

# *Shalom!* Toward a More Effective, More Faithful Approach to Conflict and Violence

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When people of faith reflect on their personal encounters with [violence](#), their responses are often very moving, and illustrate the breadth and seriousness of the problem in our society: "A loved one brutally mugged"... "Observing my children act out violent scenes from a children's cartoon"... "Witnessing the far-reaching effects of domestic abuse on a friend"... "Joining the military as an idealistic recruit and seeing first-hand how awful war really is"... "Meeting people who were tortured in a Middle-Eastern war, and later finding out the U.S. was backing the government that was responsible"....

Experiences of [nonviolence](#) are equally diverse and moving: "Discovering the power of forgiving someone who I didn't think deserved it"... "Watching a principal who is barely 5 feet tall use only words to pull an angry 6 foot student back from threats of violence"... "Learning from a film about [Gandhi](#), [Day](#), [Bonhoeffer](#), or Romero that nonviolence isn't weakness, it's a different kind of strength than violence"... "Working with the poor in a year of service at a fraction of the salary of my fast-track friends and seeing them come to envy my choice"... "Taking part in civil disobedience and experiencing first-hand that unarmed truth can be more powerful than violence." (Quotes are from participants in LPF nonviolence workshops.)

Sharing personal stories of *nonviolence* makes clear how much we need to hear positive experiences and images of hope. Our stories of *violence* suggest how wide-ranging are the problems we face, and how inadequate are the methods for addressing conflict in our violence-steeped culture. And those limitations exist on every level of our lives from interpersonal to community to international. In contrast, it is very rewarding to explore the richness of a gospel perspective on conflict and peacemaking.

A good place to start is an activity we often use in our [workshops](#) that examines how from childhood we are socialized into flawed, one-sided ways of addressing everyday conflict in our homes and work-places. Participants come to understand those limitations as well as insights from the most respected manuals on the subject such as the popular book, *Getting to Yes* by Fisher and Ury. We discuss and try out skills they offer such as "learning to listen first," looking for "win-win" solutions, and getting past people's egos and emotions to focus on the problem. Such insights and skills alone could dramatically improve how many of us address conflict in our families, congregations, communities, and world.

But that's just a beginning. The gospel perspective we seek to explore in our workshops – and outline in this essay – moves us beyond this in at least three ways: First, we're encouraged to investigate conflict and violence on a much *broader and deeper level* (Part One of this essay). This lays the groundwork for us to plumb the deeper insights and skills of a *gospel perspective on our response* to violence and injustice (Part Two). Finally, we can *explore examples* that illustrate important elements of that response (Part Three) – and as well, notice how rarely they are mentioned in most discussions of the subject.

## **Part 1. Digging Deeper**

A first step is to broaden the discussion beyond a few types of conflict we've experienced to look at our larger culture. Let's begin with some questions: Why does the U.S. have twice the prison population per capita of most other industrialized nations? Why are most conflicts shown on television resolved with force – often violent force – and only a tiny handful with the techniques experts say should be taught in our schools? What should we make of all the grossly violent and sexist computer games that are not only widely available but are the best sellers? What can be inferred from the ineffectiveness we've seen in Congress in recent years, from [gun violence](#) and "stand your ground laws" to immigration reform?

How can we account for the extremely high rates of [domestic violence](#) in the U.S.? What might explain the growing levels of violence in spectator sports? Why do so many leaders of both political parties claim deep Christian values but speak mostly of toughness, vengeance and our [right to use military force](#) when there's an international crisis? While talk shows, articles, community or church forums, etc. regularly consider such questions, it is rare to find serious exploration of the deeper realities and assumptions that underlie them (let alone effective methods to address them).

For such problems to be as deep-seated as they are, across such a range of our experience, suggests a structural problem. Our culture not only has serious deficiencies dealing with conflict and violence, but by all the evidence, our culture is stuck. And it is stuck in ways the church is uniquely equipped to help out, if we can grasp the gifts of the gospel that might make such help possible.

Engaging those structural problems in addressing conflict and violence has the potential to improve at a minimum the way our families, congregations, and church committees deal with conflict. A more serious effort could help the church play a useful, even transforming role in helping our society grapple with conflict, violence, and injustice. And such an effort, in turn, could revitalize our church.

The problem is that most Christians are working with only a fraction of the resources of our own biblical tradition. To grasp the power of those resources requires a serious shift in our thinking from what is commonly found in the larger culture or church. While that shift poses a challenge for us, those [biblical resources](#) also offer the encouragement and hope we need to take on that challenge.

Let's start by framing our question in a different way: What does a biblically-grounded perspective on conflict and peacemaking offer to address conflict, especially ones that are caused, held in place, or exacerbated by power imbalances? First, it helps to remember that Jesus lived in a culture that was enmeshed in often oppressive power structures, from the Roman occupation to a wide array of gender, ethnic, class, and religious relations. These were structures that made it revolutionary for Jesus to converse with the [woman](#) at the well, choose a Samaritan as the hero of a story, or urge "walking the second mile." In the opening chapters of *Engaging the Powers*, [Walter Wink](#) shows how today – as well as in Jesus' time – such oppressive, institutional structures together form a 'domination system' and he offers valuable insights for understanding and confronting those structures. In so doing, he opens up for us a fresh and challenging new dimension of discipleship, of servant leadership.

We often hear the U.S. referred to as a 'Christian' culture; but take a closer look at the foundations of how it deals with violence. Far from dealing with our conflicts out of Jesus' call to discipleship, to [Shalom](#), the great majority of them are approached from the stance of what Wink terms "the myth of redemptive violence." This is the conviction that justice and an end to violence can be sought through violence, whether in a punitive criminal justice system, in the rhetoric of the "war on terrorism," in many years of tolerating [domestic violence](#), or in most action film and video game versions of how to rid the world of evil. But the worldview or "myth" of redemptive violence reinforces and reproduces both violence and counter-productive views of its efficacy in our culture. And because it functions largely on a subconscious level, it is all the more compelling and dangerous. The psycho-dynamics of the great majority of children's cartoons, [computer games](#), and films illustrate this myth with great clarity:

Children identify with the good guy so they can think of themselves as good. This enables them to project out onto the bad guy their own repressed anger, violence, rebelliousness, or lust and then vicariously to enjoy their own evil by watching the bad guy initially prevail.... When the good guy finally wins, viewers are then able to reassert control over their own inner tendencies, repress them, and reestablish a sense of goodness without coming to any insight about their own inner evil. The villain's punishment provides catharsis; one forswears the villain's ways and heaps condemnation on him in a guilt-free orgy of aggression. Salvation is found through identification with the hero. (Walter Wink, *The Powers That Be*, page 49)

So it should be clear that these cartoons, [computer games](#), and action films are not just escapist fun. Together they express a belief system in fundamental competition with our culture's supposed Judeo-Christian values. The sheer scale of the impact of these [media](#) should raise serious questions. The average child graduates from high school having spent more time in front of television and computer screens than in the classroom. Not more time than the school conflict resolution program or civics class, church youth program and Sunday School, but more time than is spent in all classes! Wink observes:

What church or synagogue can even remotely keep pace with the myth of redemptive violence in hours spent teaching children or in quality of presentation? (Think of the typical children's sermon. How bland by comparison.)... No other religious system has ever remotely rivaled the myth of redemptive violence in its ability to catechize its young so totally. From the earliest age, children are awash in depictions of violence as the ultimate solution to human conflict. (Ibid, page 54)

Our experience of conflict and violence is characterized by what Wink, Rene Girard and others have persuasively argued is a "spiral of violence." We see it every day. The supervisor comes down on the worker who can't strike back at the source of his frustration so his anger falls on his wife who hits the kids who kick the dog...(and those children are more likely to become bullies or grow up to be abusive).

