leadership. And they genuinely believed in the possibility of a bi-cultural Aotearoa – as long as Mäori land ownership was acknowledged and respected.

1879 came to be known as The Year of The Plough, as settlers demanded that surveyors slice up the land around Parihaka, despite a previous agreement not to do so. Passive resistance began in earnest when Te Whiti ordered his followers to go out and plough the fi elds being confi scated.

‘Go, put your hands to the plough. Look not back. If any come with guns and swords, be not afraid. If they smite you, smite not in return. If they rend you, be not discouraged – another will take up the good work.’ (Te Whiti)

Another phase of their non-violent campaign soon followed, with Mäori from Parihaka erecting fences across newly surveyed lands and roads, ignoring any who stood in their way. Large squads of policemen swooped down on the ploughing parties – fi nding them ‘unarmed, unresisting, and quite unimpressed.’ (D. Scott)



ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY

Meanwhile, Taranaki settlers continued to survey the land, breaking down fences only to fi nd that Mäori had rebuilt them again within hours.

As a result of these actions, hundreds of Mäori were arrested and held in inadequate prisons without trial – a move that fi red up extra support amongst many previously uncommitted Mäori and those Päkeha with enough moral conscience to judge the situation truthfully.

'Gather up the earth on which the blood [of any ploughman] has spilt and bring it to Parihaka.' (Tohu)

On the morning of 5 November 1881, as more than 2,000 villagers sat quietly on the marae listening to a group of singing children, an invasion force entered Parihaka.

And this was no small force – but 1500 volunteers and members of the Armed Constabulary led by two members of Parliament - Cabinet's Native Minister John Bryce and William Rolleston.

'Stay where you are, even if the bayonet be put to your breast do not resist.' (Tohu)

One hour later, with the 'Riot Act' read – Te Whiti and Tohu were arrested and led away ... *'Withgreatdignity,TeWhitiandTohudrew finely-wovenkorowaicloaksabouttheirshouldersandmovedthrough their people' ...1*

'We look for peace and we fi nd war. Be steadfast, keep to peaceful works, be not dismayed: have no fear.' (Tohu)

Other arrests followed, as did the looting and demolition of the entire village. In the following months, troops also steadily destroyed all crops and livestock – the destruction of the gardens alone taking two months. People from other tribal regions were forced to leave the province, and the settlement was virtually wiped out of existence; maps were redrawn and history rewritten in an attempt to brush the memory of Parihaka under the colonial carpet.

In a further move to intimidate the locals, Fort Rolleston was built inside the pä itself and occupied for the next fi ve years by a garrison of seventy soldiers and fi ve offi cers.

Tohu and Te Whiti were imprisoned without trial, along with hundreds of their followers (some held for up to eighteen years) – all facing their deportation to the South Island with great courage and dignity.



W A COLLIS COLLECTION

The Dunedin prison where the prisoners were held was dank and overcrowded, with prisoners dying at a rate of one about every two weeks. Eventually caves were dug to shelter sick prisoners from the public's gaze, their conditions vastly better than the prison itself.

'I have no money, no riches; I never had. I only want my land.' (Te Whiti)

Upon their release in 1883, Tohu and Te Whiti were warned that they were to hold no more meetings and must 'cease raising strife in the land.' Te Whiti replied by stating, *'If the grasshoppers fi nd good new grass they will come; nothing will prevent them.'* They returned to Parihaka to fi nd their mana undiminished, although the relationship between the two men (relatives as well as friends) was never to be as united again.

Despite their best efforts, and continued activism, Te Whiti and Tohu did not achieve their vision of victory through peaceful means. Many of the land claims still remain unresolved. However, their legacy of non-violent resistance stands as an on-going role model for many right through-out the world. *'Theirs wasa moralvictory, inwhichthey upheld Mäorihonourand integrity against inconceivable odds.'* [2]

'Here the white feather is in its place... At the darkest hour his presence remained...'(fromVerse 4 ofawaiata composedby TeWhetuto celebratetheteachingsofTeWhiti, fi rst publishedin 'TheParihaka Story',1954)

Sources: 'The Legacy of Parihaka', Jenny Bornholdt; 'Taranaki Stories', Puke Ariki ; Hone Harawira, quoted from 'Ngä Tahi – Know the Links', 2003, Kia Kaha Productions. 'Parihaka -The Art of Passive Resistance' ; 'Ask that Mountain – the story of Parihaka' by Dick Scott. Photo: Te Whiti-o-Rongomai III ; **Tohu**

1 P.117 'Ask that Mountain – the story of Parihaka' D. Scott.

2 Parihaka – The Art of Passive Resistance'

The Legacy of Parihaka

‘REBELS CAN BE DEFEATED ON THE BATTLEFIELD BUT PEACE MAKERS CAN NEVER BE DEFEATED.’ (PROFESSOR HAZEL RISEBOROUGH)

Okay, so that was in the old days, but what can Parihaka teach us now?

Te Whiti and Tohu have created enduring role models for future generations of Mäori as they negotiate settlements designed to help make up for the enormous losses suffered by Mäori as a result of colonisation.
The Waitangi Tribunal, in its interim report on the Taranaki Claim, for instance, said words to the effect ‘the names of those political, military and settler elements who mooted this travesty are long forgotten, their names are found in the drawers and archives, but the names of Te Whiti and Tohu live in the hearts of people of like mind and are spoken daily...’

Protests, protests and more protests...

