

# The Broken Rifle

Newsletter of War Resisters' International



**SMALL ACTIONS - BIG MOVEMENTS  
THE CONTINUUM OF NONVIOLENCE**

**WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL  
JOINT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE  
CAPE TOWN SOUTH AFRICA**

**4-8 JULY 2014**

co-hosted by  
The Ceasefire Campaign



## African Groundings: War Resisters International's African Engagement

A quick and cursory view of the history of War Resisters International (WRI) – an organization responsible for many wonderful small actions but rarely credited for its inspiration of big and effective movements – had hardly any connection to Africa at all. But that initial impression would be incorrect. Though often behind-the-scenes and without fanfare or spotlight, key members of WRI have played significant roles in significant aspects of the continent's anti-colonial and anti-war moments over the past 90-plus years since WRI's 1921 founding. The July 2014 international conference in Cape Town, South Africa is simply the most public – and perhaps the most ambitious – of these endeavors.

### Background

It was post-WWII that WRI connections with liberationists on the African continent intensified – at first through the work of five conscientious objectors (CO) and militant CO supporters: African American objectors Bill Sutherland and Bayard Rustin, Jean Van Lierde of Belgium, Michael Randle of Britain, and Pierre Martin of

France. Each in their own way strengthened WRI ties to groups and peoples in “the motherland” and attempted to ground, though the 1950s, 60s, and 70s, a militant nonviolence connected to the loose WRI network.

Sutherland gave his life towards these ends. Relocating from the USA to the British colony of the Gold Coast in 1953, Sutherland formed a WRI chapter along with some Accra-based Quakers, internationalists and anti-colonialists. His marriage to educator and author Efua Sutherland drew him closer to the freedom movement, and he (along with Rustin) took part in early dialogues on strategies and tactics with the man dubbed “the Gandhi of Africa” – Kwame Nkrumah. Nkrumah's “positive action” program – a merging of Gandhian technique, non-violent direct actionist politics, and indigenous cultural sensibilities, led Ghana to become the first newly independent nation on the continent. Capital city Accra and Nkrumah's Convention People's Party (CPP) became the center not only for Pan-African aspirations but for a new hope among Western peace movement leaders about the possibility for

### Editorial

WRI has joined the world in mourning the passing of Nelson Mandela. At the same time, we have been devastated by the loss of our Chair Howard Clark - one of WRI's own inspirations.

It seems fitting that this The Broken Rifle focuses on stories of antimilitarism, reconciliation and social movements in Africa, particularly in the run up to the Small Actions, Big Movements: the Continuum of Nonviolence conference that Howard was so passionate about. We will go to South Africa to learn from the experience of those who worked and walked with Mandela, and from those who today continue the nonviolently for change in Africa and elsewhere.

Many of the articles in this edition are written by those active in the African Nonviolence and Peacebuilding Network, formed in Johannesburg in July 2012, and key in the planning of the conference.

Matt Meyer kicks us off with a look at the place the upcoming conference has in the history of African engagement with WRI - and indeed the ways non-African WRI groups have become involved in the life of that continent.

On South Africa itself, read Pearl Pillay's account of the background and impact of 2012's Marikana massacre, and Zara Trafford's piece 'Prostitution, Patriarchy and Power in the Military', on the work on Embrace Dignity - one of the key conference partners.

From elsewhere in Africa, we have Moses Monday of the Organization for Nonviolence and Development looking at Nonviolence at work in South Sudan, Elavie Ndura on Dealing with Trauma in Post- Conflict Burundi and the African Great Lakes Region, and American Friends Service Committee's Dereje Wordofa on the links between poverty, unemployment, security and hope in Africa.

April Carter contributes a wonderfully insightful piece - Lessons from the Arab Spring - taking our attention to North Africa and the surrounding states.

Hannah Brock

widespread social transformation.

Van Lierde's African involvement followed a parallel path. In the late 1950s in Brussels, on the eve of Ghana's independence and as the rest of the continent was abuzz with interest in replicating Nkrumah's example, Van Lierde formed the Amis de Presence Africaine, an organization committed to developing and supporting nonviolent strategies for the liberation of the Congo. He struck a close friendship with Congolese leader and first Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, which lasted till Lumumba's assassination in 1961. Van Lierde remained a strong critic of neo-colonialism and the continuing militarization of Africa.

**Foreground**

It was French atomic testing in the Sahara desert near its West African colonies that next attracted the attention of WRI members, Pan Africanists, and anti-nuclear activists worldwide. Bill Sutherland took the lead, this time joined by Rustin, British WRI Chair Michael Randle, Rev. Michael Scott and others – including a strong contingent from within the Ghanaian CPP and the Accra-based All-African Federation of Trade Unions. French economist and WRI member Pierre Martin left his job at UNESCO to join the Sahara Protest Team; dozens put their bodies in harms way, marching into the desert to stop the bombing. After a series of local events featuring the international team (ansd attracting international attention) took place in Ghana, Upper Volta, and elsewhere in the region, the French government eventually abandoned their testing plans.

This crucial period – as the drive for independence was spreading throughout the continent and the world, and as civil rights, human rights anti-nuclear, and anti-militarist sentiments were also beginning to take root – saw extended WRI seed-planting in all of these burgeoning movements. The Sahara Protest Team, for example, included a number of West Africans who would go on to become leaders of their own countries once independence would come later in the 1960s. The World Peace Brigades (forerunner to many of today's unarmed civilian peace-force organizations) was discussed in earnest at the WRI triennial held in India in 1960; it's founding in Beirut in 1962 included sponsorship not only from Michael Scott, AJ Muste (leader of several US pacifist organizations, including War Resisters' League and the Fellowship of Reconciliation), and Gandhian associate JP Narayan, but also Tanzania's Julius Nyerere and Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda. An Accra-based Conference on Positive Action for Peace and Security in Africa was held in April 1960, with AJ Muste, Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Franz Fanon and others in attendance – in what organizer Bill Sutherland termed (in the book *Guns and Gandhi in Africa* which we co-authored): "the height of influence of the world pacifist movement on the African liberation struggle."

The heady actions of the beginning of the decade gave way to long-term planning – small actions, intellectual pursuits, base-building and private meetings about how bigger, more lasting and successful movements could be developed in the future.

Pierre Martin relocated with his family to

Senegal, where he served as a member of the WRI's Council. Martin's 1968 booklet *Violence in Africa*, published by WRI, reviewed the nature of colonial subjugation and suppression, as well as the role of religion, the army, and trade unions in building militarized or demilitarized societies. In a conclusion reflecting on the possibilities for nonviolence in Africa, Martin noted that the little overt support for large explicitly pacifist movements notable in the late 1960s meant nothing, as "non-violence does not attract the attention of the professional newsmen: violence is much more sensational." Martin urged readers to take careful note that some key indigenous forces in Africa speak explicitly of nonviolence, including the Kibangist Christians in the Congo and the Muslim sect of the Mourides, founded in Senegal "by a saint who resisted the French military colonization by nonviolence."

