

Steps Toward Abolishing War: Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping and A Two-Legged Democracy

by David Grant

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First of all, thank you to the Peace Studies program and Professor Laura Rediehs. This is a rare opportunity for me to reflect upon several decades of work ... or, rather, of life ... that has, from my childhood been focused on how we not only can avoid blowing up this beautiful planet ... this planet that we – for some ineffable, mystical and mysterious reason – have been granted life upon ... but also on how we can enjoy, nurture and protect it.

The middle of my talk will outline the development of unarmed civilian peacekeeping as a step towards the abolishment of war. But before that I'd like to take a look at the abolishment of slavery.

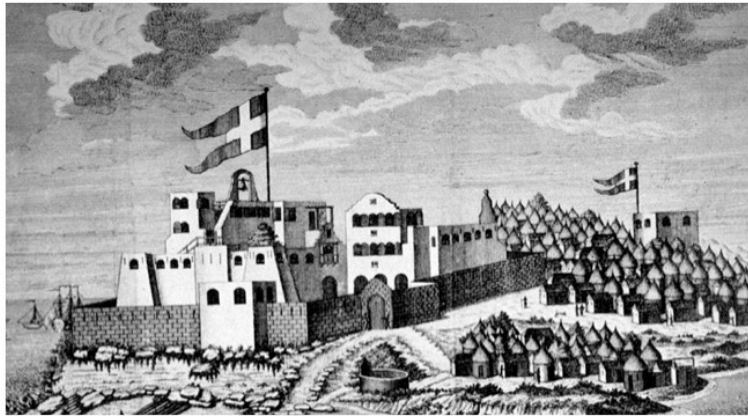
I will close by proposing a simple, but radical, structural change needed to effect and maintain the abolishment of war ... As well as to effect and maintain a joyous and sustainable future. That change is about our understanding of what a democracy should be ... but is not. Yet.

SLAVERY

Let me begin by recounting something that happened to me in Accra, Ghana. I was there during my tenure at the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, helping a group become a part of I-F-O-R's global nonviolence network. A Ghanaian fellow, name of Ben, first a colleague and then a friend, said to me: 'Let me take you to my great grandfather's house.'

¹ Previously titled: "Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping: A Step Toward Abolishing War"

Christiansborg (now Osu Castle)
Accra, Ghana (West Africa)
18th Century



Ben is as black as night. Although much of my DNA traces to west Africa, I'm a shining star compared to his pigmentation. He took me to a house below the citadel on the coast. Atop the citadel is the fort formerly controlled by slave traders from a variety of European countries. When I was there it was the seat of government and where the President of Ghana resided.

Ben pointed me to a house down below, on the flats, next to the citadel. It was a three story wooden structure, very old, in a state of mild dilapidation. Ben turned to me and said. 'This building is the pride of my family ... built by my great grandfather, quite an accomplishment, long ago'.

Then, with deepest sincerity, he said: 'I want to apologize to you. My great-grandfather acquired this house because he was the one who made the trips into the interior to capture your ancestors, to bring them here to the coast and to sell them to the white man up there in that fort'.

I was astounded. I'd forgotten. Slavery isn't just about white Europeans enslaving black Africans. No. Slavery has existed from beyond written history.



Litter bearer slaves in Brazil



A Persian slave



Chinese 'coolie'



Slave of the Inca Empire, Peru

During the millennium of the Roman Empire, for instance, at least 100 million people were captured or sold as slaves.



1852 auction of Roma slaves



Female slaves attending mistress, Roman empire



Slave trading in early medieval Europe

In Rome itself, at least 25% of the population was enslaved.

Here in the U.S. we made slavery illegal nearly one hundred and fifty years ago. Some countries had abolished it earlier. It took a little longer in other places.



Unknown U.S. soldier, Civil War



Richmond, Virginia / April 1865

Until 1950, slavery was officially legal in: Qatar, Tibet, Niger, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, United Arab Emirates, Oman and Sierra Leone. In the northwest African country of Mauritania it did not become a crime to own slaves until 2007.

So we can celebrate the legal abolishment of slavery on this planet ... for the last six years.

But ‘legally abolished’ doesn’t mean abolished. Not yet. Estimates range from 12 to 30 million enslaved people worldwide. Mauritania, Pakistan and Haiti hold the highest numbers.²

According to State Department data, of the half-million people trafficked across international borders each year, approximately 70 percent are female and up to 50 percent are minors. Most are trafficked into commercial sexual exploitation.

Despite those grim statistics – three-tenths of one percent of humanity still enslaved – we can, nonetheless, for these past six years, say that slavery is universally a crime. And thus, culturally, globally, an aberration, something shameful.

How might we apply the abolition of something that was, throughout all of human history, normal and everyday – enslavement ... How can we apply that to the abolishment of war?

BELIEF SYSTEMS

What we are talking about then are Belief Systems. War-making is a belief system that we need to abolish.

Underpinning every decision to go to war is the Just War Theory. I remember its points through a mnemonic acronym, P-L-A-N.

² The Global Slavery Index 2013, Walk Free Foundation, <http://www.globalslaveryindex.org>

Just War Theory
P-L-A-N
P = Proportionate
L = Legitimate
A = Acceptable
(low risk; high likelihood of success)
N = No other avenue
(everything else tried)

Is the proposed military action proportionate to the objectives? Genocide, for instance, is not.

Is the action legitimate? The war against Saddam Hussein was deemed legitimate because it was to prevent the use of Saddam's Weapons of Mass Destruction. No further comment.

Is the proposed war acceptable? -- Insofar as there is little risk to those who wage it and a high likelihood of success? All the major powers who began World War I calculated that the war would be over in a few weeks..... With little risk, of course, and certainly with high success.

Then finally ... is there other NO other choice? Have all other avenues been tried? That one is usually 'the final straw'. And off to war we go.

A major belief in the United States that turns people away from considering the choice of nonviolence is the New Testament parable of: 'Turn the other cheek'. The conventional understanding of that is: Give way, even give up. Allow oneself to suffer and do not fight back. Theologically that could not be farther from the parable's intention.

The verse in Matthew reads: 'But I tell you, do not resist an evil person. If anyone slaps you on the right cheek, turn to them the other cheek also'. It is crucial to note that it is 'the right cheek'. Because of the taboo in those times against using one's left hand, that means the blow is a back-handed slap. Since Jesus is speaking to the underclass, it is a mere admonishment ... from a master to a slave. The slave is supposed to just lay down. That's the value system. It's normal. Every slave will just slink away.

But Christ is saying: No, don't slink away. Stand there. Show the master your other cheek. For him to hit you on that one, the left cheek, he's got to use his fist, has to use a roundhouse. Has to actually knock you down.

What would that mean?