## **Part 2. The Gospel Vision of *Shalom***

If indeed our culture is stuck when it comes to violence, it should come as good news that the gospel vision has a lot to offer on getting unstuck, on peacemaking. It may be helpful at the outset to note that the message of Jesus, notably in the Sermon on the Mount, is nothing like the spiritualized, even wimpy approach to conflict and violence that I grew up with as a Christian and which is still an all too prevalent stereotype. For Jesus offers a genuine alternative to the myth of redemptive violence, and to wimpy passivity – an alternative to the false choice of "fight or flight." As mentioned above, the historical context and audience of Jesus' teachings was the powerless, the oppressed. And he offered them a way to stand up to the Romans, to assert their humanity and to transform their society through love. Jesus called them to act in powerful and creative ways to transform oppressive and violent situations.

The heart of what Wink and others have done to recover a biblically-grounded response to conflict and injustice is developed in what Wink calls "Jesus' Third Way." He shows how Jesus offers not only a different approach to conflict, but one with a radically more useful and compelling perspective on *power* as well. That perspective has influenced the most creative theories and actions on the ethical use of power, from Penn, Woolman, and Ballou, to Tolstoy, Gandhi, and [King](#). [*In fact, as Gandhi struggled to develop a truly moral approach to conflict, he first found it expressed in the Way of Jesus, particularly the Sermon on the Mount, and only later was able to see those insights more deeply in the Bhagavad Gita of his own tradition.*]

There is wealth of insight to be found in the gospel vision as explored in Wink – and in step-by-step, participatory [peace education](#) programs such as Lutheran Peace Fellowship's "Leadership Training in Peacemaking" and "Peacemaking in the Real World," Pace e Bene's "Engage" and "From Violence to Wholeness" programs and the Fellowship of Reconciliation Nonviolence Trainings to mention just a few.

For instance, Wink's chapter "On Not Becoming What We Hate" extends his case with a wide range of examples, from the U.S. in Vietnam and the deepening Israeli-Palestinian standoff, to how prisons socialize inmates into criminal behavior. He notes that programs like Alcoholics Anonymous, or cancer support groups have evolved methods that are more successful and sustainable than what they replaced.

In "The Acid Test: Loving Enemies," Wink develops the insight that we can learn from our enemies to understand those parts of ourselves that we dislike, and to come to know our own tendencies for evil. And through grace, we are offered the possibility of rising above ourselves, the gift to recognize the good and bad in everyone, the ability to see that we are all sinners and that we can change through love.

Such insights have considerable potential to transform our effectiveness in dealing with conflict as individuals and groups. The more I wrestle with these concepts in our workshops, and my own experience of responding to conflict, the more it seems that Henri Nouwen is on to something when he asserts:

If anyone should ask you what are the most radical words in the Gospel, you need not hesitate to reply. "Love your enemies." It is these words that reveal to us most clearly the kind of love proclaimed by Jesus... Love for one's enemy is the touchstone of being a Christian.

As we've discussed, by this standard, when it comes to dealing with conflict and violence our culture is stuck. It is in the grip of a worldview that is the antithesis of the [Christian perspective](#) we so strongly assert that we have. That worldview dominates [media](#) depictions of conflict and both reinforces and reproduces itself. And as we've suggested, our culture is stuck in ways the church is uniquely equipped to help if we can grasp the gifts of the gospel that make such help possible.

One place to start is with our language. The word used by Jesus, the prophets before, and the early church after means more than just our word "peace." *Shalom* fully includes our concepts of "justice," "inclusive community," "wholeness," "healing." And the concept that comes closest to describing how *Shalom* might be achieved in our violent world is "nonviolence," as many of our brightest theologians on the subject have concluded – [Dietrich Bonhoeffer](#), Joan Chittister, John Dear, Mary Evelyn Jegen, Rosemary Ruether, Donald Shriver, Dorothee Soelle, [Walter Wink](#), and John Howard Yoder to mention a few.

Examining specific examples of nonviolence can be helpful. We'll look at some brief depictions of nonviolence used in national or international conflicts, with which we are typically more familiar than with examples on an interpersonal level. But even they present a challenge. First, because the news media have so rarely understood or pursued that dimension. Second, in order to realize the potential of nonviolence, we have to get past – and help our congregations and communities work through – the many stereotypes and misconceptions that are so common regarding nonviolence: for example, that compared to violence it is weakness or passivity... that nonviolence might work on easy conflicts but when things get tough we must resort to violence.... Such misconceptions have led many practitioners to use the phrase "active nonviolence" to remind people that nonviolence is not weakness but a different kind of power for confronting injustice or conflict. Moreover, using it calls for a different perspective on the dynamics of conflict, responses to the actions of the opponent, steps that lead toward reconciliation, a different set of skills, etc.

### **Part 3. From Gandhi to the Arab Spring, Occupy, and Black Lives Matter**

In recent years, many events have brought elements of this deeper understanding of nonviolence into view, often in dramatic ways. Nonviolence has been central to movements ranging from [Gandhi](#) in India to teachers in Nazi-occupied Norway, from the U.S. civil rights movement to organizing of farmworkers by Cesar Chavez and others – and an immense number and variety of efforts before and since.

For example, the commitment to active, disciplined nonviolence of the vast majority of Arab Spring participants was fundamental to its successes – many of which were considered unthinkable just a few years earlier. Protests in a number of countries were larger than any in memory, in some cases involving the occupation of public sites for weeks at a time. Those protests led to the fall of three repressive regimes and major changes in the lives and hopes of millions of people from Algeria to Yemen. This was achieved despite the arrest and torture of many protest leaders. Virtually all activists resisted the impulse to bring weapons to protests despite violence and provocation from security units, police, and soldiers.

It is crucial to understand that the uprisings were preceded by months or years of nonviolence training and preparation and organizing by the leaders. Quite a few traveled to Bosnia and other countries to learn from leaders of other nonviolence movements. Many thousands of activists read and shared analyses by such notable nonviolence theorists as Gene Sharp, and depictions of successful nonviolence campaigns, for example, a widely circulated comic book on the Montgomery Bus Boycott from the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Many of these had long since been translated into Arabic (and many other languages). Finally, notice how little of the above was reported in the many mass media depictions of the Arab Spring.

Occupy Wall Street is another, albeit also mixed, example of the use of nonviolence on a large scale. It began in the fall of 2011. In less than two years it had sparked "Occupy" movements in over 1000 U.S. communities and 900 cities around the world. These movements were notable for their use of participatory democracy, abstaining from violence, modeling of direct action, and the rapid spread of their core messages. It is fair to say that Occupy sparked a major shift in public awareness regarding the growth of inequality in the U.S., and of corporate corruption, the impact of money in politics, and related issues.

At the heart of the success of both movements was the activists themselves – their courage under fire, their grasp of the discipline of nonviolence, and their taking on all the tasks of organizing, nonviolence training, communication, food, sanitation... and for doing so at levels necessary to keep the movement from collapsing or being vulnerable to manipulation or take-over by opposing or violent elements.

