

NO 1

Spring 1982

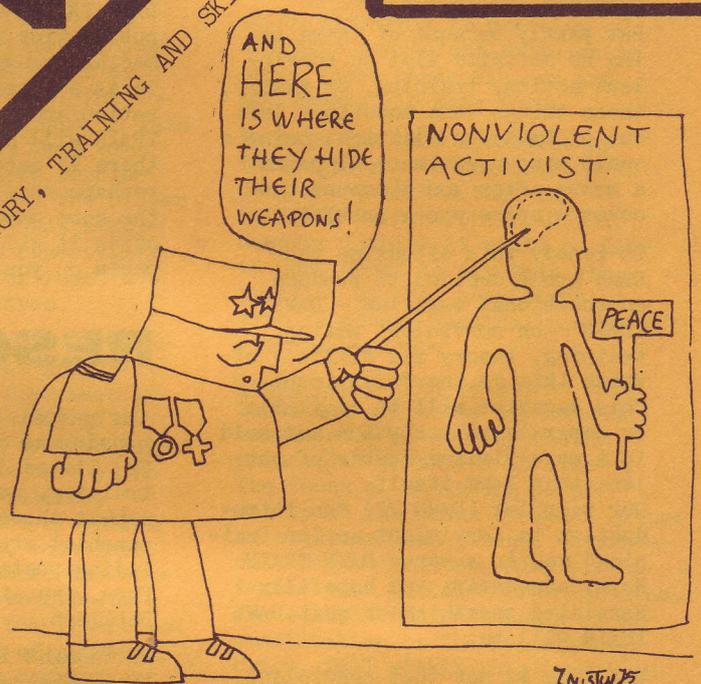
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DAWN TRAIN

AN OCCASIONAL PUBLICATION FROM THE DAWN GROUP

NONVIOLENT ACTION, THEORY, TRAINING AND SKILLS

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DAWN TRAIN no 1

A new publication deserves some words of explanation.

DAWN magazine has now been going some 7 or 8 years, the first issue appearing dated June 1974. Originally DAWN saw itself addressed very much to the "peace groups" scene, and to some extent this is still the case, but for a variety of reasons (including a poor response from these groups) DAWN's coverage became a bit wider. DAWN magazine is now defined as covering "Nonviolent action, civil liberties and movements for change".

But partly because of there being no definite slot on nonviolent action, training, or theory, these things were sometimes left out of DAWN; in addition, being a small size magazine - 11 pages a month after you discount the cover - space was a problem.

To remedy this situation the DAWN group decided to produce an occasional magazine - DAWN TRAIN - on nonviolent action, training, theory and skills - of which this is the first issue. This magazine will be available by separate subscription and sold in a more limited number of outlets than DAWN itself. Our pamphlet (DAWN 72) "An introduction to nonviolent action training" was in a sense DAWN TRAIN No.0, announcing and hopefully heralding something of what DAWN TRAIN will be.

The idea is not that nonviolent action will be totally ignored in DAWN but that DAWN TRAIN will give an opportunity to publish pieces which we could not or would not publish in DAWN - more specialist pieces, longer articles, features on groups etc. We do hope that DAWN TRAIN will interact with those groups in Ireland, and further afield, who believe in a nonviolent way of working, and that.

DAWN TRAIN will contain material which will be directly relevant to their development. To enable this to be so we ask for your support in the shape of articles, reports, and perhaps taking copies of DAWN TRAIN to sell. We hope that DAWN and DAWN TRAIN will complement each other.

Our methods and way of working are crucial if we are to build up a nonviolent social change movement in Ireland. And it is clear that as yet violence is seen by many in our country as a much more ready answer than nonviolence;

this is quite understandable given the weakness of nonviolent groups and the issues which have been ignored or not taken up by them.

To be honest, there is no demand for DAWN TRAIN. To be honest there isn't much of a demand for DAWN either. But we are seeking not to meet a demand which isn't there but to create a demand, and to create an interest in the development of a nonviolent approach and in nonviolent solutions.

A magazine can only do a certain amount. But we would hope that DAWN TRAIN would come to be a publication which nonviolent and social change groups would look to as a resource for ideas, information and critical comment. DAWN TRAIN will appear as often as there is material put together, perhaps once or twice a year; the more material we get the more often it will appear! So that depends on you as well as on us.....

RESOURCES

Our pamphlet "An introduction to nonviolent action training" (DAWN 72) listed Irish resources for training, so we don't want to repeat those here; copies of the pamphlet are available at 50p including postage (30p cover price) from Dawn at 168 Rathgar Road, Dublin 6.

We thought it might be useful to list some network addresses in Britain of the newly formed GNAT - Group Non-violence Action Training - network.

GNAT was established in September 1981 by a group of people involved in the anti-nuclear weapons and power movements to encourage the spread of non-violence training, including more productive meetings techniques.

Scotland
GNATS, c/o 37 West Nicolson Street, Edinburgh 8. Phone 031 225-4414 day, or 031 667-7801 night.

Northern Britain
GNAT, c/o Howard Clark, 248 Keighley Road, Bradford 9. Phone 0274 499374.

Southern Britain
GNAT, c/o 34 Cowley Road, Oxford. Phone 0865 482-249 day, or 0865 43476 night.

In the USA you can contact Movement for a New Society (MNS) - address on page 16



A cockerel greets the first DAWN TRAIN

SUBSCRIPTIONS TO DAWN TRAIN

A 4-issue subscription is £2 minimum, or £3 minimum by airmail. Make payable to Dawn and send to Dawn Train, 168 Rathgar Road, Dublin 6.

Subscribers to Dawn who receive this issue of Dawn Train as a complimentary copy will receive 3 further issues if they subscribe now, i.e. they will be paying retrospectively for this issue - unless they specify that they don't want to pay for it.

You can subscribe to Dawn at the same time as subscribing to Dawn Train; the minimum joint subscription, for 10 issues of Dawn (£3 minimum) and 4 of Dawn Train (£2) is £5.

The frequency of appearance of Dawn Train will vary - it is occasional, with perhaps a couple of issues a year, so a 4-issue subscription may last a couple of years...

The size of Dawn Train may vary from issue to issue, depending on what material is available. Contents in future issues will include a look at Christianity/religion and non-violence, applying nonviolence to different areas of life, and a series or pamphlet on the 'founding parents of nonviolence'.

Dawn will keep you up to date month by month, and Dawn Train will go into 'nonviolent action, theory, training and skills' in greater depth; so, write out that subscription cheque today!

The above rates are minimum and for a 'supporting subscription' add whatever you can afford.

THANKS. Dawn, 168 Rathgar Road, Dublin 6; in Belfast phone 647106.

THE SAME

by Robin Percival

— BUT DIFFERENT

What do we mean by nonviolence? What are the characteristics of an action or activity which enable us to call it "nonviolent"? Is it a method of social change, a tactic used to achieve an important political or social objective which does not involve killing people and rarely the destruction of property? Or is it a philosophy of life which is as much about how we spend our "private" lives as well as how we change oppressive social structures?

There is no definitive answer to these questions. In practice the word "nonviolence" is used to describe both of these things and more. It is a wide-ranging term that has been used to describe many beliefs and many types of activity. Even within the nonviolent community (that is those who in some sense define themselves and their activities in terms of a commitment to nonviolence) there are important differences of emphasis and understanding. These differences are important because they often lead to radically different political perspectives and lifestyles.

There are at least three major traditions of nonviolence. Often the membership of these traditions can overlap as do some of the ideas advocated. Nevertheless they are separated by crucially important differences; differences which need to be understood and acknowledged because they give rise to quite distinct practical implications.

Tradition A: This is where nonviolence is seen and used as a method or technique of social change, usually in the furtherance of fairly specific demands.

It is often carried out by people who are not committed to nonviolence as a way of life, or pacifists in the strict sense of the term, but who see nonviolent action as being the best method of achieving their objectives. There are many examples of this tradition. The struggle for Indian Independence led by Gandhi, the civil rights movements in both Northern Ireland and the USA, the Land League and the recent Hunger-Strikes. The demands of the groups engaged in this tradition have usually been progressive, radical, maybe revolutionary; but not always. The Ulster Workers Strike in 1974 was arguably, an example of an essentially nonviolent campaign for reactionary political objectives.

Some people will, of course, argue that neither the recent Hunger-Strikes or the UWC strike were in any sense nonviolent. They will argue, quite rightly, that in both cases the participants were in no way committed to nonviolence, that there was evidence of intimidation and the threat, sometimes carried out, of violence. But this is to miss the point concerning Tradition A. Many of the finest and often quoted examples of nonviolent action have been carried out by people who were in no way committed to nonviolence and did what they did because it was the obvious thing to do or because there was no other way. Much of the resistance to the Nazis in occupied Europe was of this kind. The best known example is that of the Norwegian teachers who refused to teach Nazi ideology in their schools. Even in the "classic" nonviolent campaigns led by Gandhi and Martin Luther King, many of those most active in the struggle

were committed to nonviolent action only as a tactic. We can find examples in these cases too of intimidation. And neither Gandhi nor King were hesitant in pointing out to the authorities that if they could not deliver the good then violence would be the inevitable outcome. Indeed it is difficult to conceive of any mass nonviolent campaign in which these three factors are not present in some form.

Perhaps the best apologist of this approach to nonviolence is Gene Sharp in his book *THE POLITICS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION*. However I think it would be fair to Gene Sharp to say that his position is that nonviolent action is always tactically superior to violence.