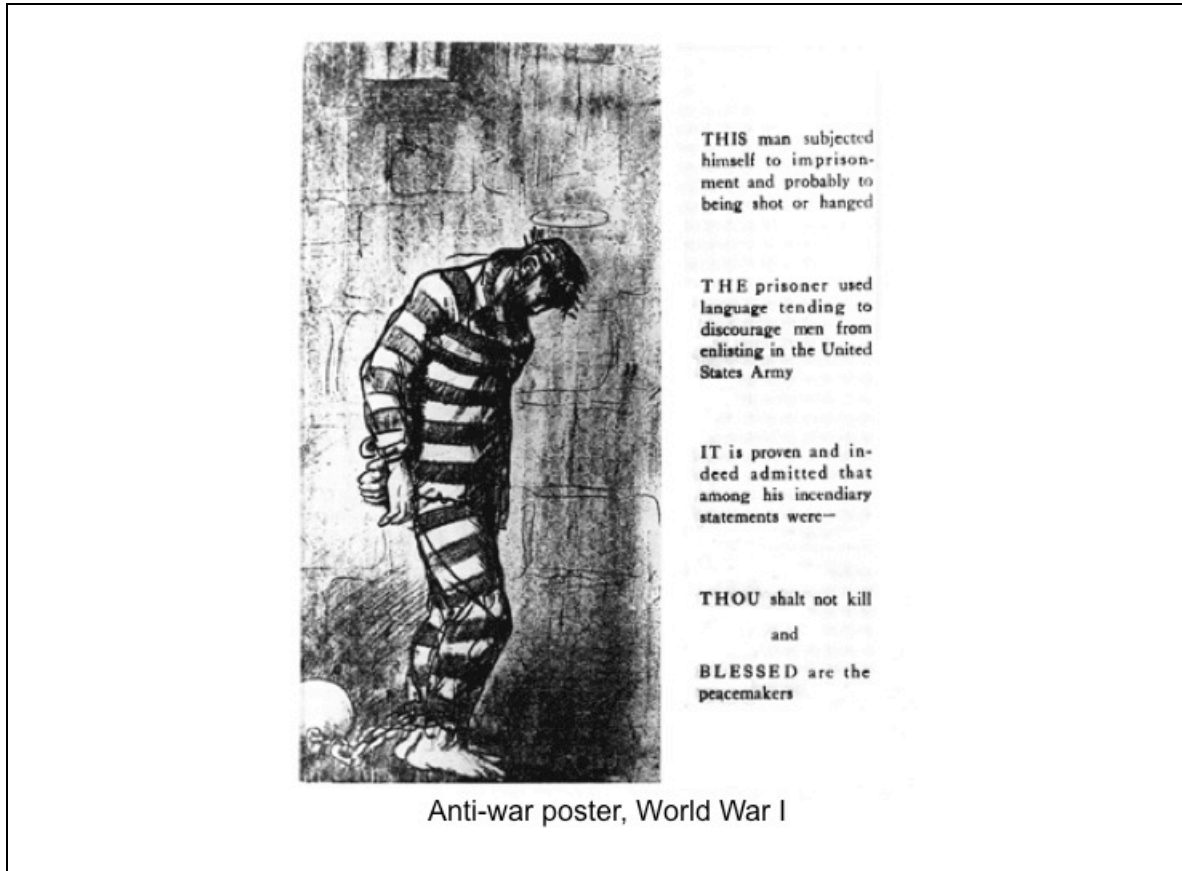
What it would mean is that he's got to treat you like an equal, like a man. And that would be such a loss of face that no master would want to be caught dead doing it.

So the master is in a dilemma. He's either got to wallop the slave or he has to walk away. It's a typical use of nonviolent jujitsu on the part of the slave. It's pure nonviolent resistance.

This is an not aberrant reading. Theologians have confirmed this interpretation. There are other parables that are similarly misinterpreted to equate nonviolence with passivity.

All religious and ethical systems laud, in one form or another, the Golden Rule – treat others as you would want to be treated. In our age of global interaction, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has codified 'human rights' and 'fundamental

freedoms'. The very first words of the preamble of the United Nation's Charter make clear its purpose: '...to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war'. The opening words of the constitution of the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, UNESCO, reads: '...since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed'.



Despite the fact that I am a conscientious objector to war ... all war ... and this slide expresses my belief about that, I nonetheless can express admiration for soldiers. As Gandhi said, it is among those who know violent warfare most intimately that the strongest satyagrahis will emerge. A satyagrahi is one who uses 'soul force' or 'truth force'. For Gandhi this nonviolent 'force' demands the greatest courage.

When armed combatants believe they are fighting for humanity's most cherished values, they are courageous and heroic.

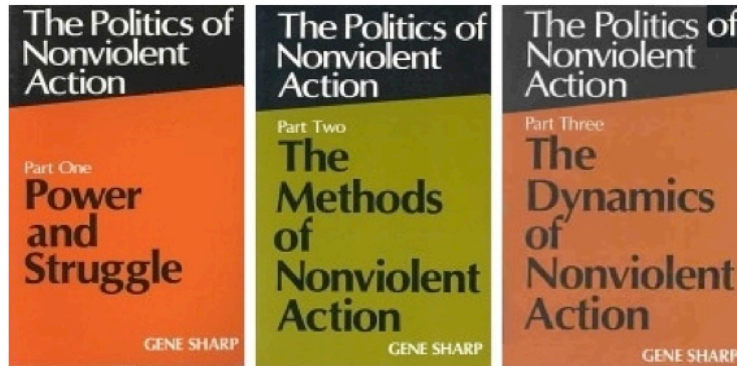
As Che Guevera said 'At the risk of seeming ridiculous, let me say that the true revolutionary is guided by a great feeling of love'. The same, of course, can be said of the Marines who yell *Semper fi*. Or, even harder to say, those 19 guys who flew the planes on September 11th.

We are our sibling's keepers. We love our land and our families. We want to protect them from harm.

Trouble is, of course, that Che Guevera ruthlessly executed innumerable 'enemies'. And the truth is that for every dead U.S. soldier -- avenging what those 19 guys did -- we dare not ask how many innocent Iraqis, Afghanis, Pakistanis and others suffer only death and misery.

Many have said that nonviolence takes more courage than violence.

But Gene Sharp, the well-known American researcher of the methods of nonviolent struggle, was the one who pointed out: ‘At least thus far, the chances are much less that you will die in nonviolent action than in military combat.’



So... again, I recognize, I understand ... and can honor ... the willing risk that those who go into the military make.

Often people will ask ‘What about a psychopathic killer?’ Gandhi answered by saying that where a person sees only a choice between cowardice and violence, Gandhi would advise violence. However... In such cases he added ... that as much as possible, we must not hate the person causing the danger. Gandhi also said that such an action of violent self-defense should not be considered ‘a success’. Furthermore he counseled against preparing for such emergencies, saying that if we have time to prepare, then we should use that time to prepare a nonviolent defense. Finally, he thought – as do I – that humans have an infinite capacity for creativity... which means there is ‘always another way’.

