

Nonviolence:  
Powerful and Necessary

# Quaker Action

Now...



**American Friends  
Service Committee**

[www.afsc.org](http://www.afsc.org)

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## From the General Secretary



Dear Friend,

**F**rom its inception, AFSC has been a proponent of nonviolent resistance. We have seen the impact of war and violence on both victims and perpetrators, and, on moral grounds, we chose another path.

Now two scholars, Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan, have for the first time systematically studied violent and nonviolent movements and campaigns worldwide. They discovered to their surprise—but not ours—that nonviolent civil resistance is not only the morally right thing to do, it works! Nonviolent efforts are *twice as likely* as armed resistance to succeed, even under repressive regimes.

Their results were published last August in a groundbreaking book, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*. Chenoweth undertook the investigation with the assumption that armed conflict is more effective. She was won over by the results of the study and is now a proponent of strategic nonviolent resistance.

In an interview published in AFSC's *Street Spirit* newspaper, she says, "The beauty about nonviolent resistance is that everybody has some leverage in society because everybody's playing a role. Everybody's got relationships and it's just about . . . starting to put some pressure on those existing relationships, and that's what makes the change."

The Chenoweth and Stephan book provides evidence of the efficacy of nonviolence. Having access to such evidence makes it easier to help others see what AFSC and Quakers, Gandhi and King have understood philosophi-

cally and experimentally about the power of nonviolence. This book and George Lakey's new Global Nonviolent Action Database ([nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu](http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu)) are also immensely helpful in learning how to make nonviolent campaigns even more effective.

Chenoweth cites three elements as essential in effective movements: discipline, unity, and planning. Through these elements, the effort gains a broad base of support.

The values that undergird such efforts also seem to matter—the condition of one's heart and the intention behind the efforts shift what can happen. "It matters how you fight," Chenoweth notes in *Street Spirit*. "How you fight determines in large part how you're going to rule when you win."

As A. J. Muste said, "There is no way to peace, peace is the way." Building on relationships and understanding the spirit with which one engages in struggle and conflict has an impact on the outcomes. To build lasting peace with justice, nonviolence is not only the ethical choice; it is the method that works best.

I've seen the truth of this in small and large efforts throughout AFSC. This issue of *Quaker Action* is filled with stories of the transformative power of such programs and projects.

In peace,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Shan Cretin".

Shan Cretin  
General Secretary

*For more about why nonviolence works, see page 11.*

**General Secretary Shan Cretin (top middle) with many of the participants in the World Summit of Nobel Peace Laureates held in April. The summit emphasized the role of young people as peacemakers.**





Photos: Steve Osborne



## NONVIOLENCE IN ACTION

# AFSC and Occupy Take on the Foreclosure Crisis

In January, AFSC staff and Occupy Atlanta organizers mobilized to prevent the eviction of the congregation of the 108-year-old Higher Ground Empowerment Center, a church in the Vine City neighborhood.

That victory helped spur Occupy organizers nationwide to create Occupy Our Homes, which is fighting against wrongful home foreclosures and evictions. It was also the start of a series of successes protecting people's rights to housing and free speech.

When Occupy Atlanta asked to use the Service Committee's office as their headquarters last year, Tim Franzen, director of AFSC's Peace and Conflict Transformation Project in Atlanta, readily agreed and provided support, including trainings in nonviolent civil disobedience. But the question remained: What would be the long-term strategy for getting more people active in the Occupy movement?

A focus on the home foreclosure crisis provided one answer.

"How can more people connect with Occupy? They can go two doors down and help their neighbor whose house is facing foreclosure," says Franzen.

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"Every house we take represents part of our nonviolent resistance."

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Since the Higher Ground victory, several other families have been able to keep their homes thanks to the intervention of Occupy organizers, who set up camp around homes to prevent evictions. Those encampments become hubs for community meetings during which the group brainstorms solutions to neighborhood problems.

"It's about inspiring people to fight," Franzen says. "Every house we take rep-

resents part of our nonviolent resistance."

That resistance chalked up another notable victory in April: the defeat of SB 469, a bill introduced in the state assembly that sought to criminalize actions such as protests in front of private residences. Franzen says it was an attempt to discourage further Occupy actions.

"It challenged our right to identify and speak out against injustice," he says.

Thanks to the efforts of a broad coalition of partners—including the Georgia Tea Party—the legislature dropped the bill.

Organizers are building on the momentum of these victories, with the focus now on teaching homeowners to start their own home occupations and prevent further evictions and foreclosures.

"What we have is an untapped base of 350,000 people in the Atlanta area," Franzen says. "If we can mobilize 10 percent of them to protect each other's houses, then we have a legitimate movement here."

