Introduction to Nonviolence

Professor Michael Nagler

University of California, Berkeley
Fall 2006
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Permission to reproduce these copyrighted materials has been obtained from the publishers for:

Michael Nagler  
University of California, Berkeley  
PACS 164A  
Fall 2006

Any further reproduction is a violation of the amended Copyright Act of 1976. Civil and criminal penalties may be imposed for copyright infringement.

1. Pp. 31-37
   4: Root Cause of War, 5: Seven Obvious Truths That Nobody Wants to See...
   From Warriors of Peace, L. Del Vasto
   © 1974
   Reproduced by permission of Random House. All Rights Reserved
   as reprinted in

2. Pp. 16-17
   From The Place of Nonviolence in a General Theory of Power, Boulding, Kenneth
   ©
   Reproduced by permission of fair use. All Rights Reserved
   as reprinted in

   Four basic Terms, M.K. Gandhi
   From Harijan
   © 1920
   Reproduced by permission of public domain. All Rights Reserved
   as reprinted in

   Ch. 5: Nonviolence and the Case of the Extremely Ruthless Opponent, Summy, Ralph
   From Legacy & Future of Nonviolence, True & Adams
   © 1996
   Reproduced by permission of Gandhi Peace Foundation. All Rights Reserved
   as reprinted in

5. Pp. 1-6
   From Key terms pamphlet, Einstein Institution
   ©
   Reproduced by permission of fair use. All Rights Reserved
   as reprinted in

   Excerpt
   From Gandhi & Group Conflict: an exploration of satyagraha, Naess, Arne
   © 1974
   Reproduced by permission of Universitetsforlaget. All Rights Reserved
   as reprinted in

7. Pp. 54-55
   From Life Is a Miracle: An Essay Against Modern Superstition, Berry, Wendell
   ©
   Reproduced by permission of fair use. All Rights Reserved
   as reprinted in
16 pp. 148-172
Chap 11 Justice Without Domination
From Wisdom from a Rain Forest, Schlegel, Stuart A.
© 1998
Reproduced by permission of University of Georgia Press. All Rights Reserved
as reprinted in

17 pp. 30
several articles,
From various sources,
©
Reproduced by permission of fair use. All Rights Reserved
as reprinted in

18 pp. 53, 78-82, 84
On the Rez: the story of SuAnne Big Crow, Frazier, Ian
From Atlantic Monthly Dec 99,
© 1999
Reproduced by permission of Atlantic Monthly. All Rights Reserved
as reprinted in

19 pp. 320

From Gandhi's spiritual vocabulary: some terms, and Gandhi on yajña, Nagler, M. N.

©
Reproduced by permission of Michael Nagler. All Rights Reserved
as reprinted in

20 pp. 11-15
Introduction,
From Gandhian Nonviolence: Levels of Satyagraha, Sonneitner, Michael
© 1985
Reproduced by permission of Abhinav Publications. All Rights Reserved
as reprinted in

21 pp. 220-229
excerpts,
From Mahatma Gandhi: Reflections on his Life & Work, S. Radhakrishnan
© 1956
Reproduced by permission of George Allen & Unwin. All Rights Reserved
as reprinted in

22 pp.

From Nonviolence - the greatest force, M. K. Gandhi

©
Reproduced by permission of public domain. All Rights Reserved
as reprinted in

23 pp.
A short chronology of Gandhi's life,
From The Gandhi Reader, Homer Jack
© 1956
Reproduced by permission of Grove Press. All Rights Reserved
as reprinted in
various excerpts.
From Satyagraha in South Africa, Gandhi, M. K., translated Valji Govindji Desai © 1972
Reproduced by permission of Navajivan Publishing House. All Rights Reserved
as reprinted in

Chs. 1, 2, 4.
From In Gandhiji's Mirror, Pyarelal and Sushila Nayar © 1991
Reproduced by permission of Oxford University Press. All Rights Reserved
as reprinted in

Gandhi: Leader of the Masses.
From Indian & Foreign Review 10/15/96, © 1996
Reproduced by permission of Indian & Foreign Review. All Rights Reserved
as reprinted in

Nonviolence in the Talmud, Kimelman, Reuven
From Roots of Jewish Nonviolence, ed. Allan Solomonow
©
Reproduced by permission of Jewish Peace Fellowship. All Rights Reserved
as reprinted in

From City of God: Book 19, St. Augustine
©
Reproduced by permission of public domain. All Rights Reserved
as reprinted in