During the 1920s-30s, as Mäori elders and leaders continued their struggle against inequality and prejudice, the role models of Te Whiti and Tohu inspired whole new generations to walk the non-violent route to justice.
The Ngä Tama Toa movement of the late 1960s and early 70s also put the teachings of Parihaka at the forefront of all its actions, with founding member Hanah Te Hemara (of Parihaka/Taranaki descent) wearing Te Whiti’s emblem of the white feather.
The 1975 hikoi (Mäori land march) held Parihaka’s teachings up as inspirational to its being – and infl uenced later hikois over land rights in the ‘70s; hikois to Waitangi during the 1980s; and the most current, the 2004 hikoi to protest against the proposed Foreshore and Seabed legislation. (The concept of hikoi has been adopted by other groups too – including the 1998 ‘Hikoi of Hope’, a church-led protest against unemployment and poverty.)
Bastion Point protests were inspired by Parihaka, and its non-violent teachings were evident when the protestors were forcibly removed by police. Later peaceful land occupations, such as the Pakaitore protest (also known as Whanganui’s Moutoa Gardens) were very much influencedby Te Whiti and Tohu’s non-violent principles

Don’t forget the arty stuff...

Manyofthecountriesgreatestartists, from Ralph Hotere to Colin McCahon, James K Baxter to Apirana Taylor, have drawn inspiration from Parihaka. The Wellington City Gallery exhibition ‘Parihaka and the Art of Non-Violence’ led to nationwide tours, new work commissioned and great exposure for many of Aotearoa’s most gifted artists, poets, musicians, and intellectuals.

And, fi nally, when, in 2004, Te Whiti o Rongomai was bestowed with the ‘Peace Makers Award’ by Dr Arun Gandhi, on behalf of the Mahatma Gandhi Foundation, the Martin Luther King Jnr Foundation, and Soka Gakkai International of Japan, the larger world was called upon to recognise what many Mäori in Aotearoa knew already – that **Te Whiti and Tohu led the way.**



There are many more examples of how the non- violent teachings of Te Whiti and Tohu have infl uenced others... see if you can fi nd other local examples to add to this list, and to expand on those already mentioned here... for instance anti-GE and anti-logging campaigns, Greenpeace activities, etc.

Source: With thanks to Te Miringa Hohaia, kaitiaki (custodian) of Te Whiti o Rongomai’s house (Te Paepae o Te Raukura) and marae at Parihaka.

Glossary:

Boycott – A boycott is a refusal to buy, sell, or otherwise trade with an individual or business who is generally believed by the participants in the boycott to be doing something morally wrong. Its supporters may sometimes label it as an “embargo”.
Civil Disobedience – encompasses the active refusal to obey certain laws, demands and commands of a government or of an occupying power without resorting to physical violence.
Confiscation – is a seizure (taking something) without compensation by a government authority.
Conflict Resolution – is the process of resolving a dispute or a conflict, by providing each side’s needs, and adequately addressing their interests so that they are satisfied with the outcome. Conflict resolution aims to end conflicts before they start or lead to physical fighting.
Co-operation – refers to the practice of working with commonly agreed-upon goals and possibly methods, instead of working separately in competition.
Covenant – in its most general sense, is a word for a solemn contract or similar undertaking. Historically, certain treaties and compacts have also been given the name of covenant.
Dispossession – the eviction or expulsion of someone (such as a tenant) from the possession of land by process of law.
Legacy – something handed down by those who have come before (a predecessor).
Pacifist – a person who practices pacifism.
Pacifism – opposition to war. Pacifism covers a spectrum of views ranging from a preference to use non-military means for resolving disputes through to absolute opposition to the use of violence, or even force, in any circumstance.
Passive Resistance – (or non-violent action) comprises the practice of applying power to achieve socio-political goals through symbolic protests, economic or political non-cooperation, civil disobedience and other methods, without the use of physical violence. It has the guiding pinciple of non-violence.

Sources:Wikipedia; The Hutchinson Encyclopaedia;

Non-Violent Movements Around the World

'I WAS ONCE TOLD BY MY MOTHER... THAT THERE IS A BIG DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THROWING A PEBBLE IN A POND AND THROWING A BIG ROCK. THE PEBBLE CAUSES QUIET RIPPLES THAT GO A LONG WAY. THE ROCK MAKES A BIG SPLASH THAT QUICKLY DISAPPEARS.' (ARUNGANDHI,GRANDSON OF M.K. GANDHI, AND FOUNDER/DIRECTOR OF THE M.K. GANDHI INSTITUTE FOR NON-VIOLENCE)

Non-violence works from the belief that power is gained through co-operation and consent. Inother words, each of usis free to ***co-operate with*** , or to ***withdraw co-operation from***, those who govern us. Non-violence also recognises that those holding tight to the power are also human - and points a way to oppose the wrongs they are infl icting on others, without acting violently towards them.

This doesn't mean staying 'passive' in the face of injustice, or running away from a confl ict. In fact, committing to non-violent action is perhaps **the bravest stand of all** – requiring courage to 'embrace' confl ict without resorting to violence in return.

The bravest stand of all...

