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Introduction to Part Two  
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Chapter 3

## INTRODUCTION TO PART TWO

Nonviolent action "works" in very special ways which must be grasped if the technique itself is to be understood, evaluated intelligently, and applied most effectively. These ways diverge significantly from popular assumptions about conflict and struggle—in particular the assumption that violence can be effectively met only with violence.

Nonviolent action is designed to operate against opponents who are able and willing to use violent sanctions.<sup>1</sup> There is no assumption in this technique that such opponents will, when faced with nonviolent action, suddenly renounce their violence, or even that they will consistently restrict their use of violent repression.

However, the use of nonviolent means against violent repression creates a special, asymmetrical, conflict situation, in which the two groups

rely on contrasting techniques of struggle, or “weapons systems”—one on violent action, the other on nonviolent action. To have the best chance of success, the nonviolent actionists must stick with their chosen technique. An extensive, determined and skillful application of nonviolent action will cause the opponent very special problems, which will disturb or frustrate the effective utilization of his own forces. The actionists will then be able to apply something like *jiu-jitsu* to their opponent, throwing him off balance politically, causing his repression to rebound against his position, and weakening his power. Furthermore, by remaining nonviolent while continuing the struggle, the actionists will help to improve their own power position in several ways.

It is sometimes assumed that the nonviolent technique inevitably leads to high public exposure and high vulnerability to punishment. Therefore, it is concluded, only a minority of persons is likely to use it. It is true that where nonviolent actionists are few in number and lack the support of majority opinion, the actionists may well be in an exposed and vulnerable position. (The use of violence in such a case would make them even more exposed and vulnerable.) However, the situation is very different where nonviolent actionists are acting in support of general public opinion and themselves constitute a large part of the population. In that situation there is less exposure, and the chances of any one person’s being singled out for punishment may be disproportionately reduced. But the opponent is unlikely to submit meekly.

There should, in fact, be no dismay or surprise at repression: it is often the result of the opponent’s recognition that the nonviolent action is a serious threat to his policy or regime. Nonviolent actionists must be willing to risk punishment as a part of the price of victory. The severity and chances of repression will vary. This risk is not unique to nonviolent action, however. There are also risks when both sides use violence—some similar to and some different from those faced by nonviolent actionists. One difference is that in violent action risks are incurred in the course of attempting to injure or kill the opponents, while in nonviolent action, this is not the case. Some people erroneously understand that to mean that the nonviolent group is helpless. This is not true. This difference in the treatment of the opponent should not lead to feelings of impotence or frustration, especially if the nonviolent actionist understands that remaining nonviolent makes it more possible for him to gain increased control over the opponent, reduce the violence against the nonviolent group, and increase the chances of winning.

The fact is, of course, that repression does not necessarily produce

submission. For sanctions to be effective, they must operate on people’s minds, produce fear, and create willingness to obey. However, lack of fear, or some overriding loyalty or objective, may cause the actionists to persist despite repression. (This is also true in military struggle.) When the nonviolent actionists so persist, the opponent’s problems may be aggravated in a number of ways. Most of his usual means of repression have been designed to deal with violent disobedience and violent rebellion. Because the dynamics and mechanisms of violent and nonviolent struggle differ, however, very different effects will result from repression against nonviolent actionists. For example, men imprisoned in a nonviolent struggle—whether Gandhi, King, Dubček, or students sitting-in at lunch counters—are widely regarded as still in the “front lines,” and not as removed from the battle. Instead of trying to avoid provoking repression, nonviolent actionists may seek to exhaust the opponent’s means of repression—such as by filling the jails—and thus to demonstrate his incapacity to rule even with such means. Repression against nonviolent action *may* be effective, of course. But depending on conditions, it also *may not*. If it is not, the opponent may be in difficulties. There will also be other sources of his troubles, however.

The opponent facing nonviolent action may be in a very awkward position if his own policies are hard to justify, if the nonviolent action involves the optimal combination of quality of behavior and number of actionists, and if, in face of repression, the nonviolent group is able to maintain a disciplined and determined persistence in its intended course. If the defiance is widespread or especially daring, the opponent cannot really ignore it without appearing to be helpless in face of defiance and thereby risking its spread. Yet repression may not only *not* strengthen his position, but may in certain circumstances set in motion forces which may actually weaken it further. These problems may make him wish that the rebels had chosen violent rather than nonviolent means, for violence does not pose the same kind of enforcement problems.

The opponent’s difficulties in coping with nonviolent action do not depend on his being surprised by the nonviolence or on unfamiliarity with the technique. The opponent’s knowledge of the operation of nonviolent struggle, for example, does not on its own give him the capacity to defeat the actionists: as in military conflicts, both sides may seek to utilize for their own ends knowledge of the technique of struggle they are using. With more knowledge, the opponent may become more sophisticated, and perhaps less cruel. But the nonviolent group also may learn how to struggle more skillfully and effectively.

The opponent's difficulties in dealing with nonviolent action are primarily associated with the special dynamics and mechanisms of the technique, and their tendency to maximize the influence and power of the nonviolent group while undermining those of the opponent. For example, partly because extremely brutal repression against a nonviolent group is more difficult to justify, the opponent's repression may be more limited than it would be against a violent rebellion. Furthermore, overreacting in repression may, instead of weakening the resisters, react against sources of the opponent's own power, and thus weaken *his* power position. The opponent may therefore prefer that the rebels use violent, rather than nonviolent, action and may deliberately seek to provoke the resisters to violence, perhaps by severe repression intended to break the nonviolent discipline or by spies and *agents provocateurs*.

If the nonviolent actionists nevertheless maintain their discipline and continue the struggle, and if they involve significant sections of the populace, the results of their behavior may extend far beyond individual example and martyrdom. They may effectively block the opponent's will and make it impossible for him to carry out his plans, even with the aid of repression. The arrest of leaders may simply reveal that the nonviolent movement can carry on without a recognizable leadership. The opponent may make new acts illegal, only to find that he has opened new opportunities for defiance. He may find that while he has been attempting to repress defiance at certain points, the nonviolent actionists have found sufficient strength to broaden their attack on other fronts to the extent of challenging his very ability to rule. Instead of mass repression forcing cooperation and obedience, he may find that the repression is constantly met by refusal to submit or flee; repression may repeatedly be demonstrated to be incapable of inducing submission. Furthermore, in extreme cases his very agencies of repression may be immobilized by the massive defiance; there may be too many resisters to control, or his own troops may mutiny. All these possible effects are examples of a process which may be called "political *jiu-jitsu*."

*The nonviolent actionists deliberately refuse to challenge the opponent on his own level of violence. Violence against violence is reinforcing. The nonviolent group not only does not need to use violence, but they must not do so lest they strengthen their opponent and weaken themselves. They must adhere to their own nonviolent "weapons system," since nonviolent action tends to turn the opponent's violence and repression against his own power position, weakening it and at the same time strengthening the nonviolent group. Because violent action and nonviolent action possess quite different mechanisms, and induce differing forces of*

*change in the society, the opponent's repression—given a maintenance of nonviolent discipline and of persistence in the nonviolent group—can never really come to grips with the kind of power wielded by the nonviolent actionists. Gandhi has compared the situation with that of a man violently striking water with a sword: it was the man's arm which was dislocated.<sup>2</sup>*

This is part of the reason why it is important for the actionists to maintain nonviolent discipline even in face of brutal repression. By maintaining the contrast between the violent and nonviolent techniques, the nonviolent actionists can demonstrate that repression is incapable of cowering the populace, and they can undermine the opponent's existing support. This can lead to weakening of his ability or will to continue with the repression and to defend his objectives and position.

To sum up: Repression of a nonviolent group which nevertheless persists in struggle and also maintains nonviolent discipline may have the following effects. As cruelties to nonviolent people increase, the opponent's regime may appear still more despicable, and sympathy and support for the nonviolent side may increase. The general population may become more alienated from the opponent and more likely to join the resistance. Persons divorced from the immediate conflict may show increased support for the victims of the repression. Although the effect of national and international public opinion varies, it may at times lead to significant political and economic pressures. The opponent's own citizens, agents, and troops, disturbed by brutalities against nonviolent people, may begin to doubt the justice of his policies. Their initial uneasiness may grow into internal dissent and at times even into such action as strikes and mutinies. Thus, if repression increases the numbers of nonviolent actionists and enlarges defiance, and if it leads to sufficient internal opposition among the opponent's usual supporters to reduce his capacity to deal with the defiance, it will clearly have rebounded against him. This is political *jiu-jitsu* at work.

Whether or not this is achieved hinges on the capacity of the nonviolent actionists to continue their struggle by the use of *their own* "weapons system." These "weapons," or specific methods of opposition, are also capable of altering the selected social, economic, or political relationships, whether or not changes in the balance of forces are also produced by political *jiu-jitsu*. There are a multitude of such methods, which collectively constitute the technique of nonviolent action; it is to a classification of these to which the focus of this study now shifts.

Such a classification is useful in a number of ways. For one thing, it assists us in understanding better the nature of the nonviolent technique, while also revealing very clearly the important distinctions and classes which exist within it. Some methods are basically symbolic actions, some involve a withdrawal of particular types of cooperation, others are largely direct interventions in a conflict situation. Classification also reveals the very large number and variety of methods of action the technique encompasses;<sup>3</sup> the present listing is certainly not exhaustive. The terminological refinement and definition of specific methods will also make possible future comparative analyses of the operation of different methods, or of the same method in different situations. In addition, a detailed classification provides something of a checklist of the main methods of nonviolent action thus far practiced.<sup>4</sup> Such a listing may assist actionists in the selection of methods most appropriate for use in a particular situation. It may also give groups faced with nonviolent opposition an idea of the methods which may be used against them, possibly reducing nervousness and brutalities. In addition, the list may give researchers and persons evaluating the political potentialities of the nonviolent technique a greater grasp of its armory of methods of struggle.

The broad classification of the particular methods of action under the general categories of *protest and persuasion*, *noncooperation* and *intervention* ought not to be regarded as rigid, but simply as generally valid. In particular circumstances one method may more correctly fall into a different category than the one under which it is classified in this study. In some situations one method may in the course of action develop into another, so there is no clear dividing line between them. Or two distinct methods may in a particular case be so closely combined as to be inseparable, even for analytical purposes.

Neither should the listing of specific methods be regarded as complete for all time. Doubtless some have been missed altogether, and a number of unlisted variations exist on those methods which are included. Perhaps more important, new forms of nonviolent action may be deliberately developed or improvised in the course of struggle. The "reverse strike," for example, in which people do without pay additional work they are not expected to do, is probably only about twenty years old. The examples of the specific methods offered in these chapters should be regarded as only illustrative. They are not intended to be representative, either geographically or historically, and they include both "successful" and "unsuccessful" cases. They do, however, indicate something of the widely differing historical, political and cultural conditions under which the tech-

nique of nonviolent action has already been used. Further research could doubtless provide additional examples from many cases not even mentioned in this study.

Which methods will be used in a particular case, and how many of them, will vary widely depending on such factors as 1) the traditions of the people involved; 2) the extent and depth of the knowledge of, and experience with, methods of nonviolent action possessed by the general population, the direct participants in the struggle and their leaders; 3) the general social and political situation; 4) the degree of repression which the general population, the actionists and the leaders are prepared to suffer; 5) the nature of the opponent's objectives; 6) the resources at the opponent's disposal (including his administrative system, agents of repression, and so on; 7) the degree of ruthlessness the opponent is prepared to use; 8) the degree of the opponent's dependence on members of the nonviolent opposition; 9) the numbers of participating actionists and the degree of support they receive from the population; 10) the quality of the actionists and leaders; 11) the nature of the grievance; and 12) the physical details of the specific situation in which action is contemplated.

Let us now turn to an examination of our first category of the methods of this technique: nonviolent protest and persuasion.

## NOTES

1. Cases in which *both* sides use nonviolent means are discussed in Chapter Eleven.
2. M. K. Gandhi, *Non-violent Resistance*, p. 57; Ind. ed.: *Satyagraha*, p. 57.
3. The terms "method" and "form" are used interchangeably here, although generally "method" is used and recommended. There are precedents for the use of these terms in the way we apply them here. Joan Bondurant (*Conquest of Violence*, p. 36) uses the phrase "forms of nonviolent action" to describe the phenomena discussed in these chapters. Carl von Clausewitz (*On War*, [New York: Barnes and Noble, 1956, and London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956], vol. I, pp. 125 and 166, and vol. II, p. 409) refers to those types of action in war which are in their relationship to the over-all struggle roughly comparable to these "forms" in nonviolent struggles as "methods." Despite the vast differences between military and nonviolent struggles there is sufficient

similarity in the role of the respective "methods" or "forms" in the over-all conflict to justify, and for clarity even require, the use of the same or similar terminology.

4. This catalog of methods of nonviolent action has no precedent in the literature. There are, however, separate listings of various types of strikes and of economic boycotts in the literature, and these are cited in the appropriate chapters. But for nonviolent action as a general technique, earlier listings were extremely limited. See, for example, Shridharani, *War Without Violence*, pp. 28-62 (fifteen methods, at least two of which "negotiations and arbitration" and "self-purification" are not classified within the technique here), and Lindberg, Jacobsen and Ehrlich, *Kamp Uden Vaaben*, p. 10 (seven methods, including sabotage which is excluded here, some of which are here discussed in whole chapters).

3

## The Methods of Nonviolent Protest and Persuasion

### INTRODUCTION

Nonviolent protest and persuasion<sup>1</sup> is a class which includes a large number of methods which are mainly symbolic acts of peaceful opposition or of attempted persuasion, extending beyond verbal expressions but stopping short of noncooperation or nonviolent intervention. Among these methods are parades, vigils, picketing, posters, teach-ins, mourning and protest meetings.

Their use may simply show that the actionists are *against* something; for example, picketing may express opposition to a law which restricts dissemination of birth control information. The methods of this class may also be applied *for* something; for example, group lobbying may support a clean-air bill pending in the legislature or overseas aid. Nonviolent protest and persuasion also may express deep personal feelings or moral condemnation on a social or political issue; for example, a vigil on Hiroshima Day may express penance for the American atomic

bombing of that Japanese city. The "something" which the nonviolent protestors may be concerned with may be a particular deed, a law, a policy, a general condition, or a whole regime or system.

The act may be intended primarily to influence the *opponent*—by arousing attention and publicity for the issue and thereby, it is hoped, support, which may convince him to accept the change; or by warning him of the depth or extent of feeling on the issue which is likely to lead to more severe action if a change is not made. Or the act may be intended primarily to communicate with the *public*, onlookers or third parties, directly or through publicity, in order to arouse attention and support for the desired change. Or the act may be intended primarily to influence the *grievance group*—the persons directly affected by the issue—to induce them to do something themselves, such as participate in a strike or an economic boycott. A method of nonviolent protest and persuasion such as a pilgrimage may also be associated with some other type of activity, such as collections of money for famine victims. Certain mild methods of this class are intended to persuade in order to produce a stronger action by someone else: leafleting may be aimed at inducing participation in an economic boycott, and fraternization within the context of resistance may be intended to help induce later mutiny by occupation soldiers, for example.

In summary, within the context of this class of methods, emphasis may be placed on being for or against something; the grievances may be diverse; the group to whom the act is primarily directed may vary; the types of influence will differ; the intended result may range widely; the act may be an independent one or closely combined with some other method (or methods) of nonviolent action.

Behavior in such demonstrations clearly extends beyond personal verbal expressions of opinion, either by reason of the corporate nature of the act or the form of action or, in a few cases, the circumstances which give an individual act a corporate significance. Yet the methods of nonviolent protest and persuasion usually remain (unless combined with other methods) expressions in action of a point of view, or an attempt in action to influence others to accept a point of view or to take a certain action. This is distinguished from the social, economic, or political pressures imposed by noncooperation or nonviolent intervention. There are political circumstances in which some of the forms of nonviolent protest, such as marches, for example, are illegal. Under such circumstances their practice would merge the method with civil disobedience and possibly other forms of political noncooperation.

The impact of these methods of nonviolent protest and persuasion, which depend on influencing the attitudes of someone, will vary consider-

ably. It is possible that where a particular method is common, its impact on any one occasion may be less than may be the case where the method has hitherto been rare or unknown. The political conditions in which it occurs are also likely to influence its impact, with dictatorial conditions making an act of nonviolent protest less possible, more dangerous and rarer; hence if it does occur, the act may be more dramatic and gain greater attention than it would where the act is common or carries no penalty. Demonstrations of protest and persuasion may precede or accompany acts of noncooperation or nonviolent intervention, or may be practiced in their absence.

What, then, are the specific methods of nonviolent action which may be classified as nonviolent protest and persuasion? Fifty-four methods are included in this listing; they are grouped here in ten subclasses.

## FORMAL STATEMENTS

Normally, written or oral statements, whether by an individual, group or institution, are simply verbal expressions of opinion, dissent or intention, and not acts of nonviolent protest and persuasion as defined above. However, certain circumstances may give such statements a greater than usual impact and such an act may then fall within this class. Whether this happens or not will depend on the political situation in which the statement is issued, the status of the person or body issuing the statement, the nature of the statement itself, the degree of conformity and nonconformity in the political society, and the risk taken in issuing such a statement. As with many if not all acts of nonviolent action, such statements may be primarily for, or against, some issue, regime, system, policy or condition. They take various forms, and on the basis of these we distinguish six specific methods. These statements are primarily addressed to the opponent or to the person or body which is being supported or opposed, but secondarily they may influence some wider public.

### 1. Public speeches

Some public speeches may become significant acts of nonviolent protest. They may be spontaneous in some unexpected situation, they may be formal addresses, or they may be sermons delivered during religious services. In 1934, for example, when the Nazis were simply a minority in a coalition cabinet headed by Hitler as Chancellor, the non-Nazi Vice-Chancellor was Franz von Papen. In a dramatic, rather untypical act, Papen

in a speech to students at the University of Marburg on June 17, 1934, expressed his alarm at the course of events since Hitler's accession to the chancellorship and called for an end to Nazi terror and a restoration of some freedoms, especially freedom of the press.<sup>2</sup> Coming from the Vice-Chancellor himself, this was an unexpected act of opposition which, despite censorship, received widespread support within Germany and major publicity abroad.

