

"A free society cannot be the substitution of a "new order" for the old order; it is the extension of spheres of free action until they make up most of the social life. (That such liberation is step by step does not mean, of course, that it can occur without revolutionary disruption, for in many cases—eg war, economics, sexual education—any genuine liberation whatsoever involves total change.)

Paul Goodman *The May Pamphlet*

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MAKING NONVIOLENT REVOLUTION

HOWARD CLARK PEACE NEWS PAMPHLET NO.1 75p



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introduction

In writing this I'm not trying to lay down a line and I don't want to pretend that I've come up with any new answers about how to make nonviolent revolution. Sometimes I feel quite pessimistic about the prospects for a good revolution. So I hope I don't give off any phoney confidence that this is how it's gonna happen. I haven't dressed up these ideas in language designed to impress and I've avoided quoting other people so I have to put things in my own words.

This isn't a text book approach. I don't believe anyone can see clearly from here how revolution can come about. The experiences which prompt people to think of making revolution are so diverse and we come from so many different backgrounds that revolution will have many sides. It won't follow a straight path. So a lot of this pamphlet is devoted to describing a wide range of activities which I see as contributing to nonviolent revolution.

My vision of nonviolent revolution isn't of a united mass movement sweeping away the institutions of the status quo, but of people acting in their own situations to take control of their own lives and asserting different values, values which have been systematically suppressed in the growth of a society based on domination, competition and a disregard for life.

Hierarchy—extending from the domination of children by adults and of women by men, right to the pinnacles of social power—is not simply a habit from which we can free ourselves by willpower, but a principle of organisation built into the basis of our social system. But hierarchical structures do not exist independently of us and simply outside us—they depend on our acquiescence and even our active participation in them, and they are as firmly implanted in ways of life and thinking as in the material organisation of society.

Nonviolent anarchism therefore poses not only the traditional revolutionary question "who is in control?" but, recognising that patriarchy binds together technocratic, anti-ecological and imperialist attitudes in every aspect of our lives, adds "how might we live?"—questions about life-style, sexuality, resource-usage, quality.

Attempts at social revolution always run the risk of violence, for no ruling elite will surrender its power of its own accord. Revolutionaries are often asked whether or not it is *necessary* to use violence in making revolution. For nonviolent anarchists, however—who believe that the means we adopt in trying to make a revolution should embody the crucial aspects of the society we're trying to bring into existence—the question we need to discuss is *how to make nonviolent revolution possible*.

I believe that nonviolence has to be grounded in a growing culture, a culture which combines communitarianism with struggle, imagination with feeling, attention to the details of everyday life with a worldview, and determination with sensitivity. That culture is reflected in the potential convergence of anarchism and feminism.

In the particular context of England, such a culture needs to break with the arrogance whereby Western political institutions and inappropriate technology

have been exported to and imposed on areas of the world under English or British domination; a break too with the affluence based on impoverishing, or even exterminating, other peoples and extracting all we can from the earth, careless of its ecology. Instead, its keynotes are simplicity, face-to-face interaction, receptivity to the insights of other peoples, decentralisation, healing the splits between work and play, mind and body, re-integrating rural and urban life so that the towns no longer drain the countryside, and replenishing resources.

Nonviolent revolution will not automatically follow from the spread of this kind of culture. The kind of strategy I'm proposing isn't a process which only has to unfold. Rather it's a practice that we try to live day by day, that requires continual effort, that entails conflict, and that we hope will regenerate itself by spurring people to further activity. Rooted in disputing power relationships throughout society, and between societies, nonviolence affirms itself through people taking constructive action on their own behalf.



clearing the ground

Let me clarify some disagreements with usual socialist concepts of revolution. First, I object to the concept of revolution as hinging on the seizure of State power. The inherent tendency of any group who hold power is to seek to consolidate and extend that power; no State will legislate itself out of existence. Therefore "the withering away of the State" has to start now by people refusing to go along with it and seeking to make it redundant. It's fundamental to any good revolution that all authority over other people is challenged and people learn to take authority for their/our own actions.

Second, revolution should not be seen as a volcano triggered off by an economic crisis in capitalism. The French revolt in 1968 shows how suddenly a popular movement of rebellion can arise and how quickly it can spread to the point of threatening existing power structures even when there is no economic crisis. Such are the tensions in urban-industrial society that the possibility of similar upsurges cannot be dismissed, but neither can we assume they are inevitable or will be successful in carrying through a social revolution. Most likely it will take a long time as people struggle to change their own lives as well as social structures. Even at times of great upheaval, when authority's grip is broken, we will need to have already developed durable non-hierarchical and co-operative forms of social organisation, for in a vacuum of social power people often lose their direction and revert to follow my leader (even if it is a new leader).

Third, nonviolent revolution doesn't mean just waging the traditional class struggle by nonviolent means. I don't accept the view of revolution which sees the male industrial proletariat as the principal agent, the driving force

whose historic mission it is to abolish capitalism. Groups of people are oppressed for reasons which stretch orthodox class analysis to breaking point, and within the groups of oppressed, there are always people doubly oppressed—women, children, gay people.

Sections of the Left still talk of gaining control of “decisive areas” or positions in society, ignoring the extent to which under technocracy people are excluded from even routine decisions about their own lives and are constantly subject to manipulation. Few are willing to consider the scope of the changes necessary to end the domination of rural areas by urban areas, of the provinces by the metropolis, of whole generations, of the “unskilled” and illiterate by the professional expert, of racial and cultural minorities, of gay people by heterosexual “normality”, of mental patients, of people with disabilities. In the main, the British Left is less critical of economic growth than some groups on the Right, despite the threat to the earth’s ecology and despite Britain’s continuing imperialism. And more basic still, it downgrades the importance of patriarchy and rarely recognises that, *as a priority*, male supremacy, male power, has to be challenged now—in society at large, in institutions, in the nuclear family, even in the working-class home.

The result is that, despite occasional rhetoric to the contrary and excursions into other “issues”, the British Left tags along with the trade unions and behaves as if fighting The Right, raising wages and defending jobs are the be-all and end-all of revolutionary struggle, and industrial militancy good in itself. They sometimes even forget that opposing the power of union bureaucracies is part of the class struggle.