WRI's triennial conference held at the end of 1969 in the Haverford, Pennsylvania also indicated a deepening understanding of the need for long-term strategies and a two-way solidarity. The conference theme, "Liberation and Revolution," included reports and dialogues about the connections between means and ends, the role of "liberated nationalism," and the need to get "beyond all separatism." A special report on *Nonviolent Revolution and Developing Countries* was delivered by Bill Sutherland, Indian leader Narayan Desai, and Vietnamese human rights defender Vo Van Ai.

Some of these conversations came full circle in 1985-86, at another WRI triennial in India, this time hosted by Desai and including Bayard Rustin, World Peace Brigade founder George Willoughby,



African Nonviolence and Peace-builders Network at a Nonviolence Training Exchange, Johannesburg, 2012



representatives of the South African Council of Churches and the women's group Black Sash, and some youthful participants (including this author). A few years earlier, on a trip to Mozambique and Zimbabwe, US reporter Julie Frederikse noticed me sporting a broken rifle tee-shirt and took me aside to tell me about a meeting her South African husband Stelios was having with some young chaps from across the border. A few white South African boys had come to Harare to visit former CO Stelios about their plans to launch a more mainstream project linking a call for an end to conscription with calls for racial justice and an end to apartheid. We joined together to discuss the possibilities of international support for such work, and – shortly thereafter – the world learned of the highly creative, barrier-breaking End Conscription Campaign (ECC). The ECC phenomena not only helped work alongside South Africa's mass democratic United Democratic Front to bring white folks closer to an anti-apartheid perspective, it also inspired thousands across the globe in showing how making links between peace and justice issues could be done in a fun way, empowering for all. WRI's distinctive support role throughout the 1980s was a prime example of mutually beneficial solidarity.

### New Ground

WRI contemporary work in Africa is rooted in three major inter-related projects developed in the 1990s: the Bangkok Women's Conference of 1992, the formation of the Africa Working Group (AWG) in 1994, and the International CO Meeting in Chad in December 1995. The AWG brought together the growing contacts which WRI had made with the South African mass democratic movement, a grouping of European-based Africans and African solidarity specialists, and several North American African academics and activists. It has held meetings and seminars at every subsequent WRI conference, and has been responsible for reporting on relevant issues, including the 1996 Peace News dossier "Peace and Reconstruction in Africa" and in the two-volume Africa World Press book series *Seeds of New Hope* and *Seeds Bearing Fruit*, edited by AWG co-conveners Elavie Ndura and myself. As Narayan Desai coached us in 1986, the AWG has always emphasized South-South collaboration and skills-building, with support people in the North working to help facilitate rather than moderate that independent contact.

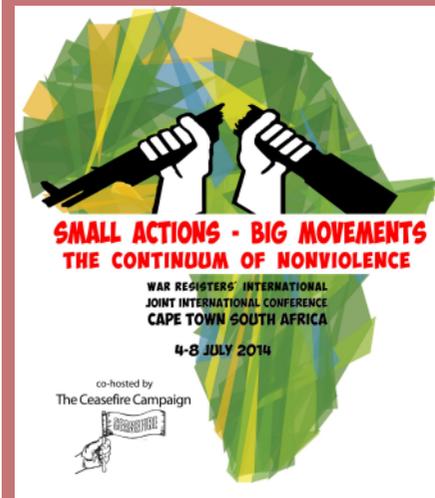
Concrete fruit of a distinctly Pan African variety grew prosperously at the WRI African Nonviolence Trainers' Exchange meeting, in Johannesburg, South Africa, July 2012. It was at that meeting that the African Nonviolence and Peacebuilding Network was formed, with Soweto-based Siphon Theys and former Parliamentarian Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge serving as co-conveners. Nozizwe, who is also playing a leading role in the organization of the July

2014 WRI conference along with her group Embrace Dignity, noted: "The creation of the African Nonviolence and Peacebuilding Network is a significant moment in that we now have the opportunity to build on the on-the-ground work happening all across the continent, to break the isolation which so many feel. I like to think about it going beyond training to peacebuilding, going to the root causes of violence."

Getting back to the roots – of both war and war resistance along the broad continuum of nonviolent direct action – seems like an appropriate goal given the WRI's 90-plus years of engagement with African Liberation. As we experience new and renewed levels of mass mobilization, small and now-not-so-small-actions playing a role in developing even larger and hopefully more effective democratic movements for justice and peace, now is the time to do more than just network. Together we must act.

Matt Meyer

## Join us in Cape Town!



We are extremely excited about WRI's next International Conference - the first in Africa - to be held in Cape Town, South Africa from 4th July - 8th July 2014. The conference, titled 'Small Actions, Big Movements: the Continuum of Nonviolence' International Conference' is co-hosted by The Ceasefire Campaign.

Confirmed speakers for the opening plenary include Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Jenni Williams of Woman of Zimbabwe Arise. Across the four full days of the conference, theme groups - that have so often framed the work of WRI in the coming years - will focus on a range of topics, including civil resistance and 'people power' movements: beyond regime change, countering the militarisation of youth, daily violence (domestic violence, hate crimes, urban insecurity, etc...) and economic, poverty crises and militarism.

Take a look at plans for the programme here: <http://www.wri-irg.org/southafrica2014> (this page is also the place where updates on the conference will be posted). Excursions and WRI's Assembly will be held alongside this event, which will take place in Cape Town City Hall.

This conference is not just an event, but part of a process, to learn from, and support, the African Nonviolence and Peacebuilding Network, formed at the African Nonviolence Trainer's Exchange in Johannesburg, July 2012 - an exchange initiated by WRI with others.

Registration is available here: <http://wri-irg.org/seminars/registrations/southafrica2014>

# The Marikana Massacre: 'the sub-altern cannot speak'

Mining is one of the most important economic activities in South Africa. With the inequalities that Apartheid perpetuated, the distribution of mineral wealth and the unrest within the labour force have increased. The Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act of 2002(1) was an attempt to redress these issues. Misinterpretation of this Act was one of the factors that led to the demand from workers for a living wage of R12 000.(2) To offer an explanation of what happened in August 2012 (including the Marikana Massacre), one must acknowledge that the massacre occurred not just because of a wage dispute but because of many other factors underpinning the worker's struggle in South Africa. There has been a great increase in mining demands since the Platinum boom in Rustenburg in 1994.(3) This has resulted in a further disparity between mining companies and workers. Whilst mining companies continue to generate copious amounts of wealth, this is at the expense of workers who, through systems of labour brokering, continue to be divided according to Apartheid-generated categories of separation.