Tradition B: The people in this tradition are those who espouse nonviolence as an over-riding principle, as an end in itself. The focus of attention is primarily on the means by which groups or organisations attempt to achieve their objectives. Many of the traditional pacifist organisations, for example the Fellowship of Reconciliation or the Peace Pledge Union, fall within this tradition. Their energies are spent in persuading people not only of the tactical superiority of nonviolence over violence but its moral superiority. For this tradition, the acid test by which a group or movement is judged is not so much in terms of their objectives but in terms of their methods: are they nonviolent or are they not.

This tradition of nonviolence has its strengths and its weaknesses. Its strength lies in its ability to identify with and support "third way" groups, such as the Buddhists in Vietnam, who offered a radical alternative to the militarism of East and West. But its weakness lies in its sometimes lack of concern with the objectives of particular groups or movements. For example, many within this tradition are eager to persuade nation-states to adopt nonviolent forms of national defence (sometimes referred to as "Civilian Defence")



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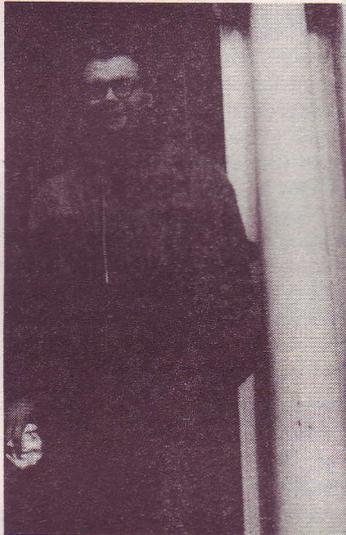
without asking important questions as to whether particular nation-states are worth defending or acknowledging that armies exist more to protect powerful minorities within a country rather than to defend it against an external aggressor. Equally there is a danger of not supporting a movement (however critical that support might be) which is engaged in violent forms of struggle because it is using violence and where there might not be any clear nonviolent alternative, e.g. Southern Africa, Eritria.

Tradition C: This I find the most difficult tradition to describe. It is sometimes called Revolutionary Nonviolence because those who identify with this perspective argue that nonviolence is essentially a commitment to reject all forms of oppression in its many varied forms, and of which overt violence is but one form. In this tradition the objectives of change are as important as the methods of change. Does it open up the possibility for people to live more creatively and to maximise their potential as human beings? Does it free people from the threat of death (nuclear technology) and from economic deprivation? But also does it free people from the oppression of stereotyping (racism, sexism), from authoritarian political and social structures within which people live and which constrict the possibility of choice and growth?

Revolutionary nonviolence is therefore about relationships; how people or individuals relate to one another whether face-to-face (e.g. men and women) or in the larger social organisations of the work-place, the community, the country, the world. Methods of change are important, yes, because the way we achieve social change will decisively affect the future we seek and that we cannot separate the two.

Clearly within this tradition there are many emphases and priorities but there is also a commitment to transform the totality of human relationships. This commitment involves not just resisting the many forms that oppression takes (e.g. nuclear weapons) but also in building the structures of a new society within the shell of the old: a mixed strategy of nonviolent direct action and the building of social and economic alternatives (e.g. health clinics, women's centres, economic co-operatives). I am aware of the danger of oversimplification. Many people might well feel an identification with

all three traditions as well as those who might say, yes, I'm A, B, or C. However I would justify this attempt to delineate forms of nonviolence on the grounds that, whatever their similarities, they do define distinct areas of activities and involvement; they help shape the priorities and policies that we think are important and which groups we will work with and which not. It will, if successful, help us think a little bit more clearly about what is to be nonviolent in the context of modern Ireland and what its relevance is too.



Robin Percival has lived and worked for the last decade in Derry and is a former co-editor of both PEACE NEWS and DAWN

review

monster resource manual

"Resource Manual for a Living Revolution" - "alias: The Monster Manual" by Virginia Coover, Ellen Deacon, Charles Esser, Christopher Moore. New Society Press (part of Movement for a New Society), 1977 and 1978. 351 + xxii pages.

Phew. The book is such a "monster manual" that it's difficult to know where to start in reviewing it: It covers an enormous amount and is, as the principal title would suggest, a resource manual in training for social change - not just for "nonviolent action".

If you wanted to buy one book to have on training then this is it. But it's not an easy book: it'll take quite a bit of time to get to grips with it. You can use it

as an encyclopedia, but if you don't work your way through it to some extent you won't know what's there that you didn't know about before. If you have a particular need you may strike lucky by using the excellent index, which includes a list of tools and exercises covered in the manual; familiarisation with the contents of the whole manual will greatly increase its value to you however.

Some of the information in it is very detailed and at times complex or difficult. But if you're covering all sorts of old and new concepts in ideas and tools - including "known" (ie vaguely heard about) things like macro-analysis seminars, re-evaluation counselling, Freire, plus all manner of other things then it is difficult to avoid being difficult, if you see what I mean. "The monster manual" has the benefit of at least being concise. Some of the information is also exclusively applicable to the US of A but that is the way the cookie crumbles (Americanisms creeping in here!). And it is a pretty good cookie. I've found it valuable working my way through some of it in thinking out one particular group dynamics problem that I'm involved in; no names, but what I hope to do is try to get open, and constructive, discussion and consideration of a problem on which people are feeling defensive. In this particular situation the more powerful voices not willing to at least see whether there are any - or many - quiet but dissenting voices (who I suspect might actually be a numerical majority on this matter).

And of course there are loads of other ideas that it would be good to try out. So take it and use it as you see fit, adapting it to fit your situation and your needs.

In terms of contents it may be useful just to say that it is grouped into 10 sections with the following titles; The theoretical basis of change; how to work in groups; developing community support; personal growth; consciousness raising; training and education; organising for change; exercises and other skills; practical skills; groups to contact. The last of these is mainly US but also worldwide: However in any case it is probably somewhat out of date by now.

PS It's not just for monsters, you can use it too.

- R.F. -

Available from Housmans (5 Caleconian Road, London N 1 9DX) at £4.75 sterling plus 70 p post.

...picture from the early days



NONVIOLENCE IN N.I. - The Experience of the PEACE PEOPLE

Since the formation of the movement in August 1976, the Peace People have always tried to be not just a peace movement but a nonviolent movement - that is one which is not just opposed to the use of violence but which believes that nonviolence can be a real force, one which is in the end greater than that of violence, and which tries to bring about change and the creation of a just and peaceful society by the active use of non-violence.

Five years on the violence and the tragedies continue, and it is little comfort to see that neither the Provos nor the British nor anyone else has made any progress in trying to achieve their goals by violence. The Peace People have not succeeded in radically changing the situation by the use of violence, but they have learned a lot in trying to be effectively nonviolent in a situation as complex as that of Northern Ireland.

There are, I think, two sides to nonviolence. One is the effort to live, as individuals and as a community, without violence; trying to prove by argument and by example that it is possible to do so and that there are nonviolent solutions to problems, solutions which do not in the final analysis depend on someone's threat of violence. That is the less dramatic side of nonviolence, though in the long term it is probably the more profound and lasting. The other is that of nonviolent direct action, action which in one way or another amounts to a confrontation with the forces of violence. Such actions seek to bring the non-violent group into direct contact with whatever or whoever they oppose, and demand a response from the opponent. They should aim to leave the opponent with the choice between conceding the point or openly using force to maintain their position. At its best such action should work by making the opponents as individuals cons-

cious of that choice, and with the nonviolent response of the protesters, even to violence, making them think about their own actions. At the least such action aims to be effective by winning the attention and sympathy of third parties and public opinion in general, exposing the naked violence by which injustice is finally maintained. The lunch counter sit-ins during the Civil Rights campaigns in the US were a good example of such action. Segregation collapsed if nothing was done, and could only be defended by the use of naked force, which discredited its users in the eyes of the rest of the nation - and presumably in their own eyes in their calmer moments.

But the most common form of non-violent action is the march or demonstration; so common is it in fact that it is usually used without any awareness that it is a nonviolent technique. It is through such marches and rallies that the Peace People burst onto the Northern Ireland scene in the late summer and autumn of 1976. Those rallies had a considerable impact.

For the people involved, who came out onto the streets in their thousands to protest about the violence which they saw all around them, they were a great source of strength and encouragement. They broke down real, sometimes physical barriers, and brought people together in a common purpose and a common expression of shared emotion which was a heady, profound, and lasting experience for most of those who were there. And by simply happening they shattered myths and intimidatory barriers which had said for so long that Northern Irish people could not share these experiences, these actions.

BY STEVE MCBRIDE, Editor of "PEACE BY PEACE", The Peace People magazine; and a member of the Peace People Executive.

"We reject the use of the bomb and the bullet and all the techniques of violence.

We dedicate ourselves to working with our neighbours, near and far, day in and day out, to building that peaceful society in which the tragedies we have known are a bad memory and a continuing warning".

Conclusion of the Dedication of the Peace People.

For very many people they were a proof of what could be accomplished by cooperation and left people feeling less isolated, more able to stand up only for what they believed and against what they deplored. Whether inside or outside the Peace People organisation, the rallies gave a powerful surge of strength to people who thought they were helpless in the face of guns and terror.