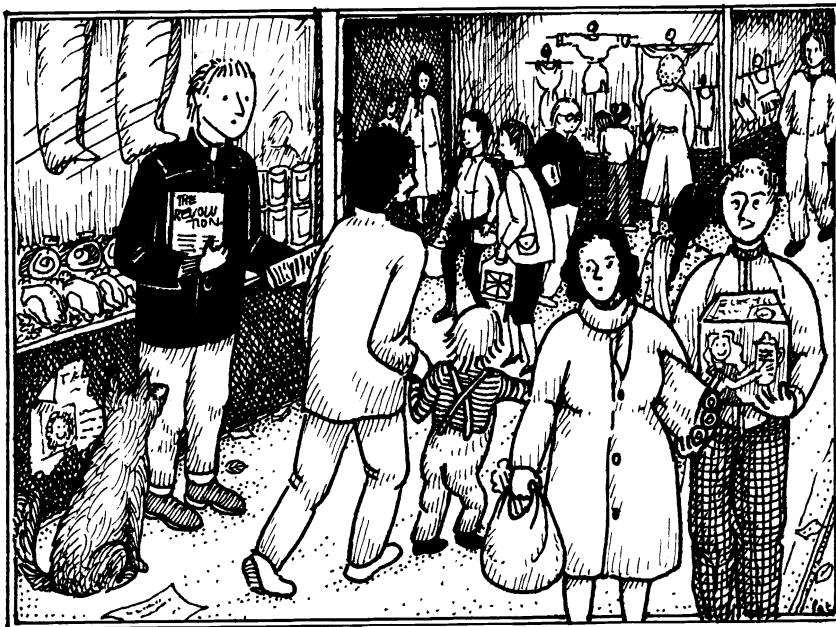
Even in the industrial arena, other questions are overdue—the question of workers’ self-management, for instance, isn’t an absolute revolutionary demand to be made out of the blue at the point of insurrection. Immediate steps can be taken in demanding changes in the division of labour, eliminating pay differentials, more collective and gang work on the shop floor, levelling the hierarchies of expertise so that workers begin to contribute to design what they produce, opposing technical innovation for the sake of innovation. Perhaps such measures can be accommodated within capitalism, but they move away from the assumption that greater fulfilment can only come from more money—and any increase in a worker’s control of her/his conditions at work is more likely to let him/her see that s/he is competent to combine with other workers to manage their workplace themselves.

To the trade unions, housework and childcare (usually unwaged work) remain invisible. Demands for properly paid and secure part-time jobs, and even *paternity* (as well as *maternity*) leave, are essential if large numbers of people are to end the sexual division of labour at home.

Then there are questions about what is produced and how much of it. In the name of the “Right to Work”, we would end up with people wasting their lives making more weapons, more cars, more packaging—chasing after economic growth; and Black and other youth who are refusing waged work on the terms it’s offered would be forcibly “integrated” at the bottom of the pile.

It isn’t only the content of most trade union activity that needs re-examining, however. It just won’t do to turn a blind eye to the existence of elite unions which seek to preserve their privileges, and the whole mode of operation of trade unions needs to be replaced by more direct and participatory forms.

I realise that I’m tending to assert rather than argue here; I’m not seeking to present a detailed critique of the British Left or of the “labour movement”, but to distinguish between assumptions commonly held on the Left and the concerns of nonviolent anarchism.



“the masses”

Let's have no illusions about the natural solidarity of “the people”, the legendary masses. Most people don't share the aspirations of revolutionaries, and that can't simply be attributed to poor communication or misunderstanding of radical proposals, nor to the fact that capitalism's contradictions haven't ripened sufficiently for people to shed their “false consciousness”. People's characters are formed in an authoritarian environment; we live in a commodity society where our best impulses get buried under the crap and our instincts get denied and then warped. This applies to those of us who've seen the revolutionary light too; we're not exceptions.

Most people are integrated into the system. Some still even *trust* it—their trust hasn't been shaken by the Bomb, world poverty, the Aberfan disaster, nuclear power, inflation, corruption scandals, penal policies which destroy people's lives to protect property. On the other hand, I think most people do seem discontented—people are under stress, the system is perpetually under stress. Yet most people are resigned to it; they see little choice but to go along with what they find—be that housework and childcare, an assembly line, tower blocks, the motor industry, all-pervasive heterosexuality, processed food, compulsory schooling, you name it. Many crave the “security” promised by the ideologies of Authority and Order, and find scapegoats to blame for their unhappiness.

In traditional revolutionary mythology, come some great economic crisis, people will see no choice but to revolt. Without a thoroughgoing change of values, however, such an uprising would be sexist, imperialist, anti-ecological and ageist. Without conscious effort, the layers of character armouring won't

just fall away, men's patriarchal attitudes won't just dissolve, and hierarchies would, at most, be suspended only temporarily. A revolution which includes these items on the agenda only as Any Other Business, to wait until after the main business has been dealt with, a revolution which subordinates the questions of people's control of their daily lives to a strategy for storming the commanding heights of the economy, such a revolution isn't worth dying for; it won't end alienation (people's exclusion from their own lives).

Large numbers of people won't involve themselves in revolutionary activity until they feel the need for change, believe that change is possible, see changes they desire and realise that they can make the changes. Our starting point has to be here and now, with people's experience, people's alienation from each other, our alienation from such basics of life as the land on which our food is grown, our alienation from our own desires. And, of course, we have to look at the structural underpinnings of the alienation—male supremacy, the State, capitalism.

Following from this, the first step in a nonviolent anarchist approach is to question your own relationships—to assert yourself where you're being trodden on, to reclaim your own life, and at the same time to take responsibility for your own actions, which may mean getting off other people's backs: on the one hand, not letting yourself be pushed around, not ripping off their energies—whether it's having them cook or wash for us or whether it's relying on food ripped off by imperialism without making any effort to supply some of our own. Questioning our own relationships also entails questioning our role in this society, making ourselves aware of the policies of domination and exploitation—both of other countries and of groups in this country—in which we acquiesce.

It is not in a Christian sense of striving for individual perfection that nonviolent anarchism stresses the importance of changing ourselves and our immediate relationships. Rather it is change through building up a culture of people in struggle, a culture which contests power, a culture where people affirm each other and try to manage our own lives, a culture where people can gain a sense of ourselves as shapers of our own destiny, active agents with the power to do things for ourselves.

In the 19th century, it looked as if the collective strength of the newly-proletarianised workers could foster such a culture, but the longer we live under capitalism, the more private is family life, and the more technocratic society becomes, then the further away we are from that sort of communal solidarity. Our task is to create it, and the Women's Liberation Movement points the way. So far as least, the WLM has not erected new hierarchies and parties but gives priority to the small group, to consciousness-raising.

I've learnt a lot from reading, but sometimes it's downright intimidating and mystifying to be met with a barrage of quotes, references and footnotes. To reflect collectively on our lives, our situations, our activities, our feelings, to reflect collectively with a determination to change—that's direct, egalitarian; it makes sense of our day-to-day lives, it sustains us in struggle. That's a revolutionary way of making revolutionary theory—bringing to the surface all the things we've hidden, only to find that others have done the same; joining with other people to overcome the blockages that defeat us as individuals; deriving our politics from shared experience.

So in a nonviolent anarchist approach, the first basic unit of organisation is what we call the affinity group—a group, not necessarily a formal group, where people gain support from each other in their attempts to act differently even though they might not be involved in all the same situations; where they learn from each other without setting up new hierarchies and new barriers of exclusive expertise. And the first places of struggle are wherever you are—in your home, in your neighbourhood, your place of work, your social relationships, as a consumer too. That's quite a contrast to the join the party, sell the paper model of organising!



people

When I was a student, from 1968 onwards, before the Gay Liberation Front started in England and when the Women's Liberation Movement was just beginning, many of us had begun to recognise to some extent that, in refusing to take our assigned place in society, we had to make a revolution for ourselves, not for some idea of "the oppressed" which excluded us; that we too were alienated.