These qualities can be found at the heart of most nonviolence movements. To counter the silence in much of our media and culture regarding how effective nonviolence has been, it is worth noting that nonviolence movements have been successful on an incredibly wide range of issues, in every period of



history and every part of the world. Many confronted ruthless opposition and still succeeded. Here are a few more examples that illustrate the effectiveness, diversity, and creativity of nonviolence movements:

- 1980 The **Solidarity movement** is organized in Poland. Often pronounced dead, by 1989 it wins every available seat in Parliament. It committed not one violent act, despite repression including the killing of 100 members.
- 1986 The nonviolent "**People Power**" movement in the Philippines brings down the repressive Marcos dictatorship. Nonviolent training and huge protests prevent the violent military responses from succeeding. It inspires movements in Asia, South Africa, and Eastern Europe.
- 1989 **Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and East Germany** all win freedom from Soviet control by nonviolent means. Nonviolent movements in the Soviet Union arise and develop in **Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Georgia, Armenia, Moldavia, and the Ukraine**.
- 1989 The Chinese government suppresses a nonviolent student protest at **Tiananmen Square** but not before images are televised around the world, such as one of an unarmed young man stopping a column of tanks.
- 1990 **Disabled demonstrators** at the Capitol building in Wash. DC demand passage of a bill to guarantee their civil rights. In a dramatic moment, 60 people crawl out of their wheelchairs and up the Capitol steps.
- 1991 The **Moscow** parliament building is surrounded by tens of thousands of Russian demonstrators to protect Pres. Yeltsin from a coup that fails despite its command of four million soldiers and 1000s of tanks and aircraft.
- 1994 **Nelson Mandela** is elected the first black President of South Africa, just four years after he is released from jail. Ending apartheid took years of nonviolent protest in South Africa and around the globe – e.g., student protests persuaded 20% of U.S. universities to end investments in corporations with ties to South Africa.
- 1998-99 Thousands of cities, schools, churches, and groups endorse the **Nobel Appeal for Peace**. The UN designates 2001-10 as the **Decade for a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence**. Over 74 million people sign the Decade's pledge of nonviolence by the end of 2002.
- 2006 On May 1st, 1,500,000 people come together in the largest **immigrant rights** protest in U.S. history. May Day becomes an immigration as well as a workers rights day.
- 2007 In just a decade, **Jubilee movement** citizen lobbying leads to the cancelation of more than \$120 billion of debt owed by developing countries. (Since 1986, the world's 66 poorest countries had paid \$230 billion in debt service.)
- 2010-12 **The Arab Spring**...2011-13 **Occupy Movement**...
- 2015 **Greenpeace** protests push Shell Oil to end drilling in the **Arctic** for its environmental impact.... Citizen protests push leaders of 150 nations to meet in Paris to plan effective responses to the disastrous threat of **climate change**.
- 2016 Native Americans from 250 tribes and environmental activists protest the **North Dakota Pipeline** to bring oil 1172 miles to Illinois, risking deadly drinking water contamination, e.g. in the Missouri River and Sioux sacred land.
- 2017 **Women's March** for human rights in Washington and elsewhere is the largest single day protest in US history.
- 2018 **Students** all across the U.S. protest **school shootings** triggered by the killing of 17 youths at **Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School** in Florida. It leads to a **March for Our Lives** and demands for new and stronger gun laws.
- 2020 The killing of George Floyd, a black man, by a white police officer sparks protests and the formation of the **Black Lives Matter** movement, among the largest in U.S. history.
- (just 18 of 150 stories of nonviolence on LPF's ['Path of Hope'](#))*

Even these few examples challenge the stereotype of nonviolence being passive or weak, effective in only certain situations, or an exception among other means of change. Various nonviolence timelines and databases include hundreds of such examples. People of faith were at the heart of a great many of them.

Countering violence today thus calls for a broader understanding of our problem: Violence is not just individual acts of injury and oppression, and the solution is not just a matter of stopping or punishing those acts. We are – all of us – immersed in a "culture of violence" that needs to be understood and transformed. We will do best if we ground our work in the depth of insight and breadth of practical success of such nonviolent movements so that "together we can build a new culture of nonviolence that can give hope to all humanity." (Quoting the "Appeal" signed by virtually every living Nobel Peace Laureate at the time that sparked the creation of the UN Decade for Peace and Nonviolence, 2001-2010).

And for our churches, active nonviolence offers nothing less than an opportunity for us to recover a neglected dimension of the gospel. Its potent resources encourage us to experiment with ways to improve peace education in our Sunday Schools, youth groups, and Bible study, and to better handle conflicts in our families, church committees, communities, and world. Moreover, it holds out a vision of the Church playing a significant, even transforming role in helping our society grapple with conflict and violence. Such service could, in turn, dramatically revitalize our Church. Blessed, indeed, are the peacemakers!

## Sources and Further Directions

The quotes on violence and nonviolence that begin this essay are from participants in LPF Leadership Training in Peacemaking workshops, as are the activities mentioned on *Getting to Yes*, biblical peacemaking, and other topics. The basis of the following listings are resources used to develop those LPF workshops, training manuals, workshop materials, and resource guides. (See LPF in “Peacemaking Workshops” below for more information). Resources we have found to be especially valuable appear first (often in order of usefulness), and are generally annotated. Sections of **other** resources offer additional materials and help illustrate the incredible breadth and depth of resources on this important topic.

### A. Conflict Resolution, Conflict Transformation

**Agreeing and Disagreeing in Love** (Mennonite Peace & Justice network, <http://peace.mennolink.org/agree>): concise, biblical program for congregations and committees; **When You Disagree...** (Mennonite Conciliation Service): audio tapes and manual for up to 10 sessions on conflict resolution geared to improving skills of church groups members (active links in [blue](#).)

**Families Creating a Circle of Peace** (Institute for Peace & Justice, 314/533-4445, [www.ipj-ppj.org](http://www.ipj-ppj.org)): booklet geared to the Family Pledge of Nonviolence; IPJ has useful curricula, videos, bulletin inserts, manuals, e-newsletter...

Susan G. Fitzell, **Free the Children** (New Society, 1997): fine, helpful conflict education manual for children and youth

Roger Fisher and William Ury, **Getting to Yes** (Penguin, 2nd ed., 1994): well-written, widely used book on negotiation skills; William Ury also wrote **The Third Side** (Penguin, 2000, hardcover title, **Getting to Peace**, '99) which offers an extremely useful analysis

Glen Gersmehl, **How to be a Bridge in a World Full of Walls** (LPF, '01-'14); Mark Juergensmeyer, **Gandhi's Way** (Calif., '84, '02)

John Paul Lederach, **The Little Book of Conflict Transformation** (Good Books, 2003): brief, the best introduction on the subject

Marshall Rosenberg, **Nonviolent Communication, A Language of Compassion** (PDP, 2003) and **Speak Peace in a World of Conflict** (PDP, 2005): exceptionally well-written and concise books apply the insights of nonviolence to a wide range of conflict resolution and communication issues (see Center for Nonviolent Communication [www.cnvc.org](http://www.cnvc.org))

Peter Steinke, **Congregational Leadership in Anxious Times** and **Healthy Congregations** (Alban, 2006; 2007), and Carolyn Schrock-Shenk and Lawrence Ressler, **Making Peace With Conflict** (Herald, 1999): helpful, practical introductions on addressing conflicts in the congregation; each is grounded in sound research and practice

### B. Going Deeper

Walter Wink, **Engaging the Powers** (AugsburgFortress, 1992): a gold mine of creative insights and useful examples. No book is mentioned more often as having had a fundamental influence on the thinking and spirituality of Christian lay leaders and pastors.