For the paramilitary groups they were also a profound experience. Those groups had operated for years in the firm belief that, at bottom, they had the support of the communities in which they operated. In a few weeks that confidence was shattered, and the paramilitaries had to rethink their strategies. The Provo's subsequent, defensive strategy of cellular organisation and the more careful selection of targets was largely brought about their new awareness that they could no longer trust the catholic community to keep quiet and that they had to be careful not to push public opinion too far. The fact that they subsequently began to wear masks in areas where they had previously operated openly was another small but significant indicator of the changed situation.

Another more drastic indicator is the statistics of violence. The level of violence dropped dramatically after 1976, and has never again, not even during this last disturbed year, come anywhere near pre 1976 levels. The Peace People would not want to claim all the credit for that, but it is hard to believe that the changed climate of public opinion and the new pressures on paramilitaries did not have a lot to do with it. Certainly many members of paramilitary groups decided to think again about their involvement, a process in which the Peace People were only too happy to assist.

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The rallies were a great emotional wave, initially of sorrow and anger, later, and more deeply, of joy in the newly found fellowship and togetherness they brought about. But the novelty was bound to wear off, and more lasting and constructive ways of building on the foundations which had been laid had to be found. Looked at as an exercise in non-violent action the rallies had been highly successful in mobilising people, in giving them a sense of confidence in what they could peacefully do together, and in shattering the confidence of the paramilitaries. But they were not able to bring pressure for change directly to bear on the sources of violence in the province. And that led directly to the problem with which Peace People were grappling well before the end of the main series of marches in December 1976 - what are the sources of violence in Northern Ireland, and how do you get at them?

The evil of paramilitary terrorism was certainly uppermost in most peoples minds. But terrorist organisations by their very definition are not visible, not available for set piece confrontations when you want them. And the more the issue was discussed the more Peace People were aware that to simply oppose the terrorist groups without trying to do something about the factors which created those groups would have been short sighted folly - and worse, for to perpetuate the comfortable myth that the only thing wrong with Northern Ireland is a few insane terrorists would actually postpone the creation of a just and peaceful society here, not advance it.

Most of the debate in the Peace People since the ending of the rallies, often intense, sometimes stormy, has been on these two closely related questions: what are the sources of violence in Northern Ireland, and how can we, bearing in mind our limited strength, tackle them best at any particular time? To simplify greatly, the general response has been that the most deep rooted sources of violence, and at the same time often the most accessible, is the division between people in Northern Ireland, and more particularly the fears which keep people apart - fears of the other side, and fears of what our side will do if we talk to the other side. And the principal activities of the Peace People have been intended to break down those divisions, at a



Fredheim, the Peace People's house, Belfast

grassroots, person to person level, to prove that Northern Irish people can live and work together, and to provide opportunities for them to do so.

Such activities do not normally amount to "nonviolent direct action" though they do have a significant nonviolent content, in so far as they demand a continuous, conscious, defiance of the pervasive sense of intimidation which hangs over Northern Ireland. That side of such activity is best shown by the Peace People response to the 1977 Loyalist strike, in which much more obvious nonviolent action was employed.

During that strike Peace People were active in many areas, very openly defying the equally open intimidation, and encouraging others to do likewise. In Lisburn teams of two or three Peace People stayed in shops which were likely to be pressured to close, and by their presence prevented threatening messages from being delivered - the bully boys didn't like witnesses - and encouraged shopkeepers to stay open and other people to continue to use the shops. In the Ormeau Road in Belfast Peace People confronted directly loyalist groups who were trying to force shops to close down. The Peace People asserted their right to shop, to walk up and down the road, and to carry on their normal business. Some punches were thrown, some windows were broken, but in the end most of the shops stayed open and the

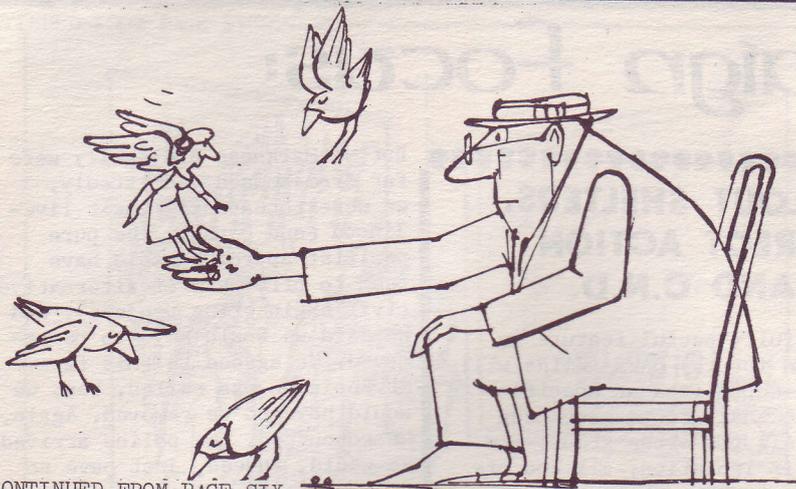
loyalists gave up. In other parts of Belfast Peace People distributed milk and bread so that people would not have to depend on paramilitary charity. In Larne, Carrick, and other towns Peace People sold "Peace by Peace" on the streets, asserting their right to live normally and defying anybody to do anything about it, and often leaving the local thugs standing baffled on the corner (not infrequently with a "Peace by Peace" in their pockets).

Those kinds of exercise were carried on after the strike, for it was realised that simply proving that it was possible to live normally, to ignore the background presence of the big bad paramilitaries, was a vital part of breaking the spell of intimidation and fear. The "Flying Squads", initially teams of Peace People ready to dash off to crisis spots at a moments notice during the strike, became a regular feature of Peace People activity, going into "troubled" areas to sell "Peace by Peace".

This was not just a means of selling the paper - by going into supposedly paramilitary controlled areas, knocking on doors, talking to people, selling "Peace by Peace", they exposed the limitations of paramilitary control and brought encouragement and support to people who often felt beleaguered in their own homes, unwilling to express their views in their own streets. The repeated expressions of incredulity and delight when people found they were being offered "Peace by Peace" rather than "An Phoblacht" or "Loyalist News" was a proof of the value of the exercise. Gandhi it isn't, but small acts like these, which prove that it is possible to live without fear, to go into strange areas without a gun for protection, are important nonviolent steps in a community where division and violence goes as deep as it does in Northern Ireland.

On Ash Wednesday, 1978, a group of Peace People, reacting to a resurgence of Provo violence, decided at short notice to mount a silent picket at Sinn Fein's Belfast HQ. They stood for a time with placards bearing simple Biblical quotations - "Thou shalt not kill" - then left with dignity under attack from a small but hysterical mob. The press heard about the incident, and it received widespread and favourable publicity. But the Peace People involved felt deeply disappointed by the incident.

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Stauber

The purpose of the action had not been to focus hostility at the Provos but to try to communicate with them on a very simple level, but it was clear that nothing whatsoever had been conveyed other than a sense that their territory was under attack. It led to a good deal of soul searching amongst Peace People, and attention increasingly turned to seeking ways of communicating with the supporters and perpetrators of violence. It was virtually the last time, at least to date, that the Peace People engaged in confrontational nonviolence; telling people that we were mad at them seemed less useful than trying to get at the root causes of the violence, however slow and emotionally less satisfying that approach may be.

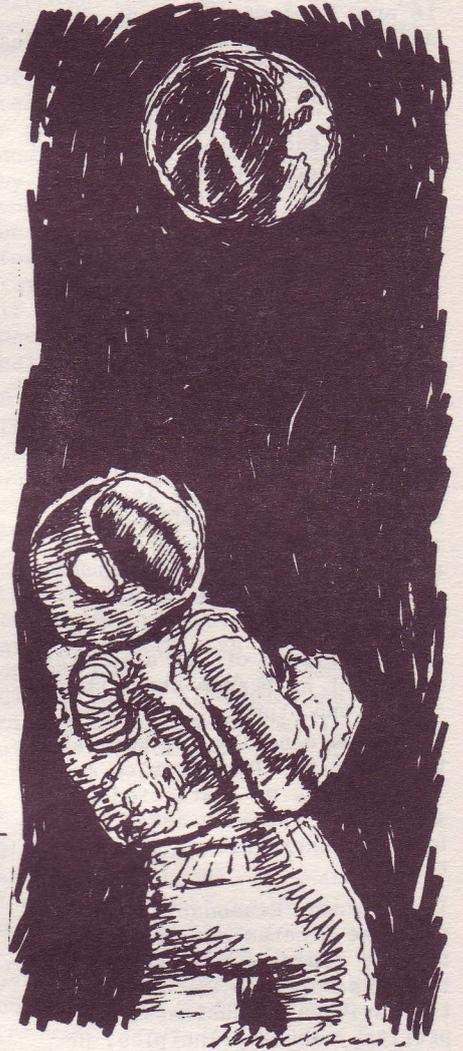
The movement did however seriously consider the possibility of taking nonviolent action against the Emergency Provisions Act, during 1979. It was suggested that by refusing to comply with those parts of the Act, such as car searches and city centre check points, which everyone comes in contact with, it might be possible to focus attention to the Act and prompt the government to act. This step was in the end rejected, partly because it was felt that such actions would not be understood by many people, and partly because the proposal was not supported by many members of the movement. Opposition to the EPA, and pressure on the related H blocks issue, continued by conventional educational and lobbying means.