## Build up

In June 2012, workers at Lonmin in Marikana began organising towards a system of collective bargaining, demanding a salary adjustment.(4) By this time, however, Rock Drill Operators (RDOs) from the same mine had already started mobilising towards action outside of the collective bargaining system. These RDOs were not willing to enter into a space for negotiation. Despite this, their employer had decided to begin engagement with these workers, even though it was outside the formal negotiation space. By July 2012, these engagements had begun. Unfortunately, however, this did not solve anything as, at the most crucial point, Lonmin rescinded their offer to negotiate outside the formal space and declared that it would only negotiate with the National Union of Mineworkers. Then, as almost a pre-emptive measure, Lonmin granted a shift allowance to RDOs. This was done outside the collective bargaining system and could be seen as a reflection of the "pressure exerted on it..." (5) Again, despite this, workers demanded substantially more than they were being offered, citing that the amount offered was "inadequate, arbitrary and irrational"(6). In the following weeks, workers developed strong networks and, at a meeting of RDOs in August, sans the NUM, it was decided that a more militant stance would be taken and a march to senior

management was to take place on August 9th 2012.

Chinguno articulated the proceedings of the march:

On 10 August, workers converged again at the same venue for their march to management. The management offices were cordoned off when they arrived. The workers demanded to be addressed by management and were initially promised this by security personnel. However, moments later a NUM representative announced to the agitated crowd that management would only address their demand through NUM as the recognised union. The workers left dejected and resolved to reconvene the following morning to map a way forward.(7)

Workers reconvened the following day with a change in strategy: they were going to march to the NUM offices and make the intention clear that they were going to engage directly with their employer, outside of the formal system of collective bargaining. What is important to note is that this march proceeded just like any other march in South Africa, with workers carrying sticks and singing revolutionary songs. The sticks and knobkerries that were carried were symbolic, in the sense that, in African culture, a protest is akin to a war and so people ought to arm themselves. At this juncture of the march, workers were ambushed by NUM officials who fired live ammunition at them, reportedly killing two RDOs. Workers then

attempted to retreat and regroup in a nearby stadium, but were denied access by security, who said their gathering was illegal. They retreated to an elevated piece of state-owned land, adjacent to, but not in close proximity to the community in which they lived. This was done for a number of reasons, as a worker explained:

We did not want our community affected by the strike. We did not want criminals to take advantage of the strike and attack shops. We did not want the children in the informal settlement to be affected by the police.(8)

This was part of the lessons learnt from the Impala strike in which violent looting and attacks on shops occurred. The next day, workers marched back to the NUM offices, this time to demand answers into why their own union attacked them only this time, the workers were armed. This was done as a reaction to the events of the previous day and to further protect themselves against violence that may occur on that day too. Mine security blocked off access to the NUM offices. When workers attempted to force their way through, they were stopped with rubber bullets. Workers fought back and killed two security guards. This action continued the next day, August 13th 2012, when workers rallied to stop production by subcontracted workers, having absorbed members of the community and non-Lonmin workers as well. On their way back to their meeting place (the koppie,



Memorial service for Lonmin mine workers in Marikana, 23 Aug 2012. Photo credit: Government ZA



another symbolic structure in African culture as a place where problems are solved), they were stopped by police who demanded that they dispose of their weapons. Workers refused, saying that they would only disarm themselves once they have reported back to their leaders. A clash ensued, with police opening fire at the crowd. During this clash, two policemen and two workers were killed. 'Police shot and killed 44 striking miners'

The Massacre occurred on August 16th 2012. The day before, union leaders attempted to speak to workers, asking them to retreat and go back to work. This was done from behind the guard of a security detail and police vehicles. Workers demanded proof that it was their union leader representing them but were refused. "The refusal by the NUM president to get out of the police vehicle when addressing workers has the symbolic meaning of illustrating the alienation of the NUM from its membership and its subsequent rejection by them."<sup>(9)</sup> Avoiding emotive verbosity, different narratives of how the massacre occurred are presented, but all have the same result: police shot and killed 44 striking miners.

Since the massacre, there have been a

number of civil society movements who have rallied together in an attempt to show solidarity with the affected families, as well as demand justice for the killed miners and an end to the oppressive conditions under which miners in South Africa work. Citizens 4 Marikana is one such movement. This movement seeks to act as a link between the public and those present at the Farlam Commission (the commission set up to investigate the events of that week) as well as mobilise funds and support to those affected by the massacre, in particular, making contributions towards legal representation. What is important to note is that the commission was formed at the instruction of the president of South Africa, and was given a mandate by him as a matter of public enquiry. This commission is a public one, allowing for public viewing of hearings in which evidence is presented and accounts of the events of that week given. This speaks, quite broadly to the issue of the inclusion of civil society movements in commissions such as this one. The commission does not include members of civil society, nor does it allow for participation from them. All it does, instead, is allow civil society to peer into its dealings and report to its subsequent constituency. Discussions must be formed

around issues of representation on these platforms. Civil society can be said to be accurate representations of people who are deeply affected by societal ills, yet they aren't given space on platforms that are in a position to affect substantial change. Spivak wrote widely on the fact that in many cases, the sub-altern cannot speak and representation is often misconstrued to sway in favour of the privilege. These cases are no exception.

*Pearl Pillay*

#### Notes

1. Twala.C., "The Marikana Massacre: A Historical Overview of the Labour Unrest in the Mining Sector in South Africa", in *Southern African Peace and Security Studies*, Vol1, No.2, p.61.
2. Loc cit.
3. Ibid.p.62
4. Chinguno.C., "Marikana and the Post-Apartheid Workplace Order", *Society, Work and Development Institute Working Paper*, April 2013, p.23.
5. Loc cit.
6. Loc cit.
7. Ibid.p.p.23-24.
8. Ibid.p.24.
9. Ibid,p.26.

## War Resisters' International joins the world in mourning the passing of Nelson Mandela

War Resisters' International joins the world in mourning the passing of Nelson Mandela – a statesman and an activist, a lawyer and a political prisoner, an advocate of direct action and reconciliation. Mandela's life symbolizes, as few others have ever done, the long road to freedom, peace, and justice which can nevertheless be won (at least in part) through determined commitment and struggle. He lived his convictions, spending 27 years behind bars without wavering from his core convictions, ready still to play a crucial role upon release to ensure a transition away from formal apartheid through compromise and negotiation. That the transition which ended white minority rule took place with a minimum of bloodshed is one of the great victories of modern times, a victory Mandela helped lead by example.

The struggle against apartheid was also a hallmark of successful international solidarity, one that War Resisters International was proud to have played a role in. From organizational alliances built in the early 1950s, to promotion of the boycott and divestment campaigns, to our coordination of support work for the End Conscription Campaign, WRI

understood that South Africa's liberation was connected to our own. Next year in July, in conjunction with Pan-African nonviolent activists and peace-builders, we will hold an international conference "Small Actions, Big Movements: the Continuum of Nonviolence" in Cape Town. We will come to South Africa to learn from the experience of those who worked and walked with Mandela, and from those who today continue the struggle for human rights, economic equality, and social justice the world over.