Wink's **The Powers that Be** (Doubleday, 1998) is a briefer version, perfect for book study groups. His **Jesus and Nonviolence** (AugsburgFortress, 2003) explores a central theme of these volumes in 100 pages and offers a variety of new insights.

Kelly Denton-Borhaug, **U.S. War-Culture, Sacrifice and Salvation** (Acumen, 2011): how traditional Christian understandings of sacrifice help to encourage war and militarism

Rita Nakashima Brock and Gabriella Lettini, **Soul Repair: Recovering from Moral Injury after War** (Beacon, 2012): important

Robert Herr and Judy Zimmerman Herr, editors, **Transforming Violence** (Herald, 1998): among the best anthologies on peacemaking, local to global, including chapters by Dorothee Soelle, Walter Wink, Elise Boulding, and Doug Hostetter

Cynthia Moe-Lobeda, **Public Church** and **Healing a Broken World: Globalization and God** (AugsburgFortress, 2004, 2002)

Jon Pahl, **Empire of Sacrifice: The Religious Origins of American Violence** (NY University, 2010)

Rosemary Radford Ruether, **America, Amerikkka: Elect Nation and Imperial Violence** (Equinox, 2007)

Larry Rasmussen, **Dietrich Bonhoeffer – His Significance for North Americans** (Fortress, 1990) especially chap. 3, and **Dietrich Bonhoeffer: Reality and Resistance** (Abingdon, 1972): explore Bonhoeffer's experience and insights on nonviolence

Donald Shriver, **An Ethic for Enemies: Forgiveness in Politics** (Oxford, 1995): an exceptionally insightful, lucid, unpretentious exploration of the Christian foundations of peacemaking that features five useful, extended case studies

Jon Sobrino, **Where Is God?: Earthquake, Terrorism, Barbarity, and Hope** (Orbis, 2004)

Glen Stassen, ed., **Just Peacemaking: Ten Practices...** (Pilgrim, 1998): threat reduction, conflict resolution, direct action

Paul Wee, **American Destiny and the Calling of the Church** (AugsburgFortress, 2006): a very useful brief survey

John Howard Yoder, **The Politics of Jesus** (Eerdmans, rev. ed., 1996): illuminating exploration of nonviolence in Luke

### C. Nonviolence Workshops and Training Resources

**Lutheran Peace Fellowship** ([lpf@ecunet.org](mailto:lpf@ecunet.org) 206-349-501, [www.lutheranpeace.org](http://www.lutheranpeace.org)): LPF has led over 1000 [workshops](#) and 70 intensive trainings in dozens of cities on [nonviolence](#), and refined over 90 interactive educational exercises and audiovisuals...

**Center for Nonviolent Communication** (800/225-9185, [www.cnvc.org](http://www.cnvc.org)): offers a variety of workshops and resources that apply the power and insight of nonviolence to interpersonal conflict resolution, communication, parenting, etc.

**Engage and From Violence to Wholeness** (Pace e Bene Nonviolence Center, [www.paceebene.org](http://www.paceebene.org)): remarkable 10-session manuals on the spirituality and practice of nonviolence offering well-crafted activities, discussions, brief readings, and prayers.

**Fellowship of Reconciliation** (845/358-4601, [www.forusa.org](http://www.forusa.org)): nonviolence training and **Peacemaker Training Institute**

**Growing Healthier Congregations** (Church Innovations Institute, [www.churchinnovations.org](http://www.churchinnovations.org)): moving from fear to action

**Help Increase the Peace** (American Friends Service Committee, revised edition, 2005, 410/323-7200, [www.afsc.org](http://www.afsc.org)): a dynamic, highly participatory, training program for youth to learn nonviolent skills; AFSC has trainers in 19 states (active links in [blue](#).)

**Institute for Peace and Justice** (314-533-4445, [www.ipj-ppj.org](http://www.ipj-ppj.org)): offers a wide range of high-quality workshops, guides, curricula, and resources for religious leaders, parents, and teachers an e-newsletter, six versions of its Pledge of Nonviolence

**Kingian Nonviolence Training** ([www.thekingcenter.org/nonviolence-education-training](http://www.thekingcenter.org/nonviolence-education-training)) and a number of affiliated centers

**Living Faithfully in a Violent World: Walking Jesus' Path of Peace** (AugsburgFortress, 2001): superb five-session discussion guide written by activists from the PeaceCenter in San Antonio, intro by Walter Wink. Originally with an ELCA workshop program.

**Religious Peace Fellowships** offer resources, training...; RPFs in Adventist, Baptist, Buddhist, Catholic, Church of God, Disciples, Episcopal, Jewish, Lutheran, Methodist, Muslim, Presbyterian, Unitarian, United Church of Christ faiths; and Mennonite, Quaker

#### D. An Introduction to Nonviolence in Action

William Ackerman and Jack DuVall, **A Force More Powerful** (St. Martin's, 2000): companion volume to a superb 6-part PBS video series narrated by Ben Kingsley exploring successful nonviolent movements on five continents (perfect for discussion); the book offers further case studies, useful background, extensive analysis and photos. Further resources, e.g. computer game, on [website](#)

Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, **Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict** (Columbia, 2011): a path-breaking book documenting the effectiveness of nonviolent resistance movements compared to violent ones.

Ira Chernus, **American Nonviolence: The History of an Idea** (Orbis, 2004): a fine survey from the colonial era to the present

Robert Cooney and Helen Michalowski, **Power of the People** (New Society, 1987): terrific, richly illustrated history of nonviolence

Richard Deats, **Martin Luther King, Jr.: Spirit Led Prophet** and **Mahatma Gandhi** (New City Press, 2003, 05), also Eknath Easwaran, **Gandhi the Man** (Nilgiri, rev., 1997): wonderful brief biographies emphasize practical effectiveness and spiritual grounding

Pam McAllister, **You Can't Kill the Spirit** and **This River of Courage** (New Society, 1988, 91): splendid stories on women and nv

Carolyn McConnell & Sarah van Gelder, **Making Peace: Healing a Violent World** (Yes magazine, 2003) 15 fine essays in 90 pages

Michael Nagler, **The Nonviolence Handbook** (Berrett-Koehler, 2014); **Is There No Other Way** (New World Library, 2004) superb

Gene Sharp, **There are Realistic Alternatives** and **From Dictatorship to Democracy: A Conceptual Framework for Liberation** (Albert Einstein Institute, 4th ed., 2010; download [pdf](#) for free) by a theorist who's had a major impact on nonviolence movements

Jim Wallis and Joyce Hollyday, eds, **A Cloud of Witnesses** (Orbis, 1991): terrific profiles of peace heroes by [Sojourners](#) leaders

Walter Wink, editor, **Peace Is the Way** (Orbis, 2000): an outstanding anthology offering a wide array of voices and their insights

Stephen Zunes, et al, **Nonviolent Social Movements** (Blackwell, 1999): one of the best of many such surveys and analyses

**Global Nonviolent Action Database**: describes hundreds of campaigns from 190 countries on a fully searchable [database](#)

**The Path of Hope**: both a list and a richly illustrated exhibit explores 150 nonviolent movements and heroes throughout history. A dozen group activities, a resource guide, a Women's Path of Hope, and a "how to" kit for making a "mini Path" by classes and groups each expands the Path's usefulness ([Lutheran Peace Fellowship](#)). "The Wall of Hope" is a secular version of the exhibit & and resources ([Peace & Justice Resource Center](#)): Together, they've been used by over 700 conferences, groups, schools.