I have tried here to mention very briefly and inadequately some of the activities of the Peace People which can be considered as non-violent direct action. But in conclusion I have to return to what seems to me to be the basic problem with such action in Northern Ireland - that of deciding who or what you are trying to act against, and what you hope to achieve by so acting?

To simply lay all the blame at the door of one particular group would be not only unjust but also self-defeating, in that it would actually encourage the "them and us, goodies and baddies" approach which is so much of the problem in Northern Ireland. And if you really want to change things, and not just to make a public display of your feelings, then simply carrying banners and placards is not enough. On the other hand trying to non-violently change the attitudes and action of a very large number of people, to cut the division and violence in Northern Ireland off at the roots, is an extremely slow and frustrating job. There are no easy answers.

The power of nonviolence lies in the end in its refusal to acknowledge the power of violence, in its determination to live by love rather than by fear. The fundamental problem in Northern Ireland is fear - fear of the unknown and fear of the all too familiar. Living nonviolently in Northern Ireland means consciously and clearly rejecting those fears, rejecting all the subtle little sectarian pressures which try

to limit what you can do and what you can say. There is room enough for everyone in that kind of non-violent action, and only when enough people are living that kind of nonviolent action every day will it be possible to hope for a non-violent transformation of Northern Ireland. We have a long way to go, and there is plenty for everyone to do if we are ever to get there.



campaign focus:

We chained...They did not saw... We conquered

by Peter Emerson

"What's new on the nuclear front?" With these words - as if the whole arms race was just one great and jolly money spinner - the Ideal Home Exhibition organisers invited certain select people to attend the "first opportunity to view the facilities of a nuclear shelter ... of what promises to be the most spectacular ideal home".

The iniquity of the nuclear fallout shelter business is compound; it pretends that, for you, (if you're rich), nuclear war is survivable - which it ain't; and thereby it boosts government propaganda for the UK's current militarist "defence" policy; thus it is one of the many factors which is leading mankind to its selfafflicted annihilation; it feeds on the most selfish of human instincts; and it's all one bloody great lie.

We were tipped off by a special member of no branch about this "first opportunity" and thus, at 24 hours notice, we were able to picket the June preview and, in so doing, we leafleted the public and formally asked Mr. Robinson's Exhibitions, for a meeting.

It happened. Reasonably genuine surprise greeted our presentation but our appeal - that the shelter bit be scrapped - was not agreed to. Business is business, and profits precede principles. He proposed a further meeting between himself, Mr.Harkness of Ulster Fall-Out shelters, and ourselves.

It didn't happen. Nor at any time did we receive written replies on anything. A telephone reminder brought forth nothing, and on September 8th, the show opened ... with the shelter.

We picketed. We handed in a letter. (We nearly carried out some pacific protest at this stage, but the proximity of our "March for Survival" public demonstration suggested a postponement. Given that the police reckoned that that march would cause a breach of the peace, to postpone was perhaps wise - they could so easily have banned it.) On day two, we showed "The War

FALLOUT SHELTERS, DIRECT ACTION AND C.N.D.

One hopefully useful feature in this (and future) DAWN TRAINS will be an in-depth look at specific campaigns that groups have been waging. All too often groups are working in isolation; all too often we don't know what others have been doing, and we cannot learn from what we don't know.

This CAMPAIGN FOCUS is on the work of the Northern Ireland Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in opposing a nuclear fallout shelter in the Belfast Ideal Home Exhibition. Firstly, NICND secretary Peter Emerson writes about the campaign, and then he is interviewed about this and wider questions of nonviolent action by Rob Fairmichael of DAWN.

Game" in the adjacent church hall, and we picketed, and we handed in another letter.

Ideally, we would have picketed all day and every day... What we did do, however, was hand in a letter on almost every day that the show was on. In each, we outlined yet another reason why the shelter should not be in the exhibition. In each, we begged for its removal.

All in vain, not even a reply. At all times we were courteously received but the bunker remained; (we were told, however, that the shelter would form no part of the '82 exhibition). Therefore, on Thursday 24th, two days before the show was due to end, we - five of us - chained ourselves

to the damned thing. Ideally, the group would have included some young, some old, some male, some female, and some clerics or other such obviously "sensible" members of society. As it was, all five were CND members and each could easily have been labelled as young or trendy or hairy or somewhat otherwise removed from materialistic normality or consumptive conformity.

Have a cup o'tea. Thus was our presence received by the nice Mr. Robinson, just as soon as all concerned had realised that we were indeed chained and that we were likely to remain so... oh, indefinitely, we answered.

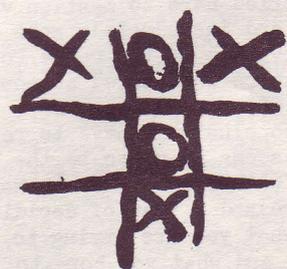
But Mr.Harkness and family were far from amused. Admittedly, we were threatening their livelihood (and perhaps the pure pacifist approach would have been to offer him an alternative civil engineering project), and he said we would have to be removed. We agreed to this fate. Mr.Robinson was called. Yes, we would have to be removed. Again, we concurred. The police arrived. We would, indeed, just have to be removed. Would we go peacefully? We would always be peacefully, we stressed, even if they cut through our padlocks, and even if they took us away, away, away. Good heavens! Would we forever remain pacific? Heads, helmets removed, were scratched. And helmets were replaced. This was almost odd.

Time - 3½ hours in fact - passed. The crowds began to ebb. And the show was soon to close. Still, we remained chained. And the authorities, finding it difficult to be not nice to protesters so nice, left us alone. With ½ hour to go before time, we unchained ourselves, bid farewell, and went for a pee.

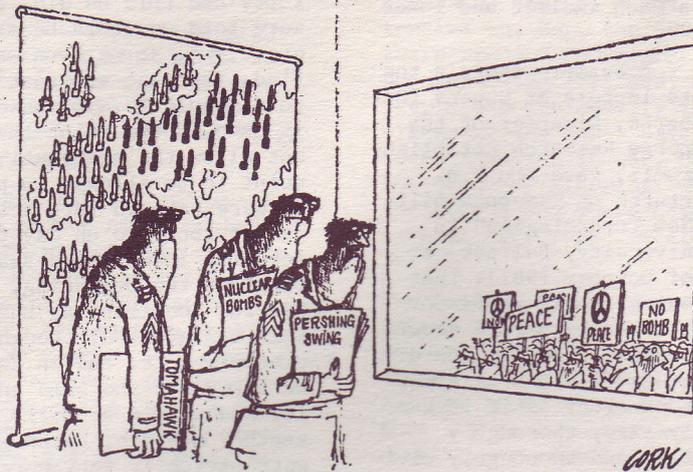
On the Friday or Saturday, we could have returned. But the point had been made, and no argument gains in authority from tedious repetition. At all times our approach was pacifist; we kept our numbers at a non-aggressive five, and we did not respond in any way to provocative behaviour, as when one of our posters was ripped-up by a man too old to know better.

And if there is no shelter next year... (and if the world is still alive next year)... then will it all have been worthwhile.

The press - oh yes - they ignored us. No violence. And the radio interview with Mr.Robinson suggested we were just nice oddities - was that because the clergy had refused to join us?



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"More and more I find all this talk of peace is endangering lives."

Having written this piece preceding about the fallout shelter campaign, Peter Emerson, who is secretary of Northern Ireland Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, spoke to Rob Fairmichael of DAWN about that campaign and about NICND's attitude to civil disobedience etc. (early November 1981)

Rob - You say in your piece that if there is no shelter in the Ideal Home exhibition next year it will all have been worthwhile. Would it be worthwhile this year if there was a shelter next year?

Peter - No, I think we would have failed. I think it was still an exercise that was worth doing, and I'm not sure what else we should have done in order to succeed, but if there is a shelter next year, no, the message is failure.

R - So that's the way you judge it in terms of success or failure. Specific campaign, specific objective.

P - Yeah.

R - Right. One of the posters which were displayed on the picket of the Kings Hall (venue of the Ideal Home exhibition) said "Fallout shelters only make sense in a neutral country". I disputed that with you at the time insofar as I was thinking of the Irish Republic, and in that situation I would feel fallout shelters to be reactionary. Could you comment on that, and in what context you would feel fallout shelters were all right, or are they at all?

P - OK, certainly you made me think a little bit more about the whole subject as a result of your question. I think, let me put it this way, they do not make sense in a militarist country, because they only invite a harder attack. The whole civil defen-

ce programme only invites a harder attack. So in theory nuclear fallout shelters could make sense in a neutral country.

I think you and I would possibly argue in similar vein as to what a neutral country actually needs in the form of defensive forces. I would certainly want Sweden to have no armed forces; granted it's non-nuclear, delighted, but I would like to see it go even further and have no conventional forces either. Now, if you are wanting the world to progress, I think you have got to go from where you are and make steps towards that ideal, and one of those steps might involve a country like Sweden having conventional defence forces and nuclear fallout shelters for the civilian population.

R - Going back to the situation in the Republic, you'd agree fallout shelters at the moment, where neutrality is pretty thin and foreign policy hasn't been in general very constructive, would be a bad thing?

P - Yes, but I wouldn't mind too much if they went ahead with it. If the Republic does opt for positive neutrality and that positive neutrality is interpreted by some as having nuclear fallout shelters all over the place, then so be it, it's not perfect, nothing like, but it's better than them joining NATO.

R - How important was all the prior work in making the event at the fallout shelter nonviolent?