In Berlin on November 11, 1941, a sixty-five-year-old Roman Catholic priest, Provost Lichtenberg, declared in a sermon in St. Hedwig's Cathedral that he wished to share the fate of the Jews and be deported to the East in order to be with them to pray for them.<sup>3</sup> His wish was granted. Another incident on November 18, 1943, was recorded in his diary by Joseph Goebbels, Nazi Propaganda Minister: "During the burial of victims of the last bomb attack on the Bulgarian capital, the Bishop of Sofia delivered a speech in which he attacked the Bulgarian Government rather severely."<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Letters of opposition or support

Letters as a method of this class may take several forms. These include primarily private letters to a certain person or body, conveying a particular political viewpoint or declaration of intention. These letters may be from individuals or from groups; or similar or identical letters may be sent by many people. At times private letters may deliberately or otherwise become public knowledge. Or the letter may be published as an "open letter"—written to a particular person but intended equally or primarily to influence the general public which reads it.

Letters usually gain sufficient significance to be classed as a method of nonviolent protest because of the status of the signer or signatories, because of the number of persons signing the letter or sending identical or similar letters, or because the political situation has heightened the significance of such an act. In the Netherlands in December 1941, for example, over four thousand physicians signed and sent a letter to *Reichskommissar* Arthur Seyss-Inquart asking that plans to set up a compulsory National Socialist organization of physicians be abandoned.<sup>5</sup> And in occupied Norway *Reichskommissar* Josef Terboven received, in May 1941, a letter signed by representatives of forty-three organizations and associations, citing a series of specific actions by the Quisling regime in support of their general charge that "the acting ministers have in a series of cases issued decrees and made decisions that are in open conflict with international law, Norwegian law, and the general Norwegian understanding

of justice . . ."<sup>6</sup> Also in Norway in 1942 (as described in detail in the previous chapter), in addition to individually written form letters to the Church and Education Department from Norwegian teachers rejecting membership in the new fascist teachers' organization, tens of thousands of signed letters of protest were sent to the department by the parents of the pupils.<sup>7</sup>

Among other examples, Bulgarian protest against Nazi antisemitic measures during World War II might be cited. For example, when the anti-Jewish "Law in Defense of the Nation" was introduced, opposition "was expressed in floods of letters and telegrams addressed to parliament, cabinet ministers, statesmen, and social and political leaders." In addition to such letters from individuals, the Union of Bulgarian Writers sent a letter to the government and parliament asking that the bill not be made law, for it would "enslave part of the Bulgarian people and would blemish Bulgaria's modern history." Similar objections came from the Executive Council of the Union of Bulgarian Writers and the Executive Council of Bulgarian Doctors.<sup>8</sup>

To come to more recent history, on August 22, 1968, delegates of the Extraordinary Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia sent a letter of support to Alexander Dubček, First Secretary of the Party, who was then in Moscow.<sup>9</sup> On the same day, the Ambassador to Prague of the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) refused to receive a letter from the Czechoslovak National Assembly addressed to the parliament and government of the German Democratic Republic, protesting the presence of their troops in Czechoslovakia.<sup>10</sup> Two days later, on August 24, the Presidium of the Central Council of the Czechoslovak Trade Unions wrote to Aleksandr Shelepin, the Chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, asking that Soviet trade unionists demand an immediate withdrawal of Soviet and Warsaw Pact troops.<sup>11</sup> Similar letters were sent to officials and citizens of the Soviet Union, among them an open letter to the President of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union from the Chairman of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.<sup>12</sup>

## 3. Declarations by organizations and institutions

One of the forms such declarations have taken has been that of pastoral letters and similar official church statements. During World War II, in Vichy France, for example, in August and September 1942, protest declarations against the deportation of Jews were read by priests from their pulpits in Toulouse and in the Lyons diocese.<sup>13</sup> On February 16, 1941

a pastoral letter was read in the majority of Norwegian pulpits (and widely circulated in printed form), protesting fascist violations of principles of government under law and interference by Quisling's government with the priests' duty of silence regarding confessions of parishioners. The letter exhorted the regime "to end all which conflicts with God's holy arrangements regarding justice, truth, freedom of conscience and goodness and to build entirely on God's law of living."<sup>14</sup> In February 1943 the Dutch Reformed Church and the Roman Catholic Church in the Netherlands, in a similar declaration and pastoral letter, urged their listening congregations toward civil disobedience and the refusal of collaboration as religious duties.<sup>15</sup> Goebbels was later to call this "an exceptionally insolent pastoral letter."<sup>16</sup> Anti-Nazi pastoral letters were also read on a number of occasions in churches in Germany itself.<sup>17</sup>

Public declarations of support for the Dubček regime and of opposition to the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia were widespread and important in the early days of the occupation. They were among the factors which made it impossible for a collaborationist regime to be created at the time. The first day after Warsaw Pact troops crossed the borders, the Presidium of the National Assembly addressed a declaration to the governments and parliaments of the five invaders, denouncing the act and demanding "immediate withdrawal."<sup>18</sup> A whole series of bodies issued formal statements in support of the Dubček regime and in opposition to the invasion.<sup>19</sup>

#### 4. Signed public statements

A declaration directed primarily to the general public, or to both the public and the opponent, and released with the signatures of supporters is a method of nonviolent protest and persuasion. The signatures may be those of persons from particular organizations, occupations or professions, or of people from various parts of the society.

Thus, in St. Petersburg, following the events of "Bloody Sunday" (January 9, 1905), sixteen members of the Academy of Sciences publicly declared their belief that events had created a need for a change in government. They were joined by 326 leading university professors and lecturers in circulating the "Statement of the 342," which affirmed that Russia would enjoy the benefits of education only after "freely elected representatives of the people are given the power to make laws and keep a check on the administration." This was endorsed by 1,200 of the country's most noted scholars, and has been called "an outstanding, and perhaps

the most effective, action in stirring the educated to a sense of the urgent need for change . . ."<sup>20</sup>

About fourteen hours after the invasion of Czechoslovakia, a statement supporting the legal constitutional and political authorities and denouncing the invasion as an "illegal act" was issued with signatures of fourteen members of the Czechoslovak Government. Certain other officials had already been seized by the Russians.<sup>21</sup>

#### 5. Declarations of indictment and intention

Certain written statements of grievance or future intentions to produce a new situation, or a combination of both, are seen to be of such a quality or to meet such a response that the document itself becomes influential in influencing people's loyalties and behavior. The American Declaration of Independence is one such document; it was adopted by the Second Continental Congress on July 4, 1776. Another is the South African "Freedom Charter" adopted at the Congress of the People at Klipfontein, Johannesburg, South Africa, on June 25-26, 1955. Dr. Albert Luthuli, leader of the South African National Congress, has written that "nothing in the history of the Liberatory movement in South Africa quite caught the popular imagination as this did, not even the Defiance Campaign."<sup>22</sup> During this period the anti-*Apartheid* movement was committed to nonviolent means. After a moving list of the social and political objectives of these opponents of *Apartheid*, the document concluded: "These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty."<sup>23</sup>

#### 6. Group or mass petitions

Group or mass petitions are written requests or supplications seeking the redress of a specific grievance, signed by a large number of individuals or by a smaller number of individuals acting on behalf of organizations, institutions or constituencies. (Petitions from individuals normally do not fall within "nonviolent protest and persuasion," since they are usually simply personal efforts to persuade. Exceptions may occur, however.) Of the multitudes of examples, we offer here a few of the less known in order to illustrate some of the diversity in the use of this method. Examples of petitions go back at least as far as the Roman Empire. In one instance, in the years A.D. 183-185, during the reign of Emperor Commodus, son of Marcus Aurelius, the peasant tenants of one of the imperial estates of Africa sought relief from the amount of compulsory work required of them by



petitioning the Emperor directly; they sent their petition to Rome by a plenipotentiary who was a Roman citizen. They expressed confidence in the Emperor and hatred for their oppressors (the farmer-general and the procurators) and appealed to the Emperor for relief. The tenants asked protection of the *Lex Hadriana* and insisted on their rights. This petition was successful, though others were not.<sup>24</sup>

Another example from ancient history is the petition to the Roman Emperor Septimius from the village of Aga Bey in Lydia (Asia Minor). In their position the peasant tenants of an imperial estate sought two objectives, one of which was relief from municipal duties which had been imposed on them even though they did not reside in cities, as well as other forms of relief. The peasants threatened the Emperor with a work stoppage by means of a mass "flight" from the estate. (That method is described in Chapter Four.) Relief from the municipal duties was granted.<sup>25</sup>

M. Rostovtzeff describes another petition of the same period, this one in A.D. 201. The petition was from the *navicularii* of Arelate, who probably transported men and supplies by sea from Gaul to the East during the second Parthian expedition. The petition from the *navicularii* complained bitterly of "the vexations and exactions to which they were subjected in performing their service to the state," Rostovtzeff reports. It is likely, he adds, that repeated complaints, coupled with threats of a strike, induced Septimius to revise, complete, and even extend some of the privileges granted to this important group.<sup>26</sup>

A millennium and a half later the American colonists repeatedly petitioned the British officials for relief from their grievances, sometimes in the form of addresses from colonial assemblies, sometimes as petitions from merchants. In November 1766, for example, 240 merchants of the city of New York petitioned the House of Commons for major changes in the trade and navigation system.<sup>27</sup> As part of a struggle among the poor back-country people in North Carolina against the group which was in power in that province, two hundred sixty inhabitants of Anson County signed a petition to the colony's Assembly, listing the grievances from which they sought relief and saying that "we . . . have too long yielded ourselves slaves to remorseless oppression."<sup>28</sup>

African slaves in the Province of Massachusetts Bay also petitioned, addressing the Governor (General Gage), the Council, and the House of Representatives on May 25, 1774. They asserted that in common with all other men they had a right to their freedom. Therefore they asked for legislation to grant that freedom, "our Natural right," and particularly that their children should be set at liberty when they reached the age of twenty-one years.<sup>29</sup>

In more modern times petitions have been used both by nationalists objecting to foreign rule, as in Finland and Egypt, and in grievances against Communist governments. For example, in 1898, five hundred thousand Finns (out of a total population of three million) signed a petition protesting a new Russian law drafting Finnish youths into Russian army units and subjecting them to five years of military duty.<sup>30</sup> Despite British prohibition, two million signatures were gathered for a petition in Egypt aimed at achieving a popular mandate for a national delegation which sought the right to participate in the Versailles peace conference after World War I.<sup>31</sup>

In the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) on July 7, 1953, 1,500 workers at the Zeiss factory at Jena signed a petition demanding the release of Eckhardt Norkus (who had been sentenced to three years in prison after an arbitrary arrest following the June rising) and the release within three days of every striker against whom a criminal charge could not be proved.<sup>32</sup>

A "Memorandum" signed by several dozen of the elite of Hungary's Communist writers and artists in early November 1956 requested the Central Committee of the Communist Party to stop officials from applying "anti-democratic methods which cripple our cultural life," and expressed the view that ". . . the only basis for eliminating difficulties and wrong opinions . . . is a free and sincere and healthy and democratic atmosphere imbued with the spirit of popular rule."<sup>33</sup> As with the other methods in this chapter, illustrations could go on indefinitely.

## COMMUNICATIONS WITH A WIDER AUDIENCE

Several of the methods of this class are designed primarily to communicate ideas, viewpoints and information to a wider audience. The objective may be to influence the opponent group, gain sympathy and support from third parties, or gain converts, members, or assistance for the nonviolent group. Persuasion is the aim at least as often as protest. Both visual and oral forms are included in these six methods.

### 7. Slogans, caricatures and symbols

Among the very common forms of nonviolent protest are slogans, caricatures and symbols. They may be written, painted, drawn, printed, mimed, gestured, or spoken. From the summer of 1941 to May 1942 a resistance group of Jewish youths in Berlin, the Baum Group, carried out such activities without a single arrest, Professor Ber Mark reports.

Going out with buckets of paint and brushes at night was a very risky business. Still, the young fighters went eagerly to post the leaflets and paint the slogans on the walls. The group considered such acts as a test of one's revolutionary ardor, and as the best way to strengthen the revolutionary daring and the spirit of self-sacrifice of the members.<sup>34</sup>

Painted symbols on walls, rocks or fences are often used to express protest. During the Nazi occupation, for example, H VII for the exiled Norwegian King Haakon VII, were so displayed. The nuclear disarmament symbol and the Nazi swastika may also be seen in various countries.<sup>35</sup> In Munich in early 1943 young student members of the *Weisse Rose* (White Rose) resistance group wrote "DOWN WITH HITLER" on walls.<sup>36</sup> In occupied Poland, a group of young boys called "The Little Wolves" in 1942 used indelible paint to decorate German trucks and automobiles, German residences, and even the backs of Germans themselves with inscriptions, such as "POLAND FIGHTS ON," which appeared in Warsaw every morning. Caricatures and posters were also displayed. According to one Polish commentator: "The mischievous and diabolically efficient little pack did much to sustain the psychological atmosphere of contempt for the Germans and fostered the spirit of resistance."<sup>37</sup> After the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, in August 1968, one of the slogans that was written on walls widely in Prague was "LENIN, WAKE UP! BREZHNEV HAS GONE MAD."<sup>38</sup>

### 8. Banners, posters and displayed communication

Written, painted or printed communications such as banners, posters and displayed signs are similar enough to be classed together, but the range of variations is fairly large. During President Wilson's address to Congress on December 4, 1916, five members of a woman suffragist organization, Congressional Union, unrolled a yellow sateen banner from the Visitors' Gallery saying, "MR. PRESIDENT, WHAT WILL YOU DO FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE?"<sup>39</sup> In India during the struggle in 1930-31, sidewalks and even paved streets served as blackboards for notices of the Indian National Congress.<sup>40</sup> During the *Ruhrkampf*, German resistance fighters tore down French occupation proclamations and posters, replacing them with their own.<sup>41</sup> In Rotterdam in 1942 signs plastered on walls urged the people to show respect for Jews on the street who were wearing the required yellow star.<sup>42</sup> During the Moncton Commission's visits to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1960 to review for the

British government the future of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (which was hated by black Africans as an instrument of European control), posters urging a boycott of the commission frequently appeared in towns and cities.<sup>43</sup>

On the night of August 23-24, 1968, the Warsaw Pact occupation troops went throughout Prague tearing down resistance posters and patriotic appeals to the citizens to resist, and putting up their own proclamations. The paper *Svoboda* reported that this was: "To no avail! New ones were up by morning. Prague is like one huge poster. 'Occupiers go home!'"<sup>44</sup> One tall smokestack in the Prague-Vrsovice railroad depot was decorated with the sign "FRIENDSHIP, NOT OCCUPATION."<sup>45</sup> On the morning of August 25, the Prague city buses began their routes bearing the signs: "U.N.: S.O.S." Shop windows in the center of the city had been turned into huge display areas for the posting of notices. A car drove by carrying the sign: "THEY OCCUPIED CHARLES UNIVERSITY."<sup>46</sup>

### 9. Leaflets, pamphlets and books

The publication and distribution of leaflets, pamphlets or books which have as their main purpose the expression of a point of view in opposition to, or in support of, particular or general policies, or to the regime as a whole may in political conditions of repression and struggle become a method of nonviolent action. The distribution of leaflets is perhaps the most common method of communication used by dissenting groups, but under conditions of censorship, books may also be involved. (Literature which calls for active resistance, as distinct from making a general case, is classified below as a separate method, under political noncooperation, because of the content and consequences of such calls.)

For example, the centennial celebration of the Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia was invaded by a group of woman suffragists who distributed leaflets to the assembly and chairman containing a Declaration of Women's Rights.<sup>47</sup> In the section of Nazi-occupied Poland known as the *General Gouvernement*, the underground in 1942(?) counteracted a new Nazi propaganda campaign to acquaint Poles with all types of German achievements by preparing exact duplicates with the original contents radically altered into a biting satire which cited a series of Nazi cruelties and executions.<sup>48</sup> Protest letters which had been sent by Norwegian organizations to *Reichskommissar* Joseph Terboven in early 1941 were printed in Norway from texts broadcast back to Norway from Eng-

land, and circulated throughout the country in thousands of copies.<sup>49</sup> They were reported to have had a strong and stimulating influence.

In 1941 and 1942 the Baum Group of Jewish resisters in Berlin had as one of their five fields of activity the publication and distribution of various leaflets, brochures and pamphlets which they sent to private homes and offices, distributed to workers, and posted at night on walls.<sup>50</sup> In Munich the student *Weisse Rose* group published several anti-Nazi leaflets and distributed them in Munich and several other South German cities. The leaflets usually were placed in letter boxes, and finally, in 1943, were openly distributed in the University of Munich.<sup>51</sup> In April and May 1959, the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War carried a mass leaflet distribution in the Norfolk area of England.<sup>52</sup> Leaflets demanding that the Warsaw Pact armies leave Czechoslovakia, asserting loyalty to the legal governments, and urging resistance were widespread in the early days of the occupation.<sup>53</sup> An "Appeal to the Warsaw Pact Soldiers!" urged them to "leave our territory as friends and do not interfere with our internal development."<sup>54</sup> The Russians also waged a leaflet campaign, distributing them by helicopter and motor vehicles; the resisters' Czechoslovak Radio reported that the fraudulent leaflets over the names of Czechoslovak representatives had been distributed by the occupation forces.<sup>55</sup>

Books, too, may be important in arousing and expressing opinions in times of conflict and in contributing to wider actions and changes. Such influences may occur whether the book is officially allowed or has been prohibited under censorship. In the latter case, books have circulated in manuscript, typescript, or in printed editions published illegally within the country or smuggled in from without. One such book was N.G. Chernyshevsky's *What Is To Be Done?*, a novel which expressed important ideas of revolutionary populism. It was written in prison in 1862 and 1863. It was approved by the censor without reading it, as he thought other officials had already examined it. Published in serial form in the journal *Sovremennik*, it "moulded a whole generation of Populist students and revolutionaries. It became a blueprint of life for the young intelligentsia." It pointed to activities which revolutionaries should undertake, and the need for firm opposition to despotism.<sup>56</sup> A multitude of books have wielded considerable influence in social, economic, religious or political conflicts.