#### E. Nobel Peace Laureates

Irwin Abrams, ed., **The Words of Peace**, inspiring selections from speeches of Nobel Peace Laureates (rev. ed., Newmarket, 2000); Jeffrey Hopkins, **The Art of Peace: Nobel Peace Laureates Discuss Human Rights, Conflict and Reconciliation**, including Desmond Tutu, Oscar Arias, Betty Williams, the Dalai Lama... (Snow Lion, 2000); Aung San Suu Kyi, **The Voice of Hope**, conversations on truth and reconciliation, freedom and the force of love (Seven Stories Press, 1997) and **Freedom from Fear**, essays and speeches (Penguin, 1995); Adolpho Perez Esquivel, **Christ in a Poncho** (Orbis, 1983); Mairead Corrigan Maguire, **The Vision of Peace: Faith and Hope in Northern Ireland**, ed. by John Dear (Orbis, 1999); Nelson Mandela, **Long Walk to Freedom**, autobiography (Little Brown, 1994); Mother Teresa, various volumes; Desmond Tutu, **The Rainbow People of God**, moving sermons and essays (Doubleday, 1993) and **No Future Without Forgiveness**, on South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation process (Doubleday, 1999); The Dalai Lama, **Ethics for the New Millennium** (1999, Riverhead), Elie Wiesel, **Memoirs...**

#### F. Other Especially Useful Christian Sources

Jim Antal, **Climate Church, Climate World** (Rowan, 2018); Lenny Duncan, **Dear Church...from a Black Preacher** (Fortress, 2019)

Roland Bainton, **Christian Attitudes Toward War and Peace** (Abingdon, 1960): key survey of biblical and early church sources

Gregory Baum and Harold Wells, eds., **Reconciliation of Peoples** (Orbis, 1997): global anthology of case studies and analysis

Karen L. Bloomquist and Ronald W. Duty, **Talking Together as Christians about Tough Social Issues** (AugsburgFortress, 2002)

Marcus J. Borg and John Dominic Crossan, **The Last Week: What the Gospels Really Teach ...** (Harper, 2006)

Ken Butigan, Marie Pastrick, and Terry Messman, eds., **Basta! No Mordate for War** (New Society, 1985)

Rene Girard, **Violence and the Sacred** (Johns Hopkins, 1977): Wink's discussion of Girard (chapter 7 of *Engaging the Powers*) makes accessible Girard's provocative view of sacrifice and the role of the scapegoat in Biblical times and our own.

Stanley Hauerwas, **Performing the Faith: Bonhoeffer and the Practice of Nonviolence** (Brazos, 2004); with other essays; **War and the American Difference** (Baker Academic, 2011): How war shapes our sense of ourselves and presence in the world.

George S. Johnson, author and editor, **Courage to Think Differently** (2013) 35 inspired essays challenge us and offer insight for faithful peace and justice involvement; includes study guides; author, **Beyond Guilt**, the best brief book on hunger and poverty

Martin Luther King, Jr., **I Have a Dream** James M. Washington, ed., (HarperCollins, 1995): the best brief MLK anthology; **A Testament of Hope** (HarperCollins, 1986): a major collection; Richard Deats, **Martin Luther King, Jr.: Spirit Led Prophet** (New City,



2003): brief, well-written biography emphasizing King's spiritual dimension; see also volumes by Ansbro, Branch, Cone, Dyson, Fairclough, Garrow, King, Oates, etc.; Many of King's writings are available: [www.miltonline.net](http://www.miltonline.net) and [www.Stanford.edu/group/King](http://www.Stanford.edu/group/King)  
Cynthia D. Moe-Lobeda, *Resisting Structural Evil: Love as Ecological-Economic Vocation* (Fortress, 2013) important insights  
Jack Nelson-Pallmeyer, *Jesus Against Christianity: Reclaiming the Missing Jesus* of compassion, nonviolence (Trinity Press, 2001)  
Jim Wallis, *On God's Side* (Brazos, 2013), *Rediscovering Values* (Howard, 2010), *God's Politics* (Basic Books, 2005): encourage us to explore and grow in living our faith in the world, family to public life; along the way, challenging views on both right and left

**others:** American Bible Society, *The Poverty and Justice Bible* (BFBS, '08): 2000 justice verses highlighted in color; David Augsburger, *Helping People Forgive* (W/JK, 1996); Daniel Berrigan, *To Dwell in Peace* (Harper, '87); Robert McAfee Brown, *Religion and Violence* (WP, '87); Walter Brueggemann, *The Prophetic Imagination* (AugsFortr, '00), *Living Toward a Vision*, etc.; Daniel Buttry, *Peace Ministry: Handbook for Local Churches* (Judson, '95); Joan Chittister, *Songs of Joy; Passion for Life* (Crossroad, '97, '98); *Living Well* (Orbis, '00); William Sloan Coffin, *Passion for the Possible, Credo* (W/JK, '93, '04), others; John Dear, *Disarming the Heart; God of Peace; Seeds of Nonviolence* (Orbis, '93, '05, '08), etc; John de Gruchy, *Reconciliation* (AugsFortr, '03), *Bonhoeffer for a New Day* (Eerdmans, '97); Jim Douglass, *The Nonviolent Coming of God* (Orbis, '91); [Faithtrust](http://Faithtrust.org), on domestic abuse; Roger Gottlieb, *A Spirituality of Resistance* (Crossroad, '99); Dennis Jacobsen, *Doing Justice* (AugsFortr, '01); Eric H.F. Law, *The Wolf Shall Dwell with the Lamb* and *Inclusion* (Chalice, '93 '00); Mary Evelyn Jegen, *A New Moment* and *Just Peacemakers* (Pax Christi, '86, '06); William Klassen, *Love of Enemies* (Fortr, '84); Susan Mark Landis, *Why Don't We Go to War?* (Herald, 1993); Bruce Lincoln, *Holy Terrors* (Chicago, '03)

Jim McGinnis, *Journey Into Compassion* (Crossroad, '93) Richard McSorley, *New Testament Basis of Peacemaking* (Herald, '79); Logan Mehl-Laituri, *Reborn on the Fourth of July* (IVP, '12); Thomas Merton, *The Nonviolent Alternative* (Farrar, '80); William Miller, *Nonviolence* (Schocken, '66); Henri Nouwen, *The Road to Peace* (Orbis, '98); Angie O'Gorman, ed., *The Universe Bends Toward Justice* (New Society, '90); Parker Palmer, *Healing the Heart of Democracy* (Jossey-Bass, '11); Alain Richard, *Roots of Violence in US Culture* (Blue Dolphin, '99); Cheryl J. Sanders, *Empowerment Ethics for a Liberated People* (AugsFortr, '95); Ronald Sider, *Nonviolence* (Word, '89), Dorothee Soelle, *Creative Disobedience*, (Pilgrim, '95) others; Willard Swartley, ed., *Love of Enemy and Nonretaliation in the New Testament* (W/JKP, '92); Susan Thistlethwaite, *A Just Peace Church* (UCC, '87); J. Milburn Thompson, *Justice and Peace: A Christian Primer* (Orbis, '97); Andre Trocme, *Jesus and the Nonviolent Revolution* (Orbis, 2003); Desmond Tutu, *God Is Not a Christian and Other Provocations* (HarperOne, '11); Gerard Vanderhaar, *Enemies and How to Love Them* and *Active Nonviolence* (23rd Publ., '85, '90); J. Denny Weaver, *The Nonviolent Atonement* (Eerdmans, '11); Sharon Welch, *After Empire and Real Peace, Real Security:* (AugsFortr, '04, '08); Albert Curry Winn, *Ain't Gonna Study War No More* (W/JKP, 1993): war & the bible