Bill Moyer (activist and founder of the Movement for a New Society) justifi ed non-violent action by saying:

- **Non-violence, unlike militaristic methods, allows most everyone to participate:** womenand men, elderly,youthandeven children-people fromalltraditionallevels ofstrength and weakness.
- **Non-violence is based on timeless national, cultural, human and religious values and principles** - such as love, understanding, forgiveness, caring, compassion, justice, democracy, equality, security and preservation.
- **Non-violence appeals to these values and principles held by people and nations**.
- **Non-violence is less threatening to ordinary citizens**.
- **In non-violence, the means are consistent with the ends** - they are the ends in the making.
- **Non-violence has the capacity to reduce the effectiveness of state and police violence** - the power holders' ultimate weapon - and to turn it to the movement's advantage.
- **A clear policy of non-violence makes it diffi cult for 'spin doctors' to disrupt or discredit movements** by promoting internal violence, hostility, dissention, dishonesty and confusion.

Violence takes many forms... and sometimes it takes very little to cross the divide from one form of violence to another...

Figure: The Violence "Family Tree"

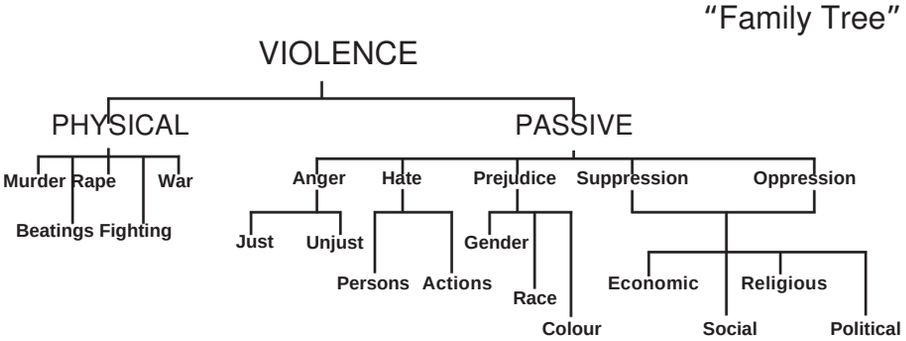


Chart source: M. K. Gandhi Institute for Non-violence

Look at the structure of this 'Family Tree'...

Think about the levels of violence within your own world. Draw similar 'trees' that identify and refl ect the different forms of violence in –

> Your society

> Your extended family

> School or workplace

> Peer group

> The media, a movie you saw recently

> Others you can identify...

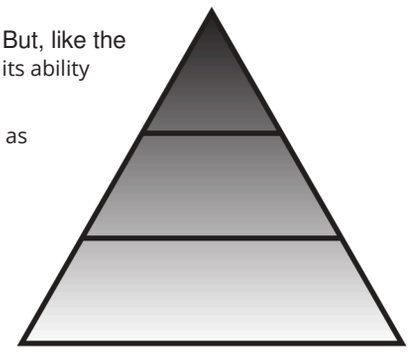
'Non-violence is a very powerful weapon. Most people don't understand the power of non-violence and tend to be amazed by the whole idea. Those who have been involved in bringing about change and see the difference between violence and non-violence are fi rmly committed to a lifetime of non-violence, not because it is easy or because it is cowardly, but because it is an effective and very powerful way.' – Cesar Chavez

Sources: Arun Gandhi, M.K. Gandhi Institute for Nonviolence

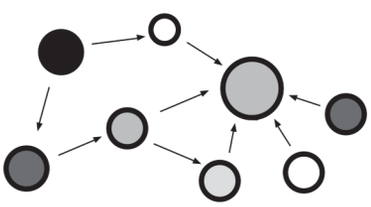
Knowledge is Power

Understanding the idea of power is vital to the success of non-violence as a method for change. But, like the emperor's new clothes, power exists in any particular form only as long as we all continue to believe in its ability to affect us.

The power structure that most of us (consciously or unconsciously) operate within, can be represented as a pyramid, in which most of the power is concentrated at the top, in the hands of a few individuals or institutions.



However, the theory of power that supports non-violent resistance is different. It views power as something that is spread and shared throughout society, in which the power of any one group or individual person is dependant on an agreement with others. Power, rather than being some great enduring pyramid, is fragile and liquid.



'Non-violent action...undermines the power of the ruler.... because even the most powerful ruler needs others to carry out his or her wishes. Without the obedience of citizens, the power of the ruler evaporates.'3

So how can all this be reflected in everyday life?

The key to non-violence is communication:

Your objectives must be reasonable. You must believe you are fair and you must be able to communicate this to your opponent.
Maintain as much eye contact as possible.
Make no abrupt gestures. Move slowly. When practical, tell your opponent what you are going to do before you do it. Don't say anything critical, or hostile.
Don't be afraid of stating the obvious; say simply, "You're shouting at me," or "You're hurting my arm."
Someone performing an act of violence has strong expectations of how their victim will behave. If you behave differently (in a non-threatening manner) you interrupt the flow of events that might have led to an act of violence. You must create a scenario new to your opponent.
Seek to make friends with your opponent's better nature; even the most brutal and abused among us have some spark of decency which the non-violent defender can reach.
Don't shut down in response to physical violence; you have to play it by ear. The best rule is to resist as firmly as you can without increasing the anger or the violence. Try varying approaches and keep trying to change your opponent's picture of the situation.
Get your opponent talking and listen to what they say. Encourage them to talk about what they believe, wish, fear. Don't argue but at the same time don't give the impression you agree with statements that are cruel or immoral. The listening is more important than what you say - keep the talk going and keep it calm.