# Renewing a Tradition of Nonviolent Social Action

Soon after Occupy Wall Street inspired demonstrations for economic justice across the country, activists in many cities looked to AFSC for training on the strategies and methods of nonviolent change. Several people who hadn't been involved with social movements before were inspired to do something—and wanted more background on nonviolent actions.

Over the past year, AFSC has sponsored many local training workshops for activists, in advance of the NATO summit in Chicago this past May, in New Hampshire with those looking to maintain the energy of Occupy, and in several other locations.

One series of well-attended discussions about nonviolence called “Revolutionary Nonviolence” was co-sponsored by AFSC in Philadelphia and is available for viewing on AFSC’s YouTube Channel ([www.youtube.com/user/AFSCVideos](http://www.youtube.com/user/AFSCVideos)). Speakers included David Solnit, co-founder of Art and Revolution and author of *Globalize Liberation*; Bal Pinguel, former AFSC staff and activist in the Philippines; Rabbi Arthur Waskow of the Shalom Center; and George Lakey, Quaker activist and visiting professor and research fellow at Swarthmore College.

Below is an excerpt from an interview with George Lakey that recently appeared on Acting in Faith ([www.afsc.org/friends](http://www.afsc.org/friends)), a blog to help keep Friends connected with the work of AFSC. This past spring, George spoke with Silas Wanjala, a Kenyan Quaker who is serving as the Friends relations intern at AFSC, about his views on nonviolent activism.

**Silas:** *Can you share about why you think pacifism and nonviolence is not one and the same thing?*

**George:** I see pacifism as an ideology that has a lot of faith in it; it is a kind of ethical stand. I see nonviolence action as a



George Lakey shared his observations on “Revolutionary Nonviolence” to a packed room in Philadelphia’s Friends Center last winter.

Photo: Tony Herza/AFSC

strategy. So the emphasis that I see in pacifism is what to do when it is a question of faith and when you don’t know what to do; and nonviolent action is what you can figure out to do practically.

And so I am happy to work with people who are not pacifist because I am happy to be practical, but I am also happy to work with pacifists because I share the assumptions about the nature of human beings and about God’s will for us as pacifists. But I see those two as different approaches.

So, for example, someone using nonviolent action as a practical technique may use it again and again and then come to a problem that they cannot solve again that way, so they might say “ok, we can’t solve it nonviolently and so we will use guns or we will use killing in order to get this to happen, e.g. in order to save the Syrian people right now.” But a pacifist might say “well we do not see a practical way but we are going to keep looking for a practical way. There are faith commitments that we will keep; we will never give-up looking for a practical, peaceful way of saving the Syrians.”

**Silas:** *What are some of these practical ways that you are talking about?*

**George:** Well, when I was nineteen, a big question for me was, “what do you do with dictators?” You want to throw out a dictator but, obviously, the practical way to do that is violence, with armed struggle. An example is the way the American colonists threw out King George III. So that is one way to throw out dictators, practically speaking.

And yet my pacifism would say “there is a better way, what is that better way?” It was very puzzling when I was nineteen, but now it is fairly obvious because we have in the database many, many cases of dictators being overthrown nonviolently (*Global Nonviolent Action Database* developed by Swarthmore College). So there have been big changes in my lifetime. So it is in taking a problem like a dictatorship, and then more and more learning how to solve that problem nonviolently. That is how I feel about genocide, or what is going on in Syria. That these can be problems which at one moment in history we just can’t figure out, but if we have faith as pacifists, we will be motivated to keep working to find ways that are nonviolent.

Read the whole interview at [tinyurl.com/george-lakey](http://tinyurl.com/george-lakey).

## Preventing Violence in Indonesia

In early 2011, religious tensions were at a dangerously combustible level in many parts of Indonesia.

Protestants and other minorities had been the victims of Muslim extremist violence on the main island of Java, and youth in the majority Protestant city of Kupang were threatening to take revenge by attacking and burning mosques—a repeat of the religious unrest that happened in 1998.

But a youth conference organized by AFSC that February marked the beginning of a remarkable, youth-led campaign, designed to promote religious tolerance, which has helped defuse the situation.

The conference brought together 40 youth activists from all over Indonesia to discuss how they could mobilize youth activism around diversity. Protestant youth leaders returned to Kupang and formed KOMPAK, a dynamic new interfaith youth group, with young people from other religious backgrounds.

As one of their early activities, the young organizers used the Peace Torch—an idea conceived during the AFSC-sponsored conference—at the annual Easter Day parade in West Timor to spread a message of tolerance and appreciation of diversity.