WRI's Executive Committee



Nelson Madela with WRI activist Bill Sutherland. Photo: Matt Meyer, 1992

# Prostitution, Patriarchy and Power

Embrace Dignity is a South African human rights organization advocating for legal and social reform. We campaign for reforms recognising prostitution as violence and aim to reduce demand for commercial sex. Recognising the harms of prostitution, we offer support to women seeking exit through a self-led system. We look forward to welcoming and collaborating with international and local nonviolent activists embodying the conference's theme: "small actions can contribute to building big movements for change".

In our country, it is more likely that a girl will be raped than go to secondary school. If girls do manage to attend school, it is unlikely they will find a job. Violence against women stops them getting an education, limits economic activity, and undermines their ability to choose the timing and number of children they have. It is also damaging to their physical, social, emotional and psychological wellbeing – for many, it is a direct cause of death or disability. It also has huge economic costs, including costs to health and policing. Every year, thousands of rural South African women migrate to urban centres in the hope of economic opportunity, often joining the ranks of the unemployed. Domestic and gender based violence worsen the situation, and under these conditions, prostitution flourishes.

Prostitution is a deeply rooted form of sexual exploitation that feeds off poverty, inequality and entrenched social constructs. The sex industry is unequivocally dangerous. Different degrees of abuse, coercion and violence are experienced but all prostituted people are physically and psychologically harmed in the process. Prostituted women's level of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) has been proven to be equivalent to that of combat veterans. Once in the sex industry, women often resort to alcohol and drug abuse to endure daily mental distress, resulting in dissociation from oneself and the rest of the world.

Prostitution also has negative impacts on the rest of society. If some women can be bought and sold it gives the message that all women are potentially for sale, a concept which permeates social sensibilities. South Africa is a deeply patriarchal society, in which masculinity often entails conquering or controlling women. The perception that masculinity and violence are intimately entwined is still dominant. Young boys fear that demonstrating sensitivity or gentleness will emasculate them and make them appear weak.

War feeds into the image of masculinity as unemotional, dominant and hyper-violent.

In fact, the militarisation of societies and war play an enormous role in fuelling prostitution. A breakdown of social structures, economic crisis, and an influx of occupying soldiers (and even peacekeeping forces) result in a drastic increase in demand for prostitution – a burden often carried by women from poorer nations. Some argue that the act of war creates individual feelings of powerlessness, which must be regained through the domination of vulnerable women.

This is not new information. During World War II the Japanese Empire forced thousands of "comfort women" from Japanese-occupied territories into a prostitution corps to serve soldiers. The United States armed forces have a particularly damning history of misuse of the women of occupied countries, as well as the practise of "R & R" (rest and recuperation). Prostitution sites around military were encouraged by military leadership, with condoms and security escorts often being provided.

In the past, arguments have been made to explain the blind eyes and enabling hands of governments and military leadership – rampant sexual activity would occur anyway so it might as well result in some financial "reward" for the bought individual rather than manifesting as rape. This creates a fallacious distinction between rape and prostitution, when in fact the two are intimately linked and complementary. Both acts conform to the concept of a right to pleasure, encouraged by military leadership and hegemonic masculinity. Government-sanctioned prostitution has also been rationalised as useful for creating a necessary sense of brotherhood and camaraderie between soldiers – what about the women's rights to equality, happiness, and human dignity? This is also an injustice to men, portrayed as incapable of controlling their rampant sexual urges.

One of the results of organised military prostitution for soldiers' "rest and recuperation" is the creation of a "prostitution economy". Even after the military moves away, sex trade entrepreneurs maintain the industry through sex tourism. This has an economic and generational legacy in which it becomes a dominant option for employment for impoverished women. Children (destined to be fatherless) are also born, bearing the stigma of illegitimacy and often entering the trade later in life. The recurring occupation of parts of South East Asia by United States forces is perhaps where this is most evident.



Reenacting a violent scene

While South Africa has a considerable influx of international trafficking victims, Embrace Dignity has also realised the significance of "domestic" trafficking. According to the Palermo Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, an internationally ratified UN declaration, trafficking is defined as "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation". If a rural woman travels to a big city with the promise of work as a cleaner but arrives to find that she is expected to earn money through prostitution (even if she is not physically forced to do so), she can be identified as a trafficking victim. She has been transferred by fraud or deception, most likely because of the abuse of her position of vulnerability.

South Africa is not at war but one in three men has raped a woman and violence is considered one of four primary factors detracting from health. Enforcing the patriarchy, industries like mining, trucking and the military occupy a significant portion of the country's male workforce. Our historical and continued migrant labour system leaves many women responsible for families while their partners are away. Family pressure, poverty, violence and a lack of other options often result in vulnerability to trafficking.

Embrace Dignity advocates for a legal model known as partial decriminalisation. This decriminalises the bought person in

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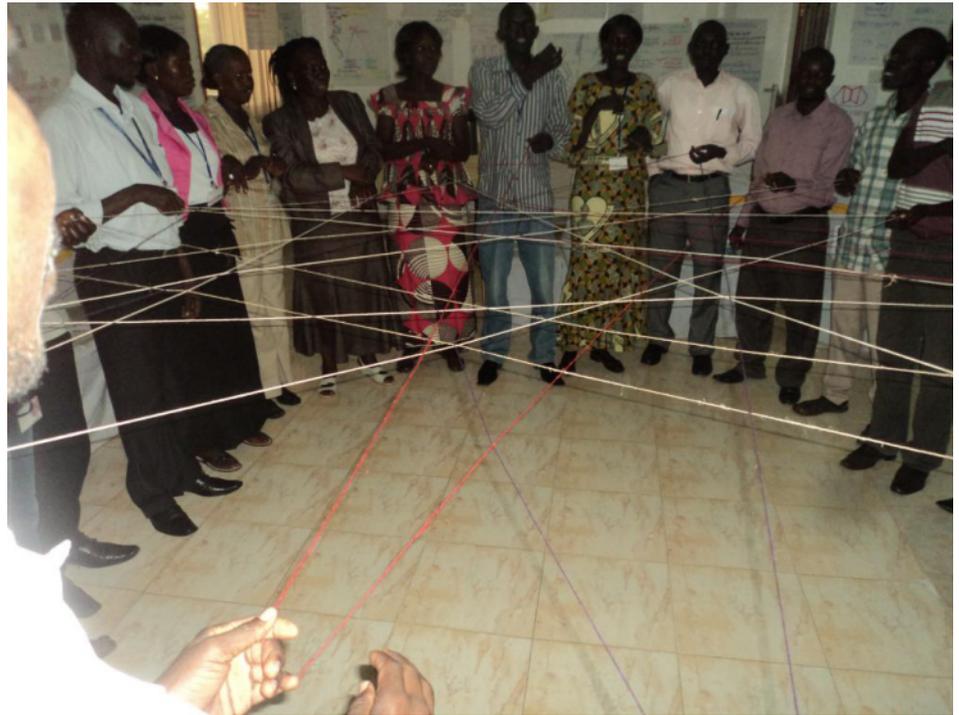