Adapted from an article by Markley Morris (from the 'Act Up' site, see resource page for details)

'This struggle may be a moral one; or it may be a physical one; or it may be both moral and physical; but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will.' Frederick Douglass, abolitionist.

How to Build Good Human Relationships:

Some Do's ...

- Do what isright, not what is easiest.
- Do learn about other cultures, history and habits before judging.
- Do ensure both sides have equal say.
- Do respect differences of opinions.
- Do listen when others try to explain.
- Do understand that you can be wrong, too.
- Do try to understand and be appreciative.
- Do take responsibility for your action or inaction.
- Do ask questions, but politely.
- Do remember others have feelings too.

Some Don'ts ...

- Take timeout, don't act in anger. • When others try to explain, don't interrupt.
- Show respect, don't patronize.
- Be level, don't look down on others.
- Be fair, don't be judgmental.
- Acknowledge differing beliefs and attitudes, don't ridicule.
- Try to accommodate, don't dominate.
- Try to understand diversity, don't ignore it.
- Be appreciative, don't be insulting.
- Integrate people, don't divide them.

Source: adapted from the M.K Gandhi Institute for Non-violence

3

Walking the Talk

INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE LEADER MOHANDAS K. GANDHI AND THE AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. STAND AS LEGENDARY EXAMPLES OF 'LIVING' THE CODE OF NON-VIOLENCE IN EVERY ASPECT OF THEIR LIVES.

Mohandas K. Gandhi – Small Stature, Giant Heart

'The sword of passive resistance does not require a scabbard... love is the subtlest force of all...'

Born in 1869, in Western India, Gandhi entered into an arranged marriage with Kasturbai Makanji when both were aged just 13. Sent to England by his family to study law, he returned to India at the age of 22 to set up a law practice in Bombay. Speaking in a court proved diffi cult for this shy man and, when offered a job in South Africa by a friend, he saw it as his only option.

In South Africa, Gandhi experienced racial discrimination for the fi rst time. As a result, he and his wife worked ceaselessly to improve the rights of the immigrant Indians who lived there. It was here Gandhi developed his belief in *passive resistance* – ***satyagraha*** – which means 'truth force.' This inspired him to lead protest actions – marches, letters, articles, community meetings and boycotts – for which he was arrested many times. By the time he and his family left South Africa in 1915, these actions had radically changed the lives of Indians living there.

On his return to India, Gandhi wasted little time in taking the lead in India's long struggle for independence from British rule – and was again imprisoned for his stand. He used his jail time to educate others, insisting that violent action was *not* the answer, and added fasting and prayer to his tools. When his stand over unfair salt laws led, once again, to imprisonment, civil disobedience broke out all over India.

Independence was fi nally granted in 1947, and was a true triumph of human will. But, to Gandhi's despair, the country was divided into Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan – a move that provoked much violence. Gandhi fasted almost to the point of death, but fi nally succeeded in quelling the riots. In January 1948 (aged 79) he was killed by an assassin on his way to evening prayers. However, his legacy includes many books and writings, and he has inspired people worldwide to follow his path. His spirit most defi nitely lives on.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. – Dreamer of Dreams

'I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.'

Born in Atlanta, USA, in 1929, King's roots lay fi rmly in the African-American Baptist church. During King's time at Boston University he explored Gandhi's strategies for non-violent social change. Married in 1953, King received his Ph.D. in Systemic Theology (the many types of religious teachings) in 1955.

He became involved in the Civil Rights movement during the bus boycotts initiated by Rosa Parks in 1955, and was duly elected president of the newly formed *Montgomery Improvement Association*. These, and similar actions, eventually led to the 1956 US Supreme Court ruling that Alabama's segregation laws were 'unconstitutional'.
King later toured India to further his understanding of Gandhi's teachings, applying Gandhi's principles of non-violent resistance to marches, sit-ins, and voter registration efforts. In the spring of 1963, King and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee led mass demonstrations, culminating in more than 250,000 protestors gathering in Washington, D.C. on 28th August 1963, where King made his famous ***'I Have A Dream'*** speech (access the full speech at http://www.stanford.edu/group/King/about_king/ by clicking on 'I Have A Dream').

King was named *'Man of The Year'* by Time Magazine in 1963, and was awarded the *Nobel Peace Prize* in 1964. However, his actions were not without detractors and, at times, he found himself out of step with other civil rights groups – such as Malcolm X's messages on 'self-defence' and black nationalism. In late 1967, King initiated a *'Poor People's Campaign'*, designed to confront economic hardships not earlier addressed by civil rights reforms. On the 4th of April 1968, the day after his 'I've Been to the Mountaintop' address in Memphis, King was assassinated.

Sources: www.engagedpage.com; M.K Gandhi Institute for Non-Violence; Martin Luther King Jr. Papers Project, Stanford University, USA.

THE MAU MOVEMENT

'My blood has been spilt for Samoa. I am proud to give it. Do not dream of avenging it, as it was spilt in peace. If I die, peace must be maintained at any price.' *(Tupua Tamasese Lealofi II)*

These were some of the last words spoken by the leader of the Mau movement for Samoan independence, as he lay dying after being shot by police during a peaceful unarmed protest on December 28, 1929. Eleven respected Samoan leaders (all members of the Mau movement) and one New Zealand police offi cer were killed that day - known forever afterwards as 'Black Sunday'.