But still meetings tended to be occasions for male politicoes (like me) to make speeches, vying with each other to be more right-on and to drop more names; other people—women especially—didn't dare broach their half-formed ideas, intimidated by the derision they would face. Everyone seemed afraid to show their fears, their doubts, their emotions, their hurts; afraid to be thought less revolutionary than the rest. No-one would say that the thought of being punished put them off taking a certain action, in discussing tactics, no-one mentioned how nervous they were about being physically injured, or when we intervened on a TV programme, people didn't say how they felt about their parents seeing them as "student rowdies". Instead, we guilt-tripped each other—"how can you be afraid of being chucked out when America is bombing Vietnam?"—and compensated for our guilt by being super-militant.

How little too we divulged our secrets to each other. The Right used to try to invalidate student militancy by attributing it to our sexual frustration—now that obviously wasn't true, but there was quite a common syndrome of people being highly active in political groups until they'd find a lover and drop out. But we never discussed that syndrome with each other except to

sneer. Virginity and homosexuality were things people on the left didn't confess to; that someone felt inadequate because they were virgin, or perverted because they were gay, had nothing to do with politics. If we discussed sex politically, we'd refer to Reich and the sexual misery of the masses—them over there, not us here.

It was this sort of scene which prompted one International Marxist Group internal document some years ago to observe "there aren't many people to talk to in the IMG"—a complaint which could have been voiced about most student political groups from 1968 onwards, probably even at the moment. It is partly on account of these considerations that more and more feminists are finding it impossible to work politically with men.

In an approach where we take more personal responsibility for how we live, the mutual support function of an affinity group is more vital than ever. We need each other's encouragement in trying to break with consumerism and affluence, in undoing our character structures and freeing ourselves from sex-roles, in seeking to practise new values. As individuals, we cannot create in ourselves some microcosm of a future society—all fulfilling ourselves while at the same time growing some of our own food, transporting ourselves mainly by musclepower, doing our full share of childcare and housework, responding to the emotional needs of those we meet, and campaigning to spread our views, and to stop repressive legislation, military preparations or wholesale slaughter. But we can do some of these things and, with other people, we can create a counter-ethos which will strengthen us all.



politics in the home

What we formerly considered "private" matters have become political concerns. Analytically, it's obvious that sex-roles are not biologically given and that the stereotypes are in the service of male supremacy. But there are strong social forces which make it difficult for people to reflect this analysis in how they live, in their homes.

Some socialists therefore argue that this is a secondary struggle, that first one has to change the course of society and to change social structures. The point is that "social forces" are made up of many individual and group decisions (or more probably lack of decision, conformity) in agreeing to the terms laid down by those with power. And that the family is a social structure too. It is where we first learn about authority—both sorts of authority, the reasonable and caring authority which advises us not to put our hand in the fire, and the other authority which usurps our autonomy, our right to make decisions for ourselves, and which degenerates into the brute exercise of power. The patriarchal family is the original authoritarian structure in our lives, the seat of all power. The routines of domination and submission we learn here spread over into other one-to-one relationships and characterise all social relationships and hierarchical structures.

The increasing instability of the nuclear family in Britain does not mean this pattern is being unravelled. Breaking up a marriage can be an act of self-assertion by a woman, it can also result from a man wanting licence to be irresponsible; while it may open the way to new areas of freedom for women it can also increase the pressures on them—most people do re-marry. Children are usually better off away from an uncaring parent, but being dependent on one adult might make their position even worse. The disintegration

of family life perhaps indicates that certain repressive structures and attitudes are losing their hold, that people won't accept the old compromises, but what alternatives are there?

Some radicals (both heterosexuals and homosexuals) commit themselves to strive for a relationship of equality within monogamy, without diminishing the importance of other friendships. In recent years more people have been trying to work out collective living arrangements, with some people choosing sexually non-exclusive relationships, some exclusive, some celibacy; some forming all-women households, some all-gay. As well as combatting the assumption that heterosexuality is "normal" one of the main impacts of the gay liberation movement has been to promote a greater consciousness of the range of sexual choices and forms of relationship possible, and—along with the women's liberation movement—a greater consideration of the nature of human sexuality and of the consequences of particular choices.

We have come to see that our home lives can be more fulfilling, but there is no easy formula for either transforming or superseding the family, no clear picture of "sexual liberation" except that it will be very far from what happens in a culture of titillation, and many strong ideas but little agreement about where children fit in. Yet already, since the term "the personal is political" became a cliché, the same harshness, stridency and even competitiveness that drove many people out of old-style "politics" have been introduced into personal-politics—people laying trips on each other about consumerism, monogamy, child-rearing, whatever, rather than respecting people who are also having difficulty in changing their lives. And this when it is in these "private" areas that we're most in danger of isolation.



out of powerlessness

Most people in this society are made to feel incompetent—work on assembly lines is usually broken down so that workers can't get an overall picture of how something is produced, and that same kind of division of labour operates throughout industry; each profession develops a jargon of its own which makes even simple matters unintelligible to those outside the club; and bureaucracy—with all its form-filling and impersonality—is designed to keep people in ignorance, after all, "if people knew their rights, they'd only cheat".

Partly this feeling of incompetence is to do with scale, that structures have outgrown themselves; partly it's technical complexity and the rapidity of technical change—all in the interest of economic growth; partly it's sheer elitism—after all, it's not in the power elite's interests that people should understand how the system works (or fails to) beyond being able to do their small part in it, and each elite within the elite wants to cling onto its position.

The result is that people feel they're hearers rather than speakers, viewers rather than actors, readers rather than writers.

When people begin to organise themselves, however, the system tends to become more transparent, as soon as our activity gets reported in the media we see how distorted or, at best, inaccurate, most reports are; as soon as we try to campaign through the "proper channels", we realise what a morass of inertia, procrastination and compromise we are supposed to wade through.

Yet when people begin to organise themselves successfully, their self-confidence increases, their imaginations begin to spark, people learn new skills and discover their own talents. And other people, also discontented but feeling powerless, begin to sense that there are choices; they don't have to put up

with this. There gets to be a friction between what is and what could be, and so new people are aroused to take action on their own behalf.

A nonviolent anarchist approach to revolution involves people learning to live together differently, to co-operate, to by-pass or counter established institutions and set up alternatives. Often people take a statement like that to mean that nonviolence is proposing activities which only a minority of people can engage in. But community structures—for instance, community free schools, food co-ops, workers' co-ops, housing co-ops, building co-ops, people's health clinics, people's rights centres—are not intrinsically confined to a few people. At the moment, where they exist in Britain, they tend to be weak—like all socialist movements in Britain—but they are about basic concerns of all people. They don't require full-time commitment but can engage people with completely different levels of commitment. These currently small-scale endeavours are best seen as part of a strategy aiming to build up community, as a way of drawing more people into the struggle to change their material conditions in their locality, and as suggesting possibilities to the rest of us.