# Nonviolence at work in South Sudan

A Pastor reported (in a follow up meeting) "Since I attended the nonviolence workshop, I stopped hating Muslims. They burnt our Churches in Khartoum and since that time, I lost respect to Muslims and hate them. Now we are in a new Country, I don't want Muslims to suffer the way Christians suffered under Islamic regime in Sudan. Its painful to forgive but my Bible tells me to forgive as God has forgiven us". Since 2011 the pastor, a few other Christians and group of Muslims are working together. They organize outreach workshops to both Christians and Muslims in Juba.

A civilian hands-over his gun after attending nonviolence and trauma healing workshops "I killed people from the neighbouring tribe" confessed a participant after attending nonviolence and trauma healing workshop. "I am a youth leader and I led 2011 inter-communal violence that took place between Counties of Yirol West and Mvolo. My own brother was killed in that conflict. I was later arrested and put into jail. While in Prison, I suffered psychologically as I knew I will eventually be hanged by neck to death. Fortunately, I was granted amnesty on the eve of independence in July 2011". He added "Although I was discharged, I still did not feel free as the memories of the past keep coming in my mind. The trauma healing workshop organized by ONAD was my space for healing. I stopped blaming myself and decided to handover my gun to the local authorities and joined peace teams. I want to live the rest of my life as a peace worker and I don't need gun to protect my cattle."

People often view nonviolence with mixed feelings! At first, normally on a few people appreciated it's importance. Others question whether or not it will work in our highly militarized and violent context. Others feel it can work in a less violent society but not in South Sudan. One of the participants in our recent workshop commented that we have been living in violence since the creation, and after all independence of South Sudan was a result of two civil wars within the Khartoum regime (referring to the 1955-1972 and 1983-2005 civil wars in Sudan).



ONAD Nonviolence Workshop

He asked: how do you face brutality and gun points with flowers?

Our participants often express the difficulties involved in following principles of nonviolence, because - it's true - what happens around us is mostly violent. But there are also positive changes of attitude taking place in South Sudan - and that's the little we are building on. We refer to practical experiences of nonviolence locally and globally. We always say that nonviolence is like a seed that needs time to germinate and grow to become a big tree. It starts with me, not with others. Personal transformation is key to nonviolence. During workshops, people often express the idea that 'If I become nonviolent, others can learn from me'.

When we meet with the same group after a couple of months break for follow up, we ask them how nonviolence has worked for them. Many people give examples of practical life experiences with nonviolence. For example, Emmanuel Ladu was able to reconcile with the person who killed his father. He said "It

took me six years to forgive and get reconciled with a person who killed my father. I was a victim and so I took the initiative myself. The nonviolence workshop gave me the courage to face the enemy and let go the past pain. After I forgave him, I too felt relieved. Forgiveness sets us free of hate! I too have suffered because of not forgiving!"

In summary, the follow up meetings are always inspiring to us, and we hear our participants share their stories. On 2nd October 2013, ONAD and its volunteers celebrated the international day of nonviolence. It was the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi, leader of the Indian independence movement who devoted his life to the cause of nonviolence. We honoured him and thousands of other who worked in the same spirit. While we strive in their way, we believe victory is certain no matter how long time it will take. Forward we move, back ward NEVER.

Moses Monday

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order to allow access to vital services, decrease stigma, and increase the chance of pursuing an alternate form of income. This necessitates a social welfare dimension, with government support provided for exit. On the other hand, the buyer, third party trader (pimps and traffickers) and the sex industry remain criminalised. This approach recognises

that the supply of prostituted people only exists because there is a demand for commercial sex. It also acknowledges the inherent harms and gender inequalities in prostitution and seeks to attribute punishment appropriately onto the exploiter.

WRI can be a part of a nonviolent campaign toward the dismantling of patriarchal relations and the

transformation of gender relations, so that men and women are truly equal and can enter into mutually fulfilling relationships, free of exploitation. This would enrich peace-keeping efforts too, bringing usually absent women's voices into the discussion and contributing to a decrease in sexual violence.

Zara Trafford

# Dealing with Trauma in Post-Conflict Burundi and the African Great Lakes Region

The Free Online Dictionary defines trauma as “an event or situation that causes great distress and disruption”. In Burundi, Rwanda, and the Democratic Republic Congo (DRC), the violent inter-group conflicts and civil wars that have ravaged these countries of the African Great Lakes region for the past 50 years constitute traumatic events. The International Community cites the number of casualties to highlight the impact of such conflicts and wars on the countries and the people. These events have been traumatic; the casualties from Burundi, Rwanda, and DRC are estimated at about 7 million.

The purpose of this article is twofold. I discuss the complexity of trauma in post conflict Burundi and the African Great Lakes region, and propose culturally relevant ways to address trauma-related issues in the region. I conclude with general reflections about fostering trauma healing to chart the course for futures of peace and nonviolence.

## Understanding the Complexity of Trauma

Addressing issues of trauma in post-conflict Burundi and the African Great Lakes region calls for a broader understanding of the complexity of trauma in the region. The survivors of violent conflicts and wars have been and are still distressed by the loss of their loved ones. But, this is not all. They are distressed by their experiences, memories, poverty, displacement, and fear. I shall explain briefly how overlooked elements constitute trauma.

### Experiences as Trauma

The people of Burundi and the African Great Lakes Region have witnessed and experienced indelible suffering in the past 50 years. The world should wonder if they can be referred to as “survivors” at all. Many have not truly survived the carnage only dying more slowly than those killed with machetes, guns, and other weapons. When people talk about what they witnessed and heard, and recount the emotional toll of their “survival”, it is evident that they have not survived, as their trauma is palpable.

### Memories as Trauma

A very significant wave of mourning has emerged in recent years with widows and children of the victims of the 1972 genocide of the Hutu by the predominantly Tutsi government and military in Burundi. When these survivors recount the events surrounding the loss of their husbands and fathers, it feels like 1972 was just yesterday. Their pain, tears, and anger indicate vivid trauma. Some of the 1972 families have organized traditional cultural mourning ceremonies to honor their loved

ones, to begin the overdue healing process denied them at the time of the atrocities and following years. Unfortunately, these ceremonies remain incomplete as the still grieving families have no memorial place—a painful reminder that their loved ones were massacred and thrown into unmarked mass graves.