Since then, the Peace Torch has been used in the cities of Manado and Yogyakarta to organize grassroots support of diversity and to counter local incidents of intolerance and violence.

The youth of Kupang also have piloted an active nonviolence curriculum addressing conflict-resolution and advocacy. The curriculum connects the Peace Torch spirit to concrete activism. More than 100 youth have participated in trainings, drawing on their own diverse cultural and religious backgrounds to formulate what active nonviolence means to them.

“Nonviolence activism draws on the local wisdom and traditions of Indonesia,” says Sally, one of the participants. “From it, we learn the roles and tasks of

a peacemaker, along with the context-specific strategies for problem-solving.”

Shortly before the trainings started, the construction of a new mosque by the local Muslim minority met with opposition from the majority Christian com-

munity. After the training, youth from KOMPAK engaged the community and helped them understand that their fears of the Mosque were groundless and were being exploited by others for political gain. Later, the youth met with the mayor and governor to discuss the issue.

“Local residents, authorities, and the Protestant Church Council have come to the common understanding that the case is settled, and the Protestant youth committed themselves to protect the mosque so that Muslims have the freedom to worship,” says Zarniel, one of the founders of KOMPAK. “This message will be spread to the national level to encourage the government to protect other minorities.” going forward.

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The Peace Torch has been used to organize grassroots support of diversity and to counter local incidents of intolerance and violence.

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**The Peace Torch, inscribed with symbols from many religious faiths, was conceived by youth activists at an AFSC-sponsored workshop on pluralism.**



Photo: Pato Bravo Timothy

# News from around AFSC



Photo: Margaret Fogarty/AFSC

**New Hampshire program director Arnie Alpert leads a discussion on using nonviolent change with local activists.**

## Victory in New Hampshire

The New Hampshire Program scored significant victories recently, both inside and outside the state capitol. The state legislature actually passed a bill to re-legalize “payday loans” with interest rates up to 400% a year. Desperate families needing quick cash often grab these loans, with dire consequences.

AFSC staff teamed up with interfaith partner groups to oppose the bill and then urged Governor John Lynch to veto it when it passed. When he did veto it, he cited AFSC’s opposition in his official veto message. Afterwards, AFSC and its partners persuaded the Senate to uphold the veto.

Outside the capitol, Maggie Fogarty led a campaign with many others that helped immigrant carpenters recover wages from an unscrupulous employer in Durham, NH. AFSC, faith leaders, attorneys, labor activists, and the New Hampshire Alliance for Immigrants and Refugees united against the practice of “wage theft” and made a difference.

## AFSC staff recognized by ACLU

Amy Gottlieb was honored with the 2012 Legal Leadership Award by the American Civil Liberties Union of New Jersey for her immigrants’ rights work. Many colleagues, friends, and family members gathered in March to pay tribute to her contributions of more than a decade.

The ACLU recognized that under Amy’s leadership the AFSC’s Newark office “provides a rare opportunity for support and representation in the complex landscape of immigration law. Amy’s office offers not just expert legal representation but also dignity, kindness, and respect.”

Amy also was cited for teaching a new generation of immigration lawyers, blogging regularly about immigration issues and standing silent vigil across from anti-immigrant rallies.

Amy’s response was characteristic: “Although I am honored, this award represents the incredible work done by all AFSC’s immigrant rights program staff, committee, and volunteers—and the courage of the immigrants themselves.”



Photo: Amanda Brown/ACLU

**Amy Gottlieb was presented the Legal Leadership Award for her sage counsel and advocacy for immigrant communities.**

## “We Divest” Video Launched

Students from colleges and universities throughout the U.S. have sent a video message to TIAA-CREF, one of the largest financial services companies in the country: divest from corporations that profit from the Israeli occupation.

The three-minute video, produced by AFSC and Jewish Voice for Peace, shows college students on U.S. campuses holding signs that call on TIAA-CREF to end



Photo: AFSC Staff

**Israel-Palestine Program Director Michael Merryman-Lotze, front-right, is leading a workshop during a recent young activist training for the TIAA-CREF divestment campaign.**



Photos: AFSC Archives

**AFSC's efforts for Japanese-Americans interned during WWII have had lasting repercussions for thousands, as well as their children and grandchildren.**

tax dollars. The sweep and creativity of their entries in the "If I Had A Trillion Dollars" film festival, cosponsored by AFSC and the National Priorities Project, were showcased at two standing-room-only screenings during the weekend.