Gandhi was not an absolutist. He called himself a ‘pragmatic idealist’.

Something else needs to be straightened out here. We are not talking about abolishing conflict. That would be foolish. At the very least, consider the dialectic. The basis of knowing is to go through thesis, antithesis and synthesis. It’s a struggle, a conflict. Over and over again. It’s the scientific method.

Pure stasis is death. If things don’t move, and thus inevitably bump into one another, everything is dead. It is a fact of physics.

So ... when we say ‘nonviolence’ we are not talking about non-conflict. We are talking about how to stand up and fight for what is just. That’s what nonviolent struggle is.

As a seven-year-old boy I was pestered on the school playground. I told my father about it and he said: ‘Do you know exactly when these boys are going to hit you?’ ‘Yes,’ I said, ‘they come up to me everyday at lunchtime and beat me up’. ‘OK,’ my father said, ‘what you should do is simple: Hit them first!’

I followed my father's instructions and hit the leader of the gang as soon as I saw him, right on the nose. It worked. I ate my lunch in peace. You might say I learned 'pre-emptive war' early.

But there was one big problem: my peace didn't last.

For the next few years I had to fight a lot. The reason I was pestered was because I was the first -- and until my sister came along four years later -- the only Afro-American to attend the previously all Euro-American elementary school. I became a good pre-pubescent boxer and even came to enjoy the sport of it. Eventually, in fifth grade, I 'hung up my gloves'.

I value this experience highly. Years later I could articulate what I had learned. There were two things I could do to my tormentors that were more interesting, more challenging, and more fun ... than bopping and bashing them. I could make them my friends. Or, failing that, I could outsmart them.

At the age of nine or ten I 'fell into' constructing the two broad categories of nonviolent struggle ... on the one hand, the strategic, the philosophical, the spiritual -- the creation of what Martin Luther King calls 'The Beloved Community'; and on the other, the tactical, the pragmatic, the secular -- using 'the politics of nonviolence'.

TYPES OF NONVIOLENT ACTION

At this point we need to begin distinguishing among several 'modes' of using nonviolence. We need to be careful about basic definitions. Take the term 'nonviolence'. Like 'horseless carriage'. Based on what people knew then -- a carriage that moved without a horse. Naming is important. We still don't know what the 'automobile' equivalent for 'nonviolence' will be.

Peace activist and researcher George Lakey encourages us to distinguish three types of nonviolent action: social change; social defense and third-party intervention:

Three types of nonviolent action

Social Change

(partisan struggle for justice)

Social Defense

(protection of the status quo)

Third-party Intervention

(non-partisan protection for those engaged in struggle)

Social change is about the high-profile struggle for justice. At its most dramatic -- overthrowing the dictator!

Social defense is about protection ... for example of the environment.

Third-Party Intervention is distinguished by its non-partisanship. It is used to protect people engaged in social change or social defense.

I myself began in the social change movements. My father was an important civil rights lawyer in St. Louis, leading sit-ins and demonstrations from the 1930's onward. I took part in the Civil Rights Movement. And I

refused the draft to Vietnam. I was jailed and then spent nearly six months incarcerated in a mental health hospital. At times I have refused to pay taxes in protest of nuclear weapons.

Social change action is partisan: the struggle for rights, for justice, for peace – Thoreau, Tolstoy, Gandhi, King, People Power, Aung San Suu Kyi, the overthrow of Milosevic, most of the Arab Spring.

Social change seeks to create new systems.

It is fairly well established now that unarmed movements of resistance are more effective than armed rebellions.

Refer to *Why Civil Resistance Works: the Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*. That research found that countries experiencing nonviolent uprisings are also much more likely to emerge with a democratic system and with a lower risk of relapse back into civil war.



Of course, not all nonviolent movements succeed. Nor do military ones.

Tiananmen Square and the pro-democracy movement in Myanmar-Burma in the late 1980s are examples of failures. Take note, though, of Aung San Suu Kyi these days. She exemplifies the translation of ‘nonviolence’ as ‘relentless persistence’.

In a separate analysis³, by the way, research shows that terrorist movements almost always fizzle out. Examples of such failures include independence movements in Northern Ireland, Basque Country, Kurdistan, Sri Lanka and, just across the nearby border, Quebec. The success rate of terrorist movements is, at best, in the single digits.

It can also be said that in most cases where violent insurgency has succeeded, a well-executed nonviolent campaign may have been equally successful.

³ *How Terrorism Ends: Understanding the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns*, by Audrey Kurth Cronin Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009. 330 pp.

We will soon move on to talking about international organizations that nonviolently ‘intervene’ in conflict in a non-partisan way. But first I should mention a few which are unabashedly partisan.

The International Solidarity Movement was founded in 2001. They support nonviolent Palestinian self-determination. The International Solidarity Movement has suffered deaths both from the Israeli military and from militant Palestinian Islamists.

Another organization committed to nonviolent resistance was the Serbian ‘Otpor’ (1998-2003). After bringing down the dictator Milosevic, Otpor spawned youth rebellions in countries all over Eastern Europe.

The International Center on Nonviolent Conflict promotes and teaches nonmilitary strategies. Their six-part P-B-S television series ‘A Force More Powerful’ has been used as an instructional manual in nonviolent revolutions worldwide.

The second category of nonviolent action, social defense, is about security and maintenance. Organizations practicing social defense would include Greenpeace, labor unions, voting rights groups, and so on.

Some governments have incorporated elements into military planning. Several years ago I took part in a week of large-scale war games on the island of Gotland, Sweden. In the week preceding, members of the Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation had introduced the theory and practice of nonviolence to a thousand Baltic and Scandinavian soldiers. These soldiers were being prepared for duty as United Nations blue helmets. My role in one scenario was to act as an international mediator, negotiating the release of peace activists who had been kidnapped.

Such simulations are still rare, but organizations such as Lisa Schirch’s ‘3P Human Security’ are facilitating such civilian-military dialogues and actions. We need to understand each other’s language.

After the first Gulf War, there were several Marines held in the brig at Camp Lejeune for refusing to fight. I was working then at Rural Southern Voice for Peace where we had developed a community organizing tool called the ‘Listening Project’. We went to bases of the Marines, the Army, the Navy and the Air Force and ‘listened’ ... to find that 50% of the soldiers who we randomly selected were actively interested in using nonviolent means to defend the country. But they had no structural option to do so.

Since social defense protects the status quo, governmental money for research into nonviolent peacekeeping formerly went primarily to plans for civilian based-defense. But this is changing, as I will explain later.

INTERVENTIONARY NONVIOLENCE

The third type of nonviolent action, third-party intervention, is the basis for unarmed civilian peacekeeping.

Over fifty years ago, several organizations began developing this practice. I will outline some of that history, but first I want to explain -- at some length -- how unarmed civilian peacekeeping is currently practiced by Nonviolent Peaceforce.