#### 10. Newspapers and journals

Journals and newspapers, both legal and illegal, constantly recur throughout the history of social and political conflicts as media for advanc-

ing the views and causes which their publishers espouse. The very existence of such publications is at times illegal, and in such cases this method merges with civil disobedience and the general class of political noncooperation.

The publication and distribution of illegal newspapers and journals played a very important role in the Russian revolutionary movement in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>57</sup> Illegal newspapers and news sheets were also widely published and circulated in Norway during the Nazi occupation,<sup>58</sup> as was the case in other countries such as Denmark,<sup>59</sup> the Netherlands,<sup>60</sup> and Poland.<sup>61</sup> Where politically possible, articles and advertisements in regular papers and journals may also be used to communicate views.

#### 11. Records, radio and television

Under certain conditions records, radio and television themselves become instruments of nonviolent protest and persuasion. Phonograph records may convey ideas through music, speeches or declarations. Much of the American rock music of the 1960s conveyed dissent and dissatisfaction, as did Bob Dylan's song *Blowin' in the Wind*.

In that song Dylan poignantly asked:

— how often can any man turn away as if he hadn't noticed;

— how many times must the cries of suffering be heard before a man pays attention;

— how much time must pass with people in their present conditions before they experience freedom?<sup>62</sup>

Recorded songs with explicit political lines and objectives have been distributed by various political groups for some decades. In 1968 newly released phonograph records were available in Prague on the morning of August 24, carrying the statement of the Extraordinary Fourteenth Party Congress which had been issued on August 22; that declaration, addressed to the citizens of the country, condemned the invasion, rejected Soviet justifications, and demanded release of all detained officials and withdrawal of the foreign troops: "Socialist Czechoslovakia will never accept either a military occupation administration or a domestic collaborationist regime dependent on the forces of the occupiers."<sup>63</sup>

Although radio broadcasts to the populations and resisters in occupied countries were widespread during World War II, Czechoslovakia in 1968 provided the most advanced use to date of radio and television broad-

casts originating *within* the occupied country. The clandestine radio network, some of which was able to continue operating for a full two weeks, not only conveyed information about what was happening, but broadcast declarations of opposition to the invasion. The radio also called for specific acts of resistance, warned against violence and urged peaceful discipline in the struggle, opposed collaboration, cautioned against rumors, and took over certain emergency administrative functions. Television broadcasts (which were made from private apartments and other locations away from the regular studios where they would have been subject to Soviet controls) continued into the first days of September.<sup>64</sup>

## 12. Skywriting and earthwriting<sup>65</sup>

These are words or symbols communicated to people over large distances by writing them in the unusual media of the sky or earth. Skywriting by airplane was used on October 15, 1969, to place a large nuclear disarmament symbol in the sky over the rally against the war in Vietnam, which was then taking place on the Common in Boston, Massachusetts.<sup>66</sup> Earthwriting was used by a California rancher, Edwin Frazer, who lived near San Diego, when his milder protests against sonic booms from planes based at the nearby Miramar Naval Air Station had been ignored. In huge letters in his back pasture he ploughed the word QUIET. (It didn't work either.)<sup>67</sup> Variations could be achieved by planting contrasting crops, trees and the like in the desired pattern, or by arranging such materials as rocks or shrubs in the form of a word or symbol on hillsides or mountains.

## GROUP REPRESENTATIONS

Groups may make representations for or against some policy, etc., in a variety of ways. Four of the five methods listed in this category involve the physical presence of those making the representations; in one method this is not the case.

### 13. Deputations

Protest and disapproval may be expressed by a group of self-selected individuals or of representatives of one or various organizations who go to meet with an official (or his representative) who is particularly responsible for the grievance. On occasion, deputations may seek consideration or adoption of a new policy or measure.

In a district near China's imperial capital in about 1890, taxpayers responded to repeated malpractice by the tax collector (who arbitrarily regulated the exchange rate between copper cash and silver in his favor) by sending a deputation to the capital with documents prepared by a local committee. The first delegation was a failure and the members received fifty blows of the bamboo and a fine. The second deputation was successful; the tax collector was fired and banned from future government employment.<sup>68</sup>

After Tsar Nicholas II had autocratically enacted a law which incorporated the Finnish army into the Imperial Russian army and had declared in a manifesto, on February 15, 1899, his "right" to enact laws for Finland regardless of the views or decision of the Finnish Diet, a deputation of five hundred men carried a protest petition with 523,000 signatures (nearly half the adults of the country) to the Tsar. He refused to receive them.<sup>69</sup>

On November 1, 1958, a London organization called the Geneva Committee of Parents sent a delegation of women to Geneva to see the representatives at the forthcoming test ban conference to press for a permanent end to nuclear testing.<sup>70</sup> Following a demonstration in which between three and four hundred African students marched to the Kremlin on December 18, 1963, a deputation of Ghanaian students went to the Ministry of Education to protest against racial discrimination in Moscow. It was received by the Minister of Education and the Minister of Health.<sup>71</sup>

On August 24, 1968, the Presidium of the Prague City Committee of the Communist Party sent a delegation to the Soviet Embassy to demand the release of Comrade Bohumil Simon, a member of the newly elected Presidium of the Central Committee and the leading secretary of the Prague City Committee. After initial denial of all knowledge of Simon, the Soviet attaché later made assurances that he was all right and that everything was being done to achieve his release.<sup>72</sup>

### 14. Mock awards<sup>73</sup>

Satirical "awards" may be presented to opponents in order to publicize grievances and perhaps also to appeal to the recipient of the "honor" to correct the grievance. For example, in Massachusetts in November 1969, while hearings on industrial pollution were in progress, the Boston Area Ecology Action campaign presented to the Boston Edison Company a "Polluter of the Month" award. Numerous complaints had previously been made against this electric company on charges of excessive pollution of the atmosphere from its generating plants.<sup>74</sup>

## 15. Group lobbying

Lobbying in the sense of personal visits to a parliamentary representative by his constituent in an effort to influence his voting in the parliament or assembly is normally simply a verbal expression of opinion. When done as a group action, however, lobbying becomes a form of corporate nonviolent action, because in addition to persuasion of the legislator, the gathering of a fairly large group of people in order to lobby itself becomes a demonstration. This may take the form of *small group lobbying* when a series of individuals or groups in moderate numbers on one occasion, or over a period of time, or on several occasions visit their representatives in an effort to influence them. For example, in the spring of 1966, under the sponsorship of the Friends Committee on National Legislation, persons and groups visited their congressmen and senators in Washington each Wednesday for several weeks to discuss U.S. policy in Vietnam.<sup>75</sup> Or lobbying may be organized to focus on getting very large numbers on a particular day. This is *mass lobbying*. For example, the Anti-Apartheid Movement held a "mass lobby" of members of the House of Commons in London on March 8, 1965. Its supporters urged Members of Parliament to press for a firm official stand against South Africa by such means as an arms embargo, collective economic sanctions, and other measures.<sup>76</sup>

## 16. Picketing

Picketing is an effort to persuade others to do or not to do a particular act, or a method of protest by means of one's physical presence at a place significantly related to the matter in question. The picketing may be conducted by standing, sitting, or walking back and forth. Placards may or may not be carried, and leaflets may or may not be distributed. The pickets may or may not try to talk with others as a means of promoting their end.

Especially in the West, picketing has been widely associated with strikes, largely in an effort to ensure that strikebreakers did not accept the jobs of the strikers or that strikers did not return to their jobs before an agreed settlement. As Lloyd G. Reynolds, a writer on labor economics, put it:

The device which unions have developed to keep workers out of a struck plant is the picket line. Strikers patrol back and forth in front of the plant entrance, advertising the existence of a strike by placards and word of mouth. Workers entering the plant are greeted with

pleas not to go to work. As a worker leaves the plant at the end of the shift, a picket may walk alongside him for a few steps and urge him not to come to work the next day. Under experienced direction picketing is an effective method of peaceful persuasion, though it can also degenerate into physical conflict. . . . picketing necessarily involves moral pressure if it is to be fully effective. It is not merely a method of reasoning with the would-be strike-breaker, but is intended also to shame him and perhaps alarm him.<sup>77</sup>

In such circumstances the picketing may also be a means of informing the public of the existence of the strike and the issues at stake, and of seeking to enlist their sympathy and support.

Picketing may also be associated with the boycott and political non-cooperation. This was especially the case in India during the nonviolent struggles for freedom. In 1930 the law courts were picketed by the nationalists, the litigants being urged to go instead to the *Panchayats* (village-five or town-five tribunals revived by the India National Congress); government schools and colleges were picketed, and the students were urged to attend "national institutions" which were independent of the British government; shops selling boycotted goods were picketed to discourage purchases of the boycotted items; government buildings were picketed, Indians holding government jobs being urged to give them up in the cause of India's freedom; opium and liquor shops were picketed, usually by women urging the prospective customer not to buy.<sup>78</sup>

Picketing may also be a means of protesting against particular policies, acts, or general policies of the government, or those of the body whose office, headquarters, or the like is being picketed. For the first time in the country's history the White House was picketed on January 10, 1917, and for several days thereafter by woman suffragists who sought to point to President Wilson's lack of commitment to votes for women. In March of that year nearly one thousand women picketed the White House.<sup>79</sup> When President Eisenhower arrived at the San Francisco Civic Auditorium in October 1958, he was greeted by a picket line of two hundred persons from the Northern California Committee for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons.<sup>80</sup> In some northern U.S. cities, writes Arthur Was-kow, white parents have picketed school boards trying to end *de facto* segregation in the school system.<sup>81</sup>

Even picketing may, of course, be illegal (as may most of the methods). Its exercise has been restricted even in parliamentary democracies—it was, for example, in Britain for nearly twenty years prior to 1946. The Trade Disputes and Trade Union Act of 1927, enacted after the Brit-

ish General Strike of 1926, contained a section which, writes Julian Symons; "limited the right to picket, in terms so vague that almost any form of picketing might be liable to prosecution."<sup>82</sup> (It was repealed in 1946.)

In countries with considerable civil liberties, picketing is often used as a means of public protest against the policies of both the government and foreign governments. Embassies, consulates, courts, legislatures, government departments, agencies, and so on may all be the focal point for protests involving picketing. Picketing varies considerably in a number of respects, such as how long the action is continued, the degree to which it is intended to be persuasive or obstructive, and the numbers involved—ranging from a token group to mass picketing. In a particular situation, picketing may be combined with other methods, such as strikes, boycotts and fasts.

### 17. Mock elections

The final method of making group representations described here is the mock election. An opposition group may, as a means of protest, hold extralegal elections or direct popular balloting on a topical issue. Special "polling" places at which to "vote" may be established, or the "votes" may be collected in some other way, such as by house-to-house calls. This method may be used by large minorities or by majorities when restrictions on the operation of the regular constitutional electoral system prevent the opposition from participating, either fully or in any form at all. Or minorities with full access to the regular electoral system may also, or instead, use the mock election when they feel that they need additional means of reaching the public about the issue which concerns them.

This approach was used in Mississippi in 1963 and 1964. Civil rights groups set up "freedom registration" for any Mississippian who wanted to register, regardless of the legal restrictions which were widely used to disfranchise Negroes. (Only seven percent or 23,000 of all voting-age Negroes were legally registered to vote in regular elections at the time.) About 83,000 people did "freedom register" and cast their "freedom ballot" for governor and lieutenant governor, choosing among official Democratic and Republican candidates and a civil rights slate. "More than a dramatic gimmick to attract national attention," wrote James Farmer, former head of the Congress of Racial Equality, "the mock election proved a superb educational device for instructing Mississippi Negroes in the ways and means of voting."<sup>83</sup> Arthur Waskow has pointed out that if they had been cast for the minority candidate in a regular gubernatorial election, that many votes could have changed the result, and that therefore the

mock election "proved how considerable their own [the Negroes'] strength might be if they were ever able to enter the regular political system."<sup>84</sup>

Denied a place on the regular ballot, the predominantly Negro Freedom Democratic Party staged its own "election" in the autumn of 1964, inviting all Mississippians to vote and listing all the regular candidates plus the Freedom Democratic Party candidates—who won among the nearly eighty thousand "voters." Three "newly elected" F.D.P. congresswomen then unsuccessfully challenged the seating of regularly elected congressmen in the U.S. House of Representatives, charging the denial of voting rights in Mississippi, where forty-three percent of the citizens of voting age were barred from participation.<sup>85</sup>

## SYMBOLIC PUBLIC ACTS

There are many ways in which the viewpoint of nonviolent actionists or their grievances may be expressed in symbolic behavior. These forms of action have been popular over the years, and the specific methods listed here do not exhaust the possibilities.

### 18. Displays of flags and symbolic colors

The display of the flag of a national, religious, social or political group, or the colors of such a group, or the flag or colors with some other type of symbolism is a common type of nonviolent protest. Such displays are often motivated by or arouse deep emotions.

On the visit of Emperor Franz Josef to the capital of Hungary on June 6, 1865, inhabitants of Pesth at first displayed only a very few flags of the Empire, as they opposed Austrian domination and sought home rule for Hungary. At the urging of the pro-Austrian governor, Palfy, the whole city was beflagged, which pleased the Emperor when he left the Agricultural Exhibition he had visited—until he realized that the flags were the green, white and red official flag of independent Hungary.<sup>86</sup>

Black flags have been used as symbols of protest and disapproval on numerous occasions: in India in 1928 by nationalists who were refusing to cooperate with the visiting British parliamentary Simon Commission,<sup>87</sup> in Ceylon in 1957 by the minority Tamils,<sup>88</sup> and in Pakistan in condemnation of the incorporation of Kashmir with India.<sup>89</sup>

In India the nationalists observed Independence Day on January 26, 1930, with the hoisting of the national flag at numerous demonstrations and celebrations.<sup>90</sup> In December 1956 students at Jena University in

East Germany in solidarity with Hungarian revolutionaries displayed the national colors of Hungary in the hall selected for their winter dance.<sup>91</sup>

Flags also played an important role in the 1963 Buddhist campaign against the Diem regime in South Vietnam, with government objections to the display of the Buddhist flag being important in the genesis of the conflict. On September 9 of that year students at the Chu Van An boys' high school, in the largely Chinese Cholon section of Saigon, tore down the government flag and hoisted the Buddhist flag, after which more than one thousand students were arrested.<sup>92</sup> In the first days of the August 1968 Czech resistance, flags and national colors were displayed in symbolic resistance. The morning of August 21, only hours after the invasion, crowds carried Czechoslovak flags in the streets of Prague, flags decorated the statue of St. Wenceslas, and the students carried a bloodstained flag into Wenceslas Square. Four days later flags throughout the city of Prague were flying at half-mast.<sup>93</sup>

Flags indicating political views are sometimes displayed in unusual ways. The morning of January 19, 1969, a Viet Cong flag was discovered flying from the top of the 240-foot central spire of Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris. The flag was fifteen feet by six feet; a helicopter from the Paris Fire Department was required to remove it.<sup>94</sup>

### 19. Wearing of symbols

Political dissent may be expressed by wearing on one's person some item of clothing, a color, a badge, a flower, or the like. For example, in France during the winter of 1792 the "red cap of liberty" became fashionable among the *sans-culottes*.<sup>95</sup> In World War II red, white and blue caps—imitations of the R.A.F. roundel—were worn by students in Denmark as symbols of opposition to the Nazi occupation,<sup>96</sup> while red caps were worn in Norway for the same purpose.<sup>97</sup> Occasionally, non-Jews in Germany and France wore the yellow star out of sympathy after it had been made compulsory for Jews.<sup>98</sup> In the Netherlands sympathy was shown by the wearing of yellow flowers in the lapel.<sup>99</sup> Symbols worn in Norway ranged from a flower on King Haakon's seventieth birthday to paper clips in the lapel ("keep together"), with considerable variations.<sup>100</sup> In the early days after the Russian invasion, Prague citizens wore the patriotic colors as tricolor bands on their lapels and elsewhere on their clothing.<sup>101</sup>

A related form of protest used in South Vietnam involves not wearing of some object, but the altering of one's appearance as a form of sym-

bolic protest. During the 1963 Buddhist struggle against the Diem regime, the Foreign Minister, Vu Van Mau, resigned his post and "shaved his head in protest against the violent policy of that regime," Thich Nhat Hanh reports. "After that many professors and students did the same. The movement among students and professors was deeply influenced by that act."<sup>102</sup>

The way one who wears an article of clothing, or whether or when one wears it, may also symbolically convey a certain viewpoint. For example, at the inaugural session of the States General on May 5, 1789, when the French king replaced his hat, followed as usual by the clergy and the nobles, instead of remaining bareheaded (according to ancient custom) deputies of the Third Estate also "defiantly placed their hats on their heads."<sup>103</sup>

### 20. Prayer and worship

Prayer and worship may be so conducted that the participants by their religious act express moral condemnation and even political protest. This may be made clear by the content of the prayer or worship service, the immediate situation (as when an order to disperse has been given or demonstrators are arrested), the place in which the prayer is made, or the day on which it is made.