P - I think it was very useful to show that basically we had no dislike against the individual, it was only against his actions, and by having created that personal understanding one could then

have much more hope the message that one was trying to get across would be at least looked at, as opposed to being dismissed straight out of the window. I think it was well worth while.

R - Just one general comment. I feel about CND demonstrations and that kind of thing, sometimes, although there may be a number of people, they do not utilise themselves as best they can in terms of strong posters, or even in terms of people coming along to a picket and actually sitting down so that they are not seen by the public as participating, they could be waiting for a friend, or something like that. I would feel that all the time a group like CND has to be conscious, if it has even only half a dozen people, how it is using those half dozen people.

P - Yes, I would agree with that. The only trouble is that if you really want an organisation to work very smoothly you have to start talking in militarist terms!

R - Well, no, I disagree but there you are. But going on to the media, they didn't turn up at the shelter with the exception of BBC local radio. It wasn't exciting enough for them, and exciting enough is defined in terms of violence or some kind of bigger confrontation.

P - Yes.

R - I would think though that the situation of chaos, or whatever, I don't know what you'd call it, would have something to do - I know that the "Irish Times" did ask Pacemaker (photo agency) to come and take photographs and Pacemaker never turned up - I don't know whether the "Irish Times" didn't ask them very strongly or Pacemaker didn't have somebody free, you don't know sometimes what the situation is. Anyway, they weren't interested.

A question about CND's attitude to nonviolent direct action and civil disobedience. This was one particular example. Is nonviolent direct action something which CND would like to engage in in reaction to other situations?

P - Speaking for Northern Ireland CND, the answer is basically yes. I think talking for national (British) CND the resolutions up for conference this coming weekend, a lot of them are talking

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about direct action nonviolently. I think if one looks at the fact, as E.P.Thompson pointed out in the Hyde Park rally on October 24th, OK, a million people, roughly, have marched through the streets of Europe demanding disarmament but so far they have achieved the reduction of not even a single missile in the armouries of the super powers. And Haig, or was it Weinberger, I get mixed up between the statements of those two, said that it still wasn't enough, and that they don't actually have to respond to such a demonstration. We are going to need, obviously, some more action; there must come a time when a total mass movement is sufficiently massive; OK, one million isn't massive enough, perhaps ten million is required, perhaps a hundred million. But there must come the time when there is the threshold, when sufficient masses actually do change things - like in Poland, like in Iran, like anywhere.

With this particular issue of disarmament we do not have much time, because of the whole advent of Cruise missiles, Pershing II, the whole first strike philosophy, and so on; we are in the ball game of not being able to wait perhaps for that massive demonstration. Things could be achieved by individuals, if those individuals are sufficiently influential; if Mrs.Thatcher turned pacifist, OK, one person could achieve quite a lot, or if the Archbishop of Canterbury suddenly decided to demand unilateral disarmament by an action of civil disobedience, then that one person could achieve quite a lot.

In the absence of that it's got to be, I suppose, just CND and like minded people who do certain, nonviolent direct actions in either sufficient numbers or with sufficient notoriety. And I prefer the sufficient numbers. I don't think one should have to rely on special people, I think we should all be special or all ordinary. Yes, the whole question of time means that some certain direct action will be essential and for me the deadline is Cruise missiles. If those things are coming in, then we have got to have something like the present direct action that is taking place with the people who are tying themselves to the gates of Greenham Common and staying there permanently. Fantastic, but there has got to be a lot more of that and a lot...

R - Greenham Common is?

P - Cruise missile base.

R - But nonviolent action can be done on a much smaller and lower scale.

P - Yes, for example there's the Dr.Roberts lecture at Queens (Dr. L.E.J.Roberts, Director of the Atomic Energy Research Establishment, Harwell, gave the R.M. Jones lectures on "Responsibilities of New Technologies" in Queens University, Belfast, at the end of October 1981). That was happening and it was important that the alternative should be got across. There was the director of Harwell talking about nuclear technology as if it was thoroughly safe, thoroughly responsible, and thoroughly civilised and without accepting the other aspects of it; and there was Queens University actually promoting the whole nuclear industry. It would be quite wrong if that was allowed to take place without, for instance, at least the other alternative viewpoint being expressed.

So, knowing that a public lecture doesn't allow any formal speaking by any participants, then it was a question of how we actually get this message across, so we decided to have a banner and on putting this up it was immediately ripped down,

R - The banner said?

P - The banner was a quote from Sir Martin Ryle - (Astronomer Royal) - it said "On the evidence available, it would seem that the future of the nuclear 'power' industry depends on a continuing escalation of the nuclear arms race."

So having had that banner removed there was only one alternative,

and that was to actually interrupt. And this we did, and we were told we would be allowed questions, so we were satisfied, that the alternative viewpoint would be expressed. When it came to the point they did not allow the alternative viewpoint to be allowed in public and we were ushered into a small adjacent room. So on day two we actually interrupted again, right at the beginning, and asked for questions at the end, and this was granted, though they did discourage it, and on day three we asked for the same and we got it. And we did actually display another message, although they were obviously very worried about what we might do, and they were searching us for banners and posters and any other ancillary equipment.

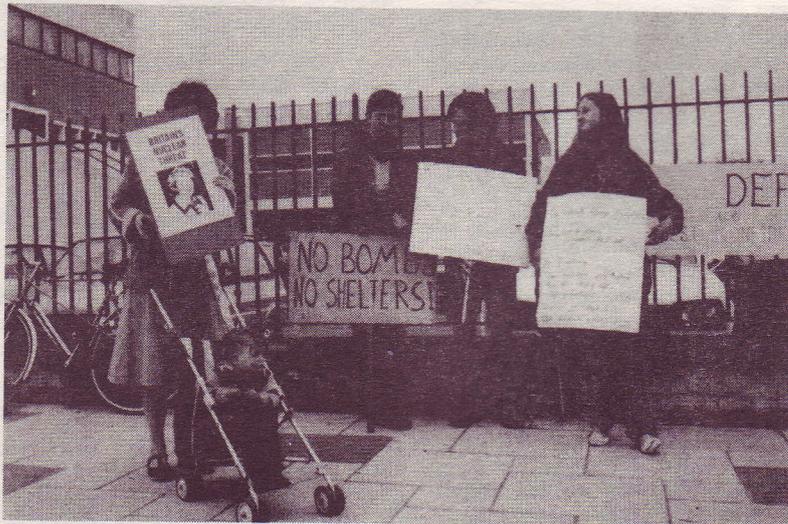
R - Offensive weapons!

P - Yeah. So we actually had the message written on a t-shirt.

R - Right. So you reckon that particular exercise was worthwhile.

P - That was very different from the nuclear fallout shelter. In the nuclear fallout shelter there was something to be achieved, with the Queens University thing there was only the alternative viewpoint to be expressed. So there was no measure of success or failure really.

R - I wanted to ask you a question both in relation to those two particular incidents, the chaining at the shelter and the Queens lecture, and more generally in relation to CND members, whether there is a role for nonviolent action training of one kind or another. In terms of direct action, doing something like role-playing, and that kind of thing,



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so that, for example, you might have anticipated what might have happened when you used the banner, that it would be removed, and then what was the next stage after that etc.etc.

But more generally I am always surprised at the small numbers of (NI) CND members who turn up to particular demonstrations, with the exception of the March for Survival which had massive publicity and massive expense - it cost something approaching a pound a head in the end - so is there a role there both in relation to specific actions and in relation to the membership in general of 500 CND members in Northern Ireland?

P - Yes, obviously one would want to get membership more involved in the day to day activities of CND. I think when it comes to direct action it is important that the people, who are participating in it know exactly what is going on. And I think it's a case, whether you call it direct action training or not it doesn't matter that much, what matters is that the individuals meet and have a thorough understanding of what is going to happen, and discuss with each other the possibilities that can happen. As long as the basic principles of pacifism are understood, and that one knows what is going to happen or what one is going to do when the police come along or when the banners are ripped away, or that sort of thing, and you work out each possibility and discuss it, and everybody knows the views of everybody else, fine, that's OK.

I think therefore you need the training or whatever when you have a specific object in mind. And here was a shelter, right, direct action of some sort was required. Right, let's work it out and see what we're going to do, and start from there and work out all the possibilities of the sort of protests that one can have and come to a direct answer that way.

Dealing with it in a more general way which is what I think you're talking about, I think yes, certainly in our society there's a need for a greater understanding of pacifism and Gandhi-ism and all that etc, the problem comes of how you are going to maintain or even increase the active interest, and that will only happen, I assume, when you have got a specific object in mind.

R - So do you see a lot of potential in, say, the 500 Northern Ireland CND members that's not yet being realised; are they people who are heavily involved elsewhere and don't have the time to be involved in CND, or are a lot of them "sleeping" members at the moment who would have the time if they took the effort to be?

P - I think what is important, and we missed it on both of those events that we've just spoken about, is the publicity. And if the CND membership then sees that CND is not just a sort of drawing room committee but it does actually get itself involved in direct action then I think that will create much more interest.