The youths came from Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, Miami, Pittsburgh, Portland, and six other cities, eager to share their ideas of how to spend the \$1 trillion that the U.S. spends annually on each of three budget items: its military, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans. The young people demonstrated energy and poise during a packed weekend that culminated in 27 visits to congressional offices. One even declared: "I'm moving to Washington to fix the economy."

Watch all the videos online at [tinyurl.com/ihtd2012](http://tinyurl.com/ihtd2012).

its investments in corporations that profit from Israel's military occupation of the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem. Students in the West Bank and Jerusalem also contributed footage of themselves holding signs at checkpoints, the Wall, and settlements, making the connection between these human rights violations and corporate investments.

The student video is part of the nationwide We Divest campaign. As part of that campaign, AFSC is co-organizing a week-long summer institute for college students interested in organizing divestment campaigns on their campuses.

Watch the video online at [tinyurl.com/tiaa-divest](http://tinyurl.com/tiaa-divest).

### Work with Japanese Internees Recognized

The American Friends Service Committee's vigorous efforts to help Japanese-Americans who were removed to camps during World War II have not been forgotten. The Cherry Blossom Festival Southern California honored this work with a "Camp Stories Award" in June, presented in Los Angeles and accepted by staffers Eisha Mason and Anthony Marsh.

When internments began in 1942, AFSC established two programs. The first reached out to colleges and universities in states that were willing to receive evacuees who were already students or were college-eligible. The other program established hostels in cities where those released from camps could live while looking for

work. Approximately 4,000 students were helped through the program. Hundreds of other Japanese-Americans found help through the hostels project.

After the war, AFSC provided clothing, food and other aid to a devastated Japan—and much support for that effort came from Japanese-Americans whom AFSC had helped during the wartime period.

### If I Had a Trillion Dollars Video Festival

From April 14–16, more than 50 young people descended on Washington, D.C., to share—via three-minute videos—their vision of how the U.S. should spend its



Photo: Carl Rose/AFSC

**Young filmmakers from Miami, FL prepare to meet with representatives to discuss their concerns over usage of the federal budget.**

#### TAKE ACTION

### Connect your church or meeting to AFSC

**A** FSC has initiated a new and developing meeting/church liaison program in 2012. An AFSC Meeting/Church Liaison is a direct connection between an individual Quaker meeting/church and AFSC. Local liaisons volunteer or are appointed to help AFSC and Quaker congregations work for peace and justice.

For more information about the program or to volunteer to serve as an AFSC Meeting/Church Liaison, please contact Lucy Duncan, AFSC Friends Liaison, at [lduncan@afsc.org](mailto:lduncan@afsc.org).

# Somalia Peace and Livelihoods

## What's the Worth of a Tailor's Kit?

One pair of scissors, one tailor's ruler, one framework, one filament, forty needles, three chalk packets, ten sewing materials, and an iron box to keep them in. What's it all worth? In Somalia, you can't put a price on it.

Amidst drought, violence, and poverty, young people in Somalia have very little to fall back on. That's why AFSC works with a local partner to provide skills training and livelihood restoration in its

pletion of their training.

Qamar left school in the seventh grade so she could support her sickly mother and younger siblings. "I always valued education," she says, "but when my father died, my life changed all of a sudden for the worse. I had to drop out from school and started collecting firewood for sale."

Collecting firewood would be a hard way to support a family under any circumstances, but in Somalia, it's truly a

ing. But already, "I no longer live with the fear of being raped in the bush since I don't fetch firewood."

Young men benefit from the program too, though they may choose different trades. "I couldn't bear the life in the rural areas," says 20-year-old Yussuf Adan Hussein, "especially when a good number of our livestock succumbed to drought."

While his parents cared for their few remaining animals, Yussuf left home to attend school. When the school closed five months later, he found himself in need of work. He is deeply grateful for the opportunity to learn a trade. He also appreciates the way livelihood restoration



Photo: John Bongel/AFSC

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AFSC works with a local partner to provide skills training and livelihood restoration in its ongoing work for peace.

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**Ali Hafow, a leader in Dadaab's Ifo West refugee camp, expresses his gratitude for AFSC's financial support. AFSC works in Dadaab and supports partner work inside Somalia.**

ongoing work for peace. The opportunities we offer are precious to the young adults and communities we serve, and not just for the practical skills they learn or the economic benefits.

Young women like Qamar Mohamed Abdullahi, for example, may learn dressmaking and get a tailor's kit upon com-

last resort. Many of Qamar's friends have been attacked while working in this way. Learning dressmaking through the livelihood and peace project changed her life.

"Within a few months I hope my business will boom," she says, hoping to be able to pay siblings' school fees, treat her mother, and help others in dress mak-

promotes peaceful coexistence among communities.