On learning of the planned British closure of the port of Boston in Massachusetts Bay Province on June 1, 1774 (an act taken in retaliation for resistance in that city), the Virginia House of Burgesses on May 24 resolved that June 1 be set aside as a "day of fasting, humiliation and prayer." Arthur Schlesinger writes: "Governor Dunmore, suspecting rightly that the fast was intended to prepare the minds of the people to receive other and more inflammatory resolutions, dissolved the House two days later."<sup>104</sup>

In occupied Poland in 1942 the Germans destroyed all monuments which commemorated Polish heroes or patriotic events. "By common consent all Poles made conspicuous detours around the spots where these monuments had been located. Prayers would even be offered up at these spots, to the outrage of the German officials."<sup>105</sup>

In South Africa during the 1952 Defiance Campaign prayer constituted an important part of the movement, as Leo Kuper reports:

Thus, in July at Uitenhage, during the trial of ten resisters, hundreds knelt and prayed, led by an old African woman in a red shawl. At East London, some 250 singing and praying Africans gathered out-



side the Magistrates Court while eighty-five of their fellow campaigners were charged with not being in possession of night passes . . . about 1,000 Africans gathered outside the courtroom in Port Elizabeth, and sang hymns and prayed for the accused. In August, again at Port Elizabeth, some 5,000 Africans prayed for the success of the campaign, after welcoming 250 volunteers released from prison.<sup>106</sup>

Albert Luthuli reports that in 1959 African women demonstrating at Ixopò, when ordered by the police to disperse, "fell down on their knees and began to pray! The police hung around helplessly."<sup>107</sup>

In Trafalgar Square in London, on November 12, 1961—Remembrance Sunday for the war dead—a public service of worship with an anti-war, pro-nuclear-disarmament orientation was held with about one thousand participants, under the joint auspices of Christian Action and the Christian Group of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.<sup>108</sup>

Six civil rights workers knelt and prayed on the steps of the city hall in Albany, Georgia, in August 1962.<sup>109</sup> Public prayers were made on several occasions during the 1963 campaign in Birmingham, Alabama; on Sunday evening, May 5,

A little before sunset the crowd of about two thousand Negroes came out [of the new Pilgrim Baptist Church] and faced the police. They knelt in silence as one of the ministers prayed solemnly: "Let them turn their water on. Let them use their dogs. We are not leaving. Forgive them, O Lord."

Perhaps for a moment this touched something in Bull Connor, for he let the Negroes cross the police line and spend fifteen minutes in a small park near the city jail, where they prayed and sang hymns without hearing of the hundreds of demonstrators inside. Afterward, they returned to the church, where it was announced that the children would definitely march on Monday.<sup>110</sup>

During the 1963 Buddhist struggle against the Diem regime, Father Cao Van Luan, a Roman Catholic and rector of the Hué University, led students to the Buddhist Tu Dam pagoda to pray, in symbolic protest against the government.<sup>111</sup> In June 1966, Buddhists in Hué and Quantri, South Vietnam, erected altars in the middle of streets and conducted religious observances there, even though government troops wished to have full use of the streets to facilitate control of the city.<sup>112</sup> Thich Nhat Hanh describes the carrying of family altars into the streets to oppose tanks as an act "no less tragic than the self-immolation of the Venerable Thich Quang Duc." It was, he said, the use of "traditional values to oppose

inhumanity and violence."<sup>113</sup> This also has elements of psychological intervention. That year prayer ceremonies were conducted throughout Vietnam in opposition to the war. These are described as having a "tremendous effect."<sup>114</sup>

On June 30, 1966, in the U.S. Senate Visitors' Gallery, after the Senate had adjourned twelve members of the Society of Friends held a silent Quaker Meeting for prayer and worship in protest against the recess of that body while the bombing of North Vietnam was being intensified. Their two-and-a-half-hour Meeting and wait-in were combined with trespass for refusing to leave when ordered, for which they were arrested.<sup>115</sup>

During the Great October Strike of the 1905 Russian Revolution, young schoolchildren on one occasion made their political protest in a related but rather different way:

Tsarskoe Selo, a small city almost completely dominated by the imperial residence, had its day also: local secondary school boys went out on strike and were joined by the pupils of the girls' secondary school; and the primary school children registered their feelings by refusing to say their morning prayers and, when the prayers were read to them, responding with the favored Russian form of disrespect, whistling.<sup>116</sup>

## 21. Delivering symbolic objects

The delivery of an object which symbolizes a grievance or an objective to the official or office associated with the issue has been used in various ways to advance the views of the protesters. For example, in Chicago a few years ago when "The Woodlawn Organization" (T.W.O.)—a neighborhood organization in a black slum area—sought action from Mayor Daley to deal with bad conditions in their district, they piled rats on the steps of City Hall, Saul Alinsky reports.<sup>117</sup> In protest against Soviet nuclear weapons tests, Committee of 100 supporters in London in October 1961 brought hundreds of bottles of milk, each labeled "DANGER—RADIOACTIVE" in red letters, and left them in front of the Soviet Embassy.<sup>118</sup>

President Kennedy in 1963 had not yet fulfilled his 1960 campaign promise to eliminate discrimination in federally assisted housing (made in his "stroke of the pen" statement, in which he promised to issue and sign such an executive order). James Farmer writes that there was reliable information that an executive order on the subject, drafted by his staff, had lain unsigned in the President's office since 1961. The Congress of Racial



Equality then joined the wider campaign on the issue. Farmer writes: "We figured JFK's pen had run dry, and we sent thousands of bottles of ink to the White House."<sup>119</sup>

## 22. Protest disrobings

One of the rarer old—but newly reactivated—forms of nonviolent protest is the public removal of clothes as a means of expressing one's religious disapproval or political protest. During the Quaker "invasion" of the intolerant Massachusetts Bay Colony in the seventeenth century, Lydia Wardel entered Newbury Church naked as a protest.<sup>120</sup> Members of the Sons of Freedom sect of the Doukhobors in British Columbia, Canada, have been credited with "uncounted nude parades" and in some cases individual women have disrobed in front of their own burning homes, to which they set fire as a protest against alleged government interference or prosecution of their husbands for resistance activities, including demolitions.<sup>121</sup> When Prime Minister John Diefenbaker was attending a political rally at Trail, British Columbia, on May 28, 1962, Doukhobor women whose husbands were awaiting trial for terrorist acts interrupted the meeting, tearfully protesting "unfair treatment" of their group, and took off their clothing as part of their protest.<sup>122</sup>

One of several cases of protest disrobing in the United States in recent years by young people in the antiwar and social protest movements took place at Grinnell College, in Grinnell, Iowa, on February 5, 1969. The students staged a "nude-in" during a speech by a representative of *Playboy* magazine, in protest against the magazine's "sensationalism of sex."<sup>123</sup>

## 23. Destruction of own property

An unusual method of nonviolent protest is the voluntary destruction of *one's own* property in order to demonstrate the intensity of one's feelings of opposition. Where there is danger from the act of destruction, all persons are removed to safety in advance so that there is no physical harm to anyone.

Early American colonial patriots publicly destroyed letters when they disliked their political contents. When New York merchants in July 1770 decided to break with the general policy of nonimportation of British goods, they sent letters of their decision to Philadelphia and Boston. "When a copy of the letter reached Princeton, James Madison and his fellow-students garbed in black gowns, solemnly witnessed the burning of the

letter by a hangman while the college bell tolled funereal peals."<sup>124</sup> "At Boston, a meeting of the trade at Faneuil Hall voted unanimously that the New York letter, 'in just indignation, abhorrence and detestation, be forthwith torn into pieces and thrown to the winds as unworthy of the least notice,' which was accordingly done."<sup>125</sup>

In support of the movement for economic sanctions against England, the merchants in Charleston, South Carolina, promoted an association for the nonconsumption of India teas, whether or not duty had been paid on them, beginning on November 1, 1774. At the instigation of the merchants, schoolboys collected tea from private houses and it was publicly burned on November 5, Gunpowder Plot Day—the anniversary of an attempt to blow up the Houses of Parliament in London.<sup>126</sup> In Providence, Rhode Island, on March 2, 1775, the day after the total halt to the use of tea became effective, a bonfire was made of three hundred pounds of tea which had been collected from the inhabitants.<sup>127</sup>

In the Province of Massachusetts Bay in February 1775, Colonel Leslie, a British officer, sailed from Boston to Marblehead to seize artillery which colonists had taken to Salem for safekeeping.

He landed his detachment successfully on a Sunday morning; but, when the alarm reached the nearest meeting-house, the congregation turned out and took up a position upon some water which barred his route. They refused to lower the draw-bridge on the plea that there was no public right of way across it; and when Leslie attempted to lay hands on a couple of barges, the owners proceeded to scuttle them. The soldiers drew their bayonets, and inflicted some wounds . . .<sup>128</sup>

A segment of the Doukhobor religious group in Canada has a long record of burning their own homes in protest against government regulation or government repression for (sometimes more violent) acts of resistance.<sup>129</sup>

In 1918 and 1919 woman suffragist members of the Women's Party publicly burned copies of President Wilson's speeches in Washington, D.C., on the grounds that he advocated freedom and democracy while not, in their opinion, doing everything possible to give women the vote at home.<sup>130</sup>

Other examples of symbolic acts include the burning of imported cloth during the nonviolent Indian struggles (as a symbol of renunciation of dependence on foreign countries and of determination to build a free, self-reliant India)<sup>131</sup> and the destruction of the statue of Stalin in Budapest during the Hungarian Revolution.<sup>132</sup>

In some cases this method may include destruction of documents pro-

vided by and technically owned by the government or some organization, which persons are required or expected to keep their possession or carry for long periods of time—for most practical purposes such items thereby become the property of such persons. Examples are passes, party membership cards, passports, identity cards, and conscription registration and classification cards. For purposes of this classification the item in question is seen as *de facto* the property of the person who has it in his possession, although *de jure* it belongs to the government, party or other body.

For example, in 1960 following the launching by the Pan Africanist Congress of the campaign against the pass laws in South Africa, the rival African National Congress called for the burning of passes. "We did not desire to leave our shackles at home," wrote Albert Luthuli. "We desired to be rid of them. I burned my Reference Book, others burned theirs and the bonfires began to grow in number."<sup>133</sup>

On October 15, 1965, during an antiwar rally outside the Army Induction Center in New York City, a youth burned his draft card while Federal agents looked on.<sup>134</sup> *The New York Times* reported that during anti-Vietnam war rallies throughout the country on August 16, 1967, five young men burned draft cards as a protest in Philadelphia, sixty-seven did so at the Arlington Street Church in Boston, and in Los Angeles at least eight burned their cards. In the latter city several veterans were reported to have burned their certificates of discharge. Many other draft cards were turned in undamaged throughout the country to offices of Selective Service or U.S. Attorneys.<sup>135</sup>

#### 24. Symbolic lights

Torches, lanterns and candles are often carried in protest parades and marches and have sometimes also been used in other types of protest activities. For example, in South Africa on June 26, 1953, the anniversary of the launching of the 1952 Defiance Campaign, the African National Congress leader Chief Albert Luthuli appealed to Africans and their allies to light bonfires or candles or lanterns outside their homes "as a symbol of the spark of freedom which we are determined to keep alive in our hearts, and as a sign to freedom-lovers that we are keeping the vigil on that night."<sup>136</sup>

Three days after burning himself in opposition to the Soviet invasion, Jan Palach died on January 19, 1969. Young people then marched in a candlelight ceremony in Wenceslas Square, Prague, where the self-immolation had taken place. They quietly carried black flags and the

Czechoslovak red, white and blue flag to the fountain in the square where the burning had happened, in front of the National Museum which still bore scars of Soviet bullets. Alvin Schuster reported in *The New York Times*:

Hundreds of somber people, many of whom had placed candles and wreaths on the fountain, surrounded it in silence. Others gathered around the statue of Wenceslas, fifty yards away, the site of an informal memorial to those killed in the August invasion. It, too, was aglow with candles.<sup>137</sup>

#### 25. Displays of portraits

The public display of pictures of resistance heroes or persons who otherwise symbolize the objectives of the movement is sometimes used as a means of communicating to others one's political loyalties. During the Indian 1930-31 struggle, photographs of the national leaders—Gandhi, Nehru and others—were widely sold and displayed in homes and shops.<sup>138</sup> Similarly, in Czechoslovakia in August 1968, buildings in Prague displayed portraits of President Svoboda and of Dubček, First Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.<sup>139</sup>

#### 26. Paint as protest

During the East German Rising, on June 17, 1953, the night shift at the Stralsund shipyard covered the name of a new lugger, *Walter Ulbricht*, with thick black paint, and the ceremony scheduled for the next day to launch that new boat for the herring fleet had to be canceled.<sup>140</sup> In 1962 in Eisenbach, East Germany, someone altered a huge picture of Walter Ulbricht by painting a rope around his neck.<sup>141</sup>

#### 27. New signs and names

Erecting signs where there have been none or replacing old street names with new ones of symbolic significance are among the forms which this method may take. (Complete removal of all street, highway, town, and railroad station signs, or their replacement with erroneous ones, is not simply symbolic but an act of noncooperation, and hence is classified under political noncooperation.) In occupied Poland in 1942, for example, "The Little Wolves" group of youthful resisters stole many of the "FOR GERMANS ONLY" signs which were displayed at the best cafés, cinemas, and hotels in Warsaw, and also prepared many copies. One morn-

ing the signs appeared on hundreds of the city's lamp posts and trees—where the Germans had frequently hung Polish patriots.<sup>142</sup> On orders of a branch of the underground government, the Poles renamed most of the country's streets. "Overnight, on the walls, on street corners and lamp posts, inscriptions and placards appeared bearing new names, the heroes or statesmen of this war whom the Poles admired: Niedzialkowski Avenue, Rataj Drive, Roosevelt Street, Churchill Boulevard." Patriots all used the new names, and the name someone used was a clue to his political opinion (unless he were an agent working with the Germans).<sup>143</sup>

## 28. Symbolic sounds

Oral or mechanical sounds may be used to convey ideas in a conflict situation. The tolling or simple ringing of bells has often been used in this way, as in the example cited above in which James Madison and other Princeton students witnessed the burning of a letter they did not like, "while the college bell tolled funeral peals."

A very different case occurred at the end of May 1917, when major mutinies of the French army had already taken place, even those units which were nominally obeying orders were often highly discontented. "Throughout the Zone of the Armies the units which could be persuaded to march forward to the trenches were baaing in imitation of lambs led to the slaughter, and their officers were helpless to prevent it."<sup>144</sup> Between 9:00 and 9:15 A.M. on August 26, 1968, bells and sirens were sounded throughout the whole of Czechoslovakia, reported *Lidova Demokracie*, as

a protest of the citizens of a sovereign state against a forcible occupation, against barbarism and the brute force of the occupiers. The wail of the sirens mingled with the majestic tolling of church bells. The Bishop of Ceske Budejovice, Dr. Josef Hlouch, called upon all the clergy of his diocese to support the negotiations of our statesmen in Moscow by the tolling of these bells. In the streets of Prague, even the cars of foreign visitors sounded their horns.

This Russian reaction was also reported:

The demonstration apparently frightened the occupation troops. At the main railroad station, Soviet officers with drawn pistols threw themselves on an engineer and tried to force him to stop the locomotive whistle. During the demonstration, a young woman was shot at Kladov. She was taken to a hospital, but she died.<sup>145</sup>

## 29. Symbolic reclamations

Certain types of acts may be carried out to demonstrate a creative alternative to the disputed existing use or ownership of the territory in question. Among the forms this may take are the planting of seeds, plants or trees, the cultivation of neglected or seized land, and the construction of a building whose intended use runs counter to existing and future policies for the area. For example, in October 1962 demonstrators of the Committee of 100 in Britain, protesting nuclear weapons, planted seeds at the edge of the R.A.F. V-bomber base at Honington, England, as a symbol of their desire to reclaim the land for constructive civilian use.<sup>146</sup>

## 30. Rude gestures

There are many variations of rude gestures and behavior which convey insults. They may rarely be used in situations of political, and even international, conflict. One example comes from the Sino-Soviet conflict. According to Edmund Stevens, in January 1967

... each morning an entire platoon of Chinese soldiers would march out on the ice and lowering their trousers train their buttocks towards the Soviet side, the ultimate in Chinese insults. This exercise continued until one morning just as the Chinese assumed their positions the Russians set up large portraits of Mao facing in their direction. The Chinese hastily covered themselves and retired in confusion. There were no repetitions.<sup>147</sup>

## PRESSURES ON INDIVIDUALS

Several methods may be used in attempts to put pressures on individual members of the opponent group, whether officials or ordinary soldiers, for example. These acts may be directed against specific persons or groups of persons, or may be intended to apply pressure on individuals who are part of a large body, such as an occupation army. The ones included here are not exhaustive. Certain other methods in this chapter, such as picketing, may also be used for that purpose, as may social boycotts and fasts, which are described in later chapters.

## 31. "Haunting" officials

As a means of reminding officials of the "immorality" of their behavior in repressing a nonviolent resistance movement and of the determina-

tion and fearlessness of the population, volunteers may sometimes follow and "haunt" officials everywhere they go, thus constantly reminding them of the population's determination. For example, as Joan Bondurant has reported, during the 1928 Bardoli campaign in India: "Volunteers followed officials everywhere, camping on roads outside official bungalows. When arrested, they were replaced by others until authorities tired of the process."<sup>148</sup>

### 32. Taunting officials

Instead of the predominantly silent and dignified behavior used in the above method, people may mock and insult officials, either at a certain place or by following them for a period. In the summer of 1942, for example, in Honan, China, under Kuomintang rule, tax collectors and soldiers seized grain from unwilling peasants who were facing a severe famine, having refused to accept either money or farm tools instead. As a result,

in many villages, more soldiers had to be called in before the tax-collectors dared remove all the grain. As they dragged it away, the peasants would follow like a pack of monkey scarecrows, bitterly mocking, and sometimes threatening, without a trace of "virtue and obedience."<sup>149</sup>

### 33. Fraternization

An alternative to a social boycott of the soldiers and police of the opponent is to fraternize with them, in the process subjecting them to intense influence and direct or indirect propaganda or both.<sup>150</sup> The objectives may be 1) to become personal friends with the soldiers and convince them that no personal hostility or desire to injure them is involved in the resistance; 2) to convince them that the objectives of the regime which they serve are unjust and immoral and that those of the nonviolent actionists are just and right; 3) to persuade the soldiers (or other agents of repression) to reduce the efficiency with which they carry out orders against the resisters and the population, or, eventually, to mutiny and refuse to carry them out; or 4) to provide information for the population and the resistance movement on the opponent regime's plans. Such fraternization is accompanied by noncooperation with the regime and disobedience of its regulations.