Chp 3, Deception.
From Jesus & the Disinherited, Thurman, H © 1989
Reproduced by permission of Friends United Press. All Rights Reserved
as reprinted in

several articles.
From various sources
©
Reproduced by permission of fair use. All Rights Reserved
as reprinted in

From Varnasrama
©
Reproduced by permission of source unknown. All Rights Reserved
as reprinted in
PACS 164A is dedicated to the theory and practice of nonviolence, especially *principled* nonviolence, which Mahatma Gandhi called “the greatest force at the disposal of humankind.” We will in fact be using Gandhi as our primary example, since he was the first, and remains so far the greatest pioneer of this science. The main purpose of the course is to help us understand how nonviolence works, which will enable us to account for its successes and failures - and ultimately understand how to use it in our own lives as well as a tool for social change. The theory will emerge from a fairly close study of the history of nonviolence from earliest times up to the brief career of Martin Luther King, Jr., with particular emphasis on the career of Gandhi first in South Africa (1893-1914) and then in India (1915-1948). Students will become familiar with this history and develop a way to analyze it, so that they leave the course more able to understand (and communicate to others) some of the basic laws of nonviolent dynamics.

Like most PACS courses, 164A is undervalued at 3 units. There is a considerable amount of reading, and keeping up with that reading is important for the kind of lively, informed discussion we typically have in class. There will be a final paper, with an outline or preview to be handed in around the time of the midterm, and there will be a midterm and a final exam. The exams and the final paper are counted about equally for grading purposes - all this will be discussed in due course.

In addition to the books listed below, there is a reader at Copy Central (on Bancroft) and a reserve book list for items which will eventually show up in Moffitt. PACS 164A is listed on Courseweb. NOTE: 164A is prerequisite to 164B, “Nonviolence Today.”

### Course Outline

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Reading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Section I: Background and general principles.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Overview:</strong> strategic and principled NV; what to look for</td>
<td>Section I.a of Reader (Rdr.); Flinders in <em>Gandhi the Man</em>; Nagler Ch. 1-2; Abu-Nimer 5-25 (recom.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Aug.29-31</td>
<td>More background: how ‘science’ and ‘history’ weigh in on the possibility of the ‘NV effect’</td>
<td>Rdr. I.b (Science &amp; History):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sept. 5-7</td>
<td>The Vedanta as old/new paradigm: The Gita on human action and life’s purpose</td>
<td>Rdr. 1.c; Bhagavad Gita, Ch. 1-2, 4, 6, 18 Note: Continue reading Nagler through Ch. 8 at your own pace . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Section II: The Story Unfolds</strong></td>
<td><strong>The First Phase:</strong> Arrival in South Africa to the birth of Satyagraha (1893-1906); Constructive Program</td>
<td>Rdr. II.a; Fischer Chs. 4-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sept. 19-21</td>
<td>Success in South Africa: Return to India and the year of silence.</td>
<td>Continue with <em>Gandhi the Man</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week</td>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>Reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Oct. 3-5</td>
<td>Tragedy at Amritsar: rebellion heats up</td>
<td>Rdr. II.b; Gandhi, <em>V&amp;O</em> 29-48 and 154-end; Fischer, 10-26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 8. Oct. 17-19| **Tuesday: Review**  
Thursday: MIDTERM                                              | No new readings (I’m nonviolent)                                                                                                        |
Thursday: NV in the West (yes, there is). Judeo-Christian & Islamic sources | Rdr. III; Nuttall (recom)                                                                                                               |
| 10. 10/30-11/2| Medieval and modern NV Christian sects; the Society of Friends (Quakers) | Lynd, 1-5, 8, 10, 15a, 16, 25                                                                                                         |
| 11. Nov. 7-9 | The American Civil Rights movement, I:  
| 12. Nov. 14-16| CRm, II: King’s last years                                           | Frady (recom, and choose your own selections)                                                                                           |
|             | **Section IV: The Legacy**                                           | Rdr. IV, Gandhi, *CP* Ch. 4& 18                                                                                                        |
| 13. Nov. 21-23| Tu: The ‘Wheel of NV’; Gandhian economics  
Th: THANKSGIVING HOLIDAY                                            |                                                                                                                                         |
| 14. Nov. 28-30| Aspects of NV since Gandhi and King (a foretaste of PACS 164B)       | To be announced                                                                                                                         |
| 15. Dec. 5-7 | Grand overview.  
Th: Term Papers Due                                              | No new reading ☹                                                                                                                       |