Housing affects everybody. Tenants' and residents' associations have fought back against the authorities and planners, sometimes demanding to have control of the new building plans for their areas, and even forming building co-ops to implement those plans. People have refused to be fobbed off by the mystifications of professional planners, the men (for men they usually are) who've wrecked whole communities and overlooked the obvious problems which arise from, for instance, not providing facilities for teenagers, or placing playgrounds outside old people's flats, not bothering that people use prams and wheelchairs, or even building flats with no windows!

Some tenants and residents, in consultation with builders, have gone ahead and drafted schemes themselves. When tenants' co-ops have been formed—OK there's a danger of people self-managing their own exploitation if some land-owner or Council is making a profit out of them—but they also have the potential for re-organising community living, creating more possibilities for, say, communal childcare, not shutting people off in nuclear families, and even opening the way to alternative technology systems being used. Already squats have provided a base for these kinds of development in some areas; in places where squatting is weak, housing co-ops and land trusts can provide a more permanent base.

The example of women's health groups again shows how by concentrating energy on working together for themselves, people can make more headway than by parading in front of the citadels of power. Women—whether pregnant or with any vaginal or reproductive system complaint—have been treated like shit by doctors and drug companies. With men, doctors all too rarely are willing to explain a particular treatment; with women, too often they don't even know. What are politely termed “women's ailments” have been neglected ever since doctors established their monopoly of medicine; and every day doctors continue to ignore complaints about the side-effects of drugs—particularly contraceptive and psycho-active drugs—and often they just don't listen at all.

Now in some places—and it's spreading—women are getting together and working out methods for themselves which are better than they could have obtained by any amount of pressure on the medical profession or the State.

Despite opposition from the professionals, women have organised self-examination groups, finding out about their own bodies, comparing experience, pooling knowledge, reviving old forms of medicine or experimenting on themselves to, say, treat discharges, pioneering menstrual extraction which takes women's fertility out of the hands of the profession, and also struggling to give women more say about the conditions in which they actually give birth—whether it's in hospital or at home. Feminist health clinics have been set up which don't see women as “cases” or give pills for bad housing.

Now none of this denies the vital function of the National Abortion Campaign and already some of this work is under threat—menstrual extraction, for instance, could be classed as abortion and it is illegal for non-professionals to do it—but it shows how from talking about their grievances, even private worries, people begin to make changes. Beginning with apparently small moves to create alternatives, a total critique of the National Sickness Service can be made which doesn't simply moan about the lack of resources but suggests how it can be re-built from the bottom.

Simply by combining their efforts, people create the opportunity for wider action. Claimants unions, for instance, have led to people forming food co-ops and co-operative gardening schemes. A neighbourhood food co-op doesn't only reduce prices and provide better food—it increases people's involvement with each other, encourages people to take charge in other areas of their lives, and also can become a base for other action, for instance by supporting the international boycotts of South African oranges and Chilean onions.

On a larger scale, there's now a growing network of wholefood shops around Britain, most of them run by collectives. As they work with each other more and more, they're increasing their ability to make political choices—say in favour of buying from co-operatives rather than from capitalist sources, or buying home-produced food rather than imports. Some food shops, following the example of the Dutch Third World shops, take the opportunity of explaining some of the politics of food, for instance by printing information on bags. Again, that's limited, but it shows people encroaching on territory they couldn't touch otherwise.

As with wholefoods, we ourselves can create economic demand. Radicals need so much printing, for instance, that there now exist financially viable left and community presses, some of which encourage other people to learn how to print too. Also people wanting more say in the construction of their homes are more likely to turn to building co-ops than to Wimpey. But in general in Britain, technocratic capitalism has the market so sewn up that there are few niches for productive workers' co-ops to fill. Certainly a co-op making everlasting light bulbs would have quite an impact, but such opportunities are limited. Food is one area. Co-operative wholefood bakeries are flourishing in several places. Many people with the funds to obtain land have moved to the countryside to farm organically. Others are discussing squatting land, begging it off estate-owners who'd like relief from the Community Land Tax, and beginning Land Trusts—if these schemes succeed, “back to the land” needn't be confined to the privileged and the rich. Some co-ops develop as an extension of do-it-yourself, some because people don't fit into capitalist industry, like a co-op of people with disabilities making table lamps. The existing craft co-ops tend to make decorative or luxury items, rather than necessities, but they too are increasing people's choices.

To bring production within the money economy into people's control, however, we cannot rely on "alternative industries" prospering. If they're likely to make a profit, they'll soon have capitalist competitors; and they themselves are under continual pressure to adopt capitalist modes of operation, like the "Factories for Peace" in Wales and Scotland in the '60s which ended up hierarchical and thoroughly managed.

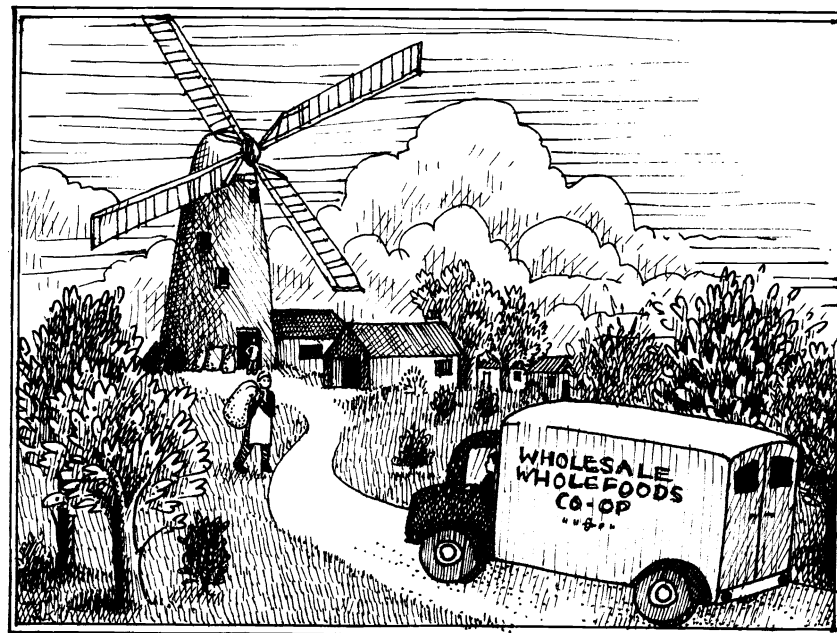
Transforming industrial production is likely to be one of the later achievements in a nonviolent anarchist approach; re-organising life in community seems a more immediate possibility.

Working out community childcare arrangements is non-political by certain definitions, but it is a practical measure towards relieving some people's oppression—and no matter how much joy one gets from being with children, full-time childcare is a burden for adults and a raw deal for children. Community childcare frees people, especially mothers, to use their time and energy in other ways, without surrendering children to an institution in which they have no say. OK, it doesn't seem much when you're looking for world revolution, but maybe it indicates the potential of this approach. And even to achieve small successes gives people more encouragement than using the same amount of energy seeking to push the Labour Government to adopt socialist policies!