For example, during the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, even in a situation where both violent and nonviolent methods of resistance were being used, Hungarians made deliberate efforts at fraternization and at influ-

encing Soviet soldiers, both by personal conversation and leaflets in Russian. These efforts seem to have had a degree of success. One journalist reported that as a result of Hungarians talking with Russian soldiers, "something like a bond of sympathy was arising."<sup>151</sup>

There were many direct attempts to influence Russian soldiers in the early stages of the invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia in August 1968. A Czech journalist reported, in *Rude Pravo*, participating in conversations with a Soviet captain, a Soviet lieutenant colonel, two Russian ambulance attendants, a Czech captain, a Czech citizen, and Czech ambulance attendants. It was "a lively discussion":

We presented our arguments [about the invasion], and when we parted we all said: "We shall not say *au revoir*, we shall not wish you luck, and we shall not even shake your hands." This was perhaps the ultimate argument. I actually saw tears in the eyes of the Soviet captain. There was even a small spasm in the lieutenant colonel's face. The soldiers who had earlier just listened stood about hanging their heads. As we were leaving, the captain followed us a few steps and said: "We shall all reflect about what we discussed here. I am afraid that you are right about a number of things. It is a terrible tragedy. And you can print this if you want to." "If that is really so," I said, "perhaps we shall shake hands after all some day."<sup>152</sup>

Within four days it proved necessary to rotate invasion troops and bring in replacements.<sup>153</sup>

### 34. Vigils

A vigil is an appeal normally addressed not to one or a few persons, but to many people. Like picketing, a vigil consists of people remaining at a particular place as a means of expressing a point of view. It differs from picketing, however, in that it is frequently maintained over a longer period of time, sometimes around the clock, and is associated with a more solemn attitude, often of a pleading or religious character. It often involves late hours and loss of sleep.

In 1917, for example, women in the Netherlands maintained a vigil for weeks outside the building where a new constitution for the country was being drafted, seeking a clause granting woman suffrage. The clause was not inserted, but woman suffrage was determined to be an issue on which a simple majority vote of the legislature could rule.<sup>154</sup> Other examples include the constant vigil for fourteen months at barricades pre-

venting volunteers (including untouchables) from using a road passing a Hindu temple in 1924-25 at Vykom in South India, as described in Chapter Two;<sup>155</sup> the South African "black-sash" women, who in 1955 and 1956 stood, mute and still, outside government offices in protest against efforts to change the South African constitution in the direction of greater regimentation;<sup>156</sup> the nine-week day-and-night vigil outside the Aldermaston Atomic Weapons Research Establishment in England conducted from July to September 1958 by the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War;<sup>157</sup> the year-long silent "Appeal and Vigil" maintained from July 1, 1959, outside the germ warfare plant at Fort Detrick in Frederick, Maryland, by pacifists and others who protested against germ warfare research and preparations conducted there;<sup>158</sup> and the attempt by Western exponents of unilateral nuclear disarmament to hold an antinuclear weapons vigil with banners in Red Square, Moscow, on July 13, 1962.<sup>159</sup>

## DRAMA AND MUSIC

Nonviolent protest and persuasion may be expressed also in acting and music. Variations are possible on the methods described here.

### 35. Humorous skits and pranks

Political humor may become a method of nonviolent action when expressed in some social form such as a humorous prank or a skit, or, conceivably, a play of political satire. In such cases the humor or satire ceases to be simply verbal political dissent (as often expressed in dictatorial countries in political jokes passed from one person to another) and becomes an act of public political protest.

It has been impossible to find documentation for the following, but the story is told that in Austria, prior to the peace treaty and while Soviet troops still occupied sections of Vienna and the countryside, students tied a suitcase to the arm of a statue of Stalin.

In late 1956 students at Jena University in East Germany included humorous skits which parodied the amateur theatricals used to further Communist propaganda in the cabaret program at their winter dance; these skits were received with high applause. One concerned a hunter and his dog. The dog was muzzled, the hunter said, as a protection against malignant wasps and the extremely short lead on the dog was a "bond of friendship." The hunter shot the dog for running away, but he said he had shot the wasps which had been attacking the dog; the hunter replied

to criticisms of his earlier beating of the dog by calling them accusations of "over-critical harsh tongues." Someone then described the hunter as "a protector true" of dogs, whose work would be venerated by future generations.<sup>160</sup>

### 36. Performances of plays and music

Under certain political conditions, the performance of certain plays, operas, and other music may be a form of nonviolent political protest. For example, in early January 1923, in the opening stages of the *Ruhrkampf* against the French and Belgian occupation, "the performance of *Wilhelm Tell* at the municipal theater in Essen developed into a demonstration of the national will to resist, and finally occupation troops invaded the theater and dispersed the audience."<sup>161</sup>

Another example took place in January 1943 in Trondheim in Nazi-occupied Norway. It was three months after executions in the city by the Nazis, and as part of the citizens' protest, the city's theaters offering light plays were still empty despite official efforts to fill them. But when the musician Ingebørg Gresvik gave two concerts the same day at the church called *Fruerkirka* (where Nazi permission was not required), the lines of people wanting to attend blocked two of the city's main streets; over 2,500 people were seated in the church itself to hear the heavy and somber piano music. The *Ballade* by the Norwegian composer Grieg was an example of the music played. As a Norwegian author put it, "the program must be regarded as a Norwegian cultural demonstration."<sup>162</sup>

### 37. Singing

Under appropriate conditions, singing may constitute a method of nonviolent protest—for example, singing while an unwanted speech is being made, singing national or religious songs and hymns, rival vocal programs to compete with boycotted ones organized by the opponent, singing while engaged in a march, civil disobedience, or some other act of opposition, and singing songs of social and political satire and protest.

In the midst of the Finnish disobedience movement against the Tsar's autocratically imposed, and from the Finns' view unconstitutional, new conscription law of July 1901 (which conscripted Finns into the *Russian* army), *Kagal* (the secret society directing the disobedience movement) called for noncooperation. Everyone was to refuse to cooperate: youths should refuse to report for induction, doctors should refuse to examine recruits, communes should refuse to elect members to draft boards, and the preachers should refuse to announce the military conscriptions from

their pulpits. When most of the ministers disobeyed *Kagal's* call and instead obeyed their archbishop's order to make the conscription announcements, "the parishioners drowned out the voice from the pulpit by singing hymns."<sup>163</sup>

In Denmark during the Nazi occupation, while the Danes boycotted concerts of German military music, they set up rival programs of community singing of traditional Danish songs.<sup>164</sup>

A Red Army officer who was among Jewish prisoners from the Soviet at the Sobibor extermination camp in eastern Poland reports two instances in which the inmates asserted defiance by singing. The officer, Alexander Pechersky, reports that on September 24, 1943, the morning after their arrival at the camp, *Oberscharführer* Franz ordered the Russian Jews to sing Russian songs:

"We don't know which songs we're allowed to sing," I said.

The kapo (a prisoner with the status of a policeman) translated my words.

"Sing what you know," Franz replied.

"Sasha, what shall we sing?" Tsibulsky turned to me. He was a Jew from Donbas, tall and with a round face.

"*Yesli Zaftra Voina.*" (If War Comes Tomorrow.)

"What's the matter with you? They'll kill us."

"I say sing. We don't know any other songs." Tsibulsky began:

"If war comes tomorrow  
Tomorrow we march  
If the evil forces strike—"

All the others chimed in:

"United as one  
All the Soviet people  
For their free native land will arise."

The guards came running out of the barracks when our column passed. In this camp of death and despair the Soviet song rang out like a clap of spring thunder. We felt refreshed and exhilarated, as though we had received happy tidings, a promise of victory, and liberation.<sup>165</sup>

After a large number of South African resistance leaders were arrested in early December 1956, a large crowd gathered outside the Drill Hall in Johannesburg on the first day of the Preparatory Examination: "Just before the proceedings began, [wrote Albert Luthuli,] the huge crowd began *Nkosi Sikelel' i Afrika*, the African National Anthem. It sounded like an angelic choir: to us the sound seemed to come from

above."<sup>166</sup> In May 1963 more than three thousand Negro children converged on the downtown area of Birmingham, Alabama. "Groups of them trooped in and out of stores, singing 'Ain't gonna let nobody turn me 'round' and 'I'm on my way to freedom land.'" <sup>167</sup>

In Prague at eight in the morning on August 21, 1968, after the night invasion, in one corner of the Old Town Square a group of citizens sang the national anthem while others argued with a Soviet captain, urging him to go home. Thirty-five minutes later a column of Czechoslovak vehicles passed through Wenceslas Square headed for the Old Town Square; the vehicles carried people who were singing the Slovak national anthem: "There is lightning over the Tatras, and terrible thunder . . ." <sup>168</sup>

Satirical political songs, as well as folk poetry and wise sayings, were used as means of education and protest in the Buddhist struggles in South Vietnam, especially in 1963. Thich Nhat Hanh writes:

Political satirical songs are easy to learn by heart and can be circulated very quickly. They were widely used during the struggle against Ngo Dinh Diem [who was ousted as head of the government in 1963]. There were hundreds of them. The most famous was *Nghe ve, nghe ve, nghe ve Nhu Diem*, a song dealing with corruption of that regime.<sup>169</sup>

Singing songs of satire and protest is not, however, a modern innovation, much less a Vietnamese one. They go back at least as far as the early fourteenth century, when they occurred in France, and probably much further. Alejandro Planchart, an authority on medieval music, refers to this as "one of the most troubled times in the history of France," a time of widespread corruption among clergy and nobility, the Hundred Years' War, the papal exile in Avignon, and the schism in the church.

In contrast to the luxury of the courts famine swept the countryside and pillage was rampant. Thus besides the love songs of the court poets we have the thundering of the political pieces with their scathing attacks upon all-pervading corruption.<sup>170</sup>

Political protest music survives in a number of manuscripts, the most famous of which is *Le Roman de Fauvel*; the words are from a satirical poem written by Gervaise de Bus between 1310 and 1314. *Fauvel* is a symbolic animal, an ass, whose name is composed of the initials of *flatterie, avarice, vilanie, variété, envie, and lascheté*. The original poem was later modified with additions from other texts, and various musical ac-

companiments and arrangements were created for it. Some of these were in the form of motets, in which two different texts were sung simultaneously with a different instrumental melody. In one of these, while the first singer is condemning corruption in clerical life, the second is singing a comment on secular affairs, while the instrumental melody *Ruina* underlies both. The text of the second singer includes this passage:

Presiding today in the thrones of the world are deceit and pillage.  
The soldiers of Hercules have stopped. The discipline of the church perishes. Arms push hymns out of the smallest corner. Rapaciousness and craftiness reign at home, growing rich on the blood of the small. The cornerstone lacks foundation. To what purpose? More often to proclaim: ruin is near!<sup>171</sup>

## PROCESSIONS

Some of the best-known methods of nonviolent protest and persuasion are forms of processions, i.e., people walking or marching. Five ways this is commonly done are included here.

### 38. Marches

The march as a form of nonviolent protest and persuasion is practiced when a group of people walk in an organized manner to a particular place which is regarded as intrinsically significant to the issue involved. The duration of the march may vary from an hour or two to several weeks, or even longer. Posters and banners may or may not be carried, and leaflets may or may not be distributed to bystanders. In May 1765, fifty thousand English weavers convened at Spitalfields and marched by three different routes to Westminster, London, to petition for relief against competition from French silk.<sup>172</sup> Marches occurred several times during the 1905 Russian Revolution. During the Great October Strike of 1905, striking railroadmen in Tashkent marched on the governor-general's home and were turned back by troops without bloodshed.<sup>173</sup> Following the "October Manifesto" (in which the Tsar granted civil liberties, gave voting rights to groups hitherto excluded from them, and established the principle of *Duma* consent to laws and *Duma* supervision of officials), in many cities throughout the Russian Empire people marched to the residence of the governor or to the municipal *Duma* to celebrate and to make further demands, especially for the release of political prisoners.<sup>174</sup> Other examples include the several marches of three thousand persons which proceeded simultaneously to foreign consulate buildings in Seoul in 1919 to demonstrate to the world that the Koreans

were opposed to Japanese rule.<sup>175</sup> Gandhi's 1930 Salt March to the beach at Dandi to commit civil disobedience by making salt,<sup>176</sup> and the six thousand mile march (December 1, 1960 to October 8, 1961) from San Francisco to Moscow by pacifists urging unilateral disarmament.<sup>177</sup>

An "Agreement for the Deportation of the First Batch of twenty thousand Jews to the East German Territories" was signed by a Bulgarian and a German official on February 22, 1943. But revolutionary groups in Sofia appealed to the Bulgarian people, urging them to stand before Jewish homes and crowd into the Jewish quarters, refusing to allow the Jews to be deported. On May 24, 1943, writes Matei Yulzari, the Jews of Sofia organized a protest in which many non-Jewish Bulgarians also participated:

It started from the Jewish synagogue in one of the suburbs, where the gathering was addressed by Rabbi Daniel Zion and several young men. The crowd started an impressive march, which was intended to join the demonstration of the university students and make its way to the royal palace to protest against the outrages to which the Jews were subjected. Clashes with the police were followed by numerous arrests.

This mass demonstration alarmed the authorities and they did not carry out the second stage of their deportation plan—deportation to Poland, where the Jews of Europe found their death. Fearing internal unrest, the Fascist government and the king were forced to give up their plan to send the Jews of Bulgaria to their doom in the death camps.<sup>178</sup>

In Oriente province of Cuba in late 1956, during the Batista regime, the bodies of twenty-nine Cuban youths are reported to have been delivered, badly mutilated, as government reprisals for the November uprising. Later there were other murders and countermurders in Santiago. On January 2, 1957, soldiers in Santiago seized William Soler, a fourteen-year-old boy; his badly tortured body was dumped in an empty lot the next night. Robert Taber writes:

At ten o'clock in the morning [of January 4], some forty women dressed in black left the Church of Dolores . . . and moved in slow procession, praying in unison and fingering their rosaries, down Calle Aguilera . . . At their head marched the mother of William Soler, and with her the mothers of other youths slain by police and soldiers . . . Over their heads they carried a large white banner with the black inscription: *Cesen los asesinatos de nuestros hijos*. (Stop the murder of our sons.)

As they moved on past the park and through the shopping dis-



trict, other women joined them. There were two hundred by the time they had passed the first block, then eight hundred, then a thousand. At every step more women left the shops to join the procession, pressing slowly forward through the narrow, cobbled street. A few policemen stood by, helpless, at the intersections. Men watched from the doorways and many wept with shame as the women passed by, the only sound of their murmured litany and the funereal tapping of their heels.

At one intersection, a jeep load of soldiers suddenly appeared, training a machine gun on the procession, blocking the way. The women waited, silently. The demonstration continued to grow until it overflowed into nearby streets, blocking all traffic.

When the soldiers tried to break up the manifestation, pushing their way into the dense crowd, the women simply opened aisles for them to pass through, and then closed ranks again. The mothers refused to be provoked into any overt act of physical resistance, but stood in quiet dignity until the soldiers gave up their futile efforts and, shamefaced, turned away. Then the women began, still silently, to disperse. Part of the procession continued on to the city hall and to the offices of several newspapers to leave petitions, demanding an end of the terror and the restoration of civil law. Then these women, too, went quietly home.

The mothers' protest march in Santiago had significance because it was the first public act to signal the beginning of organized civic resistance on a broad and effective scale in Cuba, under the aegis of the *fidelistas* movement.<sup>179</sup>

### 39. Parades

A parade as a demonstration of protest or persuasion involves a group of people walking in an organized manner as a means of calling attention to their grievance or point of view. The parade is distinguished from the march in that, although it has a point of termination, that point is not of intrinsic significance to the demonstration. Banners, leaflets, posters, and the like may or not be used in conjunction with the parade. This type of demonstration may or may not be accompanied by bands providing music and by other types of activities.

The first parade for woman suffrage in Washington, D.C., was held in 1913 by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, with between eight thousand and ten thousand participants, including many senators and representatives with their wives. As it dispersed, the parades were assaulted by opponents, which resulted in a major press and political uproar.<sup>180</sup> Parades were often used during the Indian nonviolent strug-

gles; for example, the parades of Muslims in Bombay on June 3, 1930, to demonstrate their support for the civil resistance movement.<sup>181</sup> An example from the West is the four-hour protest parade in London on November 4, 1956, against the invasion of Egypt.<sup>182</sup>

Six thousand supporters of the People's United Party paraded through the streets of Belize on August 24, 1958, in support of their demand for immediate self-government for British Honduras.<sup>183</sup> In South Africa, in June 1957, several thousand professors, lecturers and students at Capetown University paraded through the streets of Capetown in protest against the Universities' Apartheid Bill, which made multiracial university education illegal in the country.<sup>184</sup>

There are many possible variations on the parade. For example, during the boycott of tea (as part of the nonimportation campaign against the Townshend duties) the merchants of Marblehead, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, on October 19, 1769 ceremoniously carted through the streets a chest of tea purchased from a Boston importer and then returned it to its starting point in Boston.<sup>185</sup> During the 1960 Japanese campaign against the revision of the United States-Japanese Security Pact, the student group *Zengakuren* developed other variations of the parade: "Zig-zag demonstration (snake-like parade), French style of demonstration (hand-in-hand parade), centripetal demonstration (parades starting from many points and finally centralizing at the Center . . .)"<sup>186</sup>

### 40. Religious processions

A religious procession as a method of nonviolent action has the general characteristics of a march or a parade, plus certain religious qualities, which may take such forms as carrying religious pictures or symbols, singing religious songs, and significant participation by clergy and monks. The degree of religious as compared to other motivations may vary. In mid-nineteenth century China, following a serious flood in Kiangsu, a member of the gentry in Kao-yu district aroused the city's people to demand relief from the government, in defiance of the governor's memorial to the contrary. "The people gathered, refused to open their shops for trade, carried statues of the gods about the streets, and disturbed the yamen [government officials]."<sup>187</sup>

The several columns of petitioning Russians, led by Father Gapon, headed toward the Tsar's Winter Palace, on January 9, 1905, clearly took the form of a religious procession. According to carefully laid plans, several columns of workers with their families started from various points in St. Petersburg, to converge on Palace Square at 2 P.M. All these columns were "to advance as if in a Procession of the Cross, a dignified progression of devotees following their clergy, carrying icons and singing



hymns . . ." One of these, led by Gapon himself, began marching about noon, after worship and prayers:

In orderly train, they followed their leader along the Peterhof Chaussee, holding aloft icons, religious standards, the Russian national flag, and portraits of the Tsar and the Tsarina. As they marched they sang such favorite hymns as "Our Father" and "Save, O Lord, Thy People." It was a decorous procession, and police along the route cleared the way for them, as was customary for religious processions, while the crowds who gathered to watch them made the customary signs of respect to religious and national symbols.<sup>188</sup>

According to official figures, well over a hundred of these demonstrators died from bullet wounds from the Tsar's troops and well over three hundred were wounded.<sup>189</sup> This action alienated the peasants from the Tsar and aligned most of the intelligentsia and even conservatives against the regime.