### Poverty as Trauma

Inter-group conflicts in Burundi, Rwanda, and DRC, more than human lives, have destroyed homes and the natural environment, leaving survivors, especially the women, left to pick up the pieces. There is no greater trauma than being incapable of providing for one's children. Yet, scores of women in Burundi and the African Great Lakes region, often widowed, live with hopelessness and debilitating poverty, unable to care for and educate their orphaned children.

### Displacement as Trauma

The cyclical inter-group violence of Burundi and the African Great Lakes region have pushed millions of people to seek refuge in other countries. Some of these refugees have thrived, by international standards, often achieving educational and economic integration in their host countries. Integration usually means having to raise children who are disconnected from extended families, with the psychological identity issues that such situations entail. Trauma issues should, therefore, include displacement.

### Fear as Trauma

There is a saying in Kirundi stating that “Ingoma Yagukanze Irahuma Ugahunga”, which translates as “The Sound of the Drum that Traumatized You Causes You to Flee”. The years of conflicts and violence eroded inter-group and inter-personal trust in Burundi and the African Great Lakes region. The phenomena of neighbours killing neighbours, wives betraying their husbands and selling them out to the killers, and many other instances of inter-personal betrayals have caused the survivors to live walking on egg shells. Although people are eager to share their stories of suffering and trauma in Burundi, they find it difficult to trust one another. The situation is worse in Rwanda where people are forbidden to acknowledge their ethnic membership, forced to adopt the current government-imposed discourse of “we are all Rwandans”. Dealing with post-conflict trauma must address the legacy of fear and fear-mongering in Burundi and the region. Culturally Relevant Trauma Healing

Burundian wisdom teaches that “Uwushaka Gukira Ingwara Arayirata”, meaning that any illness must be exposed in order to

heal. This wisdom suggests trauma must be part of the public discourse in Burundi and the African Great Lakes region for post conflict healing efforts to be effective. How can this be done in reserved cultures? One way would be to engage villagers in age and gender appropriate group sustained dialogue. These groups would be organized with high sensitivity to dividing issues such as ethnicity, where intra-group dialogue would precede inter-group dialogue sessions to maximize feelings of safety and trust. In such groups, parents would be coached on how to hold similar dialogues within their families.

Dealing with trauma issues requires addressing poverty. There is rampant poverty caused by years of destructive conflicts and wars, and poverty caused by the countries' emerging political leaders concerned of their own material gains rather than by the welfare of their people. In Burundi, such leaders are amassing wealth and property—often from desperate villagers—while their people are become more destitute. The divide between the haves and the have-nots is growing ever more deeply, and exacerbating post-conflict trauma. Therefore, the post-conflict era is a moment of truth for the new political leaders of Burundi, Rwanda, and DRC. Assuming and hoping that they are committed to their people' and nations' trauma healing, they should reflect and act upon this important question: Are we using our newly acquired political powers to further the common good or our own economic gains? Fostering culturally relevant trauma healing means acknowledging that the past is not really past, and that silence-- especially forced silence—does not heal trauma. Burundi, Rwanda, and DRC must acknowledge and own their respective histories of inter-group conflicts, from traditional pre-colonial practices, to the colonial divide-to-conquer policies, to their post-independence failures to unite and empower their people. The past contains truths that must be told before futures of peace and nonviolence can be negotiated and envisioned.

### Conclusion

Inter-group violent conflicts and wars have caused incalculable distress and disruption among all the people of Burundi, Rwanda, and DRC across ethnic groups and societal strata. Trauma healing must begin with the acknowledgement of our shared losses, shared painful memories, and shared uncertainties about the future. Such recognition will ultimately lead to our validation of our shared humanity. Never have our shared Ubuntu values been more relevant. To heal from conflict and war trauma we must heal together

Elavie Ndura



# Youth development and security in Africa

Over 65 percent of Africa's population is below the age of 35. This makes Africa a youthful continent with huge potential: for an active labor force, immense human energies and reservoirs of creativity for economic, social and political transformation. The potential for young people to transform their communities and their nations could be enormous.

Young people can become forces for positive change if young men and women play constructive and important roles in building peaceful and thriving communities. This will be possible when youth groups take responsibilities as citizens and agents for social change, take an active part in non-violent actions and innovatively invest in community-based initiatives.

However, unemployment and lack of educational opportunities mean that many are living in poverty, are involved in armed conflict, and subject to exclusion. According to Africa Union statistics, over 10 million young Africans enter the labor market each year. So, young people can be instruments and drivers of conflict. Social exclusion and deprivation has often been used as an explanation for the involvement of young people in violent conflict.

Major structural factors that underline youth exclusion and lack of opportunity include: unemployment and lack of livelihood opportunities; insufficient, unequal and inappropriate education and skills; weak political participation; and structural gender inequalities and socialization practices. Legacies of past violence i.e. protracted armed conflict, can lead to vicious cycles in which violence becomes the norm rather than the exception.

Experience shows that when a large number of young people are jobless and have few opportunities for positive engagement, they represent a ready pool of recruits for ethnic, religious, and political extremists seeking to mobilize for violence. In this case, young people become sources of insecurity and instability. Conversely, if youth acquire life-skills combined with leadership know-how, they can direct their efforts to transforming the ugly conditions of violence, inequality, and poverty into peace and inclusive prosperity. They can contribute toward to the security and well being of their communities.

An AFSC workshop American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) is a Quaker organization committed to peace and social justice. It is focusing on promoting alternatives for youth affected by structural violence, inequality, and injustice. Building youth entrepreneurship,

leadership skills and nurturing nonviolent approaches to solving problems are key aspects of youth development. AFSC programs involve youth in the alternative to violence program, and youth have participated in rehabilitation work and in

where young people can express their voices on peace and reconciliation in society. Young people have fostered dialogue and built relationships between communities.



An AFSC workshop

peace events and work. Importantly, working with youth as peace builders has unique advantages, as young people are more open to change, are future-oriented, innovative, courageous and knowledgeable about their peers' realities.

AFSC programs enable young people to go through the 'Public Achievement cycle' so they may take up leadership roles in their communities, by undertaking practical work e.g. garbage collections, sports and repairing roads. They also learn how to work together in participatory groups, and learn the culture of tolerance to different viewpoints. AFSC also runs projects to support the creation of employment opportunities and generation of regular income. This is through training on various vocational skills and business management. The trainings also incorporate counseling and mentoring. Some of the trained youth have already opened businesses and are earning a living out of the skills acquired from the project.

Youth voices are vital. When they participate, they can influence policy and decisions that affect their life and educate the public through paintings, poetry, music, dance, drama and sports. AFSC supports the creation of youth platforms

The role of youth is often depicted in a negative light - either they are helpless victims affected by violent conflict, or they are as criminal gangs or child-soldiers. These portrayals would see young people either as inherently violent, as perpetrators of violence, or vulnerable. These challenges are embedded in local realities of community and nation, but are made manifest through the lives of young people. It is imperative to look at the root causes of threats to security and structural issues, rather than depicting young people as source of insecurity that needs to be mitigated.