*In other faith traditions:* Daniel Smith-Christopher, ed., *Subverting Hatred*, anthol.; Haim Gordon, Leonard Grob, *Educating for Peace*; Murray Polner, Naomi Goodman, eds., *Challenge of Shalom*; Naim Stefan Ateek, *Justice, and Only Justice*; David W. Chappell, *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*; Bernie Glassman, *Bearing Witness*; Arnold Kotler, ed., *Engaged Buddhist Reader*; Kenneth Kraft, *Inner Peace, World Peace; Wheel of Engaged Buddhism*; Mahendra Kumar, *Nonviolence*; Stephen Legault, *Carry Tiger to Mountain*; Bawa Muhaiyaddeen, *Islam and World Peace*; Thich Nhat Hanh, *Love in Action; A Lifetime of Peace*; etc. Amitabh Pal, *Islam Means Peace*; Robert Sachs, *The Buddha and War*; Chaiwat Satha-Anand, *The Nonviolent Crescent*; Susan Brooks Thistlethwaite, *Interfaith Just Peacemaking*; Pandit Tiganuit, *Yoga on War and Peace*; Morihei Ueshiba, *The Art of Peace*...

## G. Worship and Devotional Resources

Dieter T. Hessel, ed., *Social Themes of the Christian Year: A Commentary on the Lectionary* (Geneva Press, 1983): excellent  
Bill Kellerman, *Seasons of Faith and Conscience* (Orbis, 91): superb exploration of peace with justice through the church year  
Lutheran Peace Fellowship, *Peace Worship Resources*: prayers, songs, litanies, sermons...(60 pages); *PeaceDeck* (48 cards...)  
Jim McGinnis, *Call to Peace* (Liguori Press, 1998): 52 fine meditations on peace themes, with resource listings ([www.ipj-ppj.org](http://www.ipj-ppj.org))  
Jack Nelson-Pallmeyer and Bret Hesla, *Worship in the Spirit of Jesus* (Pilgrim, 2005): reclaiming Jesus as peacemaker in liturgy  
Cindy Pile, ed., *Our Prayers Rise Like Incense* (Pax Christi, [www.paxchristi.org](http://www.paxchristi.org)): 50 complete liturgies on peace & justice themes.

**others:** Walter Brueggemann, *Praying the Psalms* (SMP, '82)...; Joan Chittister, *Living Well* (Orbis, '00)...; Gary Davidson, ed, *Banquet of Praise*: 300 prayers, hymns. (Bread for the World, '90); Geoffrey Duncan, *Timeless Prayers for Peace* (Pilgrim, '03); Marian Wright Edelman, ed., *Guide My Feet* (Beacon, '95); *For the Peace of the Whole World* (AugsFortr) 5 bible studies; Anthony Gittins, *Heart of Prayer* (Collins); Lynn Gottlieb, Rabia Terri Harris, and Ken Sehested, ed., *Peace Primer II: Quotes from Jewish, Christian, Islamic Scripture and Tradition* (Bread for the World, '12); Mary Lou Kownacki, ed., *Fire of Peace* (Pax Christi, '92); Martin Luther King, Jr., *Strength to Love*, sermons (Augsburg, '65/81); (Crossroad, '03); Henri Nouwen, *Show Me the Way* (Crossroad, '92) others; James Brockman, ed, *Violence of Love* (Harper, '98), *Voice of the Voiceless* (Orbis, '83): sermons of Oscar Romero; Mary Schramm, *Extravagant Love* (Augsburg, '76); Desmond Tutu, ed., *African Prayer Book* (Doubleday, '95); Brian Wren, *Bread of Tomorrow* (Orbis, '92)...

## H. Additional Outstanding Secular Perspectives on Nonviolence

Joan Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence* (California, '65): an unusually clear and penetrating exploration of Gandhi's genius  
Cynthia Enloe, *Nimo's War, Emma's War: Making Feminist Sense of the Iraq War* (Univ. of CA, 2010): insightful survey by the author of *Maneuvers:... Militarizing Women's Lives, Bananas, Beaches and Bases* and *Does Khaki Become You?*  
Homer Jack, ed, *The Gandhi Reader* (Grove, 1994); Louis Fischer, ed, *The Essential Gandhi* (Vintage, 1962); Thomas Merton, ed, *Gandhi on Nonviolence* (New Directions, 1964); [www.mkgandhi.org](http://www.mkgandhi.org) [www.gandhiinstitute.net/](http://www.gandhiinstitute.net/) [www.gandhiserve.com](http://www.gandhiserve.com)  
Paul Loeb, ed., *The Impossible Will Take a Little While: Citizen's Guide to Hope in Time of Fear* (Basic, '04): 60 superb essays; Staughton and Alice Lynd, eds., *Nonviolence in America* (Orbis, 1995): fine anthology with an outstanding historical introduction  
Pam McAllister, ed., *Reweaving the Web of Life* (New Society, 1982): rich collection of essays on women and nonviolence  
Elizabeth "Betita" Martinez, Matt Meyer, and Mandy Carter, eds, *We Have Not Been Moved: Resisting Racism and Militarism in the 21st Century America* (PM Press, 2012) strategic possibilities of radical transformation through revolutionary nonviolence



Colman McCarthy, *All of One Peace: Essays on Nonviolence* (Rutgers, 1994), and *I'd Rather Teach Peace* (Orbis, 2002): thoughtful, humane articles by a fine teacher of nonviolence and curriculum developer; many originated as *Wash. Post* columns. Michael Nagler, *Hope or Terror* (Island, 2006), *The Search for a NV Future* (Inner Ocean, 2004), *Steps of NV* (FOR, 1999) Marshall Rosenberg, booklet series: We Can Work It Out, Getting Past The Pain Between Us, Parenting from Your Heart, Teaching Children Compassionately, by the author of *Nonviolent Communication* (Center for Nonviolent Com., [www.cnvc.org](http://www.cnvc.org)) (active links in [blue](#).)