#### 41. Pilgrimages

The pilgrimage as a form of moral condemnation has deep moral and religious qualities. It involves one or more persons walking 1) as a means of bringing a message to people, 2) as penance for some deed or policy which has been committed or pursued by the people or government, and 3) as a means of self-dedication to a program for altering the status quo. Often the pilgrimage will involve walking to a particular point of significance to the underlying beliefs or to the policy in question.

Such a pilgrimage usually lasts at least several days, and perhaps for months. Banners and posters are not usually used, although leaflets might be. At times some type of transportation may be combined with the walking. An example of a pilgrimage in the sense in which it is defined here is Gandhi's walking tour of the Noakhali district of Bengal in early 1947, undertaken in an effort to persuade Hindus and Muslims to halt their murderous rioting and to live together peacefully.<sup>190</sup>

#### 42. Motorcades

A modern Western variation of the parade or march is the motorcade, which takes the form of the march or parade except that the participants drive cars at a very slow speed. The cars usually bear posters or banners. The motorcade may also be combined with a parade or march of people on foot. An example of this method is the motorcade organized by various pacifist groups which toured through Boston in November and December 1959, stopping at selected points to distribute leaflets and to urge people to support peace and disarmament.<sup>191</sup>

## HONORING THE DEAD

Several methods of nonviolent protest and persuasion involve paying respect to the memory of deceased persons. The person so honored may be a hero from previous decades or centuries, or those remembered may have recently died in the course of participating in the struggle. One of these methods, a "mock funeral," is used to suggest that some cherished principle or social condition has been destroyed or is in danger, or to suggest that certain policies imperil human lives.

#### 43. Political mourning

The same symbols which are used in mourning the death of an individual are often used for expressing political opposition and regret at particular events and policies. Public mourning was important during the American colonists' struggle against the Stamp Act in 1765. When the tax stamps for Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Maryland arrived by ship at Philadelphia on October 5, for example, all the ships in the harbor flew their flags at half-mast, and the city's bells tolled throughout the day.<sup>192</sup> When the Act was to go into effect, on November 1, the day was generally observed in the colonies as a day of mourning, again with the tolling of bells. In Boston, for example, the "Loyal Nine," or "Sons of Liberty," ensured that the day's protest was conducted in perfect order.<sup>193</sup>

During the Hungarian Protestants' resistance to Austrian attempts to destroy the autonomy of Hungary's Protestant churches, many arrests of pastors and bishops took place in February and March 1860, and church meetings were repeatedly broken up. Students went to the towns where these churchmen were to be tried and, dressed in black, conducted silent demonstrations.<sup>194</sup>

Sometimes the mourning may begin for the dead and gradually turn to political protest, as in this example from an eyewitness in Warsaw in November 1939:

At the corner of Marshall and Jerusalem Boulevards, in the heart of Warsaw and close to the Central Railroad Station, the paving stones had been uprooted and a huge mass grave dug for unknown soldiers. It was covered with flowers and surrounded by burning candles. A crowd of mourners knelt beside it, praying. I learned later that this unceasing vigil had been kept up since the burials had taken place three months ago.

During the next few weeks I continued to see the mourners by the side of the grave from dawn to the curfew hours. Gradually the ceremonies that took place ceased to be only a devotion to the dead;

they became tokens of political resistance as well. In December, the Nazi Gauleiter for Warsaw, Moser, realized the significance the grave had assumed and ordered the bodies disinterred and buried in a cemetery. But even after this measure, mourners would still come to kneel in prayer at this corner and candles would be lighted as if the spot had been hallowed by a presence the shovels of the Nazi soldiers could not expel.<sup>195</sup>

In Argentina, beginning in 1943, opponents of Perón's dictatorship demonstrated by wearing various black symbols of mourning: neckties, armbands, ribbons on lapels and coats, veils, headcloths, or small black handkerchiefs pinned on women's dresses. The numbers doing this rapidly multiplied, and this is credited with giving antiregime forces considerable encouragement.<sup>196</sup>

After the killings of Africans at Sharpeville, South Africa, when demonstrators defied the pass laws, Albert Luthuli called for an observance of March 28, 1960, as "a national day of mourning."

On this day I asked people to stay at home, and treat it as a day of prayer. The response was good, and in some centres it was magnificent. Moreover, it was multi-racial and went far beyond our usual allies.<sup>197</sup>

Luthuli for some days wore a black tie and black crepe as emblems of mourning.<sup>198</sup>

At the beginning of the 1963 Buddhist struggle against the Diem regime, following the killing of eight demonstrating Buddhists in Hué, the ancient Annamese capital, the predominantly Buddhist population wore white for mourning, in a situation in which the mourning seemed intended both for the dead and as opposition to the government which was discriminating against the Buddhists.<sup>199</sup>

#### 44. Mock funerals

Political protest has also been expressed in the form of a "funeral" for some principle which the demonstrators cherish and which they accuse the opponent of violating. Or it may take the form of a mock funeral procession in which the participants seek to symbolize the seriousness of their protest both by restrained and serious demeanor and by including some of the paraphernalia of a real funeral procession, such as the use of black and the carrying of caskets.

Such a protest was held in Newport, Rhode Island, amid great tensions, at the time when the Stamp Act was officially to go into effect on

November 1, 1765. The event is described by Edmund S. and Helen M. Morgan, who quote from a contemporary newspaper:

On November first, in order to forestall any possible riot, the Sons of Liberty attempted to divert popular feeling into an orderly demonstration, by staging "a grand funeral of Freedom." A procession of mourners marched through the streets to the burying ground following a coffin marked "Old Freedom." Upon arrival at the place of interment, according to the description in the *Mercury*,

"A Son of LIBERTY emerging from the horrid Gloom of Despair, addressed himself thus: 'Oh LIBERTY! the Darling of my Soul! —GLORIOUS LIBERTY! admir'd, ador'd, by all true Britons! —LIBERTY dead! it cannot be!'—A groan was then heard, as if coming from the Coffin; and upon closer attention, it proved to be a Trance, for old FREEDOM was not dead—The Goddess Britannia had order'd a guardian Angel to snatch Old FREEDOM from the Jaws of frozen Death, to the Orb of the rising Sun, to remain invulnerable from the attacks of lawless Tyranny and Oppression."

After this agreeable diversion the afternoon was spent in rejoicing, with bells ringing and the courthouse ornamented with flags.<sup>200</sup>

Similar mock funerals were also held on the same occasion in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Baltimore, Maryland, and Wilmington, North Carolina.<sup>201</sup>

In November 1961 on the day following the detonation of a Soviet superbomb, antitest demonstrators in Oslo, Norway, walked in a mock funeral procession with burning torches and black flags to the Soviet Embassy.<sup>202</sup> In March 1965 after a religious service in a small church at Lowndesboro, Alabama (near which Mrs. Viola Liuzzo was murdered), civil rights demonstrators took ten caskets in a funeral procession of automobiles to the state capital of Montgomery. The caskets symbolized the ten persons killed to date because of participation in the civil rights struggle in Alabama. The caskets were carried from the cars to a point near the capitol building, where prayers were said, and a black-clad woman brought flowers.<sup>203</sup>

#### 45. Demonstrative funerals<sup>204</sup>

Under conditions of political unrest, memorial services and funerals—especially funeral processions for persons killed by political opponents or those who died of other causes in the course of the struggle—may express

protest and moral condemnation. This may take place whether the person or persons killed were prominent opposition leaders or unknown demonstrators, whether the killers were a private individual or secret group on the one hand, or the police or troops of the regime on the other. Rarely, the occasion is the death of a person who has committed suicide as a protest. (This is not here regarded as a method of nonviolent action.) This method will usually take the form of a dignified walking procession.

There are a number of examples of this. During American colonial resistance to the Townshend Acts, on February 22, 1770, some boisterous school children in Boston were scolded by an "infamous Informer" named Richardson for placing a crude effigy in front of the door of an importer who was violating the boycott policy. Richardson failed to destroy the effigy, and a pelting exchange of rubbish between the children and Richardson, his wife and another man ended with Richardson's shooting several times into the crowd; he wounded one boy and killed Christopher Snider, eleven years old. Christopher Snider's funeral, reports Schlesinger, was made the occasion for a great demonstration, and he became the "little hero and first martyr to the noble cause."<sup>205</sup>

In the autumn of 1905 Prince Trubetskoi suddenly died; he had been a moderate liberal who led the delegation which, on behalf of the Third *Zemstvo* Congress, in June had urged the Tsar to establish the promised national assembly, the *Duma*. The Prince's death was used, by the revolutionaries and other opponents of the government, in the struggle against the regime. In St. Petersburg, Social Democrats organized six hundred students and workers to accompany the body, along with other deputations, when it was taken to the railroad station to be sent to Moscow for burial. In Moscow the funeral "was transformed into a great political demonstration," with many opponents of the regime speaking to crowds and organizing special memorial services to present much more extreme opinions than those held by the deceased Prince.<sup>206</sup> Later in the revolution, reports Harcave, whenever antigovernment demonstrators "were killed in the encounters, elaborate funerals would be arranged to honor them as martyrs." The Moscow funeral of Nicholas Bauman, a Bolshevik, on October 20, 1905, was one of the most dramatic, when "over one hundred thousand workers, students, *intelligents*, and even soldiers in uniform followed the cortège for nearly eight hours through the Moscow streets in what was clearly an anti-government demonstration."<sup>207</sup>

In late September 1917, Thomas Ashe, an imprisoned Irish national-

ist, died after being forcibly fed for a week during a hunger strike of a number of prisoners. Edgar Holt describes the funeral:

The funeral of Thomas Ashe on September 30, 1917, was the clearest sign of the resurgence of the Easter Week spirit that had yet been given. . . .

In all, some 20,000 to 30,000 people followed the hearse together with several bands; for the most part the crowds watched in silence. . . .

The Dublin police took no action as the forbidden uniforms [of the Citizen Army and the Irish Volunteers, of which Ashe had been a member] were flaunted before them. . . .

The British authorities took no action over the funeral and burial of Thomas Ashe. But they were shocked by his death and at once made a number of changes in the treatment of Sinn Fein [nationalist party] prisoners.<sup>208</sup>

During the *Ruhrkampf* in 1923 the funeral procession for thirteen workers at a Krupp factory who were shot by occupation soldiers the Saturday before Easter became a demonstration of national mourning.<sup>209</sup>

News of the murder in the fall of 1940 of Rudi Arndt, who was a Jewish resistance leader in the Buchenwald concentration camp, by the S.D. (*Sicherheits-Dienst*, Security Service) did not reach Berlin underground circles until early in 1941. Herbert Baum then called a memorial meeting in his own home to honor Rudi Arndt, and later organized a memorial ceremony at the Jewish cemetery on the Weissensee. Professor Ber Mark describes these as both "tremendously effective" in that they raised the prestige of Baum's resistance group and "heightened the yearning for resistance." Some other Jewish leaders had thought that "such large gatherings were too risky"; normally attendance for an underground cell was limited to seven.<sup>210</sup>

In 1960 *Zengakuren* demonstrators against the United States-Japanese Security Pact held incense-burning demonstrations for the martyrs of their struggle.<sup>211</sup> Following the murder in May 1963 of Dr. Gregory Lambrakis, independent member of the Greek Parliament and strong opponent of nuclear weapons, a dignified and orderly procession at his funeral was formed by an estimated quarter of a million people to demonstrate respect for Lambrakis and solidarity with his political ideals.<sup>212</sup> (This murder was the basis for the novel and film *Z*.)

Following police firings into demonstrating crowds in East Berlin, on June 17, 1963, the body of the young man who was the first fatality

was carried on a stretcher through the Petersstrasse with a wreath across his body, while onlookers threw flowers as the cortège passed.<sup>213</sup>

The funeral parlor of the Strasnice crematorium in Prague was the scene on August 26, 1968, of the funeral of a twenty-seven-year-old young man, a simple bystander who had been shot by a Soviet soldier. A group of weeping young people entered the parlor, carrying a Czechoslovak flag and a banner which read: "WE ARE COMING TO BURY THE VICTIM OF YOUR 'LIBERATION.'" Some of them spoke, swearing they would never forget those days and the victims. Then, reports a Prague newspaper, "the mother's heart-rending voice mingles with the strains of the national anthem: 'Do not leave me, my son . . .'"<sup>214</sup>

At least a half million people attended the funeral of Jan Palach in Prague on January 25, 1969, to honor the young student who had burned himself as an expression of his devotion to Czechoslovak freedom. At noon the day before the funeral, all of Prague stopped work for five minutes. Thousands of people, many weeping and many with flowers, filed past the coffin which lay in state in Charles University at the foot of a statue of Jan Hus. Hus, a Protestant reformer, had been burned at the stake for heresy in 1415.

Soviet troops were kept out of sight for the funeral, and Czechoslovak troops which had been called out to keep order were not needed. The government had not wanted the funeral to develop into civil disobedience to give the Russians the excuse to bring back tanks to Prague. The service began in Charles University; the procession then moved slowly through the streets of the Old Town to "Jan Palach Square," where the national anthem was played. Crowds stood in the cold drizzle for hours. National flags with black sashes were hung from windows. The students' own commentary on the funeral was broadcast from Radio Prague and other stations. Throughout the country, memorial services were held in factories, universities and public halls. A correspondent wrote: "This was the Czechoslovakia [which] the Russian leaders both fear and wish to crush—a quiet, disciplined people whose slightest gesture nevertheless cries out for freedom and self-respect."<sup>215</sup>

#### 46. Homage at burial places

A visit to a person's burial place by a large number of people together or by a series of individuals and small groups may express political protest and moral condemnation when the dead has been in some way associated with the cause of the current struggle or when the dead has been killed by the opponent. For example, in St. Petersburg on Octo-

ber 4, 1861, a procession of students opposed to the tsarist regime carried a wreath to the tomb of Granovsky, the historian and friend of Alexander Herzen, the founder of Russian Populism.<sup>216</sup> On November 17, 1861, student revolutionaries from the University of Petersburg called "the Terrorist Section of the People's Will" sought to mark the fifth anniversary of the death of Dobrolubov, the comrade of Chernyshevsky (the great Russian Populist leader) by placing a wreath on his grave, but were prevented by the police and Cossacks.<sup>217</sup> During the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia on the "anniversaries of Thomas Garrigue Masaryk's birth and death, people used to go . . . in thousands to his grave at Lany near Prague to put flowers on his grave," writes Josef Korbel. "They also would go to the monument of Jan Hus in the center of the old city of Prague and do the same."<sup>218</sup> In France the bodies of hostages executed by the Nazis were dispersed among inaccessible cemeteries, apparently to avoid large-scale visiting of their graves.<sup>219</sup>

On December 4, 1956, one month after the second attack on Budapest by Soviet troops, Hungarian women, many black-veiled, walked to the tomb of Hungary's Unknown Soldier in Heroes' Square, in Budapest, where they heaped flowers on the tomb to pay tribute to the recent dead. The women sang the old national anthem and recited Sándor Petöfi's poem "Up, Hungarians!"<sup>220</sup> which contains these lines:

Up, Hungarians! It's your country calling.  
Now's the moment, now or never!  
Shall we be slaves? Shall we be free?  
That's the question—what's your answer?  
In God's great name we swear, we swear,  
No more shall we be slaves—no more!<sup>221</sup>

(Petöfi, poet-hero of the 1848 rebellion, died in battle with the Russians in 1849.)

## PUBLIC ASSEMBLIES

When people have been concerned to express their viewpoint to a larger, public or to an opponent, one of the most common ways they have chosen is to gather together in some type of assemblage or meeting.

#### 47. Assemblies of protest or support

Opposition to the policies or acts of an opponent, or support for certain policies, may be expressed by public assembly of a group of peo-

ple at appropriate points, which are usually in some way related to the issue. These may be, for example, government offices, courts, or prisons. Or people may gather at some other place, such as around the statue of a hero or villain. Depending on the particular laws and regulations and on the general degree of political conformity, such an assemblage may be either legal or illegal (if the latter, this method becomes combined with civil disobedience).