Successful action is contagious. Just think of how many people have taken direct action on community issues in the past 10 to 15 years, like blocking a road to traffic, for a pedestrian crossing, to stop road-widening or motorway schemes, or going on rent strike until some repairs are done. The Committee of 100 in the '60s failed to disarm the British State despite mass sit-downs, but since then, on smaller issues in town after town, people have learnt that direct action works. In Nottingham, not only did some people close off their street to traffic; they went and squatted in a playhouse for the kids which the Council agreed to sell them for £60 or so.

Struggles on one issue almost invariably lead to struggles on other issues. Of course it's possible to campaign for, say, women's refuges from a Tory perspective, but more often it leads to a demand for economic independence for women, which could lead to seeking to guarantee all people, regardless of their "productivity", and children included, a minimum income (while we still have a money economy, that is!). Some people campaign against a road being built in one valley, arguing it should go somewhere else, but others begin to question other aspects of transport policy and land use, and to notice the power of the road lobby. It is difficult to campaign against arms manufacture without considering programmes to convert the local economies affected away from arms production; or against nuclear power without investigating alternative sources of energy and calling for reduced consumption.

The question of style of activity is vital to maintaining the momentum of social change activity. Working with other people isn't an easy ride. Most people have sexist attitudes; men must learn that it's also our responsibility to challenge, say, sexist remarks or to comfort people in distress and not leave it up to women all the time. Most people have elitist attitudes; they will try to set up hierarchies, they will often want to defer to expertise. We have to combat these tendencies, while at the same time recognising that certain people do have particular knowledge of some special area which we should encourage them to share.



Many people are put off political activity because everyone's so grim about it or rely exclusively on communicating through the written word. Theatre, especially street theatre, has the possibility not only of communicating more effectively but of creating new relationships between "actor" and "audience", inviting some form of participation sometimes. More people will probably learn more effectively about say, imperialism through playing a trade game (perhaps acting the role of a multi-national corporation) or some other game on the theme than from reading a book. "Flipping" people through cashless shops, or even burning a pound note at the Stock exchange, can disrupt and throw up questions about everyday transactions.

Nevertheless, social revolution isn't simply a matter of combining constructive projects with sufficiently bold and imaginative tactics. There's a continual need to stress the inter-relationships between struggles—both practically, for instance in the way that some shops run by collectives pass on their profits to community projects, and analytically in showing how one issue affects another and tracing each struggle back to its roots. Most resistance campaigns benefit from having some constructive component, such as war tax resistance in the US leading to alternative banks and Life Funds to finance constructive work, or the campaign of Larzac farmers against the extension of a military camp leading them to set up a land trust. Looking at the USA, we see that many of the lasting constructive projects there seem to be connected with movements, with a groundswell of consciousness—the women's liberation movement, Black consciousness groups, and the anti-war movement. Perhaps this is an essential guard against being co-opted or lured into the pursuit of profits.

In Britain, free schools—which began as an enterprise in community self-help, with poor kids learning how to do things for themselves—have sometimes become places where the State sends its truants. Certain "squatting leaders" have evicted homeless people on the Council's behalf. "Workers' co-ops" have

been introduced into failing capitalist enterprises, inducing workers to make sacrifices which otherwise they would have rejected. When isolated from other social change activities, or not seen as part of a revolutionary strategy, particular activities can fall prey to the authorities and be used to contain revolutionary initiatives.

As organisations become established, structures often rigidify and bureaucracy sets in—some of the vigorous tenants' associations of a few years ago have become almost as remote as Council meetings, and are also plagued by power struggles between political parties. The trade unions are not only thoroughly bureaucratic but tend to demobilise their members and act as managers of labour. Many radical Blacks and radical women have found them fundamentally hostile, and certainly other forms of organisation are essential if (waged) workers want to press for self-management.

Another problem is scale. We have to be careful not to let organisations grow beyond the limits where everyone involved can have equal access and the organisations themselves become impersonal. Sometimes it will be necessary for alternative institutions to split to keep their size down to maintain face-to-face democracy in their workings. When co-ordinating bodies are necessary, we need to check that they don't grow into elitist central controls.

Nevertheless, once an alternative project is successfully established, it does slightly change the "objective conditions" of people and make it more likely that new people will decide to take part in this kind of strategy. It redefines situations, showing that human solidarity and trust offer a better form of security than all the fences we erect, that we are more likely to fulfil our potential through co-operative enterprise than the war of each against all. Gaining new confidence in themselves, people learn to see that "the system" is not immutable. At the moment, when many constructive projects are hard-pressed to survive, it may seem unrealistic to place as much hope as I do in their expansion. But despite the unfavourable economic climate in Britain, the numbers of such projects have increased in the last few years, most dramatically in growing and distributing food and in feminist projects, but also community newspapers and presses and small-scale urban work co-ops. Perhaps more importantly, the consciousness behind such efforts has spread. Stirred to action over one particular issue, many people have begun to form a more total critique of society.

As more people are attracted to co-operative and community structures, my hope is that these will pass a critical growth-point when many sympathetic people, currently feeling isolated or trapped will find it possible to join in. Then I think there will come a time when a substantial part of British life is independent from and running counter to the State and big business. I don't propose building up from scratch our own completely self-sufficient co-operative parallel society to compete with technocratic capitalist Britain and so render the State irrelevant. I think it will be necessary for us to re-appropriate certain resources and take over buildings and industries. Therefore, alongside the growth of a counter-society, it is essential that the people still involved in hierarchical structures gain more sense of their collective strength and, meeting resistance from the home outwards, authority will begin to lose its grip. Just as the activities of strengthening ourselves and weakening the domination of others go hand in hand, so building our own independent structures cannot be separated from reclaiming what the State has taken away from us (or what we have conceded to the State).



nonviolence in conflict

Nonviolence doesn't try to avoid conflicts, but neither does it go along with a strategy of continually stepping up conflicts in order to provoke deeper and deeper polarisations. Of course, there are basic conflicts, between people who give orders and people who take them, between people who own property and people who rent it from them, between professionals who monopolise their expertise and people who need access to that knowledge and to their resources. The nonviolent approach is to engage in those conflicts in order to end the domination, for people to restore to themselves the power to lead their own lives.

At the same time, however, it is important not to exaggerate the antagonism. To say the least, it can be embarrassing when a "fascist bully" turns out to be a liberal who will go some way towards meeting our demands. Too often, oppositionary movements are fuelled by caricature images of the "enemy" rather than a social understanding, with the result that these movements need the authorities to conform with that image, they rely on attempted repression and often fail to sustain themselves if greeted with the velvet glove rather than the iron fist. Calls to unite against some policy or body are sometimes used to avoid addressing internal divisions, so some socialists accuse feminists, gay people, Blacks, claimants and squatters of being "devisive", "sectional" or "diversionary" when they complain of being overlooked.

Nonviolent action requires to have some sense of each other, some feeling for each other. People need to be able to express their own grievances and concerns. Support which is whipped up by distortion is not only likely to

subside quickly, but it's based on manipulation, trying to turn other people into instruments of one's own private view of revolution. When tactics are adopted after inflated rhetoric in mass meetings rather than fully considered in small groups, yet another process of alienation has found its way into the Revolution. Perhaps the most significant feature of the occupation of Seabrook nuclear power site by 1400 demonstrators was its mode of organisation—the Clamshell Alliance, which called the demonstration, insisted that each demonstrator took part in some form of training beforehand and joined a small “affinity” group where they discussed tactics. A spokesperson from each group then reported to the spokespeople from other groups, tactics were agreed and then taken back to the small groups.