Chaiwat Satha-Anand, Michael True, eds., *Frontiers of Nonviolence* (avail. from PJSA, [www.peacejusticestudies.org](http://www.peacejusticestudies.org)) K. Louise Schmidt, *Transforming Abuse* (New Society, 1995): nonviolent responses to abuse of women and children Jonathan Schell, *The Unconquerable World* (Holt, 2003): wonderfully written study brimming with insights (active links in [blue](#).) Gene Sharp, *Politics of Nonviolent Action* (3 volumes, Porter Sargent, 1973): The magnum opus of a key figure in the development of modern nonviolence theory and practice; volumes 1 and 3 include many stories of nonviolence in action and much useful analysis; the middle volume offers a detailed elaboration of 198 distinct tactics and strategies of nonviolence. William Ury, *The Third Side: How We Fight and How We Can Stop* (Viking Penguin, 1999) and editor, *Must We Fight? A New Perspective on Violent Conflict and Its Prevention* (Jossey-Bass, 2002): unusually helpful volumes Patty Wipfler, "Listening to Children" ([www.handinhandparenting.org](http://www.handinhandparenting.org)): an exceptional booklet series on nonviolent parenting

**Militarism and Nonviolence:** Andrew Bacevich, *The New American Militarism* (Oxford, '05); Elise Boulding, *Cultures of Peace* (Syracuse, '00); Selwyn Bruyn and P.M. Rayman, eds., *Nonviolent Action & Social Change* (Irvington, '81); Ronald J. Glasser, *Broken Bodies, Shattered Minds: A Medical Odyssey, Vietnam to Afghanistan* (History Pub., '11); Dave Grossman, *On Killing*. ( Little, Brown, 2009). G. Simon Harak, ed., *Nonviolence for the Third Millennium* (Mercer, '00); Tom H. Hastings, *Nonviolent Response to Terrorism* (McFarland, '04); Chalmers Johnson, Cynthia Lutz, *The Bases of Empire: The Global Struggle Against U.S. Military Posts* (NY Univ, '09); Mary King, *Mahatma Gandhi* (UNESCO, '99); Karl Marlantes, *What It Is Like to Go to War* (Atlantic Monthly, '11); Marc Pilisuk, *Who Benefits from Global Violence and War* (Praeger, '08); Joni Seager, Cynthia Enloe, *The Real State of America Atlas: Myths & Truths of the U.S.* (Penguin, '11); Nancy Sherman, *The Untold War: Inside the Hearts, Minds, & Souls of Our Soldiers* (Norton, '10); James Tracy, *Direct Action* (Chicago, '96); Nick Turse, *The Complex: How the Military Invades our Everyday Lives* (Holt, '08

## I. Skills of Peacemaking and Justice Seeking

See "Peacemaking Workshop Programs and Resources" for hands-on skills training opportunities. Outstanding print resources: Medea Benjamin, Jodie Evans, eds., *Stop the Next War Now: Effective Responses to Violence & Terrorism* (Inner Ocean, 2005) Kim Bobo, Jackie Kendall, Steve Max, *Organizing for Social Change* (Seven Locks, 3rd ed., 2001): superb organizing manual Si Kahn, *Creative Community Organizing* (BK, 2010), and *How People Get Power* (NASW, rev edition, 1994) concise, wise George Lakey, *Grassroots and Nonprofit Leadership* (New Society, 1995) and *Powerful Peacemaking* (New Society, 1987) Bill Moyer, et al, *Doing Democracy* (New Society, 2001): insights on social movement organizing and how change takes place Keshavan Nair, *A Higher Standard of Leadership: Lessons from Gandhi* (Berrett-Koehler, 1995) draws out many insights R. Rinku Sen, *Stir It Up: Lessons In Community Organizing & Advocacy* (Jossey-Bass, 2003) among the most practical manuals Randi Shaw, *The Activist's Handbook* (California, 2001): unusually practical and insightful manual

**others:** Harry Boyte, *Everyday Politics* (U.Penn, '05), *The Citizen Solution* (U.Minn, '08)...; Michael J. Brown, *Building Powerful Community Organizations* (Long Haul, '07); John Castil, *Democracy in Small Groups* (New Society, '95); Stephen Covey, *Principle-Centered Leadership* (Simon & Schuster, '90); Matthew R. Kerbel, *Get This Party Started* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2006); Sam Kaner, et al, *Facilitator's Guide to Participatory Decision-Making* (Jossey-Bass, '07); Paul Kivel, *Uprooting Racism: How White People Can Work for Racial Justice* (New Society, rev. ed., '02) a fine manual; John P. Kretzmann and John L. McKnight, *Building Communities from the Inside Out* (ACTA, '97); Charles McCollough, *Resolving Conflict with Justice and Peace* (Pilgrim, '91); Paul Osterman, *Gathering Power* (Beacon, '03); Jona Rosenfeld, et al, *Artisans of Democracy* (Univ. Press, '00); Katrina Shield, *In the Tiger's Mouth* (New Society, '94); Lee Staples, *Roots to Power* (Greenwood, 2nd ed., '04); Sharon Welch, *Communities of Resistance* (Orbis, '92); Mark Warren, *Dry Bones Rattling* (Princeton, '01); Richard Wood, *Faith in Action* (Chicago, '02)

**some key issue today:** Alliance for Peacebuilding, *An Integrated Peacebuilding Strategy to Prevent and Contain the Global COVID-19 Pandemic and Ensure Stability* (2020), Save the Children International, *Protect a Generation: The Impact of COVID-19 on Children's Lives* (2020), UN Women, *From Insight to Action: Gender Equality in the Wake of Covid 19* (2020), Ijeoma Oluo, *So You Want to Talk About Race*; Ibram X Kendi, *How to be an Antiracist*; Robin Diangelo, *White Fragility*, Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), *For Truth and Reparations*, Christopher Lebron, *The Making of Black Lives Matter*, Laurie Collier Hillstrom, *Black Lives Matter: From a Moment to a Movement* (2018), Carol Brunson Phillips, *Racism: A Developmental Approach*, for kids--Innosanto Nagara, *A is for Activist*, activism for environmental justice, civil rights, LGBTQ rights... Dave Cullen, *Parkland: Birth of a Movement*, on student protest of gun violence, and "The March for Our Lives."

## J. Stories and Case Studies on Nonviolence

Richard Deats, and Eknath Easwaran's recommended books on Gandhi (see above); Stanley Wolpert, *Gandhi's Passion* (Oxford, 2001): a fine recent full-length biography; other helpful Gandhian studies by Judith Brown, Pico Iyer, Louis Fischer, Gene Sharp... Paul Dekar, *Creating the Beloved Community: A Journey with the Fellowship of Reconciliation* (Cascadia, FOR, 2005) Deena Guzder, *Divine Rebels: American Christian Activists for Social Justice* (Lawrence Hill, 2011) contemporary activists Catherine Ingram, *In the Footsteps of Gandhi* (Parallax, '90), interviews with Thich Nhat Hanh, Chavez, Tutu, Joan Baez, others Pam McAllister, *You Can't Kill the Spirit* and *This River of Courage* (New Society, 1988, '91): terrific stories on women and nv *People Building Peace: 35 Inspiring Stories from Around the World* (ECCP, IFOR, 1999, available from [www.forusa.org](http://www.forusa.org)) Michael N. Nagler and Marc Pilisuk, eds., *Peace Movements Worldwide* (ABC-CLIO, 3 vols, 2010): people, stories, and ideas Steven Schroeder, *A Community and a Perspective* (University Press, 1993): a history of Lutheran Peace Fellowship, 1941-91

Michael True, *Justice Seekers, Peace Makers* and *To Construct Peace* (23rd Publications, 1985, '92) dozens of brief stories, also published as a single volume, *People Power: Fifty Peacemakers and Their Communities* (Rawat Publications, India, '07). The [Path of Hope](#): a list & exhibit explores 150 nonviolent movements and leaders throughout history; 12 activities (see D. above)

**others:** Charles deBenedetti, *Peace Heroes* (Indiana, '86) and *Peace Reform in American History* (Indiana, '80); Arun Gandhi, *Legacy of Love* (North Bay Books, '03); Todd Gittlin, *The Sixties* (Bantam, '87); Vincent Harding, *Hope and History* (Orbis, '90); David Halberstam, *The Children*, (Random House, '98); Brennan Hill, *Eight Spiritual Heroes* (St. Anthony, '02); Arthur Laffin and Anne Montgomery, *Swords into Plowshares* (Harper, '87); Mary Ann Luke, ed., *Pilgrims and Seekers* (Pax Christi, '90); Charles Marsh, *The Beloved Community* (Basic, '05); Milton Meltzer, *Ain't Gonna Study War No More* (Harper, '03); Rosalie G. Riegle, *Crossing the Line: Nonviolent Resisters Speak Out* (Cascade, '13); N. Gerald Shenk, *Hope Indeed! Remarkable Stories of Peacemakers* (Good Books, 2008); Kathryn Watterston, *Not By the Sword* (S&S, '93); Fred Wilcox, *Uncommon Martyrs* (Addison Wesley, '91).