As part of my responsibilities for the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, I attended, in 1999, the large Hague Appeal for Peace conference where Nonviolent Peaceforce was conceived.

The first pilot project of Nonviolent Peaceforce was in Sri Lanka. This photo is of our team at its greatest number there.



Sri Lanka, 2002-2011

It is important to remember that war is not only about violence. World Bank data shows that not one conflict-afflicted country has reached a single one of the UN's goals to eliminate poverty by 2015. Furthermore, deaths in warfare are mostly of civilians and largely from reasons other than direct violence.

Not only about violence

- **1.5 billion people currently live in countries with repeated violence**
- **Not one of these countries has achieved a single of the eight Millennium Development Goals**
- **Most victims are civilians who die not only from direct violence but also from displacement, disease, malnutrition, exposure, lack of medical treatment and crime resulting the war.**

These are the indicators when we speak about 'unarmed civilian protection and peacekeeping'.



Unarmed Civilian Protection & Peacekeeping



- Specially trained professionals
- Full-time, 24/7
- Multi-national
- Strategic
- Nimble
- Deeply immersed in community
- Nonviolent
- Neutral
- Cost-effective

Nonviolent Peaceforce is composed of women and men from all over the globe who have been specially trained in strategic nonviolent and non-partisan intervention. They are full time, on call 24-7, for a minimum two year deployment. They are not constrained by protocols other than those imposed for their own safety.

The cost per peacekeeper is about \$50,000 per year... about the same as it cost to field a U.S. Peace Corps Volunteer. Of which I was one, by the way.

An important difference, though, is that a Nonviolent Peaceforce worker receives \$18,000 a year in off-shore salary. A Peace Corps Volunteer receives only \$3,300 per year as a readjustment allotment. Part of the weeks of assessment and training is kinetic.



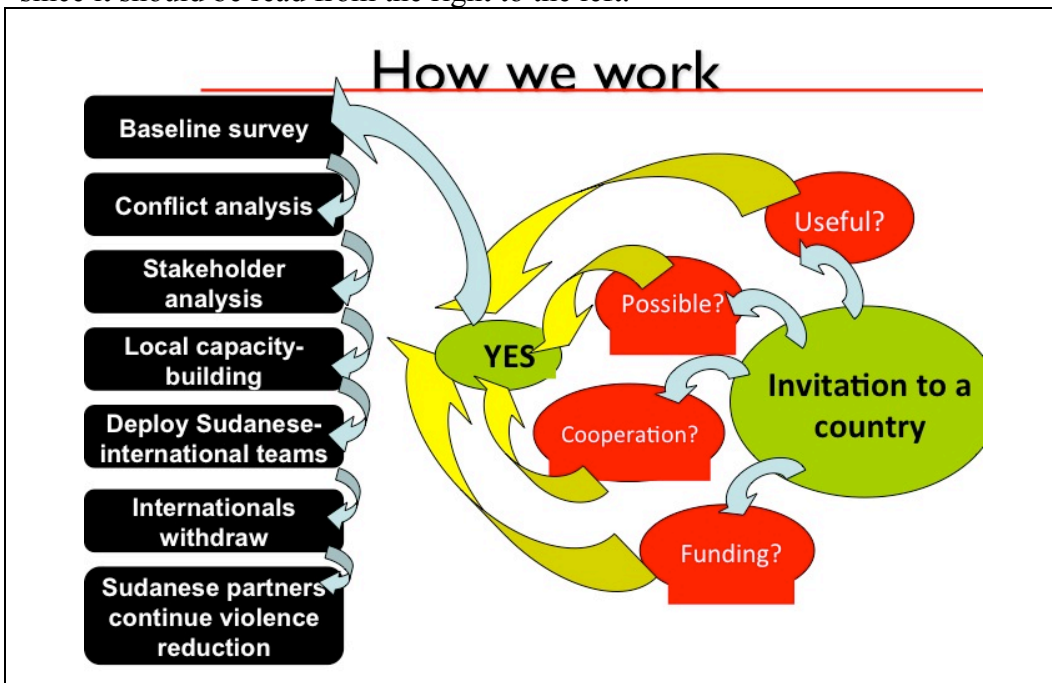
Intercultural team building is highly important since multi-cultural teams have to depend on each other under stress. We accept about one out of ten applicants.

The other part of the training is analytic. An important question that is asked again and again, through service is 'Why the Conflict?'



This is list, used for our deployment in South Sudan, is not, of course, exhaustive.

This slide may have been made by one of our Arabic language members since it should be read from the right to the left.



It shows the decision-making process we go through from start to finish. In this case it is for the team we have had in South Sudan for the last three years.

First we receive an invitation, usually from a non-governmental organization, often one concerned about human rights abuses. We then send a small team to investigate. I led the initial explorations to Mindanao, Philippines; and to Sudan. I also led an exploration to a conflict we declined – to Israel and Palestine.

On these explorations, we ask ourselves the questions you see in red. Can we acquire visas to work in the country? Will there be reliable partners? Where will we find financial support?

If the answer to these questions is ‘Yes’, then we go through the items in black. As you see we are deploying teams composed of both Sudanese and internationals. The intention is to build Sudanese capacity.

The overarching ‘tool’ that we use is ‘proactive presence’.

Proactive presence has three primary impacts

- Protection: deterring attacks
- Encouragement and Empowerment
- Influence on institutions - reform

Perpetrators are much less likely to attack in the presence of alert and well-connected witnesses. More subtly, but extremely important, the ‘proactive presence’ also provides emotional support for the local human rights workers. They are not alone. Finally, ‘proactive presence’ can result in institutional reform. In Sri Lanka, for instance, work we did – along with local partners and UNICEF – put the issue of child soldiers on the national agenda. And it led to major institutional reforms.