In waging conflicts nonviolently, we also need some idea of our adversary. Without having illusions about the ruthlessness of the State under threat, advocates of nonviolent anarchism maintain that it is often possible to stop the authorities panicking into immediate brutality. Through our willingness to discuss and our continual re-assurance that we don't mean to kill, we can exert some calming influence, perhaps even moral restraint *sometimes*. When an antagonist is obviously in a weaker position, proponents of nonviolence will often be concerned to help their proponents out of their intransigence, perhaps sometimes offering some face-saving formula.

Social power is based on people's obedience, whether that obedience is willing, habitual or coerced. It is not necessary to physically destroy or even humiliate a tyrant in order to destroy the tyranny. Nonviolent action can prompt some rulers to question the morality of their own power. All the same, very few rulers are going to give up their own power and the fruits of their power easily or gladly. It's difficult enough in personal relationships where there's said to be love and even trust that we won't hurt each other; but it does happen occasionally.

In India, land-owners have handed over their land to villagers following the gramdan campaign led by Vinoba Bhave and others influenced by Mahatma Gandhi—a campaign simply of persuasion and moral pressure. That campaign has limits—few landlords would hand over all their land; most handed over their least fertile land; and most of the 100,000 or so villages which pledged themselves to the gramdan principles of voluntary co-operation and dissolution of property rights aren't really living by them. Even so, despite those limits, that campaign has redistributed more land in India than has the government and much more than the Naxalites, most of whom landed in jail for their attempts at land distribution through force of arms.

In Portugal in 1974-75, in a few cases, farm-owners and industrialists, rather than oppose the workers' demands for collectivisation or co-operativisation, decided to join in. Naturally there were problems about them wanting more than an equal say, but some were able to participate in the attempts at workers' self-management which sprang up around the country. Most farmer owners, of course, either resisted or fled to organise the international capitalist sanctions against Portugal—but isn't it conceivable that had they been assured that their lives were not in danger, that they would not be supplanted by a State-nominated manager from outside as part of nationalisation but by co-operative workers' self-management in which they could take part, isn't it conceivable that a few more might have accepted the change?

I'm not starry-eyed enough to think we could turn a whole capitalist ruling class onto workers' self-management! But it's worth making some attempt to accommodate them, if only to reduce resistance.

No matter what individual capitalists may decide, however, any attempt at a fundamental and far-reaching redistribution of power in society is bound to have the full force of the State and its repressive apparatus thrown against it at some point. The “humane” British massacred nonviolent Indians, the Junta in Chile has taken an appalling toll. The price of reaction is all too clear.

This is one reason to re-emphasise that fundamental to a nonviolent anarchist approach is the continual erosion of State power through the growth of counter-structures alongside a continual struggle within institutions to dispute hierarchy and strengthen our collective consciousness.

But in the face of reaction, if it is possible to resist at all, I believe it is possible to resist nonviolently. Moreover, if a nonviolent strategy brings us to the point of confrontation with the armed State, most people will be aware of the variety of nonviolent tactics—strikes, occupations, boycotts, rent strikes, tax refusal—and will be prepared for and experienced in keeping to a non-violent discipline. It is likely too that many people will have defected or will be on the point of defecting from the service of the State.

Mass nonviolent non-co-operation has paralysed and brought down governments, methods such as tax refusal and strikes have prevented the implementation of unpopular policies. When Norway and Denmark were under Nazi occupation during the Second World War, popular non-co-operation prevented the Nazis enforcing certain policies. Government can only exist when people let it, when they consent to be governed rather than organise their lives for themselves. Faced with resolute nonviolent mass disobedience, a government may try to break the will of its opponents by sheer terror or may try to buy off certain leaders. But at the same time, the allegiance of its troops is often in peril—especially when it is made clear that it is State power we aim to destroy, not the human agents of State power.

Thus, in 1953, Polish troops refused to go into action against East German workers in revolt against Stalinism. Consciously keeping to a policy of non-violence, the workers locked away guns and ammunition that was abandoned or handed over to them. When the Russian troops were brought in many of them refused to obey orders, some were courtmartialled and at least 32 were executed.

The Russian troops in Czechoslovakia eventually managed to quell the spontaneous resistance in 1968, but at the end of a week there, the troops were deemed unreliable—they had seen too much and showed signs of questioning orders. They had to be replaced.

In Hungary in 1956, the Russian troops in the centre of Budapest were completely confused and allowed Hungarians to sit on their tanks, fraternising, even putting Hungarian flags there. When the Hungarian security police opened fire, however, the Russians thought that they were being fired at, not the insurgents, and reacted accordingly, as if they'd been tricked. Even so, some Russian tanks were abandoned and handed over to the Hungarians.

Each of these was unprepared and unarmed. Had they been more fully prepared, who can say how much more successful they would have been? Had they been armed, I've little doubt that they would have been crushed even

more bloodily. Where the troops are mainly drawn from the working-class of a country—in Britain that means many lads who couldn't find work or were conned by advertising—surely it makes more sense to subvert the Army and so disarm the State than to try to match it with weaponry.

It's not unusual for troops to side with the people in a rising. There have been instances where, faced with an unarmed crowd, government troops have even refused orders. In Petrograd in February 1917, the Cossacks were ordered to disperse a crowd. As they rode up, the crowd divided into columns to let the Cossack horses through, some started to talk with the Cossacks, some even winked! The Cossacks rode back and disobeyed their commander. The next day, they changed sides and defended those unarmed people against the mounted police! (They obviously didn't trust that the method that had won them over would work on their former colleagues.)

Clearly, every government does have its specially hardened troops or police—in Britain, the parachute regiment, the Special Air Services and the Special Patrol Group—forces not likely to be attracted to our viewpoint in any circumstances. But those forces themselves arouse the hostility of other troops—some of the ordinary cops at Grunwick hated the SPG more than they hated the pickets! The Paras are none too popular with the rest of the Army either. And even if they make a stand as rumps of resistance to a nonviolent revolution, even rumps quickly realise that the game's up when they realise how outnumbered they are, like the generals who tried a coup to stop Algerian independence in 1961. Greeted with non-co-operation by most of the army and with little civilian support, the coup failed within four days.

It's also clear that the British State is part of a global power system; backing it up are other big powers and their military. This is one reason for developing links with nonviolent revolutionaries around the world, and working together on joint projects. Non-co-operation could thwart an occupying force; occupying troops could be subverted; and faced only with nonviolent resistance, perhaps there would be some restraint on the big power concerned. But basically, the world is too interdependent for anarchy to flourish in just one country and the success of any nonviolent revolution depends even more on the expansion of areas of freedom around the world than the success of Leninist revolution in one country depends on the success of Leninism elsewhere.

Finally, in this section, let's examine recent episodes in South Africa, Chile and Portugal.