The disadvantage of more publicity of course is that sometimes the publicity would be bad publicity, if not even provocative publicity. And I'm not too disappointed with the publicity we got on that shelter was so quiet, because I do suspect that we would have been branded as whatever - youth, hairy, trendy, troublemakers, disruptors etc -

R - The young Peter Emerson! -

P - Right, without being allowed to express our own viewpoint, and it would have been a one-sided reporting of the incident, which would have been an unfair reporting. So, hopefully with rather more "respectable" methods of news distribution the message will get around that we're involved in this sort of thing and that will have its spin-off and people will come and say - right, can we help, can we join in too. It's a long term process, and one only hopes, again, with Cruise missiles etc. that ones does have enough time to do it.



TRAINING: NONVIOLENCE STUDY GROUP

by Dawn Ruth Nelson

The Dublin-based Nonviolence Study Group first began meeting in June 1980 as a follow-up to the first visit of Gene Sharp, noted non-violent action theorist and author of "The Politics of Nonviolent Action", to Ireland in March of that year. At a seminar with Gene Sharp during his March 1980 visit, an ad hoc committee was nominated to create a way to sustain the momentum of the seminar as well as to develop the concept of nonviolent action.

As a response this committee circulated a proposal to "establish a primary resource group/team. The members of this team (would) have to be prepared to give a lot of time (initially) to study and research Non-Violent Techniques in order to attain a level of knowledge and some skills. This team would then be in a position to disseminate ideas and give leadership and support to any interested group and also take initiatives in education etc."

The people who responded to this invitation then began meeting monthly and have continued to do so since. The group currently consists of about 10 people who meet regularly.

The first year-and-a-half we have focussed on educating ourselves, which is the initial aspect of our two-part long-range goal of "educating ourselves and others in the theory and practice of nonviolence". We felt we needed to sharpen our perception of what nonviolence is and what nonviolent alternatives are possible in our own situation. Topics studied the first year included "ends and means", violence, power, theory of nonviolence, practice of nonviolence, nonviolence in the Irish situation. We read parts of and discussed works by Gene Sharp, Aldous Huxley, Albert Camus, Jacques Ellul, M.K.Gandhi, Joan Bondurant, as well as the DAWN publication "Nonviolence in Irish History". Mostly our discussions focussed on how to apply our learnings in Ireland and to current problems or issues.

The highlight of the first year was a return visit of Gene Sharp to Ireland in March 1981. After leading a seminar open to the public, he met privately with the Gene Sharp group for several hours.

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In September 1981 the Nonviolence Study Group took a weekend retreat together. Accounts of this weekend from Eoin Dinan and Owen Casey follow here now; Although there is some repetition we have published both since the first is a "participant's" viewpoint and the second that of a "trainer".

The Nonviolence Study Group can be contacted c/o Breifne Walker, Wildmoor, Newcourt Road, Bray, Co Wicklow.



A Participant's View

by Eoin Dinan

The Nonviolence Study Group recently met for a weekend get together. The idea for the weekend was to improve our group dynamics by coming together to share the weekend, to know each other better and our relationship within the group. Bolton Abbey, the home of a small community of Cistercian monks provided an excellent venue allowing the group to feel at home.

The weekend took the following format:

Friday evening - a paper on "non-violence in my life" by Br.Eoin de Bhaldraithe - an interesting paper on his personal religious motivation to nonviolence.

Saturday - a day of nonviolence training.

Sunday - vision for our group - its future goals.

Evenings were filled by light entertainment and concerned conversation.

What this article wishes to report is our Saturday nonviolence training.

Facilitators for the day were that good team from Cork, Eoin Casey and Sean Dunne, both of Cork FoE. Good idea this, to have two trainers we could see them also practising being both dynamic and energetic in their presentation.

The day's session started with our expectations - shared and written on a blackboard and later reviewed. We were 10

people with a variety of expectations.

An introductory lesson had us meeting lion tamers, missionaries, frog jumpers etc. each introducing each other with a "hello I'm Sean the liontamer and this is my friend Jan the deprogrammer and his friend Ellen the missionary and her friend etc. and who are you?"

Exercise 2 was a fear exercise with each of us splitting in pairs to unwind some of our fears.

Then came the bump exercise of touch which got us all in centre to reach out and find two different people to hold onto or to touch and then untangle the circle without letting go. This proved to be a tangle with knots (of laughter).

Exercise 4 was the fishbowl exercise which allowed a roleplay scenario of quick decision making. This was in the form of one group in the centre who happened to be on a picket line - the situation was a T.V.crew arrived to find out what the heck people, like these good citizens were there protesting about a "neutron bomb" anyway. The exercise proved a good way of getting the message the picketers had to the viewers - and given 5 minutes only to decide who might speak or say what before the live show got on the air. Should it be a cleric on the picket line? Who had the facts and knowledge on the neutron? Who were we trying to tell?

That one over and we were all in the middle of the floor again, loosening up and having a gradual scream of a time.

Next roleplay was that on a meeting discussing a relevant topic, each person given a slip of paper discreetly telling them what role to play. There was an initiator, a coordinator, a loud mouth agitator, a silent member, a compromiser, an opinion seeker, a tension reliever and an agent provocateur. This discussion gave way to the obstructor and loud mouth agitator, the two opposers of anything that was constructive, both opposers enjoying their role as hothead stir-ups.

Afternoon exercises included a trust game where one member, eyes shut, was lead around on a walk by another (not in darkness). Then the listen game - this was recounting the experiences of the trust game with the "listener" telling verbatim an account of what was just told to them.

A good roleplay for as many as are present is the "oppression game". We were 2 oppressers, 5 workers, 1 supplier and 2 guards. The exercise had the workers get a card waged by the oppressers for menial tasks given by the supplier. The quicker we covered the cards the easier we moved on to freer less oppressed position (no shining the suppliers car or boots). Here the scenario was more like the preindustrial era with a large "thank you Mr. employer". The workers were powerless - the capitalist oppressers and supplier the powerful. Due to one (and without support of co-workers?) worker questioning unremittingly the work nature and conditions - the balance of power was changed. One oppresser becoming emotionally remorseful and understanding his workers' plight.

Then came street speaking and campaign work. The emphasis was to learn your subject matter and quite honestly if caught on a question say so and that on another occasion you'll have the answer available.

We went on to discuss our vision of a world in 1991. This proved easy, small groups listing and drawing the possibilities. Further discussion allowed for meeting review scrutinizing positive and negative roles. A review was then made of our expectations.

In all, the nonviolence training day proved beneficial fun to the group, not only the strength in "togetherness", we were also taught the skills of nonviolent action.

Gene Sharp on his visit to Ireland this year spoke of "a great need for nonviolence training but that the preparation must not be talk in isolation, rather that nonviolence be a method of living our life as much as a way of organising it".



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A TRAINER'S VIEW

by Owen Casey

Two members of Cork FoE arrived at an abbey in Co.Kildare one recent Friday night. Outside there was torrential rain, thunder and lightning, classic horror story setting. Inside the atmosphere was quite a contrast; the Nonviolence Study Group were gathered for their first weekend session and as I entered the room I felt a slight tenseness, nervousness from those gathered, as well as in myself. This was only to be expected because none of us were sure how the next day's nonviolent action training session was going to develop. On my part it was the first time that I was going to facilitate (with Sean Dunne) a session with a group I had never met before and I think the group members were a little apprehensive about their first experience of training, not knowing exactly what to expect or what would be expected of them.

Next day we began promptly at ten o'clock as planned (good sign of a group!). We introduced ourselves to one another, using the "I'm Lenny, the liontamer" exercise (1.p.73). When Sean and I knew the others' names we brainstormed (3.p.11) a list of expectations for the weekend (without any questions or comments allowed) to which we would later return.

After a short loosening-up exercise (1.p.78) - "Touch Blue", the old party game, we had an exercise to investigate how well we listen, as well as to open up the interpersonal contact in the group: break into pairs and take five minutes each to describe something personal, in this case it was to tell of something one is afraid of. Then each pair goes to another pair and each of the four relates his or her partner's fear to the other pair.

A basic tool of group interaction was next taken up - the "round" (3.p.10). The first we did that day was to go around the group and to get their positive feelings after their first hour's activity. We insisted on some positive rather than negative feeling in this first round. Another procedure would be to have a round for negative feelings first, followed by a round for positive feelings, the group allowing each member a short time without interruption in which he/she could be free to express feelings he/she might otherwise have kept locked up.

Another basic tool for groups is roleplaying, which allows a group to investigate reactions, feelings or strategies in various situa-

tions before the event and so to work out the best course of action. We began by doing an exercise called "the fishbowl" (2.p.B22). Four members roleplayed a picket line at the U.S.Embassy in protest at the neutron bomb when they were approached by a T.V.crew and given 5 minutes to organise one person to be picked and briefed for an interview. The remaining group members silently observed the scenario. After the 5 minutes we sat around and analysed how the four in the centre had reacted to the pressure of having to decide quickly who was to be interviewed and what points he/she had to try to convey. Suggestions as to better ways of dealing with the problem could then be roleplayed if the group wanted to test them more concretely. It is important to keep the analysis on the process of the decision-making, interaction in the group and the effectiveness of the action rather than on the content of the scenario (e.g.what points about the neutron bomb should be covered) or the quality of the acting of the roleplayers.

After that much headwork a few loosening-up exercises cleared people's brains and bodies and then it was back to the roleplaying again - this time everybody had a role to play as well as observing everybody else. The setting was a normal group meeting at which a specific topic had to be discussed. Sean and I assigned roles to each of the members (1.p.44 et seq.) by giving each a slip of paper with roles named on them, e.g.information-seeker, facilitator, agent-provocateur, consensus-seeker, ego-tripper etc. After about 15 minutes in the roles we stopped and people tried to identify the roles others were playing. This led on to an analysis of how different roles affect the way a group operates and how people play different roles at different times and in different situations.