Mau, in Samoan, means 'opinion' or 'testimony', and the movement evolved from a dispute in 1908 between the German colonial administration and the *Maloa o Samoa* (Samoan Council of Chiefs) over a Samoan-owned copra (coconut) business. Under the threat of two German warships, this fi rst resistance was squashed – but was to gather force again after NZ forces (unopposed by the Germans) took control of Western Samoa in 1914, at the start of WWI. In 1926 one of the movement's leaders, Olaf Frederick Nelson, lobbied the NZ government on the issue of increased self-rule, and organised public meetings - attended by hundreds. When the government ignored such requests, the Samoan League (*O le Mau*) was formed, publishing the newspaper *Samoa Guardian*, to promote the movement.

'We are moved by love,
but never driven by intimidation.'
(Ancient Samoan proverb)

'Acts of non-co-operation' were initiated, and by the mid to late 1920s, around 85% of the population were involved in open resistance. Civil disobedience included the boycott of imported products, refusal to pay taxes, forming their own 'police' force and the picketing of stores in Apia to prevent payment of customs duty. As well, government offi cials (and other offi cial structures) were ignored, births and deaths went unregistered, coconuts went unharvested and banana plantations were left unattended. Over 400 Mau members were arrested, and others responded by giving themselves up in such high numbers there was not enough jail space to detain them! After the 'Black Sunday' massacre, Mau members fl ed to the mountains. But within fi ve years colonial rule had started to relax, and in 1962 Western Samoa became the fi rst Pacifi c Island nation to gain independence.

PHILIPPINES PEOPLE POWER

'If Goliath refuses to yield, we shall keep digging into our arsenal of non-violence and escalate our non-violent struggle.' *(Cory Aquino)*

In the mid-1980s a popular movement sprang up to get rid of one of the world's most corrupt and powerful dictators, Philippine's Ferdinand Marcos. Marcos held tightly to his power for twenty years by manipulating public opinion, rigging elections and 'perfecting the arts of political patronage and bribery'.4 He also used arrests and assassinations to subdue his people through fear. Running the Philippines as if it was his private country club, he and his cronies grew ever richer while his country fell into poverty and despair.

When Benigno Aquino, key political opponent of Marcos, announced his return to the Philippines after a three-year self-imposed exile, Marcos arranged a 'military escort' to greet him at Manila International Airport. As Aquino stepped from the plane he was shot and killed, with the Marcos government banning TV coverage of his funeral. Aquino's funeral march ended up as an 11-hour spontaneous demonstration against Marcos, and further resistance sprang up in cities and towns all over the country. For the next two and a half years, people from all sections of Philippine society joined forces to overthrow Marcos – until, fi nally, he agreed to hold a new presidential election to 'prove' his on-going support.

Aquino's widow, Cory, ran against Marcos, in an election marked by fraud and bullying. Marcos was declared the winner, after which Cory Aquino spoke to a rally of over one million people. She proposed a seven-part programme of non-violent resistance, which included boycotts of Marcos-controlled banks, shops and media... and so a revolution was ignited. Sit-ins, camping in the streets, the passing of fl owers to Marcos' troops and the seizure of a government-run TV station... many such actions led to the fi nal back-door desertion of Marcos, who fl ed with his family aboard a US Air Force plane for Guam.

4 'A Force More Powerful: A Century of Non-Violent Confl ict. P. Ackerman & J. DuVall; Palgrave Macmillan (2001)

MOTHER KNOWS BEST... ARGENTINA

"Every Thursday, we feel that our children are alive ... In the street, we have learned what our children had already told us: solidarity is the only way." (*Las Madres do Plaza de Mayo President Hebe de Bonafi ni.)*

With the 1976 military coup (or junta) led by General Jorge Rafael Videla, the new Argentinean regime set about crushing all opposition, arresting so many 'subversives' that at one point they held over 3,500 prisoners. And worse, between 15,000–30,000 men and women - known to the people as '***desaparecidos***' (meaning '**the disappeared**') - were abducted by unidentifi ed armed men. Virtually none of 'the disappeared' were ever heard of again, and it can only be assumed they were killed.

In 1977, a group of approximately14 women marched to the heart of Buenos Aires – Plaza de Mayo – to request information from the military dictatorship about their 'lost' children. Their questions unanswered, they continued to meet at the same place, every Thursday at 3.30pm, in front of the President's mansion. Here these mothers, wearing white kerchiefs embroidered with the names of their missing relatives and the dates they disappeared, silently protested. They continued to seek information, demanding justice and prosecution of those responsible.

'All we want is truth.'

(1977 newspaper advertisement placed by Las Madres do Plaza de Mayo.)

Las Madres do Plaza de Mayo (The Mothers of Plaza de Mayo) grew in number and their infl uence spread. They developed links with important international human rights organisations, such as Amnesty International, to raise global awareness of Argentina's woes. But their struggle has not been without cost. Many of the mothers and their relatives have been jailed or disappeared. When they fi nally succeeded in meeting with the Minister of the Interior, he denied responsibility (blaming 'para-military' groups) and suggested that their sons had run off with other women, and their daughters turned to prostitution. ***'We toldhim that we wouldcomeback everyweek until theygave usan answer and that wewouldwalkin thesquare every Thursday until we dropped.'*** [5] Today, while few of their initial demands have been met, Las Madres continue to march, also highlighting human rights issues throughout South America. They are a testament to the courage of women, and to the unbreakable bonds of family love.