So, it will be vital to look at the positive side of young peoples' experience, especially their power and potential as agents of change. It is only when this is recognized that we all are able to cultivate and invest in those potentials. More focus on youth development is the way forward in Africa, by cultivating capacity for innovation, creativity, leadership, and economic well being. Young people will then become engines of Africa's security, peace and development.

Dereje Wordofa

# Lessons from the Arab Spring

The popular unarmed uprisings in the Arab World early in 2011 took the world by surprise, both because most observers did not expect demands for human rights and democratic choice to become central in Arab states, and because they did not expect mass protest to be predominantly unarmed. However, in retrospect there are many reasons why initially the 'Arab Spring' took the forms it did in Tunisia, Egypt, Bahrain, Syria, Libya and other states. Moreover, as scholars of nonviolent civil resistance pointed out, in the first months the most significant movements displayed some of the classic characteristics of such resistance. In the longer term, however, many of the movements have failed to fulfill their initial promise, overtaken by armed civil war (as happened quickly in Libya and more gradually in Syria), or failing to achieve their initial democratic promise - most notably in Egypt. The impressive protests at the 'Pearl Roundabout' in Bahrain were quite quickly crushed, and preemptive offers by rulers of Morocco and Jordan to make reforms to meet public demands have so far only diluted royal power. This

article briefly elaborates on the points made above, and then raises some questions about the future.

## Why the Arab Awakening Was Likely to Happen

Internal factors were important in sparking the uprisings, for example the growing number of well-educated young people combined with restrictive economic conditions, and growing anger at regime corruption and repression. But global factors are especially relevant both to demands for greater democracy and the initial choice of primarily nonviolent methods. Since the 1980s there has been a dramatic rise in the number of states around the world adopting forms of electoral democracy, often in response to people power uprisings, combined with various international pressures. Even authoritarian regimes increasingly derive legitimacy from supposedly free elections, and many examples of people power since 2000 (for example in Sub-Saharan Africa and the former Soviet states) have challenged rigged elections. The idea and strategy of nonviolent resistance have

also been promoted widely by some individuals and activist groups. Some activists in Egypt, for example, learned from the tent city resisting the rigged elections in the Ukraine in December 2004, and had read Gene Sharp's writings. Arab activists may also have been attuned to the significant (if partial) role of unarmed resistance in the Palestinian struggle, and to the Green Movement in Iran 2009-10. The role of the internet in spreading news, and enabling rapid organisation of protests, has clearly been significant, and well documented, especially in the case of Egypt.

## How Far Did the Initial Uprisings Conform with Nonviolent Strategy?

The Arab uprisings, which began in Tunisia and then Egypt, were never strictly nonviolent, but the methods used of strikes, civil disobedience and in particular occupation of key symbolic spaces and mass demonstrations were typical of nonviolent resistance, and many of the demonstrations did reflect an ethos of self-discipline, mutual friendliness and cooperation between many different



Libyan protesters stage a demonstration in the capital, Tripoli, in May. Credit: Mahmud Turkia



sectors of urban society. Women were quite prominent, students and intellectuals mixed with workers and artisans, and in Tahrir Square in February 2011 Coptic Christians were welcome alongside Muslims. Even in Syria, where the regime rested on support from religious minorities - notably the Alawites, but also the Druze and the Christians - the nonviolent protesters tried in their slogans and symbolism to create links across religious divides (Bartkowski and Kahf, September 2013). The unfolding of the uprisings also initially achieved a key goal of nonviolent resistance strategy: refusal by the security services to implement a crackdown (Tunisia and Egypt) and defections by members of the armed forces (Nepstad, 2011).

But it soon became clear that religious and political divides would undermine prospects for a smooth transition to more democratic regime. Even in Tunisia, the first and most successful movement for regime change, tensions between the more secular liberal groups and Islamists, seeking a more Islamic state, have created problems for the new 'democracy'. In Egypt the lack of agreement among the secular opposition groups and their deep division with the Muslim Brotherhood (together with the unconstitutional actions by the elected President Morsi) have proved disastrous, opening the way in 2013 to a reassertion of de facto military rule. The refusal of the Egyptian military to crush the 2011 uprising and save Mubarak, ambiguous at the time, now suggests a long-term

commitment to maintain underlying military control of the regime through tactical adjustments.

Defections by sections of the armed forces before the uprising had developed sufficient societal unity and leverage for nonviolent change led to civil war in Libya and western military intervention. In Syria soldiers did begin to flee Syria, and to cross over to the rebels - at risk of execution, but Nepstad, writing in 2011, argued that because only a very small proportion of the military had defected, Assad was able to block the uprising. Some officers and soldiers who changed sides formed the Free Syrian Army, which over time has turned the conflict into an armed struggle, and given the intransigence of the Assad regime and their recruitment of Hizbollah fighters from Lebanon, created conditions for external forces to turn the conflict into a destructive war between ruthless extremists. By now most observers have forgotten the months of brave unarmed protest in 2011 and are unaware of continuing protests by the nonviolent resisters, and the fate of Syria seems to depend on external powers (Iran and Russia backing Assad, and the West supporting the moderate opposition.)

### Future Prospects

Ironically, those movements that suffered initial defeat or failed to gain momentum may now have better prospects than some that overthrew their dictators. Although the Bahrain government, backed by the reactionary Saudi Arabian

government, quickly crushed the uprising, protests there continue, including celebrations of the anniversary of the uprising in both 2012 and 2013, and there have been some signs of possible regime concessions. Not only regional but international power relations have been unhelpful to the Bahrainis, as the USA has a large naval base there and gives more weight to its strategic interests than to its professed ideal of democracy in this context. Nevertheless, the factors that encouraged the 2011 uprisings still create a context for further popular pressure, not only in Bahrain but in Jordan and Morocco, where protests on both political and socio-economic issues continue.

Unfortunately, however, the fallout from Libya - which remains politically very unstable and is now exporting Islamic extremism to Tunisia - and the even more worrying prospects of Syrian disintegration, do not bode well for prospects of peaceful democracies in the region. When 2011 started, the mass unarmed displays of people power and calls for greater political freedom, democratic choice and governmental accountability took the initiative away from violent jihadists committed to an authoritarian Islamic future. The fighting in Syria has brought Al Qaeda and similar groups back into the political frame. As a result the need for creative nonviolent solutions, most notably in Egypt, has become more acute.

April Carter

## December 1st: Prisoners for Peace Day

1st December is Prisoners for Peace Day. For over 60 years, War Resisters' International have, on this day, made known the names and stories of those imprisoned for actions for peace. Many are conscientious objectors, in gaol for refusing to join the military. Others have taken nonviolent actions to disrupt preparation for war.