We then brainstormed two lists of roles - those that are negative/harmful in a group and those that are positive/useful in a group, and followed the brainstorm, as usual, by discussing the more contentious, interesting or unusual items in the lists. We finished the morning session by playing a few games, Knee-sit (or Sit-in-a-Circle) and Tick-Tock (4.) and doing a quick round of the group to get feedback, without discussion, or how each of us felt at that stage.

After dinner a trust walk seemed appropriate to start with (3.p.S25). Pairs go off outside, A leading B who keeps his/her eyes closed; after 5 minutes walk, change around

and B (open-eyed!) leads back A who now is the blind person. This is best done in silence, instructions being given non-verbally, allowing both partners to sense experiences without the intrusion of language. A trust walk is a new experience that most people enjoy thoroughly if they allow themselves to get into it.

When the pairs arrived back in the room about 10 minutes later we did another listening exercise, to stress the need for activists to develop their skill at listening to others. It is called 5-2-1 (1.p.84): for 5 minutes A tells B of some experience, in this case their reactions to the blind-walk; B listens without speaking and then takes 2 minutes to feedback the spirit of A's feelings on the experience; A then takes 1 minute to say how he/she felt B had picked up what he/she had said. The roles should then be reversed.

The next exercise was a roleplaying exercise called the "Oppression Game" (1.p.269). It was not very successful in that it did not come to any satisfactory conclusion for us as a group and we were a bit confused as to what we had learned from it, if anything. I will not describe the complexities of it here but I would like to try it out again in the future because I think it could be a valuable learning exercise for a group. For my part, I did learn that such complicated exercises have to be very carefully prepared and, even with all that, a facilitator has to risk having a flop on his/her hands every now and again. The risks that one takes that turn out well make one forget the others. This exercise was saved from total disaster by the analysis after it, which turned up some good ideas that might not have been aired otherwise. Quick rounds of analysis after each exercise or stage of a meeting are a constant check-back and source of ideas and allow feelings to be expressed that might otherwise be ignored in the rush on to the next item on the agenda.

We finished the afternoon session with an exercise designed to help a group to work out its priorities and future activities in such a way that everybody gets a chance to have an input. Called Vision Gallery (2.p.D3 and 1.p.254), each person takes some time to write, draw or otherwise record his/her ideas of what the future would be like if things went well for the next ten years. They next go into pairs and combine the visions of the future into a composite for each pair. Two pairs then get together and combine to get a composite of the four people's vision;

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Scenarios of the future

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and so on until the group has a full composite of everybody's ideal future. Time limits should be adhered to for this or the exercise could take the full ten years to complete. When long-term goals are clearer a group might then brainstorm a list of activities to undertake in the short-term and by elimination arrive at a manageable number of priorities for action that reflect the interests of the group as a whole.

Sean and I were returning to Cork that night so after tea we had just an hour-long session to review the first brainstormed list of the day, on expectations for the weekend and to get negative and positive feedback from everybody in the group, in a round.

The group intended continuing their session the next day, using some of the ideas and techniques we had introduced. This is a feature of nonviolent action training: once introduced to it a group can continue to benefit from it in their future meetings and if they have a few manuals, like those referred to below, can develop their use of the techniques for their own purposes without outside interference from such as Friends of the Earth.

(References in the text to sources are not comprehensive; most of the exercises appear in some form in more than one of the books below)

SOURCES:

1. Coover, V. Deacon, E. Esser, C. Moore, C. "Resource Manual for a Living Revolution";
2. Jelfs, M. "Manual For Action"; (out of print);
3. Brandes, D. and Philips, H. "Gamemasters' Handbook";
4. "The New Games Book"

(available from Housman's Bookshop)

review

"From protest to resistance - the direct action movement against nuclear weapons". Peace News pamphlet, No.2, written and compiled by various people. 68 pages, £1.25 (UK) plus 15p postage from Peace News, 8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham 3, England.

The growth in the acceptance of nonviolent direct action as a legitimate tactic is important. If those engaged in it in Britain opposing nuclear weapons at the end of the 1950's and early 1960's were certainly not the first people to go for direct action they did strike a blow for it as a method as well as for their disarmament aim. The times they were-a different, as Dennis Gould says;

"At this time there were no community newspapers, alternative press, squatter's movement, gay movement, feminist movement. There were no community bookshops, wholefood shops, community cafes, arts labs, or street theatres."

And yet things haven't changed that much. The spectre of nuclear war is still with us. The issues of poverty at home and abroad, racialism, sectarianism haven't faded away. But perhaps the potential for organising now is greater. You can read elsewhere in this issue about some current thinking from (NI) CND on direct action; now, direct action is more likely to come from CND itself - whereas at the time of this pamphlet it was separate if some of the people were the same.

April Carter says (p.23) that the Committee of 100 and the Direct Action Committee (a kind of predecessor to the Committee of 100) were most successful "when the authorities misreacted." But they could react forcefully and viciously enough. 6 of the organisers of the attempted walk-on at Wethersfield USAF base were singled out and the men given 18 months imprisonment, and the one woman, Helen Allegranza, 12 months; "She interrupted the judge in his delivery and said she wanted to be treated like the others. Prison proved a destructive experience for her. A few months after her release she took her own life." (p.46)

An extreme example perhaps but for others there were many personal costs, and fines, bindings over, prison, military detention (for protesting members of the armed forces) etc. As Ross Bradshaw says in his Preface; "Now I wor-

ry that we are not prepared for the State's backlash - in the '60s, the Committee of 100's leadership was jailed on conspiracy charges. How would we react now, for example, if our peace movement press were closed down?" (p.4) How will the state move now? Its propaganda may be more skilled but the military state does not live by propaganda alone.

The pamphlet has an obvious relevance to Northern Ireland with the North being part of the UK being part of NATO etc.; but the Republic has much of a hand in the western European military pie too (e.g. Dame Court but also things like the "Timoney Tank", the EEC etc.). And if the Republic has no nuclear weapons what if there was a "settlement" of the Northern situation with the Republic being invited into a re-styled NATO? If it was the right deal on the North the Silde de Valera's of this world would jump in there (she did in effect say a constitutional settlement on an all-Ireland basis would mean a whole new ball game on the military alliance front). Irish neutrality may not be a dead duck but it is certainly a rather ill one. Direct action on this front, as on others, may be necessary - and activists will face more vicious laws than in the UK. How will we be prepared - and how will we come to the aid of our activist defenders?

As well as detailing much of a chronological nature, the pamphlet raises important questions like the cooperation of pacifists and non-pacifists in direct action (p.20) and the problem of a "mass organisation" (p.21) which may depend considerably on media attention (the prime Irish example of recent years being of course the Peace People). And you may get some oldie but goldie ideas - e.g. a sponsored auction of military establishments and equipment! (p.55)

It's a well produced pamphlet with plenty of contemporary illustrations and leaflets etc. reproduced. In a couple of cases (Austin Underwood, p.7, and Nicolas Walters, p.25) it isn't immediately clear that the pieces concerned were written then not now, which might be a bit confusing, the inserted "Sources" slip notwithstanding.

"From protest to resistance." Protest, protest and protest again. But there are times when protest is not enough, when because of the way society, the economy and the state are organised protest is ignored. Resistance cannot be so ignored. If well begun is half done we haven't even begun the beginning yet.

"Handbook for Satyagrahis" by Narayan Desai. Published by the Gandhi Peace Foundation, New Delhi, and Movement for a New Society, Philadelphia, 1980. Subtitle; "A Manual for Volunteers of Total Revolution". 57 + xiii pages, A5 size.

If prophets are oft mentioned or quoted but seldom understood this is certainly true of Gandhi. Even if there are ancient and modern links between Ireland and India, I would feel that the figure of Gandhi stands out for us as someone essentially eastern rather than western, and thereby either boring or an enigma.

While I respect Gandhi's role, both in India and worldwide, as an exponent of an activist for nonviolence and total social change, I could not pronounce myself a fan of his. Perhaps it is partly I have not got into his words and actions enough, and partly that I don't tend to dwell on personalities.

However, here is a book which I feel that I can, and we can, relate to well. It is a handbook, and if that summons up boring connotations for you it's a decidedly unboring exposition of the Gandhian method of struggle, mainly in relation to current day India. As such it represents one way to get to grips with Gandhi's legacy.

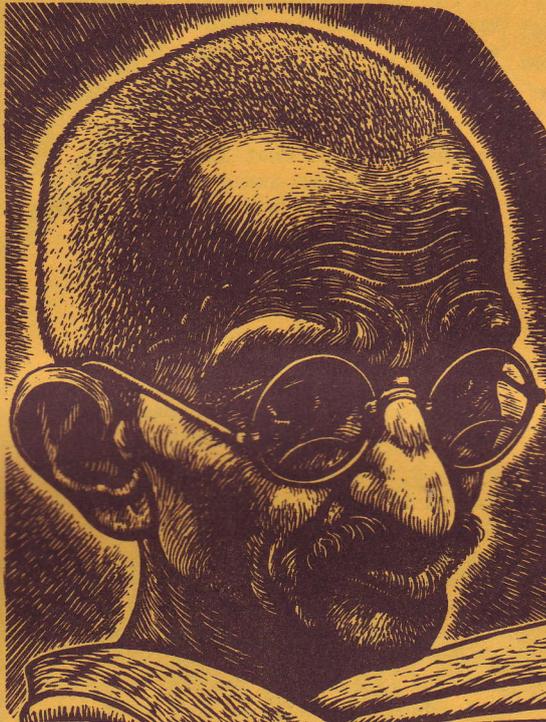
It also seemed strange reading it here in Europe, a book published in both the USA and India; that makes for an interesting feeling of whole-earthness in reading. Both writer and forward writer (the latter being George Willoughby) emphasise the culture-relatedness of training, but most of it is easy to get to grips with and try to relate to our own situation; those examples which are specific to India should be taken as concretising the book rather than making it "out there"; western equivalents for some can be thought of.