CHEEKY CZECHS – CIVILIAN RESISTANCE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'An elephant cannot swallow a hedgehog.' *(Slogan in Prague)*

The story of Czechoslovakian resistance in 1968 is a tribute to the power of ordinary people against the might of the military. When the people's slow gain for reforms from harsh Communist restrictions started to take hold, the Soviets responded with a mass invasion – inundating the country with tanks and troops from East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and the U.S.S.R. Within a week, half a million Warsaw Pact troops roamed the country, with 500 tanks in Prague alone. Told they would be welcomed with open arms, the troops soon discovered otherwise. They were booed, spat and jeered at, and the Czech people embarked on a creative passive resistance campaign against the biggest guns in Europe.

Passive resistance actions included:

- Noise – the mass ringing of church bells, horns, sirens and train whistles – disrupting traffi c.
- Human blockades against a Russian convoy of tanks and other vehicles, eventually turning them back.
- Delaying a Russian freight train, by disrupting electricity, then immobilising it on a sidetrack between two other immobilised locomotives. Eventually the Soviets had to resort to helicopters to shift the freight!
- Young people handed out pictures of nude women to lonely Soviet tank crews, distracting them from their duties. When the soldiers were ordered back to their tanks, the kids stuck paper over their periscopes – making it impossible for the soldiers to see out!
- Disruption of water supplies meant the Soviet's powdered rations could not be used and lack of food, water and sanitation undermined troop morale and made many ill.
- Pirate radio and TV stations were set-up, all urging non-violent resistance, some moving every few hours to avoid detection.
- Graffi ti and posters, pamphlets, leafl ets and underground newspapers all worked to undermine the occupying force – such as ***'Leonid, send 10 more tanks – 20 more counter-revolutionaries arrived here today!'***

Although, in the long run, these actions did not achieve their goal, they are a triumph in creative resistance, and stalled the Soviets from setting up their 'puppet' government for eight additional months. And, with more co-ordination and pre-planning, there is little doubt even more gains could have been made.

Sources: J.W. Davids: *SamoamoSamoa:TheEmergenceoftheIndependentStateOfWesternSamoa(Melbourne,OxfordUni. Press 1967)* A Force More Powerful: A Century of Non-Violent Conflict. P. Ackerman & J. DuVall; Palgrave Macmillan (2001); Students Society of McGill University Association; Pitt University.

[5] from Part II :Chapter 7 - Argentina and Chile: Resisting Repression, Argentina - Mother Courage. 'A Force More Powerful'

Take Action

'FAR TOO OFTEN PEOPLE STRUGGLING FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND JUSTICE ARE NOT AWARE OF THE FULL RANGE OF METHODS OF NON-VIOLENT ACTION. WISE STRATEGY, ATTENTION TO THE DYNAMICS OF NON-VIOLENT STRUGGLE, AND CAREFUL SELECTION OF METHODS CAN INCREASE A GROUP'S [OR INDIVIDUAL'S] CHANCES OF SUCCESS...' (DR. GENE SHARP, FOUNDER OF THE ALBERT EINSTEIN INSTITUTION, AND AUTHOR OF 'THE POLITICS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION')

Dr. Gene Sharp is Senior Scholar at the Albert Einstein Institute, which he founded in 1983. The Institute's mission is to advance the worldwide study and strategic use of non-violent action in confl ict. In his 1973 book *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* he researched and categorised 198 Methods of Non-Violent Action. This list includes such things as:

- Public speeches
- Letters of opposition or support
- Declarations by organisations or institutions
- Group or mass petitions
- Slogans, caricatures and symbols
- Banners, posters, displayed communications
- Leafl ets, pamphlets, and books
- Newspapers and journals
- Records, radio, and television
- Deputations
- Mock awards
- Group lobbying
- Picketing
- Mock elections
- Paint as protest
- 'Haunting' offi cials
- Vigils
- Humorous skits and pranks
- Singing
- Marches
- Parades
- Mock funerals
- Protest meetings
- Teach-ins
- Walk-outs
- Silence
- Social boycott
- Consumer boycotts
- Student strikes
- General strikes
- Withdrawal of bank deposits
- Go-slows/work to order
- Non-violent obstruction
- Blockades

MAKE NOVEMBER 5TH PARIHAKA DAY!

So it's November 5, and you're gearing up to celebrate Guy Fawkes, right? But what real signifi cance does this event have in our lives? Okay... so it celebrates the capture and execution of Catholic activist Guy Fawkes for his 1605 attempt to blow up England's Parliament building (which you may, or may not think is a good thing!) - and the fi reworks are cool, yeah?

How about celebrating something that *really matters* – the kinds of principles we would like our country to move forward with – non-violent confl ict resolution and the desire for all a nation's people to live in peace and harmony... seems a little more signifi cant and worthwhile celebrating, don't you think?

November 5 commemorates the 1881 invasion of Parihaka, and the subsequent arrest of Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi. Imagine the discussions such a celebration could inspire - about the true nature of heroes, for instance, and about their goodwill, their lessons in love, and the nature of peaceful negotiation within the law.

Te Whiti's message of 'Peace on earth and goodwill among men' upholds the kinds of values all of us would like to see instilled in future generations, and has the power to give all New Zealanders a better sense of who they are and where they come from.
The Parihaka model of resolving disputes can point the way for all of us as a nation, speaking to the goodwill and aroha that can exist between Mäori and Päkeha.

Like the idea? Find out more about how you could make this celebration happen... and make it happen!

'You must be the change you wish to see in the world' (Mohandas K. Gandhi)

MAKING IT PERSONAL...