Students of the University of St. Petersburg, both protesting and seeking details of the rumored but unannounced new regulations which would virtually eliminate all freedom within the university, on September 24, 1861, assembled in the courtyard seeking to speak with the Curator. When the Curator told them he was no longer in office, the students marched in long orderly files across the bridge over the River Neva toward his home—in what Venturi says was the first demonstration in St. Petersburg.<sup>222</sup>

Following a protest by the Pesth county council against the dissolution of the Hungarian Parliament by Emperor Franz Josef, the council was ordered dissolved; then, having ignored the order and continued to meet, it was evicted from its council chambers by Austrian soldiers in August 1861. A supporting crowd of Hungarians gathered, first outside the chambers and then, after a march through the streets, at the home of the chairman of the council, who declared: "We have been dispersed by tyrannic force—but force shall never overawe us."<sup>223</sup>

In one case during the *Ruhrkampf* a crowd of thousands gathered outside a court to express solidarity with arrested resisters.<sup>224</sup> In Norway solidarity with arrested noncooperating teachers was expressed by children who gathered at railway stations the prison train carrying the teachers would pass on its way to the ship which would take them to a prison camp in northern Norway.<sup>225</sup> In Berlin in 1943—as described in Chapter Two—about six thousand non-Jewish wives of arrested Jews assembled outside the gate of the improvised detention center near the Gestapo headquarters demanding release of their husbands.<sup>226</sup> And in the entry for March 6, 1943, Goebbels wrote in his diary: "Unfortunately there have been a number of regrettable scenes at a Jewish home for the aged, where a large number of people gathered and in part even took sides with the Jews."<sup>227</sup>

In 1956 a massive demonstration against applying the South African pass system to women was held in Pretoria, the administrative capital, with women of all races from every part of the country taking part. They sang: "Strijdom, you have struck a rock!"<sup>228</sup>

In Algiers on August 31, 1962, a crowd of twenty thousand gathered in a square to protest the quarrel raging between the leaders of the newly independent country and approved a resolution calling for a general strike for an indefinite period in case of civil war.<sup>229</sup>

#### 48. Protest meetings

Another method of protest and persuasion is to conduct protest meetings. These may vary considerably in size and nature, ranging from open-air street meetings to small local meetings, from the well-organized fairly formal protest meetings to the mass open-air protest meetings of thousands. As most of the people attending such meetings are already agreed on the need to protest, the speeches are usually of secondary importance and the protest itself consists of people assembling together as a means of expressing their views. Protest meetings are associated with a wide variety of causes and opposition groups. The meeting may be an end in itself or associated with other methods of action.

Mass meetings played a significant role in the American colonists' struggles in the 1760s and 1770s, often merging with the established town meeting system in which each enfranchised man had a voice and a vote. In protest against the customs' seizure of John Hancock's sloop *Liberty*, charged with illegal importation of Madeira wine, the Sons of Liberty in Boston, for example, called a meeting at the Liberty Tree on June 13, 1768. This was adjourned to Faneuil Hall, where a legal town meeting could be held, and thence to South Church because of the large numbers attending. The meeting adopted a petition to Governor Bernard seeking the rights of Englishmen under the British constitution, which, they claimed, had established that "no man shall be governed by laws, nor taxed, but by himself or representative legally and fairly chosen, and to which he does give his own consent. In open violation of these fundamental rights of Britons, laws and taxes are forced on us, to which we not only have not given our consent, but *against* which we have firmly remonstrated."<sup>230</sup>

Mass meetings, such as those in Philadelphia, Boston, and New York in October, November and December,<sup>231</sup> were also very important in the struggle in 1773. On December 16, for example, two thousand persons met in New York despite bad weather and resolved to establish a Committee of Correspondence to communicate with the other provinces.<sup>232</sup> A meeting of eight thousand people in Philadelphia in late December directed the captain of a tea ship arriving during the boycott of tea not to enter the vessel at the customhouse but to leave for England at once.<sup>233</sup>

After the tsarist regime had, during the 1905 Revolution, conceded the reestablishment of immunity rights on the premises of universities and other higher schools, student leaders, in cooperation with socialists and liberals, in early September 1905 turned their buildings into political meeting places. As many as ten thousand persons—students, workers, intelligentsia—met in a single evening in the lecture halls, laboratories and auditoriums of the universities in St. Petersburg and Moscow; smaller meetings were held elsewhere.<sup>234</sup> On October 14, 1905, in St. Petersburg, as a general strike got under way, the halls and courtyards of the University and the Academy of Arts were filled with mass meetings attended by about fifty thousand persons, and the city's high schools were also overflowing with striking workers and their supporters.<sup>235</sup>

In May 1917 improvised meetings were often held by mutinying French troops, rebelling against the vast and hopeless slaughter of the soldiers. When the troops of the 370th Infantry Regiment were notified in the morning that shortly after midnight they were to be sent to the front lines, some of the soldiers made inflammatory speeches urging the men to refuse to board the trucks which would take them to the trenches. By 11 P.M. the troops were drunk on wine they had looted and were milling in the streets of Soissons (sixty-five miles northwest of Paris). Two trucks, belonging to other regiments, then appeared filled with soldiers waving red flags and shouting "*À bas la guerre!*" The trucks stopped and became platforms for antiwar speakers.

In wine-thickened voices the speakers ranted about the butchery of war, about the peace offers spurned by a French government in the grip of the profiteers, about the politicians who callously sent troops to their death merely to prevent the inevitable encroachment of a truly socialist system. Instead of the 370th Regiment moving forward to attack the Chemin des Dames, it might be better employed in cleaning out the nest of vipers who were the government in Paris!

For a moment the men around the trucks were silent, and then there began an ominous roar. "We march on Paris!" "Get the deputies out of Parliament!" "*À bas la guerre!*" In another moment the drunken mob of five hundred men was surging down the cobblestone streets toward the railroad station.<sup>236</sup>

In the early 1940s, when fewer than four hundred Negroes in New Orleans, Louisiana, were registered to vote, mass outdoor meetings were called to hear victims of police brutality describe their experiences, and

to protest the repeated instances of such brutalities. These meetings, called by a Negro labor leader, were on occasion attended by police representatives, and assurances of investigations and action were often forthcoming.<sup>237</sup> The open-air meetings against *Apartheid* and in support of the resistance held throughout South Africa in 1952 before and during the Defiance Campaign are also examples: mass open-air meetings in Sophiatown, Capetown, Port Elizabeth, East London, Pretoria and Durban held on April 6, 1952, while the whites were celebrating the three hundred years of their presence in the country,<sup>238</sup> as well as the meeting held in Durban on November 9, 1952, in support of the Defiance Campaign.<sup>239</sup>

In China in 1957, during the "Hundred Flowers Blossoming" period, eight thousand students in Peking held a rally on May 4 to celebrate the thirty-eighth anniversary of the student May Fourth Movement—claimed by the Communists to have been Socialist-inspired. Students used the meeting, however, to charge the Communists with "suppression of freedom and democracy in all the country's educational institutions" and called for nationwide agitation against the regime.<sup>240</sup>

Protest meetings were widely used in England in 1961-62 by the Committee of 100, on both a small and a large scale. The North-West Committee of 100, for example, in November 1962 held a "public assembly" at the Victoria Monument in Manchester in support of its policies.<sup>241</sup> In London, on October 29, 1961, the Committee held a mass forum in Trafalgar Square on the need for and nature of civil disobedience attended by about five thousand people.<sup>242</sup> On Sunday, February 25, 1962, at the time of the prosecution of six of its leaders for organizing civil disobedience, the Committee of 100 held a public assembly, again in Trafalgar Square, where it presented its case against the government, including statements by some witnesses which had been disallowed in the court.<sup>243</sup>

#### 49. Camouflaged meetings of protest

Under certain political conditions gatherings of protest may be held under the (sometimes undisguised) pretense that the gathering is for some other more legal and approved purpose. (Sometimes everyone may be aware of the pretense.) This may happen when the regime is a relatively moderate type of tyranny, neither liberal enough to allow open meetings of protest nor tyrannical enough to act ruthlessly against persons attending a gathering which is ostensibly legal and approved, although the real purpose of the gathering may be well understood. Camouflaged meetings of

protest may take various forms. For example, the meeting may occur under the auspices of an organization which has some totally different and quite innocent purpose, such as sport, amusement, art or religion. Or the gathering may take the form of a social affair. For example, on several occasions in France in 1847 and 1848, when meetings of open protest were not permitted, camouflaged meetings of protest were held under the pretense that they were banquets. The *Gauche Dynastique* and their moderate republican allies sought to mobilize public opinion to force government action against famine conditions by launching, in Paris and the provinces, a successful "campaign of banquets," beginning on July 9, 1847. The last of the banquets, which had been planned by others in 1848, was forbidden by the government, a ban which helped to precipitate the 1848 Revolution.<sup>244</sup>

Political banquets were also widespread during the 1905 Revolution in Imperial Russia. They began in October 1904 on the call of the Council of the Union of Liberation (liberals) at a time when many types of meetings were illegal. As part of a wider political campaign, the Liberationists set November 20—the fortieth anniversary of the Judicial Statutes, which had established a modern system of courts—as the date for the banquets. A surviving paraphrase of the original text of the plan called on Liberationists to "organize banquets on that day in Petersburg, Moscow, and as many other cities as possible, at which must be adopted constitutional and democratic resolutions much more decisive in tone than could be expected from a congress of *zemstvo* and municipal leaders."<sup>245</sup> That is, at the banquets their members would propose resolutions calling for a popularly elected national assembly to create a democratic constitution. Similar banquets attended by the intelligentsia were also held on that date in other cities, including Kiev, Saratov, Odessa, Kaluga, Rostov-on-Don, Baku, Kostroma, Tiflis, Nizhny Novgorod and Tashkent.

[Later,] ingenious liberals found additional occasions, for banquets—the anniversary of the founding of the Medico-Surgical Academy in St. Petersburg, perhaps, or the sesquicentennial of the opening of the University of Moscow. Almost any anniversary provided the excuse for a banquet; and a banquet, the opportunity for long and impassioned antiregime speeches and strongly worded resolutions . . .

The opposition had never been so outspoken, nor had the attack on the regime and its policies ever been so open.<sup>246</sup>

Such banquets continued in December and into 1905 following "Bloody Sunday."<sup>247</sup>

## 50. Teach-ins

A teach-in and a protest meeting have certain features in common. In each case the topic for discussion is one on which there is considerable controversy. A teach-in, however, differs from a public protest meeting in that various political viewpoints are represented both among the speakers and those attending, and the speakers may be high-level specialists on the subject or otherwise regarded as especially able to provide, not only a capable presentation of their own attitude to the issue, but important factual and background information relevant to the issue. Teach-ins may thus have a larger number of speakers and extend for longer periods of time than ordinary meetings. Their aim, also, is not simply protest—although the holding of a teach-in on a topic of important public controversy recognizes the existence of differing views on the issue and provides a platform for all of these. An important aim of a teach-in is to provide the opportunity for people to hear various viewpoints and obtain relevant information in order to be able to make up their own minds. Confrontation of opposing viewpoints, questioning of the speakers, and discussion from the floor constitute important aspects of a teach-in. Teach-ins were widely held throughout the United States<sup>248</sup> and England in 1965, when the teach-in was a fresh and unusual method: in Washington, D.C., on May 15<sup>249</sup>; at the University of California at Berkeley, on May 21<sup>250</sup> at the University of Minnesota on June 4<sup>251</sup>; and at Oxford University in mid-June 1965.<sup>252</sup>

## WITHDRAWAL AND RENUNCIATION

The final subclass of methods of nonviolent protest and persuasion includes those forms in which the people briefly, or in a very limited way, withdraw from certain usual behavior or renounce some honor they hold. These forms already possess limited characteristics of noncooperation, especially of methods of social noncooperation. However, the element of noncooperation is predominantly symbolic, and these methods are intended to express protest and to persuade.

## 51. Walk-outs

A group of persons, a delegation, or even an individual may express his political objections by walking out of a conference, assembly, meeting, or discussion before it has been adjourned. In 1920, for example, there



was considerable opposition among Russian trade unionists, including members of the Communist Party, to the extension of government control over trade unions and their activities. This opposition was expressed by a walkout when the enlarged plenum of *Tsekran* (the Joint Central Transport Committee) met in December; the "communist representatives of the water transport workers together with a large number of railwaymen left the conference room as a protest."<sup>253</sup> On at least two occasions the normally subservient Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, then Chief of the German High Command, walked out on Hitler. In April 1940, for instance, he walked out of the conference chamber when Hitler rebuked him in front of others after Keitel had opposed the transfer of the administration of occupied Norway from the German commander-in-chief there to *Gauleiter* Josef Terboven, who then became *Reichskommissar*.<sup>254</sup> And following Hitler's angry repudiation of his memorandum opposing a war with the Soviet Union, and his offer of resignation in late August 1940, Keitel again "walked out of the room without a word."<sup>255</sup>

## 52. Silence

Corporate silence has also been used as a method of expressing moral condemnation. The silence may be a main method for expressing the attitude, or it may be an auxiliary method combined with another, for example, a march or stay-at-home demonstration. There are several German examples among those cited here.

During the Kapp *Putsch* in Berlin in 1920, Berliners would have nothing to do with the few apologists for the usurpers. When one pro-Kapp enthusiast climbed on the Potsdamer Bridge and spoke against the legitimate regime, calling the President "King Ebert," icy silence was all he evoked from the crowd.<sup>256</sup> On September 27, 1938, Berliners who believed that war over Czechoslovakia was imminent received the parade of armored troops down the Wilhelmstrasse for review by Hitler with clear hostility; they either scattered and refused to watch or stood "in utter silence."<sup>257</sup>

On June 16, 1953, a column of at least two thousand protesting East Berlin workers passed the new Soviet Embassy on the Unter den Linden in silence.<sup>258</sup> After the crushing of the rising, workers at the Zeiss factory at Jena met the speeches and pleas of Socialist Unity Party representatives with "a wall of sullen, obstinate silence."<sup>259</sup>

Aware of unrest and revolt in Poland, Hungarians on October 22, 1956, held a silent demonstration outside the Polish Embassy.<sup>260</sup> Later, during the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 "silent hour" demonstrations

were observed between 1 and 2 p.m. in many parts of Budapest; after notification by poster, leaflet or word of mouth, many people hurried home to be off the streets during that hour, or went into doorways at the appointed time.<sup>261</sup> In England, the last mile of the eight thousand-strong first Aldermaston March in 1958 was observed in silence, as the marchers approached the nuclear weapons research establishment.<sup>262</sup>

In 1962, in response to a leaflet call for the women of Madrid to show solidarity with tens of thousands of striking workers in the Asturias mines, the Basque provinces, and other parts of Spain, women went to Madrid's historic central square, the Puerta del Sol, to show "silent support." Singly or in pairs they walked around the plaza on that day, May 15, 1962. The secret police quietly arrested seventy of them—many very prominent women and wives of important public figures. The next day they were fined from one thousand to twenty-five thousand pesetas.<sup>263</sup>

When a militant Cuban at the Twenty-third Congress of the Communist Party in Moscow advocated taking all risks to defeat the Americans in Vietnam, his speech was greeted with silence rather than applause.<sup>264</sup>

During the 1964 free speech controversy at the University of California at Berkeley, one night (about October 1) a crowd of students opposed to the free speech movement heckled and molested student demonstrators and threw eggs and lighted cigarette butts at them. The demonstrators responded with simple silence, and after forty-five minutes of provocations the hecklers left.<sup>265</sup>

Silence was a main characteristic of the mourning for Jan Palach, the student who in January 1969 burned himself to protest the Russian occupation. The student action committee said: "In the circumstances, a complete silence will be the best way of showing our real feelings."<sup>266</sup> The funeral itself was described as "marked by perfect silence and order." "Bells from scores of churches tolled over the quiet city."<sup>267</sup>

## 53. Renouncing honors

One method of communicating one's views to others has been the renunciation of special honors which had been conferred by, or new ones which were offered by, the government against which the campaigns were conducted. This may involve the voluntary renunciation of titles of honor, medals and honorary offices, and resignation from prestigious societies closely identified with the opponent's cause. Such renunciation may be regarded as a means of self-sacrifice for the cause and weakening the authority of the government.

During the Indian nonviolent struggles, for example, Sikh soldiers in



large numbers returned their war medals, and thousands of other Indians relinquished their titles.<sup>268</sup> The famous poet Rabindranath Tagore surrendered his title of British knighthood.<sup>269</sup> During the Korean national demonstration against Japanese rule in 1919-22 some Koreans who had been given titles of nobility by the Japanese also resigned them.<sup>270</sup> Bertrand Russell returned the Carl von Ossietzky peace medal awarded in 1963 by the East German Peace Council because the East German officials refused to release Heinz Brandt who had been long imprisoned by both the Nazis and the Communists. (Brandt was later named "Prisoner of the Year" by Amnesty International.)<sup>271</sup>

#### 54. Turning one's back

Silent disapproval may be emphasized by turning one's back (whether standing or sitting) to the person or persons who are or represent the opponent. For example, in his proclamation of a day of fasting and prayer in 1771 Governor Hutchinson of Massachusetts Bay had included a call for thanks for the "Continuance of our Privileges," the radicals took this as an open insult because of the implication of support for British policies. The proclamation was to be read in the churches, but, Philip Davidson writes, "Dr. Pemberton alone of the Boston pastors read the proclamation—and he did so simply because the Governor was a member of his congregation—and he did so with evident embarrassment, for many of the members turned their backs or left the building."<sup>272</sup>

After the dramatic days of the June 16-17 East German Rising, on June 18, 1953, East Berlin strikers returned to their factories but refused to work. "They squatted in front of their lathes and benches and turned their backs on Party officials."<sup>273</sup>

These latter methods have shown symbolic withdrawal of cooperation with the opponent. The overwhelming majority of the methods of non-violent action, however, are more substantial forms of action in which people refuse to begin new cooperation of some type with an opponent, or in which they withdraw some type of cooperation which they have previously been providing. It is to these methods to which our attention now turns.

## NOTES

1. This is a modification of previous titles I have given to this class. The title of "nonviolent protest and persuasion" has been adopted at the risk of clumsiness in order to be more accurate. Adam Roberts has pointed out that my previous title "nonviolent protest" was misleading since many of these methods are often used to persuade instead of protest. In fact, the same method may in different situations be used for both purposes.
2. William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960, and London: Secker and Warburg, 1962), p. 218.
3. Gerard Reitlinger, *The Final Solution: The Attempt to Exterminate the Jews of Europe, 1939-1945* (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1961), p. 90.
4. Louis P. Lochner, ed., *The Goebbels Diaries, 1942-1943* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1948), p. 517.
5. Warmbrunn, *The Dutch Under the German Occupation, 1940-1945*, p. 154.
6. Magne Skodvin, "Norwegian Nonviolent Resistance During the German Occupation," in Roberts, ed., *Civilian Resistance as a National Defense*, p. 142; Br. ed.: *The Strategy of Civilian Defence*, p. 142, and Thomas Chr. Wyller, *Nyordning og Motstand: Organisasjonenes Politiske Rolle Under Okkupasjonen* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1958), pp. 29-33. Other comparable letters by Norwegian organizations are also described by Wyller.
7. Gene Sharp, *Tyranny Could Not Quell Them* (pamphlet; London: Peace News, 1959 and later editions). It is potentially significant that the receipt by a German language paper in Poland in October 1942 of a single unsigned postcard from a Jew expressing outspoken hostility because of the sufferings of the Jews caused considerable disturbance and the "Propaganda Division feared that it was the beginning of a flood of postcards . . ." Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (London: W. H. Allen, 1961), p. 332.
8. Matei Yulzari, "The Bulgarian Jews in the Resistance Movement," in Yuri Suhl, ed., *They Fought Back: The Story of the Jewish Resistance in Nazi Europe* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1967), p. 276.
9. Littell, ed., *The Czech Black Book*, p. 81.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 149-150.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 163-164.
13. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, p. 409.
14. Bjarne Høye and Trygve M. Ager, *The Fight of the Norwegian Church Against Nazism* (New York: Macmillan, 1943), pp. 24-25.
15. Werner Warmbrunn, *The Dutch Under German Occupation, 1940-1945*, pp. 160-161.
16. Lochner, ed., *The Goebbels Diaries*, p. 278.
17. See *ibid.*, pp. 20 and 374; also p. 388 for another French case.