Biographies/accounts by and about Mubarak Awad, Aung San Suu Kyi, Ella Baker, Dan and Philip Berrigan, Steve Biko, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Elihu Burritt, Dom Helder Camara, Cesar Chavez, Septima Clark, Rachel Corrie, Dorothy Day, Dave Dellinger, Jean Donovan, Ita Ford, Arun Gandhi, Fannie Lou Hamer, Myles Horton, Franz Jaggerstatter, Badshah Khan, Muriel Lester, John Lewis, Mairead Corrigan Maguire, Nelson Mandela, Thomas Merton, Lucretia Mott, A.J. Muste, Rosa Parks, Jerry Pedersen, William Penn, Helen Prejean, Jeanette Rankin, Oscar Romero, St. Francis, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Desmond Tutu, Morihei Ueshiba, Ida B. Wells, Andrew Young, many others.

**Africa** --- Eric Berman, *Peacekeeping in Africa* (UNDIR, '00); Ruth Ginio, Pal Ahluwalia and Louise Bethlehem, *Violence and Non-Violence in Africa* (Routledge, '09); Diana Russell, *Lives of Courage* (Basic, '89); Bill Sutherland and Matt Meyer, *Guns and Gandhi in Africa* (Africa World, '00); Walter Wink, *Violence and Nonviolence in South Africa* (New Society, '86)

**Asia** --- Eknath Easwaran, *A Man to Match His Mountains* (Nilgiri, '86): a major hero of nonviolence in Islam; Sister Chan Khong, *Learning True Love* (Parallax, '93): social change in Vietnam; Douglas Ellwood, *Toward a Theology of People Power* and *The Philippine Revolution* (New Day, '88, '86): the nonviolent movement in the Philippines that toppled the dictator Marcos.

**Europe** --- Victoria Barnett, *For the Soul of the People: Protestant Protest Against Hitler* (Oxford, '93); Philip Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed* (HarperCollins, '79), also a film; Richard Taylor, Nigel Young, *Campaigns for Peace* (Manchester, '87); The Albert Einstein Institute offers 4 monographs analyzing nonviolent movements in East Germany, Lithuania, Latvia, the East European and Soviet Revolutions (available in print form, as downloadable pdfs, audio and/or e-book, [www.aeinstein.org](http://www.aeinstein.org))

**Latin America** --- Philip McManus and Gerald Schlabach, eds., *Relentless Persistence: Nonviolent Action in Latin America*, a fine anthology (New Society, '91); Ed Nolan, *Witness for Peace*, a key nonviolent group (W/JKP, '91); Patricia Parkman, *Insurrectionary Civic Strikes in Latin America, 1931-1961* (available as a pdf, [www.aeinstein.org](http://www.aeinstein.org)); Christian Smith, *Resisting Reagan*, a good overview (Chicago, '96); Michelle Tooley, *Voices of the Voiceless* (Herald, '97), Graeme MacQueen, ed., *Unarmed Forces*

**Middle East** --- Ann Hafften, *Water from the Rock* (AugsFortr, '03); Mary Elizabeth King, *A Quiet Revolution: Intifada, Nonviolent Resistance* (Nation Books, '07); Maxine Kaufman-Lacusta, *Refusing to Be Enemies* (Ithaca, '11); Mitri Raheb, *Faith in the Face of Empire* (Orbis, '14) **others:** Hannah Ashrawi, *This Side of Peace*, Naim Ateek, *Justice and Only Justice*, Graeme MacQueen, ed., *Unarmed Forces: NV Action*, Simona Sharoni, *Gender and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, Munib Younan, *Witnessing for Peace*

**others:** John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace* (USIP, '97), *Preparing for Peace* (Syracuse, '96), and *Journey Toward Reconciliation*, (Herald, '99); Judith Presler, Sally Scholz, eds., *Peacemaking* (Rodopi, '00); Robert J. Burrowes, *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense* (SUNY, '96). *On current and recent conflicts:* Chalmers Johnson, *Blowback* (Holt, '04); *Sorrows of Empire; Nemesis; Dismantling of Empire* (Metropolitan, '04, '07, '10); Thomas Ricks, *Fiasco* (Penguin, '06) on Vietnam; Lloyd Gardner and Marilyn Young, eds., *The New American Empire* (Metropolitan, '05); Nicholas Mills and Kira Brunner, eds., *The New Killing Fields* (Basic, '02); Stephen Zunes, *Tinderbox* (Common Courage, '03) [www.fpf.org](http://www.fpf.org) <http://ips-dc.org> <http://globalpolicy.org> <http://oneworld.org> <http://peacebrigades.org>  
[\[links\]](#)

**Research Sources:** Many of the above books offer useful bibliographies. Major research sources include Charles F. Howlett and Robbie Lieberman, *A History of the American Peace Movement* (Edwin Mellen, 2008); Ronald McCarthy and Gene Sharp, *Nonviolent Action: A Research Guide* (Routledge, 1997); Roger Powers and William Voegelé, *Protest, Power and Change* (Routledge, 1997); Nigel Young, ed., *The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace, in four volumes* (Oxford, 2010); LPF and the PJRC offer many resource guides, e.g. "Transforming Our World," "Wall of Hope," "Social Movements"...

**On the author & resource compiler:** Glen Gersmehl's experience includes 8 years as an organizer & educator in the highest crime areas of NY City and a key role in the passage of a major arms control treaty in the Senate. He directed a university peace studies program, and has led over 900 workshops on issues of peace, justice, and nonviolence, including 120 leadership trainings. He has developed many creative social change resources, e.g. leaders' guides & computer activities benefiting over a million people. His peace education and activism led to an invitation to serve as U.S. delegate to meetings in India to plan the UN Decade for Peace, the largest UN effort of its kind. Articles by him or about his work have appeared in the *NY Times*, *Fellowship*, *Journal of Lutheran Ethics*, *Peace Chronicle*, *Commonweal*, *NY Newsday*, *Seattle Times*, etc. Glen coordinates Lutheran Peace Fellowship and the Peace & Justice Resource Center. He has directed the nation's largest community leadership training center, presented testimony or worked as a consultant for 20 government agencies and committees, and taken on leadership roles in projects ranging from the arms trade (Federation of American Scientists) and non-proliferation (UN), to social service policy (a White House conference).

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For more on nonviolence, biblical peacemaking, nonviolence training, etc., or to comment on this essay, please contact:  
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