"Nonviolence has been tried and failed in South Africa", it's often said. Throughout the 1950s, the African National Congress did explicitly espouse nonviolence—its Defiance Campaign of '51-'53 involved the deliberate and open flouting of pass laws, there were 14,000 arrests during a 12-week bus boycott in 1957, a boycott which succeeded in stopping a fares increase (the government raised the extra money by a levy of employers). In 1958, 2000 Black women were arrested in Johannesburg alone for breaking the pass laws. The ANC was, however, an elitist body, concentrating leadership in the hands of a few; its organisational structure was both undemocratic and cumbersome. Despite this, and despite the planting of agents provocateurs (an indication, perhaps, that the South African authorities at that time would have preferred to meet with violence), the ANC succeeded in mobilising thousands of people, it engendered a new self-respect among Black people, and won the

support of white women in the Black Sash movement who undertook non-violent civil disobedience against apartheid.

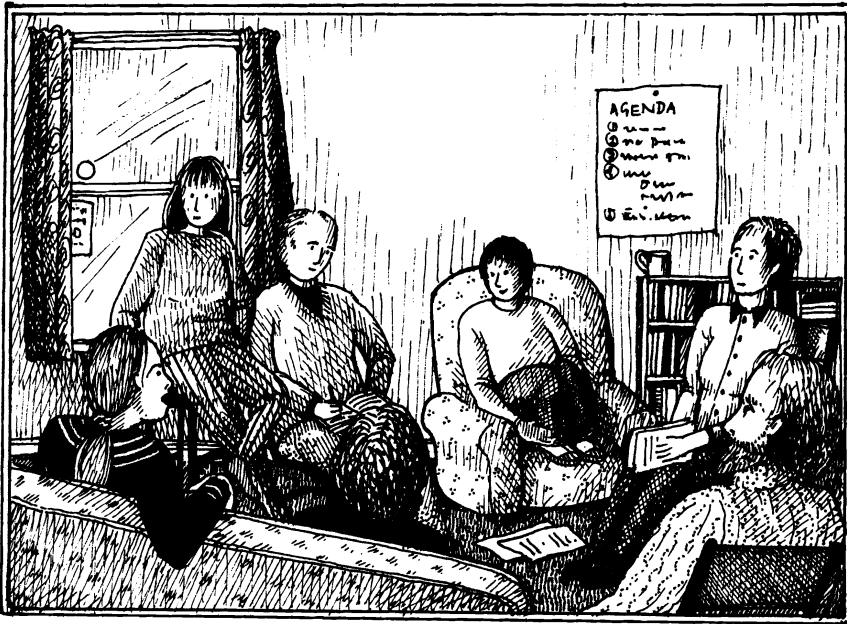
People active within ANC and the Pan-African Congress regarded this as the end of a *nonviolent phase* of struggle; as they saw it, nonviolence had done its job of enabling the struggle to move on to a "higher" stage. The ANC never had a *nonviolent strategy* for liberation.

Unfortunately the ANC leadership has not taken full account of the rigidity of the apartheid regime. Rather than basing itself in Black solidarity, it looked for concessions from the White power structure. Following the 1961 ANC strike, called over a year after the Sharpeville massacre, and the train derailments and explosions carried out by Umkonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), repression intensified and the ANC itself was banned under the new Sabotage Act. The ruthlessness of the apartheid regime stood revealed; and the hopes of the ANC leadership were exposed as forlorn.

Since the "defeat of nonviolence", however, armed struggle has shown that it too requires patience. In fact, the activities which have most shaken the regime have not been armed struggle but the wave of strikes in the early '70s and the more recent non-armed revolts in the Black townships, where strikes, school strikes, boycotts and sit-downs have again featured prominently. The "armies of liberation" have had a negligible role in these events. Of course, many of the Soweto students would use guns if they had them—there are few Black people in South Africa with a principled commitment to nonviolence and the prospects for nonviolent revolution are not good. My point is that nonviolence in South Africa should not be written off because of the failure of one organisation.

In Chile, Popular Unity, far from disarming the military, retained conscription, and then even permitted a purge of rank and file soldiers and sailors who tried to take socialism too far and called for the democratisation of the military. Whilst theatre groups flourished in the towns and countryside, they were banned from the army camps. In Allende's last months, conscripts and NCOs were being expelled, imprisoned and even tortured, reactionaries forced the resignation of the reformist commander-in-chief, and troops were sent into factories searching for arms (which they rarely found). Obviously the role of the armed forces in Chile cannot be isolated from the rest of the situation, but as with the UP's opposition to peasant occupations, this is another example of how Chile's "parliamentary road" placed more trust in the sense of fair play and constitutionality of the establishment, even the military establishment, than in the strength of the self-activity of the people.

In Portugal, there was all the rhetoric of soldiers and workers together, and time after time the soldiers were called in as arbiters in conflicts. Sometimes they'd decide in favour of a workers' take-over, especially some regiments, but usually not; more often, they'd back either the CP or the bosses. Despite all the ferment and turmoil of Portugal following the fall first of Caetano and then of Spínola, the radicals in the army still lost out, and the people who had fallen for the Soldiers and Workers Unity line lost out too. Revolutionaries have to learn that armies are essentially hierarchical institutions, they command obedience; they invariably line up against self-management. And once people put their trust in armies or arms, the struggle gets reduced to its military dimensions—to who has greatest might—and people take fixed positions and fight from there, making only slight concessions.



overpower the State by physical force, just as in the past groups have used nonviolent means to win mass support which they then hoped to lead into armed struggle. But nonviolent anarchism isn't a policy where you simply stop short of violence. It demands a different sort of revolution, made in a different style: to resist and undermine authority; to undo and outgrow authority relationships; to take authority for our own actions in co-operation with others.

the alternatives

In writing this, I've obviously skated around certain difficulties. I don't want to disguise my own doubts about the prospects for nonviolent anarchist revolution in Britain, but all those times when my doubts are at their greatest, I see that there's no good alternative.

The common alternative to sustaining ourselves by growing a culture and, cell by cell, building a counter-society, is to organise a party. Centralist, elitist, hierarchical organisations which seek to dictate the course of struggle and instruct their members—they will themselves form the core of a new State if their revolution happens, their members will be the new bureaucrats. People don't gain a sense of their own power to affect matters through belonging to a mass party; they don't learn to rely on their own judgement that they know more about their own situation than remote party leaders who've studied the great works.

As for armed struggle, again it requires structures of obedience, hierarchy, chains of command, military discipline. It needs secret supply lines and, when you rely on supplies from outside, your independence is fatally compromised. Armed struggle requires a toughness, a brutality, a masculinity in fact, that makes even more distant any attempt to undo masculine culture.

Once someone objected to the presence of a group of us nonviolent anarchists at a meeting—"how can we co-operate with a group which wants to disarm the people". Someone spoke up in our support, or so he thought: "We're all on the same train", he said. "It's just that they get off a stop earlier." Sorry, brother. We're not on the same train at all. You may use what you call non-violent means at the moment to bring you nearer the time when you can



postscript 1981

Making Nonviolent Revolution was based on a talk I gave in 1977 when a group of students asked me to “put the case” for nonviolent revolution. I don’t want to retract anything I wrote, but I seem to find it harder nowadays to express myself with the same kind of optimism. Circumstances have changed, but largely it’s that I don’t want to mislead people that a nonviolent anarchist approach is easy.