A commitment to non-violent actionraisesquestionsabouthoweachofusbehaves in our personal lives, peer groups, communities and societies.

This is not just some 'airy-fairy' commitment to principles that we never actually have to put in practice... it's about personal responsibility – about how we think and act in every aspect of our lives.

BULLYING – a very real act of violence...

Discuss:

- Take a look at these statistics about bullying and think about how each of these statistics refl ects on the *real life* of a *real person*.
- Have *you* or any of your family or friends ever been the victim of bullying? What form did it take? How did it affect your life? Your relationships? Your self esteem?
- Have you ever *been* a bully? How did your actions affect your victim? Why did you do it? How do you feel about your actions now?
- Have you ever been the victim of teacher bullying? What protections were there in place to help you? Were you supported and believed? Could anything more have been done to help you? How did it make you feel?
- Have *you* ever bullied a teacher or parent? Why did you do it? Did you think about how this may *really* affect them? How do you feel about your actions now?
- Consider the effects of verbal bullying and exclusion – what Arun Gandhi would call '*passive violence*'. How does this type of bullying impact on a person's self esteem? How does it affect their relationships with their peers? What psychological harm can it cause?
- How much do you think bullying – either in school, home or the work-place – might contribute to youth suicide? What makes you think this? What evidence can you fi nd to back this idea?

ROLE PLAY VARIOUS BULLYING SITUATIONS AND SEE IF YOU CAN USE NON-VIOLENT RESPONSES TO 'DEFUSE' THE SITUATION...

GO GLOBAL – bigger bullies, bigger scale...

Consider:

- Why do activists who are campaigning against brutal governments often try so hard to gain attention from foreign media (esp. media from the US and Western Europe)? How can non-violence movements use this international attention to push their cause?
- Is it possible to build a democratic government using non-democratic means? Can you think of examples where this has occurred? Is a movement based on non-violent action more likely to result in a sustainable democratic system than one based on guerrilla warfare or terrorism?
- How have advances in communication technology affected the power of both non-violent movements and the regimes they oppose? Which groups are they more likely to favour? Why?
- How do you think a present-day **Te Whiti or Tohu** could make use of technology to help their cause at Parihaka? Write up an action plan for them!

DESIGN YOUR OWN 'TAKE ACTION' POSTER BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF NON-VIOLENCE.

A recent study of student bullying in New Zealand showed that out of 821 students aged 15-16 from 107 schools:
• 50% had been bullied, although other studies report 75%.
• One third admitted bullying others
• 9% of students stated they were bullied once a week or more.

Internationally, male victims of bullies:
• Were most likely to be bullied by other males (61%), but 34% were bullied by both sexes.
• 75% were physically bullied.
• 85% were verbally bullied.
• 30% were excluded or ostracised.

Internationally, female victims of bullies:
• 62% were physically bullied.
• 93% were verbally bullied.
• 60% were excluded or ostracised.

Technological bullying. In Scotland, a 2002 study showed bullying for:
• 16% of children by text message.
• 7% in internet chat rooms.
• 4% via email.

Teacher Bullying:
• Two out of three New Zealand secondary school teachers were abused or threatened by their students each year.
• 1998: 289 students had been suspended for assaulting teachers
• 1998: 1,490 students were suspended for verbal abuse against teachers
• There is under reporting of student bullying of teachers, especially where there is inadequate backup for affected teachers, or where complaints will be perceived as 'teacher incompetence'.

BULLYING IN SCHOOLS AND THE LAW, 2003;M. Kazmierow;

Young Person's Perspective

ROSE LAWSON is a 17-year-old student from Wellington High School.

My family has always been pretty politically aware. I remember my fi rst protest – the Minister of Education came to my primary school to open our new library, and my mum, brother and I stood in the front row wearing tee shirts on which Mum had written protest messages about his special education policies of the time. The main thing I remember is how everyone moved away from us – so we were standing there in a little space all on our own!

Another time we went to a nighttime peace vigil at the Indonesian Embassy – what I most remember is running around with candles at night! But when I got older, I chose to take part in the protests about the US going into Afghanistan and then later into Iraq. I felt so angry at the way innocent people were made pawns in big business games over things like oil, and I was scared our own country was going to get involved in an unjust war.

Those marches were a real eye-opener. People from all sorts of groups were there, for all sorts of reasons. But some people were pushing their own radical agenda – and they made us all look more radical by shouting on about anarchism and other in-your-face ideas. I was also shocked at the attitude of the police – they pretty much incited trouble by being really bullying and pathetic - moving people who were obviously harmless and not doing anything wrong. It hyped up the crowd, who had been fi ne until then. I lost a bit of respect for the police that day.

I think it's important to make a stand. I've been taught that it is important to demand a better and fairer world, and it worries me how so many people are just concerned about their own pockets and don't look at the bigger picture. But we have to – the future of our whole planet depends on it.



Parables are an age-old way of demonstrating religious, moral or philosophical ideas in a form that everyone can understand. Read this parable about the power of non-violent action by James VanHise, and then try writing your own parable about non-violent resistance...

THE KING WHO RULED NOTHING

Once upon a time there lived a cruel King who ruled with an iron fist. He was the most powerful King in the world, with a powerful army and an abundance of gold. One day the General of his army came to him with some rather bad news.

"Your Lordship," said the General, "my men are tired of war. They are tired of bad food and mud and blood and they wish to come home. We have already conquered half the world and the royal treasury is bursting with gold. The men think enough is enough."