The best way to do the book justice is to let some of it speak for itself. Just to mention that it does have a glossary of Indian terms! A "Satyagrahi" is someone who practises "Satyagraha", Gandhi's term for his method of non-violent action but literally meaning adherence to truth.

First, a couple of paragraphs from George Willoughby's forward; "The Handbook confirms what is obvious; that concepts and methods of training are strongly influenced by the culture and historical experience in which it is rooted. What works in one culture

may not work in another; adaptation and experimentation become essential tools in developing training and in learning from each other.

"Secondly, the Handbook focuses on the need to change social, political and economic institutions, and the necessity of the social change agent, the Satyagrahi, to perfect oneself, to build a disciplined way of life that will enable the social change agent to continue in effective struggle. The Handbook lays down guidelines, or truths, to be followed by the social change agent. Training in the United States focuses on much the same major objectives, but concentrates much more on process, the 'how-to-do-it' rather than the essence, the motives undergirding the nonviolent movement. Is it possible that our training processes need to give more emphasis to these 'truths'?"



Just to mention too that Narayan Desai himself has been involved in the struggle a long long time, lived with Gandhi for many years and helped found the Shanti Sena or Indian "peace army", and is involved now with building people's committees.

Some quotes;

"A Satyagrahi has a creed, has a value-system, has certain methods of working. But these he/she uses like an artist, not in a set way, but according to the need of situation. Each act of a Satyagrahi, therefore, becomes an independent act of art. Gandhi practised this art like a master artist..." (page 1)

"Education has been used by the

exploitative society as a sophisticated tool to keep the oppressed community under the spell of the culture of speechlessness. A Satyagrahi tries to strike at the very root of this system but which widens the gulf between the classes." (page 14)

"A Satyagrahi tries to break the speechlessness of the masses through the methods of dialogue and conscientization. Cultural revolution is against all exclusiveness of human beings and is for all inclusiveness." (page 17)

"A Satyagrahi goes to the people in order to learn from them." (page 25)

"Total revolution means a radical and quick change in values, attitudes, relationships and structures. This chapter deals with creating infrastructures of the Total Revolution. Usually changes in structures follow a revolution, but Total Revolution, which is a peaceful one, tries to build its own structures while striving to change the current system. Total Revolution tries to act on two fronts; it raises a new structure from the ground even as it razes the old one to the ground." (page 32)

"The idea that truth may not necessarily be wholly on her/his side, makes nonviolence an inevitable condition of Satyagraha." (page 49)

And a final quote from Gandhi himself;

"I believe myself to be a revolutionary, a nonviolent revolutionary. My means are non-cooperation. No person can amass wealth without the cooperation, willing or forced, of the people concerned.

So, what more can I say; there's many lifetimes wisdom contained therein. Some of it may not "translate" to the west but that's not something to worry about - except insofar as some of it should. On a lighter (sic) note, I also have a great liking for thin books, this one is 60-odd pages, but I do not think I'm alone in being lazy like this!

It's priced at \$ 3.70 in the USA and available from the Transnational Collective, Movement for a New Society, 4722 Baltimore Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19143, USA. I don't know whether movement bookshops like Housmans in London have stocks of it - if not then they should certainly order. As stated at the beginning, it's co-published by the Gandhi Peace Foundation, New Delhi, and the Movement for a New Society, Philadelphia.



letters
to

dawn

Well, surprise, surprise, there wasn't much of a reaction to our pamphlet.

DAWN 72, "An introduction to Nonviolent Action Training", is a 16-page A4 pamphlet including; 'Analysis' on 'Why training?'; evolution and revolution; spiritual exercises; training accounts; tools - games, quick decisions, role play, brainstorming, strategy and decision making games, group dynamics, and a listing of group resources and printed materials. It's priced at 30 pence (add postage) and available from DAWN at 168 Rathgar Road, Dublin 6.

One letter which we did get and which we publish here in full is from LYNNE SHIVERS of Philadelphia;

"Dear DAWN

The special issue on nonviolence training is wonderful! As one who has seen the potential for non-violence training in Ireland for some time, I love to see that now it has been identified as a potential for organizers there. I hope and expect that nonviolence training will do in Ireland what it has done elsewhere, when conditions are ripe: it will strengthen and widen the nonviolence social change movement; people will get more interested in the movement since there are more opening points, more energy and excitement.

I'd like to share a few comments, little additions to the special issue. One of the articles says that training must be thorough --- don't be superficial. Well, yes and no. If we wait until we have all the answers, we may never get started at all! I suggest that it is better to be as well prepared as possible, and to be as thorough as possible. But better to go ahead and experiment and learn from our experience as well as our theories, rather than act solely on our theories alone. The perspective of experimenting with Truth, I think, is one of the most attractive qualities that Gandhi had and which appeals to us so much.

Another perspective in an article states that we should deal with the personal and the spiritual aspects of change FIRST, before we take on social issues. Again, I think that this perspective is not well thought out. If we follow that line of thinking, we might never take on social change at

all! I suggest that we need to deal SIMULTANEOUSLY with both the personal and the political, and let the praxis help each process.

Patrick Comerford states one point of view in the controversy around the relationship of spiritual concerns and nonviolence; I would like to caution that his view is not the only one. To equate them is to paint oneself into a difficult corner because you are effectively cutting off people who do not see nonviolence as a spiritual quality and goal. I think Patrick is, in effect, equating pacifism and nonviolence here. Although they are similar, and often people with one set of views hold the other, I agree with Gene Sharp emphatically that they are NOT the same. Pacifism is a set of beliefs based on the sanctity of human life; it is a religious code or creed. One can be a pacifist and not take part in non-violent actions all her/his life. On the other hand, nonviolence/non-violent action is a means of achieving social change, which effectively denies the use of physical weapons. Gandhi's position on this was interesting. He came to the position that leaders of campaigns should see nonviolence as a way of life and as a set of spiritual qualities, etc., but that the bulk of the satyagrahis, or participants in a campaign, did not have to see nonviolence as anything more than the way in which change was achieved. This is an important controversy in the movement that each person has to come to some position on.

Finally, the elephant game, I hasten to add (page 8) is NOT an introductory game. The game is, for one thing, about two and a half hours long, if it is done well. Too long for most introductions. Second, it raises a number of issues that require ample evaluation --- not the function of introductions! Third, the game requires trust of each other, and trust is not yet developed at the beginning of a workshop or conference.

I would like to remind my Irish sisters and brothers that action creates a movement; a movement is not created solely by discussion groups. Some of us in the movement have learned that unless members of a study group take on a small action, like street speaking, or leafletting, or street theater, within six months of forming a group, then people will lose interest and leave. There seems to be an important morale-builder function in taking part in even a small action. Anyone who has ever street-spoken for the first time remembers how fast

knees can shake; they also remember how exciting it is to overcome those fears, and realize that more fears can be melted by facing them squarely! Besides, unless one takes on a small fear of street-speaking, how can we take on the infinitely more difficult issues of unemployment, poverty, corruption, hierarchies, etc., etc.?

One additional resource available is training programs of varying lengths. There are three at the Philadelphia Life Center: a monthly Orientation Weekend program. Too small to come just for that, but available if you are in the U.S. for other reasons. Second is the two week training program, scheduled five times a year, usually in November, January, March, May, August (though the November 1981 program is cancelled; we are doing renovations). Third is the nine-month training program which begins each autumn. This will be the tenth year we will have this program available. Write us for more information on these programs.

Irish friends should know that the War Resisters League in New York City and the Resource Center for Non-violence in California run similar programs. And there is a training center in the Netherlands which runs training programs as well: write to Yvonne de Bruijn, Meth Medura, Weverssingel 7, Amersfoort, Netherlands. Yvonne and other community members have worked and trained at the Philadelphia Life Center; they do exciting work.

Of course, what is most important is that Irish activists shape and mold and create their own models and training methods and movement --- what an exciting time ahead for its members! I am looking forward to the activities and events in the next year.

Best wishes.

Peace,

Lynne Shivers, 803 S.49 Street, Philadelphia, PA 19143 USA"

The Philadelphia Life Center which Lynne Shivers refers to is the West Philadelphia Movement for a New Society (MNS) community; those interested can contact Lynne at her own address or by writing to MNS, 4722 Baltimore Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19143, USA. DAWN Belfast can lend you a few leaflets about MNS and training programmes if you're interested (DAWN, 63 Haypark Avenue, Belfast 7, phone 647106).

For an extensive review and extract from the book 'Moving toward a new society', written by people involved in MNS, see DAWN 32 (available from DAWN for 10 pence plus postage).