Obviously there have been some disappointments since 1977. “The potential convergence of anarchism and feminism” I mention in the pamphlet has not become a more accessible body of thought or a widespread practice. Anti-nuclear energy campaigns have not lived up to their promise to be a focus for a radical social critique and for new styles of action and organising. Publications (like *Beyond the Fragments, In and Against the State* and the Non-violence *Shrew*) have sometimes struck a chord with many radicals, often introducing people to an analysis they had not met before, but only rarely and in isolated ways have these led to a changed base of activity.

At the same time, looking at the overall political situation in England (and I don’t mean Britain), many radicals sense that we are living through an emergency and are swarming into the Labour Party as if that’s where the magic honey’s to be found. What needs to be done can seem overwhelming, far beyond the power of ordinary people to accomplish. The nuclear threat, mass unemployment, the suffering caused by the cuts in public services—these issues are too big and too urgent, some people argue, for us to rely on “alternative” methods. Meanwhile the struggle for greater democracy in the Labour Party gives it more credibility as a vehicle for change.

There is no space here to do justice to the arguments about joining the Labour Party. Instead I merely ask people to recognise the limits of what party politics can achieve, the dangers it involves and the greater importance of action outside that framework.

In the face of the danger of nuclear war, it is clear that our very survival is at stake. But that is no reason to abandon the struggle for social reconstruction as this whole death-dealing system poses a threat to human life. Rather the task is to set our campaigning in the context of a vision of change, for it is not Reagan and Thatcher personally who put us at risk but the basic dynamics of the warfare state. (The sexism which sets up “Maggie” as the monster blinds itself to the real menace.) On the one hand, nuclear disarmament cannot be achieved without some social change—and in particular it requires people finding ways to decide about their own lives; on the other, nuclear disarmament itself is a necessary step towards deeper and more far-reaching changes.

At best, electing a sympathetic government can be a way of ratifying changes sought by movements based outside parliament and of getting backing for radical proposals such as, for instance, from a workforce seeking to turn a capitalist company into a co-op, or conversion from arms manufacture to socially useful production. But the initiative has to come from below. Lasting change needs to be firmly based in the desires and determination of people now low down in the hierarchy: industrial self-management, for instance, cannot be installed by the fiat of central government but will take patient re-education and re-organisation in a particular plant, and what government would risk breaking ranks with US war plans were the population not solid in demanding that?

Another prospect which increases the Labour Party’s appeal at the moment is of local councils (in the tradition of Clay Cross and Poplar) becoming centres of resistance to State power, and in particular to the cuts. Clearly, the machinery of local government is easier for local people to influence than national government. But there is still a vast difference between local authority control and genuine community control. Much of the business of a local authority is managing other people’s lives. Even well-meaning councillors all-too-often display the attitude “come to me and I’ll get it done for you” and maybe they’ll tell you about it afterwards—a far cry from encouraging people in their own communities to take charge of what’s happening. Overhauling the bureaucratic structures of local administration cannot be accomplished by electing the “right people” but only by a population deciding how to organise itself.

In brief, concentrating on party politics is no short cut to fundamental change and, like so many “short cuts”, it carries in it the danger of losing your way, of getting lost in a maze. The moment people seek to invoke State power to do what collectively we cannot, we are trapped. Politics becomes not what we want or even what we can practically achieve, but how to win power: it becomes less how do we widen and strengthen the social base for change than how do we force change on unwilling people. Once again, it is an alienating activity—oppressive too to many people.

Even in such times as these a more piecemeal approach can be promising—like making alternative plans and campaigning for socially useful production in the face of redundancy; like locally seeking to match unused skills with the

unmet social needs; like linking "Right to Fuel" and "Safe Energy" campaigns, giving advice on welfare rights at the same time as supporting attempts to conserve energy. ("Neighbourhood energy teams" in parts of the US have taken this further by encouraging neighbourhoods to generate some of the energy they use.)

Despite the prevailing economic climate, since I wrote this pamphlet the expansion of radical co-operatives has continued. Where I've lived for most of that period there is now a whole range of co-operatives: growing, baking and selling food; repairing bicycles; restoring furniture; building; language-teaching; printing and selling literature. Usually these co-operate with each other and also lend some support to other projects—the refuge for battered women, an alternative school, a community for mentally handicapped people, a radical local paper, an advice centre on people's rights. Some provide bases for local campaigns. Some of the more established co-operatives have actually seeded new ventures.

True, only a small and narrow section of the population is involved at this stage, and the consciousness has not spread very much beyond that. Few would explicitly identify their goal as "nonviolent revolution", but where is this leading? I was involved in an affinity group where we did an exercise—"vision to strategy"—in which we charted conceivable and desirable changes that could totally transform the area by 2025. In many cases we found that we could trace our vision back to a project already set up; strategies for change could be built on existing achievements. Nonviolence offers a vision, but more than that it offers a way of realising that vision, a way which begins with the close at hand in the belief that the big changes we seek have to be made up of patterns of small changes.

FOR FURTHER READING

NONVIOLENT REVOLUTION

Strategy for a Living Revolution—George Lakey
Moving Towards a New Society—Gowan, Lakey, Moyer, Taylor
The True Worlds: A Transnational Perspective—Johan Galtung
How Effective are Peace Movements—Bob Overy (pamphlet)
Towards Liberation—Michael Randle (pamphlet)
Drawing the Line—Paul Goodman
Revolution and Equilibrium—Barbara Deming*
We Cannot Live Without Our Lives—Barbara Deming*
Revolutionary Nonviolence—Dave Dellinger*
More Power Than We Know—Dave Dellinger*
Feminism and Nonviolence—Shrew (pamphlet)

NONVIOLENT ACTION

Direct Action and Liberal Democracy—April Carter
The Conquest of Violence—Joan Bondurant
The Politics of Nonviolent Action—Gene Sharp
Nonviolent Direct Action—Hare and Blumberg
Liberation Without Violence—Hare and Blumberg
Liberation Ethics—John Swomley Jnr
Hell No, We Won't Glow—Sheryl Crown (pamphlet)
Direct Action—April Carter (pamphlet)

NONVIOLENCE TRAINING

Resource Manual for a Living Revolution—(Coover, Deacon, Esser, Moore)
Manual for Action—Martin Jelfs*

Some of these publications (*) are out of print, though they should be available through the British Lending Library. Most of them are available from Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross, London N1. (01-837 4474). Write to them (with SAE) for a booklist on pacifism and nonviolence.

Peace News Pamphlet No 2

is on the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War and the Committee of 100. (1957-1967). In retrospect they are always overshadowed by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, though they provided the cutting edge for the nuclear disarmament movement. The pamphlet contains a detailed chronology, a substantial article incorporating quotations from the time, photographs and posters from the period, and a recent interview with two of the Committee's leading figures.