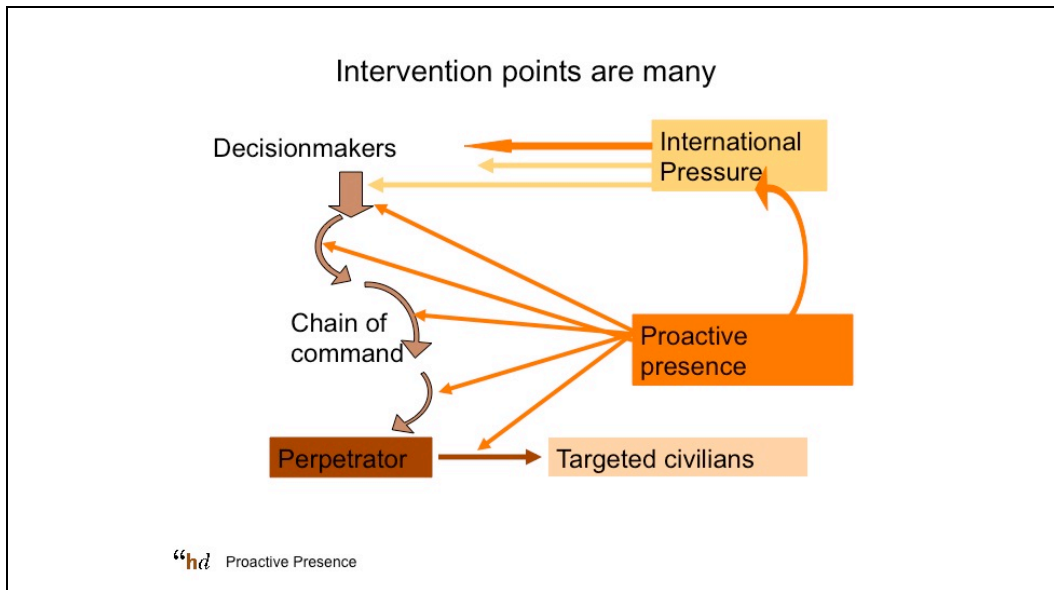
Why abusers pay attention

- To protect reputations -- personal or political
- To maintain access to money, political power, weapons...
- To portray their 'comparative (better) image' relative to opponents
- To strengthen ideological alliances
- Because of orders from superior officers
- Out of fear of international prosecution
- Cultural norms about treatment of 'guests'
- Individual moral concerns

The power of our nonviolent presence has many aspects. Abusers want to protect their reputations. They want power. They want to portray an image. Sometimes their own allies demand behavior change. Orders from superiors can do it. Many cultures require deference to guests, which our peacekeepers are. And finally individuals can be moved from within.



Here we see a peacekeeper in Sri Lanka witnessing and photographing a march in protest of the death of five children. This was during a period of very high tension in the eastern part of the country. Although Nonviolent Peaceforce did not have any direct effect on stopping the war, our presence in incidents like this may very well have prevented regional flare-ups.



The points where our peacekeepers can have an influence are many. We have access to international leverage points, such as embassies, other NGOs, officials and letter-writing campaigns. We can reach all points on the chain of command, right down to the perpetrator who targets civilians.

We also teach by example and try to walk our talk. These two men

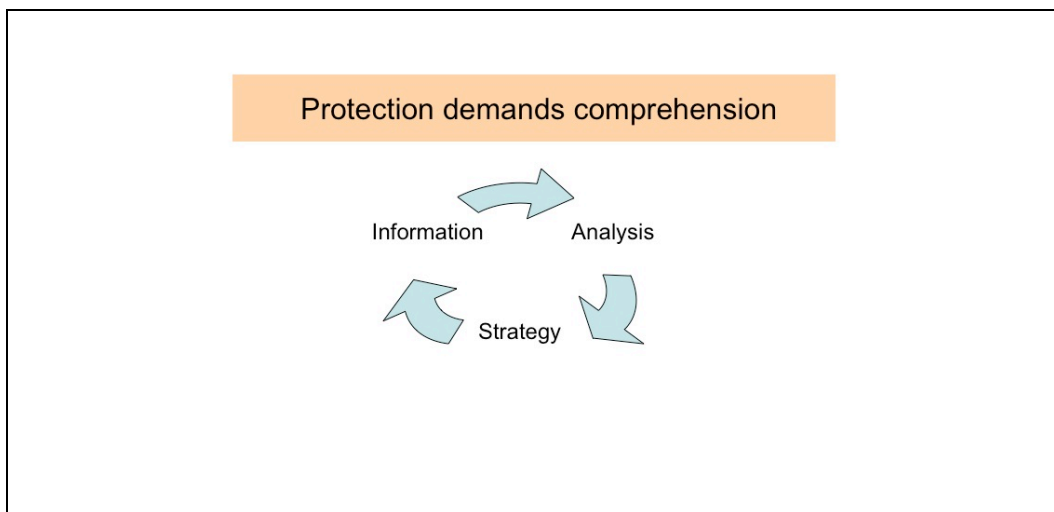


exemplify, in Sri Lanka -- ‘enemies’ who live and work together for Nonviolent Peaceforce. One is from India, the other from Pakistan. Sri Lankans marveled when they saw the two of them watching a cricket match between their two countries – without tearing into each other.

These two women are also from countries formerly 'enemies'.



One Filipina, the other Japanese. In the northern city of Jaffna in Sri Lanka.
This graphic applies, obviously, to all manner of problem-solving:



What it means in reality is ... many meetings. This one is in Mindanao, Philippines.



We seek to understand what is important to all sides and to focus on what they care about.



Here you see our team in Sri Lanka meeting with two ‘cadres’ of the Tamil Tigers. One of the dynamics of this conflict was that the rebels were seeking international legitimacy. They were thus particularly sensitive to how they were perceived by international groups. That provided leverage to influence their behavior.

Why does Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping work?
NEUTRAL & TRUSTED



In Mindanao, Nonviolent Peaceforce has an official seat on the International Monitoring Team. As part of its Civil Protection Component you see us visiting with the Islamic Liberation Front and with the Philippine Army.

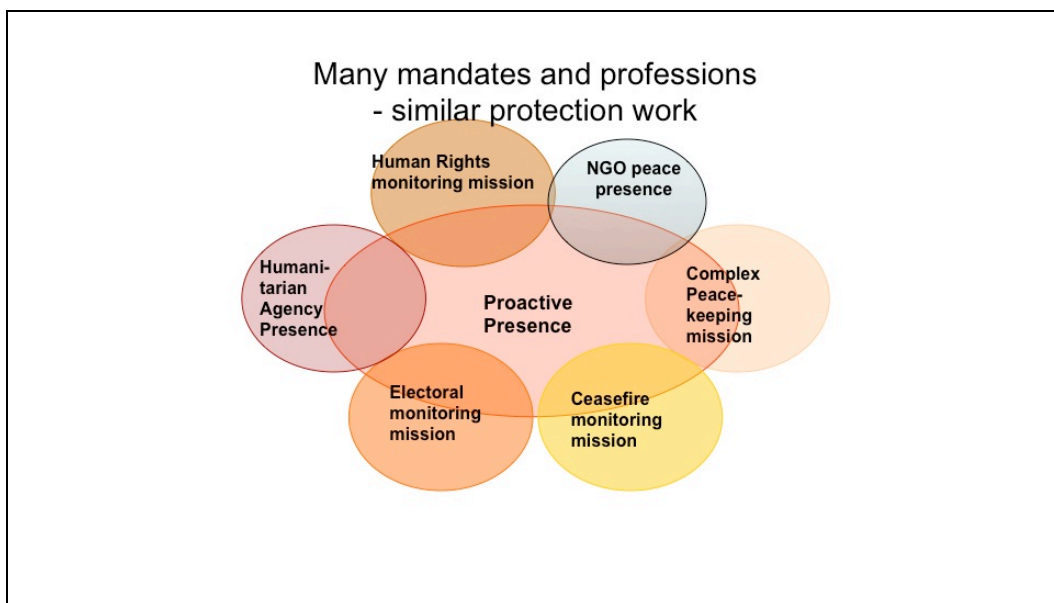


Of course not everything is public and high profile. We have confidential meetings in our offices. We work to be accessible.