18. Littell, ed., *The Czech Black Book*, p. 41.
19. Among the bodies which issued statements in support of the Dubcek regime and in opposition to the invasion were the Association of Anti-Fascist Fighters, the Presidium of the Union of Czechoslovak Journalists, the Central Trade Union Council, the National Assembly, the Extraordinary Fourteenth Party Congress, the Presidium of the Prague City Committee of the National Front, the All-Unit Committee of the Communist Party in the main administration of the State Security, the editors of *Rude Pravo* (the official Party paper) and other papers, the Central Labor Union Council, and the Central Committee of the Trade Union Organizations, the Presidium of the Central Trade Union Council, the University Committee of the Communist Party, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and the Czechoslovak Writers Union. *Ibid.*, 32-34, 42-44, 48-49, 80-81, 90-91, 150-51, 158-60, 170-71, 191-92, and 203-04.
20. Harcave, *First Blood*, p. 101. For other public declarations see pp. 104-105.
21. Littell, ed., *The Czech Black Book*, p. 47.
22. Albert Luthuli, *Let My People Go: An Autobiography* (New York: McGraw Hill Co., 1962, and London: Collins, 1962), p. 159.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 239-243.
24. M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*. Second ed. revised by P. M. Fraser. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), vol. I, p. 398.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 409.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 408.
27. Gipson, *The British Empire Before the American Revolution*, vol. XI, *The Triumphant Empire, The Rumbling of the Coming Storm, 1766-1770*, pp. 54-55.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 521.
29. Joanne Grant, ed., *Black Protest: History, Documents, and Analyses 1619 to the Present* (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett, 1968), pp. 29-30.
30. Hugh Seton-Watson, *The Decline of Imperial Russia, 1855-1914*, p. 165.
31. A. Fenner Brockway, *Non-co-operation in Other Lands* (Madras: Tagore & Co., 1921), pp. 29-30.
32. Stefan Brant, *The East German Rising* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1957, and London: Thames & Hudson, 1955), pp. 161-162.
33. For the "Document" in full and the story of its significance, see Tamas Aczell and Tibor Meray, *The Revolt of the Mind: A Case History of Intellectual Resistance Behind the Iron Curtain* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969, and London: Thames & Hudson, 1960), pp. 345-368.
34. Ber Mark, "The Herbert Baum Group: German Resistance in Germany in the Years 1937-1942," in Suhl, *They Fought Back*, p. 62.
35. Personal observations.
36. Jacques Delarue, *The Gestapo: A History of Horror* (New York: William Morrow, 1964), p. 317.
37. Jan Karski, *Story of a Secret State* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1944), p. 301.
38. Littell, ed., *The Czech Black Book*, p. 184.
39. Inez Haynes Irwin, *The Story of the Woman's Party* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1921), p. 181. I am grateful to George Lakey for this reference.
40. Sharp, *Gandhi Wields the Weapon of Moral Power*, p. 114.
41. Sternstein, "The *Ruhrkampf* of 1923," in Roberts, ed., *Civilian Resistance as a National Defense*, p. 118; Br. ed., *The Strategy of Civilian Defence*, p. 118.
42. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, p. 374.
43. *Report of the Advisory Commission on the Review of the Constitution of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, Cmnd. 1148 (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1960), p. 8.
44. Littell, ed., *The Czech Black Book*, p. 144.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 184 and 188.
47. George Lakey, "Cultural Aspects of the American Movement for Woman Suffrage, Militant Phase," unpublished mss., Philadelphia, 1968, p. 8.
48. Karski, *Story of a Secret State*, pp. 302-303. For another leaflet, see *ibid.*, pp. 127-128.
49. Wyller, *Nyordning og Motstand*, pp. 27, 29, 36 and 45.
50. Ber Mark, "The Herbert Baum Group," in Suhl, *They Fought Back*, p. 61.
51. A personal account by the sister of the executed Hans and Sophie Schol, together with the text of leaflets, is contained in Inge Schol, *Six Against Tyranny*, trans. by Cyrus Brooks (London: John Murray, 1955). The leaflets sometimes advocated "passive resistance" as the means of struggle, in one case listing specific recommended activities. An American edition of *Six Against Tyranny* was published in German by Houghton Mifflin of Boston in 1955.
52. *Peace News* (London), 1 May 1959.
53. Littell, ed., *The Czech Black Book*, pp. 50-51.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 138, 146-147, 172-173, and 185.
56. Franco Venturi, *Roots of Revolution: A History of the Populist and Socialist Movements in Nineteenth Century Russia* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960 and London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1960), pp. 178-179 and 748-749, n. 134.
57. See *ibid.*; Hugh Seton-Watson, *The Decline of Imperial Russia, 1855-1914*; and Leonard Schapiro, *The Communist Party of the Soviet Union*.
58. Skodvin, "Norwegian Nonviolent Resistance During the German Occupation," pp. 143-144, and Hans Luhn, *De Illegale Avisene*.
59. Hans Kirchoff, Henrik S. Nissen and Henning Poulsen, *Besaettelsestidens Historie* (Copenhagen: Forlaget Fremad, Danmarks Radios Grundbøger, 1964), pp. 113 ff., and their reference to Leo Buschardt, Albert Frabritius and Helge Tønnesen, *Besaettelsestidens illegale blade og bøger*, 1954 and supplement 1960.
60. Warmbrunn, *The Dutch . . .*, pp. 221-258.
61. Karski, *Story of a Secret State*, pp. 236 and 264-274.
62. New York: M. Whitmark and Sons, 1965. This discussion is stimulated by an unpublished paper, "Music and Nonviolent Action: A Means of Nonviolent Protest," by Kenneth King, a student of mine in 1969 at the University of Massachusetts at Boston.
63. Littell, ed., *The Czech Black Book*, pp. 80-81.
64. See Littell, ed., *The Czech Black Book*, and Royal D. Hutchinson, *The Radio*

- and the Resistance: A Case Study from Czechoslovakia (Hellerup, Denmark: Institute for Peace and Conflict Research, 1970).
65. This category and description are based on papers by Michael Schuller, then a student of mine at Tufts University, prepared in 1969 and 1970.
  66. Personal observation.
  67. *Life*, 3 July 1964. A large photograph is published with the story.
  68. Hsiao Kung-chun, *Rural China: Imperial Control in the Nineteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960), p. 123.
  69. Eino Jutikkala, with Kauko Pirinen, *A History of Finland*. Trans. by Paul Sjoblom. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962, and London: Thames and Hudson, 1962), pp. 230-232.
  70. *Peace News*, 24 October 1958 and 7 November 1958.
  71. Ruth Daniloff in *Peace News*, 3 January 1964.
  72. Littell, ed., *The Czech Black Book*, pp. 134-135.
  73. This section is based on a suggestion and draft by Michael Schuller.
  74. *Boston Herald Traveler*, 26 November 1969, p. 3.
  75. *War/Peace Report*, April 1966, p. 18.
  76. *Peace News*, 26 February 1965.
  77. Lloyd G. Reynolds, *Labor Economics and Labor Relations* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1959), pp. 288 and 290. See also on picketing in connection with strikes: John Stueben, *Strike Strategy* (New York: Gaer Associates, Inc., 1950), pp. 289-294; John A. Fitch, "Strikes and Lockouts," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan, 1935), vol. XIV, p. 422; Florence Peterson, *American Labor Unions: What They Are and How They Work* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1945), p. 264; and James Myers and Harry W. Laidler, *What Do You Know About Labor?* (New York: John Day Co., 1956), pp. 74-75.
  78. Sharp, *Gandhi Wields . . .*, pp. 37-226. On the role of picketing in satyagraha, see Diwakar, *Satyagraha*, p. 48; Shridharani, *War Without Violence*, U.S. ed. pp. 18-19, Br. ed., pp. 39-40; and Gandhi, *Non-violent Resistance*, pp. 333-341; Indian ed.: Gandhi, *Satyagraha*, pp. 333-341.
  79. Lakey, "Cultural Aspects of the American Movement for Woman Suffrage, Militant Phase," p. 12.
  80. *Peace News*, 31 October 1958.
  81. Arthur I. Waskow, *From Race Riot to Sit-In: 1919 and the 1960's* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966), p. 280.
  82. Julian Symons, *The General Strike, A Historical Portrait* (London: The Cresset Press, 1957), p. 226.
  83. James Farmer, *Freedom - When?* (New York: Random House, 1965), p. 185.
  84. Waskow, *From Race Riot to Sit-In*, p. 264.
  85. Farmer, *Freedom - When?*, p. 187.
  86. Arthur Griffith, *The Resurrection of Hungary: A Parallel for Ireland* (Dublin: Wheland & Son, 1918, Third ed., pp. 39-40).
  87. Sharp, *Gandhi Wields . . .*, p. 38.
  88. *The Times* (London), 7 January 1957.
  89. *Ibid.*, 28 January 1957.
  90. Sharp, *Gandhi Wields . . .*, pp. 54-55.
  91. Rainer Hildebrandt, 2 x 2 = 8: The Story of a Group of Young Men in the Soviet Zone of Germany (Bonn & Berlin: Federal Ministry for All-German Affairs, 1961), p. 45.
  92. Adam Roberts, "The Buddhist Revolt: The Anti-Diem Campaign in South Vietnam in 1963" (London: The Author, duplicated, 1964), p. 32. Sources for the event cited are the *New York Times* and *The Guardian* (Manchester and London), 10 September 1963.
  93. Littell, ed., *The Czech Black Book*, pp. 35, 37, 39 and 50.
  94. *New York Times*, 20 January 1969, p. 1.
  95. George Lefebvre, *The French Revolution from its Origins to 1793* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962 and London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962), p. 230.
  96. Bennett, "The Resistance Against the German Occupation of Denmark 1940-1945," p. 159.
  97. Skodvin, "Norwegian Nonviolent Resistance During the German Occupation," p. 141.
  98. Reitlinger, *The Final Solution*, pp. 90 and 313-314.
  99. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, p. 374.
  100. Sharp, *Tyranny Could Not Quell Them*.
  101. Littell, ed., *The Czech Black Book*, pp. 111 and 188.
  102. Thich Nhat Hanh, *Love in Action: The Nonviolent Struggle for Peace in Vietnam* (pamphlet, mimeo; Paris [?]: Overseas Vietnamese Buddhists Association, 1967 or later), p. 13.
  103. Gaetano Salvemini, *The French Revolution, 1788-1792*, p. 122.
  104. Schlesinger, *The Colonial Merchants . . .*, p. 363.
  105. Karski, *The Story of a Secret State*, pp. 301-302.
  106. Kuper, *Passive Resistance in South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957, and London: Jonathan Cape, 1956), p. 131.
  107. Luthuli, *Let My People Go*, p. 196.
  108. *Peace News*, 17 November 1961.
  109. *Ibid.*, 31 August 1962.
  110. Miller, *Nonviolence*, p. 334.
  111. Adam Roberts, "Buddhism and Politics in South Vietnam," in *The World Today* (London), vol. 21, no. 6 (June 1965), p. 246.
  112. *New York Times*, 10, 11, 14 and 23 June 1966.
  113. Hanh, *Love in Action*, p. 13.
  114. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.
  115. *Washington Post*, 1 July 1966.
  116. Harcave, *First Blood*, pp. 184-185.
  117. Saul Alinsky, a conversation with Marion K. Sanders, "The Professional Radical, 1970," *Harpers Magazine*, January 1970, p. 38.
  118. *Peace News*, 3 November 1961.
  119. James Farmer, *Freedom - When?*, p. 40.
  120. Harvey Seifert, *Conquest by Suffering: The Process and Prospects of Nonviolent Resistance* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965), p. 142.
  121. *New York Times*, 11 March 1962, 8 May 1962, 24 June 1962. Disrobing as a method of political protest was also used on at least one occasion by African women in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) prior to independence, but I have not been able to trace the precise reference for this.

122. *The Times* (London), 29 May 1962.
123. *New York Times*, 19 February 1969 and *Esquire*, January 1970.
124. Schlesinger, *The Colonial Merchants . . .*, p. 227.
125. *Ibid.*
126. *Ibid.*, p. 525.
127. *Ibid.*, p. 486.
128. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, *The American Revolution* (New York, London and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1908), vol. I, p. 282.
129. *New York Times*, 11 March and 9, 11, 18 and 24 June 1962.
130. Lakey, "Cultural Aspects of the American Movement for Woman Suffrage," p. 14, and Doris Stevens, *Jailed for Freedom* (New York: Boni and Liverwright, 1920), p. 277.
131. Sharp, *Gandhi Wields . . .*, p. 41 and *passim*.
132. George Mikes, *The Hungarian Revolution* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1957), p. 82.
133. Luthuli, *Let My People Go*, p. 223.
134. *New York Times*, 16 October 1965, p. 1.
135. *Ibid.*, 17 Oct. 1967.
136. Leo Kuper, *Passive Resistance in South Africa*, p. 145.
137. *New York Times*, 20 January 1969, pp. 1 and 11.
138. Sharp, *Gandhi Wields . . .*, p. 180.
139. Littell, ed., *The Czech Black Book*, p. 111.
140. Brant, *The East German Rising*, p. 129.
141. Miller, *Nonviolence*, p. 353.
142. Karski, *The Story of a Secret State*, p. 301.
143. *Ibid.*, p. 259.
144. Richard M. Watt, *Dare Call It Treason* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), p. 194.
145. Littell, ed., *The Czech Black Book*, pp. 196 and 192.
146. *Peace News*, 26 October 1962.
147. *Sunday Times* (London), 19 March 1967.
148. Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence*, p. 57 and Mahadev Desai, *The Story of Bardoli* (Ahmedabad, India: Navajivan Publishing House, 1929), pp. 188-189.
149. Graham Peck, *Two Kinds of Time* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950), pp. 394-395.
150. On the possible use of fraternization in resistance, see Ligt, *The Conquest of Violence*, p. 217.
151. *The Times*, 14 December 1956; *Observer* (London), 16 December 1956; M. Fejto in *France Observateur* (Paris), 15 November 1956; and Report of the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary, pp. 25 and 82-83. See also Miller, *Nonviolence*, pp. 357-358.
152. Littell, ed., *The Czech Black Book*, pp. 63-64. This book contains other references to attempts to influence Russian troops. Not all reports suggest that the soldiers were easily influenced.
153. *Ibid.*, pp. 134 and 212.
154. *Suffragist*, 1917 (organ of the Women's Party, Washington, D.C.). I am grateful to George Lakey for this reference.
155. Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence*, pp. 48-49, and Diwaker, *Satyagraha*, pp. 115-117.
156. *Time*, vol. 66, 26 September 1955, p. 31, and vol. 67, 27 February 1956, pp. 35-36, and *Manchester Guardian*, 20 February 1956.
157. *Peace News*, 4 July-22 August 1958.
158. *Peace News*, 9 October 1959, and 1 January and 29 July 1960, and Jeanne Bagby, "Witness Against Germ Warfare," *Christian Century*, vol. 76, 23 September 1959.
159. *Peace News*, 13, 20 and 27 July 1962.
160. Hildebrandt,  $2 \times 2 = 8$ , pp. 39-45.
161. Sternstein, "The *Ruhrkampf* of 1923," p. 113.
162. Hans Jørgen Hurum, *Musikken Under Okkupasjonen, 1940-1945* (Oslo: H. Aschehoug, 1946), p. 176.
163. Jutikkala, *A History of Finland*, pp. 232-235.
164. Bennett, "The Resistance Against the German Occupation of Denmark 1940-5," p. 159.
165. Alexander Pechersky, "Revolt in Sobibor," in Suhl, ed., *They Fought Back*, pp. 13-14 (italics added). See also *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28, for instance.
166. Luthuli, *Let My People Go*, p. 167.
167. Miller, *Nonviolence*, p. 336.
168. Littell, ed., *The Czech Black Book*, pp. 34 and 38.
169. Hanh, *Love in Action*, p. 11.
170. Alejandro Planchart, *The Ars Nova*, commentary to the phonograph recording of the same title (New York: *Experiences Anonymes*, 1966), p. 1. I am grateful to Michael Schulter for this example and reference.
171. Translation of the motet, "Super Cathedram/Presidentes/Ruina" which appears in *Le Roman de Fauvel*, quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 2, from Leo Schrade, *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* (Monaco: 1956-68), vol. I.
172. Gipson, *The British Empire Before the American Revolution*, vol. X, *The Triumphant Empire: Thunderclouds Gather in the West, 1763-1766*, p. 279.
173. Harcave, *First Blood*, p. 184.
174. *Ibid.*, pp. 195-196 and 200.
175. Carlton W. Kendall, *The Truth About Korea* (San Francisco: Korea National Association, 1919), p. 29.
176. Sharp, *Gandhi Wields . . .*, pp. 70-86.
177. *Peace News*, 20 October 1961, pp. 5-12.
178. Matei Yulzari, "The Bulgarian Jews in the Resistance Movement," in Suhl, *They Fought Back*, pp. 277-278.
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