**Required texts:**

M.K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj, or Indian Home Rule*

———, *Constructive Programme*

———, *Vows and Observances*

Eknath Easwaran, *Gandhi the Man*

———, *Nonviolent Soldier of Islam*

———, *The Bhagavad Gita*-

Louis Fischer, *Gandhi: His Life and Message for the World*

M.N. Nagler *The Search for a Nonviolent Future**

M.L. King, Jr. *Testament of Hope*

Lyad and Lynd, *Nonviolence in America**
Recommended texts:

Mohammed Abu-Nimer, *Nonviolence and Peace Building in Islam*

Marshall Frady, *Martin Luther King, Jr.*

Geoffrey Nuttall, *Christian Pacifism in History*

* Other translations are acceptable
**This title will also be used in PACS 164B**
TABLE OF CONTENTS

- Course Syllabus
- Acknowledgments (and page numbers)

**Section I: Background and General Principles**

  a) A conceptual framework for nonviolence

- M.K. Gandhi: “Four Basic Terms” from *The Harijan*. 1920
- Ralph Summy: “Nonviolence and the Case of the Extremely Ruthless Opponent” from *Legacy and Future of Nonviolence* by True & Adams 1996

- Key Terms Pamphlet by the Einstein Institution
- Arne Naess: *Gandhi and Group Conflict: An Exploration of Satyagraha*. [excerpts 1974]

  L. b) ‘Science’ and ‘History’

- Wendell Berry: *Life is a Miracle: An Essay Against Modern Superstition*. [excerpt]
- Max Plank & Henry Stapp: “Quotations” from *New Physics*.
- Henry Stapp: *Quantum Physics and Human Values*. 1989
- Nick Herbert: “How to Be In Two Places at the Same Time” from *New Scientist*. August 2, 1986
- Frans de Waal: *Good Natured: The Origins of Right and Wrong in Humans and Other Animals*. [excerpt, Ch.1: Darwinian Dilemmas]
- Frans de Waal: *Peacemaking Among Primates*. [excerpt, Ch. 6: Humans] 1989
Stuart A. Schlegel: “Justice Without Domination” [Ch.11] from Wisdom From A Rain Forest. 1998

Philostratus: The Life of Apollonius of Tyana. [selection]

Karen Ridd: An incident in El Salvador


I. c) A new/old alternative: basic ideas of the Vedanta

M. N. Nagler: Gandhi’s Spiritual Vocabulary- Some Terms


M.K. Gandhi “Five Great Yajnas,” from Hindu Dharma.

Section II. The Story Unfolds

a) South Africa

S. Radhakrishnan, Mahatma Gandhi: Reflections on his Life and Work. [excerpts] 1956

M.K. Gandhi: “Nonviolence the Greatest Force”

Homer Jack: Short Chronology of Gandhi’s Life, from The Gandhi Reader. 1956

M.K. Gandhi: Satyagraha In South Africa. [excerpts] translated by Valji Govindji Desai 1972

II. b) India


Unfolding of Satyagraha in India (1915-1924) from Preface to Satyagraha in South Africa.

Bipan Chandra: “Gandhi: Leader of the Masses” from Indian & Foreign Relations. October 15, 1996

Section III. The Western Experience of NV

Reuven Kimelman: “Nonviolence in Talmud” from Roots of Jewish Nonviolence. ed. by Allan Solomonow

Saint Augustine: The City of God: Book XIX. [excerpts]

Howard Thurman: “Deception” from Jesus and the Disinherited. 1976

Martin Luther King, Jr.: “Principles of Nonviolence”
Section IV. The Legacy


☐ Vinoba Bhave: “The Bhodan-Ganga Flows On” from Moved by Love.


☐ Terry Mollner: “Business, the Relationship Age, and a New Kind of Nation”

☐ Essays In Gandhian Economics eds. by Romesh Diwan and Mark Lutz
  ➢ Handa Madan: Gandhi and Marx; “An Outline of Two Paradigms” [Ch.13]
  ➢ Romesh Diwan and Sushila Gidwani: “Elements in Gandhian Economics” [Ch.3]
  ➢ J.D. Sethi: “Poverty, Alienation, and the Gandhian Way Out” [Ch.15]


☐ Quote from Marija Gimbutas from M. Nagler, America without Violence.