When the tsunami devastated Sri Lanka, these two peacekeepers took a



boat to visit a community they knew had been out of communication for two weeks. They made sure that distribution of humanitarian aid was not the source of tension and conflict that it was elsewhere.



Proactive presence is part of a holistic approach. Nonviolent Peaceforce often is a hub connecting the work of others.

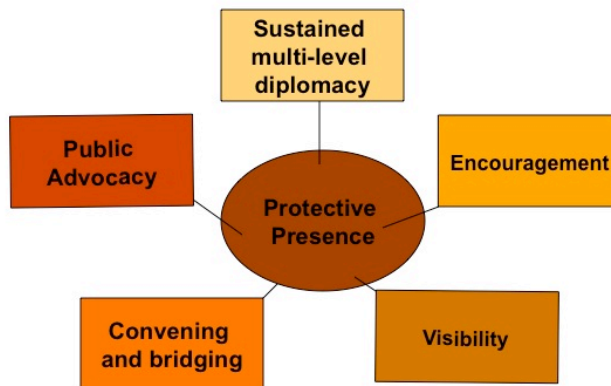


In Sri Lanka, for instance, the Norwegians had deployed monitors. They had official high-level access on demand to places where Nonviolent Peaceforce could not go. On the other hand, we had closer and ongoing contact with the grassroots. The two organizations traded information, helping each other in analysis and response.



We partnered with Paffrel, an election monitoring NGO. The yellow-hatted Nonviolent Peaceforce members are coordinating here with Sri Lankan officials.

Five strategies for effective presence



“hd Proactive Presence

Again, proactive presence is multi-faceted. The one thing listed here that we do not do is ‘public advocacy’. That would damage our reputation for non-partisanship. We are not partisan for any side of the conflict, except insofar as we are guided by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We do, though, provide information to people and places who have influence.

One difficulty of ‘proving’ the effect of our work is the conundrum that success is often ‘when nothing happens’. In South Sudan, though, we could point to things like ‘110 interventions in 5 months’...



Creating Safe Spaces Providing Grassroots Mediation



South Sudan

76,000
internally
displaced
people return
home after
110
interventions
in 5 months

Coupled with testimonials such as this one.



Confirmation

"There have been no conflicts since September. Usually the conflicts are in the dry season between September and April. This has been a 100% success. I give the credit to Nonviolent Peaceforce."



Sapana Abuyi, Deputy Governor Western Equatoria State in South Sudan

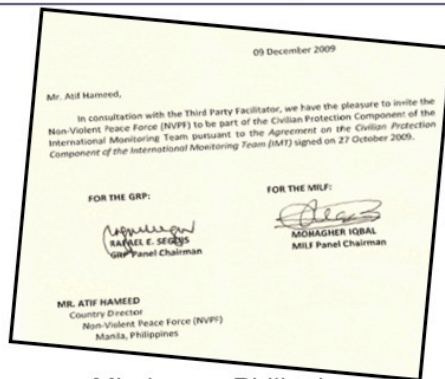
In South Sudan we have eight teams, about seventy members in total. They are posted in some of the most violence prone regions.



In the Philippines, we are extremely proud of having played a supporting role in the Peace Agreement.



Compliance Monitoring of Agreements



Mindanao, Philippines

Result:
Peace Agreement
signed between
the Government
of the Philippines
and the Moro
Islamic Liberation
Front,
15 October 2012

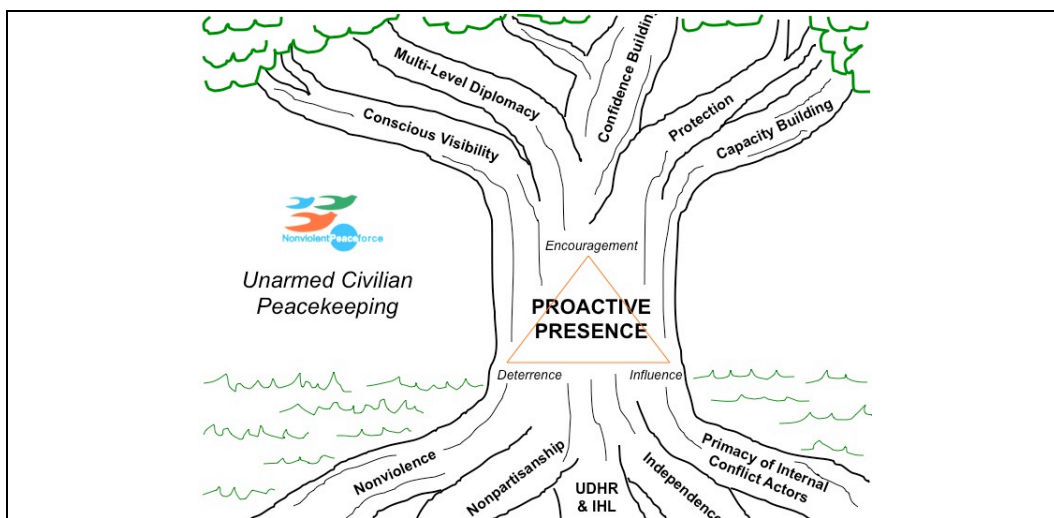
Our peacekeepers remain active today in Mindanao. The eighty or so members continue to play a role in helping to prevent relapse to war.



Peace Agreement



The tree of Proactive Presence has many roots and many branches.



When I was at a meeting in Bethlehem about the use of nonviolence I had the opportunity to express my thanks and admiration to Gene Sharp for the research and writing he had done about how nonviolent resistance to injustice works. Then I asked him: But what about third-party, non-partisan unarmed civilian peacekeeping? Sharp waited a second and then looked me in the eye and said ‘You will have to write that book’.

Well, truth is, the book has been in development ever since Gandhi bruited the idea in the first half of the previous century. He posited what remains the most dramatic and extreme form. He suggested that – given a World War I type of trench warfare – satyagrahis would walk between the trenches, giving themselves up to almost certain martyrdom. They would walk one at a time ... for the sake of ... eventually, Gandhi was certain ... of eventually convincing one side or the other to stop firing ... out of moral repugnance at the killing of the innocent satyagrahis.



Abdul Ghaffar Khan & Mohandas Gandhi

Gandhi is said to have proposed ‘Shanti Sena’ (the Peace Army) after he had visited northwest Pakistan where the Pathan leader Badshah Khan had established the world’s first professional nonviolent peace army.