"The men think?" screamed the King.

"What do I care what the men think? The men do not rule this kingdom—I do. Hang the men who will not fi ght."

"I have, your Highness. I've executed hundreds. But they still will not fi ght anymore. Now the executioners are refusing to hang any more soldiers."

"Then hang the hangmen," ordered the King.

"Me personally? I'm afraid I couldn't do that. They are all close personal friends."

"Then I'll have you hung. Guards! Seize him!"

But try as he might, the King could not fi nd anyone willing to arrest the General.

"I'll kill you myself then," screamed the furious King.

Just then a palace guard came in and announced that hundreds of women and children were gathering outside the palace gates and demanding that their men be allowed to come home from the wars.

"Tell them to go home," said the King.

"We have," said the guard. "But they won't leave."

"Have them hung then."

"We don't have enough rope."

"Arrest them."

"We don't have enough dungeon space."

"Then let them stay there until hell freezes over," shrieked the King.

"How will we get supplies into the palace, your Highness?" asked the guard.

"We have plenty of supplies for now. All this disobedience has made me hungry. Where's my lunch?"

"The cook has joined the people outside," said the guard.

"Well I still have my gold," said the King.

"Have the palace treasurer give a gold coin to everyone who will obey me."

"The palace treasurer has joined the people outside as well," said the guard. "And the rest of the staff is packing their bags."

So the hapless King was forced to cook his own meals, wash his own clothes, dress himself and make his own bed. As time went by, the people surrounding the palace began to go home and resume their lives, and the soldiers straggled home from the wars. The King was forced to take all his gold and move into a small cottage that didn't require so much upkeep.

But still no one would obey him—not the neighbourhood children when he told them to get out of his garden, not even his own dog. Day after day, the King would sit and count his gold that no one would accept. Sometimes one of his old subjects would come by and they would enjoy a game of chess, but unlike the old days, they wouldn't let the King win.

Meanwhile, the people in the Kingdom prospered in peace and lived happily ever after.

Source: James VanHise, 1990, from his 'Fragments' Website

Useful Resources and Websites

Books:

'A Force More Powerful: A Century of Non-Violent Conflict.'

P.Ackerman & J. DuVall; Palgrave Macmillan (2001) is the companion volume to the same-named PBS series (available as video) on which the authors collaborated. The book explores the use of non-violent action to achieve social change in the 20thC, and cites many examples of successful non-violent protest. Includes Gandhi and also the Civil Rights movement in the USA in the 60s as case studies.

'Ask that Mountain – the Story of Parihaka.'

D. Scott; Reed Publishing 2001. Journalist and historian Dick Scott drew on official papers, settler manuscripts and oral histories to give the first complete account of what took place at Parihaka, when Te Whiti and Tohu opposed the colonial government in the latter half of the 19th C - making one of the world's first recorded campaigns of passive resistance.

"War Prevention Works: 50 Stories of People Resolving Conflict"

By Dylan Mathews, Oxford: Oxford Research Group, 2001, pp. 127 A collection of 50 briefly outlined case studies that describe local-level peacemaking and peace-building efforts in regions of violent conflict around the world. Coming soon to the Dev-zone library!

Websites:

Parihaka
This site is full of information about the **history of Parihaka**, and includes information about the continued influence of Te Whiti and Tohu in today's world. The site also links to info about the 2006 'Parihaka Peace Festival.'

The Peace Foundation is a not-for-profit organisation actively involved in creating a more peaceful society. The Foundation promotes peaceful relationships among all ages, at all levels, through education, research and action.

The M.K. Gandhi Institute for Non-violence was founded in 1991 by the grandson of Mahatma Gandhi, Arun Gandhi, and his wife, Sunanda. Many of the Institute's educational programs are aimed at conflict prevention, anger management, diversity training, plus relationship and community building.

PBS
Part of the PBS website, this link offers lessons to extend and reinforce the concepts presented in **A Force More Powerful**. The first three lessons are designed to be used in sequence, although each one may be used separately as part of another unit of study related to power and governance or the development of democratic institutions.

Pro Activist
is dedicated to photographically documenting progressive protests and demonstrations and assisting activists with their efforts.

The King Centre was established in 1968 by Coretta Scott King, and is the official, living memorial dedicated to the advancement of the legacy of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. In this site you will find resources about Dr. King and the ongoing efforts to fulfil his great dream of 'the Beloved Community for America and the world'.

The Ruckus Society is a US based group that provides training in the skills of non-violent civil disobedience to help environmental and human rights organisations achieve their goals.

Act Up contains civil disobedience training manuals and several pages describing some of the history, theory, and practice of civil disobedience.

Fragments Web
is a personal site of its author, James VanHise, and explores issues such as the nature of power, the necessity of social change, the futility of war, the stupidity of violence and the promise of strategic non-violence. These topics and more are explored by presenting fragments of ideas in essays, stories, quotes, rants, poetry, graphic art and photographs.

Training courses and workshops

PRINCE2 course at Knowledge Train

Knowledge Train provides a comprehensive range of training courses in the UK for people involved in projects. For people organising in the community and planning direct action for social change.

The Non-violence Training Project, initiated by **Pt'chang** in November 2004, promotes the use and effectiveness of non-violence within social change movements and within interpersonal relationships through the provision of high quality and accessible non-violence training, including a range of resources and a trainers' manual.