This day is a chance for you to demonstrate your support for those individuals and their movements, by writing to those whose freedom has been taken away from them because of their work for peace.

While WRI has a permanent Prisoners for Peace list, which we make a special effort to update for Prisoners for Peace Day on December 1st.

### We invite you to:

- Put aside some time on December 1st, or a day close to it, to send cards that express your solidarity. You can find the names and address here: <http://www.wri-irg.org/inprison>, or you can download the list as a pdf file below
- Get your friends, peace group, class, faith or community group together and organise a card-writing session;
- Set up a stall in your town centre, perform a bit of street theatre, or do whatever else it takes to attract attention and interest.

More information, visit: [http://wri-irg.org/campaigns/prisoners\\_for\\_peace](http://wri-irg.org/campaigns/prisoners_for_peace)

#### Turkey

**Ismail Yildiz** (1 Dec '11 - )  
Declared his conscientious objection while in prison, on 27 February '12.  
Write to **Yüksek Güvenlikli Kapali Ceza ve Infaz Kurumu, A71 Koguşu, Izmit - Kocaeli**

**Ali Fikri Isik** (27 Feb '13 - 14 Mar '14)  
Conscientious objector.  
Write to **Sukru Pasa Kisiyasi Askeri Cezaevi, Edirne, Turkey**

#### Turkmenistan

The below are all Jehovah's Witness conscientious objectors.

**Zafar Abdullaev** (6 Mar '12 - 6 Mar '14)  
**Nasrur Nasryaev** (1 May '12 - 30 Apr '14)  
**Dovran Matyakubov** (24 Dec '12 - 24 Dec '14)  
**Yalgharbek Sharipov** (25 Dec '12 - 25 Dec '13)  
**Makhtar Amirov** (8 Jan '13 - 8 Jan '15)  
**Arslan Doyetov** (9 Jan '13 - 9 Jul '14)  
**Atamurat Suvkhanov** (3 Apr '13 - 12 Mar '14)  
**Amirhan Tolkaev** (10 Jul '13 - 9 Jan '15)

For all write to **Seydi Labour Camp, Turkmenistan, 746222 Lebap vilayeti, Seydi, uchr. LB-K/12**

#### United States of America

**Rafiq Dhalir** (11921-052) (26 Apr '00-26 Apr '22)

theft, espionage and other charges.  
Write to **PVT Bradley E Manning, 89289, 1300 N Warehouse Rd, Ft Leavenworth KS 66027-2304, USA**

**Norman Edgar Lowry Jr. (KN 9758)** (1 Aug '11 - 31 Aug '18)  
Sentenced for third trespass at military recruiting office in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Serving one to seven years - 31/08/18 is the last release date.  
Write to **SCI Dallas, 1000 Follies Rd., Dallas, PA 18612, USA**



Yang Yoon-Mo - a movie critic and one of the prominent opponents against the Jeju naval base - was arrested and jailed on 1 February 2013. It is his fourth time in prison.

**Justin Colby** (22 Mar '13 - 22 Dec '13)  
War resister. Sentenced to nine months imprisonment for desertion in between deployments to Iraq.  
Write to **COLBY, Justin, 1450 Alder Rd., Box 339536, Joint Base Lewis-McChord, WA 98433-9536**

**Kimberly Rivera** (29 Apr '13 - 28 Feb '14)  
Conscientious objector - fled to Canada in between deployments to Iraq.  
Sentenced to 10 months imprisonment for desertion.

Write to **Kim River c/o All Souls Unitarian Universalist Church, 730 North Tejon Street, Colorado Springs, CO 80903, USA**

**Gregory Boertje-Obed** (5 Aug '13 - )  
**Megan Rice** (5 Aug '13 - )  
**Michael Walli** (92108-) (5 Aug '13 - )  
All three imprisoned for Transform Now Plowshares action. Jailed pending sentencing on January 28, '14, following conviction for sabotage and deprivation of government property at Y-12 nuclear weapons complex, Oak Ridge, Tennessee, 7/28/12.  
For all three write to **Irwin County Detention Center, 132 Cotton Drive, Ocilla, GA 31774**

**Gerald Ebner** (2 Sep '13 - 1 Mar '14)  
Imprisoned for trespass at nuclear command centre at Offutt Air Force Base near Omaha, Nebraska during a December 28, '12 in a Feast of the Holy Innocents witness action.  
Write to **Satellite Camp, POB 14525.**

## New in the WRI webshop

War Resisters' International offers a range of merchandise via its webshop. These and many other books can be ordered online — and some are even available for reading online or downloading as PDF.



Through articles, images, survey data and interviews, *Sowing Seeds: The Militarisation of Youth and How to Counter It* documents the seeds of war that are planted in the minds of young people in many different countries. However, it

also explores the seeds of resistance to this militarisation that are being sown resiliently and creatively by numerous people. We hope the book will help to disseminate these latter seeds. It is not just a book for peace and antimilitarist activists: it is a book for parents and grandparents, teachers, youth workers, and young people themselves.

Author(s)/editor(s):

Owen Everett

Publisher:

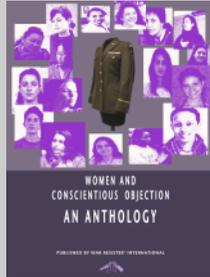
War Resisters' International

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2013

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COs are generally seen as male — as are soldiers. This book breaks with this assumption. Women conscientiously object to military service and militarism. Not only in countries which

conscript women — such as Eritrea and Israel — but also in countries without conscription of women. In doing so, they redefine antimilitarism from a feminist perspective, opposing not only militarism, but also a form of antimilitarism that creates the male conscientious objector as the 'hero' of antimilitarist struggle.

This anthology includes contributions by women conscientious objectors and activists from Britain, Colombia, Eritrea, Israel, Paraguay, South Korea, Turkey, and the USA, plus documents and statements.

Edited by Ellen Elster and Majken Jul Sørensen, Preface by Cynthia Enloe  
ISBN 978-0-903517-22-5. 152 pages.



Social change doesn't just happen. It's the result of the work of committed people striving for a world of justice and peace. This work gestates in groups or cells of activists, in discussions, in training sessions, in reflecting

on previous experiences, in planning, in experimenting and in learning from others. Preparing ourselves for our work for social justice is key to its success. There is no definitive recipe for successful nonviolent actions and campaigns. This handbook, however, is a series of resources that can inspire and support your own work, especially if you adapt the resources to your own needs and context.

Published by: War Resisters' International  
ISBN: 978-0-903517-21-8  
Orders: £5.00 + postage

Check out the WRI webshop at <http://wri-irg.org/webshop>

## The Broken Rifle

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