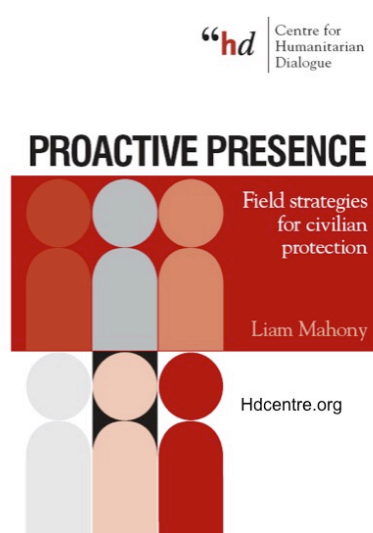
This army was based on Islamic principles of nonviolence. Badshah Khan's Islamic pacifism grew out of his concept of jihad. For him and his 100,000 'Servants of God,' nonviolent resistance offered the chance of martyrdom in its purest form. That is: putting one's life conspicuously in one's enemy's hands. In their struggle in the 1930's for independence from Britain, they did so repeatedly, suffering many casualties without engaging in revenge.

I can't help mentioning also, one of those ironies of colonialism. The army of those Islamic 'Servants of God' followed the British military structure. They even had a bagpipe marching band.

On the very day of his assassination, Gandhi was working towards the establishment of an Indian Shanti Sena. His followers continued that work and the Shanti Sena did successfully intervene in Muslim-Hindu rioting in India.

Twenty years later, in the United States, Martin Luther King and others were making plans for a large-scale unarmed peace army ... in this country. That was cut short, in 1968, by King's assassination.

In 1981, a letter from members of Shanti Sena, Peaceworkers, the Gandhi Peace Foundation and others stimulated the formation of Peace Brigades International. Peace Brigades International has gone on to provide 'unarmed bodyguards' in Central America, Colombia, Indonesia, Haiti, Sri Lanka and Nepal. They use non-paid volunteers who commit to one year of service. One of their leaders, Liam Mahony, wrote the manual on 'proactive presence'.



In 1983, people of faith from North Carolina traveled to the Nicaraguan border with Honduras to witness the impact of U.S. policy. That led to the formation of Witness for Peace. One of the founders of Witness for Peace, Betsy Crites, related: 'We were amazed at how many people signed up to go to a country at war with all the risks that entailed'.

Witness for Peace is a U.S. organization that does engage in public advocacy. They object to U.S. military interventions. They weigh in on immigration policy, about relations with Cuba, and about other issues in Latin America.

In the late 1980's Christian Peacemaker Teams was formed. They have deployed to zones of conflict in Haiti, Palestine, Mexico and Iraq. I had the pleasure of presenting a workshop on 'The Listening Project' to them when they had an outpost -- in Washington, DC. I also had the privilege of meeting one of their members, Tom Fox, during an all-day simulation -- based on Israel-Palestine. We took over the campus of Eastern Mennonite University for that. A year after that -- I am still devastated to report -- Tom was one of four Christian Peace Team members who were kidnapped in Baghdad ... Tom was the one who was beheaded.

There have also been examples of governmental nonviolent intervention. The Kosovo Verification Mission in 1998-99 deployed over a thousand civilians to verify a cease-fire agreement between Serbia and the insurgent Kosovo Liberation Army. The unarmed mission was cut short by politically-motivated actions of NATO.

There have been a number of UN Observer and Preventative Force Missions, ranging from the ill-fated one in Rwanda to successes in Macedonia and Cambodia. Recently the Arab League sent observer missions to Syria. On a recent fact-finding trip, Nonviolent Peaceforce Founder Mel Duncan was told that those observers were more effective than the mainstream media has reported.

Mel and I have served as liaisons from Nonviolent Peaceforce to the United Nations. We have met with, and received keen interest from, the President of the General Assembly, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Political Affairs, Development, UNICEF, UNHCR and others. We have arranged presentations for many ambassadors and governmental officials. We have even been asked by the U.S. State Department for our advice.

Unarmed civilian peacekeeping, then, is beginning to be recognized. It is a step along the way. But I've long felt we will need to go deeper.

SORTITION

During those Blue Helmet war games I was part of in Sweden, I had the opportunity to lead a workshop in nonviolence for a group that included a General, a member of Parliament, Quaker peace activists, and others. I set up a living spectrum, asking the participants to place themselves on a line ... that stretched from, at one end, 'those who work in hierarchical structures' ... to the other end, 'those who work in consensual structures'.

Quakers, you might know, are known for their method of consensual decision-making. So imagine my surprise when I saw that, at the farthest end of the hierarchical structure, was a Quaker. [Undergraduates, take heed! She was under the demands of a PhD program.]

Three-quarters of the way towards 'hierarchy' on that spectrum was, not surprisingly, the General. But he pointed out that, most of the time, when not in crisis, he engages in dialogue with his commanders. They work democratically. Furthermore the General pointed out that he took his orders from the person standing in the middle of the spectrum ... the Member of Parliament.

That was a good reminder to me that, at least in democratic republics, it is civilians who decide to go to war.

James Madison was the fourth president of the U.S. and said to be the ‘father of the Constitution’. Madison said that the Congress should be an ‘exact transcript’ – a mirror image – of the entire population.

I have always been of the opinion that I have never have been represented in Congress ... and I never will be. The reason is because I am a personality type that simply will never place myself upon the auction block of an electoral campaign. Like the vast majority of Americans, it just would be against my nature. Most people will never want to stand for elections – and thus are not going to be in that Congress that is supposed to be a mirror image of the population.

Instead the ‘elected representatives’ will be only of that small subset of the population who happen to fit the peculiar psychological profile of those willing to put themselves on that auction block.

I don’t think there can be much argument that all current governments, worldwide, are run by economic elites. That doesn’t mean, by the way, that I dismiss politicians. It just means that when we think about waging war, we should remember that, not only is it not the military that decides to do so ... it is an un-representative group that makes the decision.

Some will say that because of our ‘right to vote’ we have the government we deserve. President Franklin Roosevelt said ‘Let us never forget that government is ourselves and not an alien power over us’. Would that it were true.

So, how to make democracy real? I would look to the first democracy in classical Athens for the answer. Granted, women were excluded. Just as they were in this country less than a hundred years ago. Ditto for the half of the Athenian population who were slaves or ‘guest workers’.

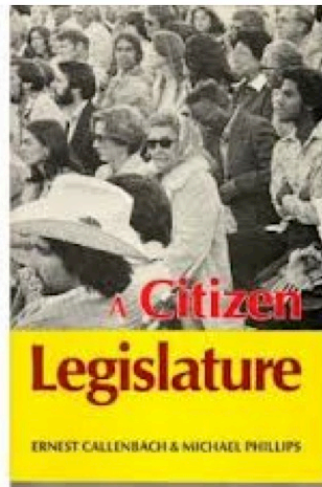
But the important part, for our purposes, of that first democracy was the extensive use of sortition – random selection – of its office holders. Today we use random selection only to choose juries. Those are juries, by the way, of ordinary citizens into whose hands we place the gravest responsibility – deciding the fate, sometimes the very life, of the accused.

The Greeks chose all but their generals and treasurers by sortition, by lottery. They wanted to make sure that all citizens participated, at some point, in the direct operation of the government.

As many as 6,000 of the 30,000 Athenian citizens could fit into the meeting place of the Assembly. There those one-out-of-five engaged in direct democracy. But the policies they voted on were prepared by office holders – by legislative juries – that were chosen by sortition.

It was a two-legged democracy. Voting on policy matters. But choosing the office holders not by voting, but by ‘sortition’, random selection.

I first learned this information back in the 1980’s when I read *A Citizen Legislature*.



Thanks to the Law of Large Numbers, random selection of citizens will result in a statistically accurate representative legislature. Based on that premise I wrote a novel back then – not published, not yet. More recently I’ve written a couple of screenplays based on the idea.

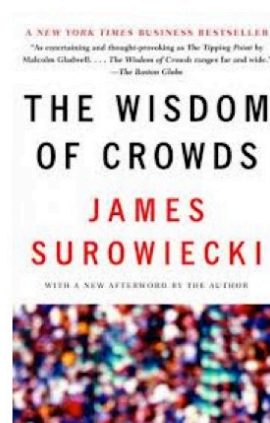
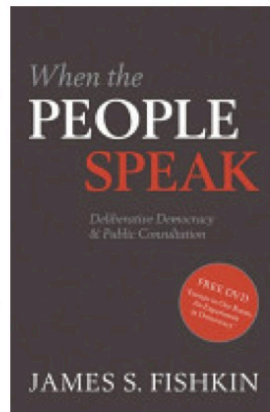
One script is a political action drama – with a lot of comedy in it. When I described it that way to someone recently they said: ‘Oh, it’s just like the shut down and debt ceiling debate.’

The movie I’ve written throws up all kinds of challenges to the ‘ordinary citizens’ chosen to the hypothetical Citizen Legislature. The movie piques and provokes, asking what I think is a central question regarding how to abolish war. That question is: ‘How can we make democracy real?’

To be eligible to put oneself in such a lottery, I would include two requirements. First, that the person would be willing to serve in a three-year staggered term in the House of Representatives. And second, that the person would first pass the same Naturalization Test that we give to those seeking citizenship. With study, that test is about as difficult as the one for a driver’s license. It would ensure a basic understanding of the legislative system.

Randomly-selected citizen bodies are already beginning to be implemented. Iceland recently used such a body to work towards a new constitution. In British Columbia, a Citizen Assembly did something similar. A municipality in Australia has given a randomly-selected body of its citizens control over its budget. In Washington State a commission including sortitioned citizens decides the salaries of state officials. In Belgium a parliamentarian is calling for its institution.

In separate books, James Fishkin and James Surowiecki have empirically proven the effectiveness of deliberative democracy and ‘the wisdom of crowds’.



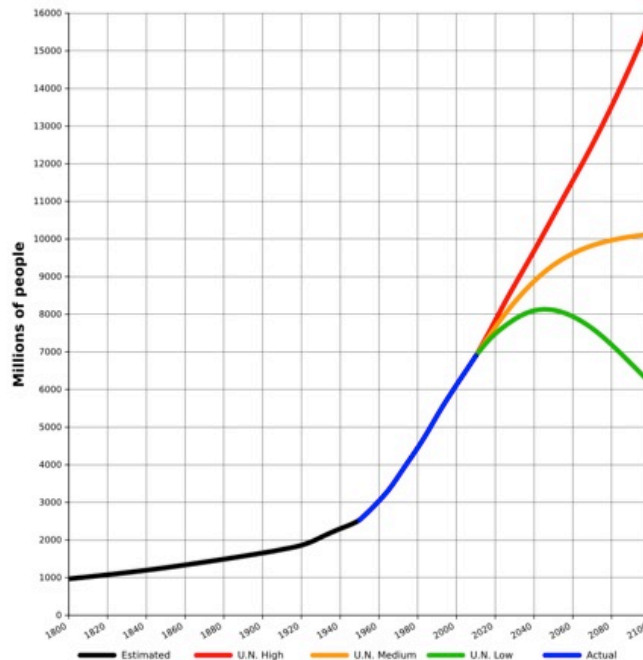
The sagacity of ‘ordinary citizens’ can change the world.

CONCLUSION

It is said that paradigm shifts have a common trajectory. They go from unthinkable to impossible to inevitable. That certainly can be said of the abolition of slavery. I think it can be said as well for the abolition of war.

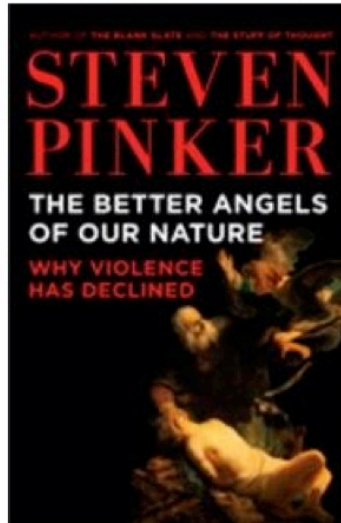
We can take heart that more and more people have moved from ‘unthinkable’ to ‘impossible’. Agreed, they are stuck there, and it looks a long way to ‘inevitable’.

World population has recently passed seven billion. This chart of population growth says to me that nonviolence is, as Gandhi said, ‘as old as the hills’.



We wouldn't be so populous if violence were the dominant mode of human interaction.

But unfortunately it seems we may have come to the verge of 'too much of a good thing'. Procreation and prosperity threaten us with a catastrophic population crash -- as happens in nature all the time.



The fact is that we have been becoming less violent for quite some time. I refer you to Steven Pinker's *The Better Angels of Our Nature*. Some have criticized him for the bias of a glass-half-full. But he also warns that historical declines of violence are not guaranteed to continue. In that regard, I would point to the ticking time bombs of nuclear and biological weapons.

The reason we seem to be overwhelmed with reports of war and rumors of war -- as well as instances of daily domestic violence -- is because we humans are hard-wired to be curious. It makes sense that the news is dominated by violent events. Violence is the exception. Hooray for us. We pay attention to the exceptions. Those reports are warnings. They motivate us to eliminate their causes.

We all of us have the responsibility to make this world a better place. All of us have the capacity to be 'Great Souls' -- 'Mahatmas', as Gandhi was designated. We also all deserve to hold 'the highest office in a democracy' -- that of 'ordinary citizen'. I love what the great nonviolent Roman Catholic anarchist, Dorothy Day, said: 'Don't call me a saint. I don't want to be dismissed so easily'.

We can celebrate these six years that the world has universally and consensually been without sanctioned slavery. Now let us strive to continue the march towards a world in which we make democracy real. By doing that I trust that 'ordinary citizens' all over the world will establish the belief system necessary to abolish war.

Thank you for your attention and ... may the Force More Powerful ... reside within ... and guide you all.

The End

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