"With the training and start up business I do hope that our life will change and our business will grow," he says. He also hopes to help more youth engage in income generating activities so they won't be manipulated by militias and terror groups.

What's the worth of a tailor's kit, or metal working supplies, or a little lesson in starting a business? It depends on whom you ask.

See more! Watch and read stories like this from Somalia and many other communities worldwide who are struggling for peace and economic security by visiting [afsc.org](http://afsc.org).

# AFSC and the Seattle Police

## Undoing Institutional Racism from Within

Strained and sometimes antagonistic relationships between police and communities of color in Seattle have led to the disproportionate incarceration of youth of color—and ugly, racially charged incidents have been caught on tape.

AFSC's Seattle Community Justice Program is coming at the problem from several angles, all with the ultimate goal of having officers themselves dismantle racism within the Seattle Police Department.

"How do we change relationships so the police care about our communities and see that we need to support our young people instead of lock them up?" asks Dustin Washington, program director. "We want to speak truth to power and push the police to do better. And we want them to make changes from within."

Among the program's main tools are the Undoing Institutional Racism trainings presented in conjunction with the People's Institute for Survival and Beyond, a national group that focuses on achieving equity and equality across all cultures and races. Members of the police force have regularly attended the workshops, which are open to the public. In addition, AFSC recently organized two anti-racism forums that specifically addressed the tensions between police and youth of color.

Young people and police officers will also engage in more intensive dialogues around racism during AFSC's upcoming Freedom School, which helps young people to learn about social justice and the history of activism as well as to explore civic engagement.

"We hope that out of that will come new possibilities to improve relations," Washington says.



**The Freedom Schools in Seattle attract many young people from the Seattle area to learn about peace and justice.**

Two other strands of work aim to help police and the communities they serve heal in healthy ways. In one, AFSC is organizing secondary-trauma trainings so that police learn to deal with the extreme stresses they experience on the job. In another, AFSC is organizing sessions between police and the Black Prisoners' Caucus at Monroe State Prison in an effort to start breaking down hostilities.

Washington knows there's much work to be done, but he says that he's encouraged by the steps that have been taken so far.

"What I would hold up now—the success story—is that officers are engag-

ing in these conversations," Washington says. "We're not in the Promised Land yet, but the fact that we're able to do this work at all is powerful."

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We want to speak  
truth to power and push  
the police to do better.  
And we want them  
to make changes  
from within.

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# Beyond Civility “Inside the Beltway”

## Reconciliation in the Halls of Congress

**T**he tools of post-conflict reconciliation are being applied by AFSC to a conflict few have dared to broach: the deeply divided cultures of Capitol Hill.

“The spaces for meaningful dialogue and constructive action in Congress on the issues AFSC cares about have become more constrained than ever,” says Aura Kanegis, director of AFSC’s Office of Public Policy and Advocacy in Washington, D.C. “The 24-hour news cycle stokes the flames of division and political theater, and under-informed voters have too often rewarded displays of ideology over beneficial impact on their lives.”

Restoring space for substantive governance and dialogue will take unprecedented creativity and will from both inside and outside Congress. In an effort to have an impact on this entrenched gridlock, AFSC staff members have initiated an off-the-record listening project with Congressional staff across the political spectrum. These staff members are integral to the political process but are often invisible within it. The project aims to better understand the direct experience and motivations of the people behind the politics.

Congressional staffers have been able to share ideas on ways to reduce tensions, create space to process legitimate policy disagreements, and increase opportunities for good governance in Congress. Many who have been approached have expressed pleasant surprise at being offered a chance to reflect on their own personal experience and perspectives.

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“If you have more friends on the other side of the aisle, you’re less likely to shout ugly things across it.”

Rep. Christopher Murphy  
Congressional Center Aisle Caucus

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One staffer remarked after talking with AFSC, “I’ve been seeing the [day to day frustrations in this work] differently since we spoke. I certainly have talked to others about how bad things have gotten, but I don’t think I had ever really thought about how to improve things from the inside here...now I find myself thinking

about ways to get through to people I had only tried to get around before.”

Initiatives to restore civility or build cooperation across party lines generally focus on expanding legislative compromise. In contrast, AFSC is engaging the human beings who comprise the culture in understanding and addressing the root causes of the climate of hostility in the nation’s capital.

Individual policymakers and staff have an under-recognized role to play in shaping the daily working environment on Capitol Hill. While the impact of high-level partisan posturing, powerful special interests, and campaign fundraising all affect the Washington culture, everyone contributes to setting the tone.

“Effective policymaking on the issues of concern to AFSC will require a sense of shared purpose—and perhaps even a modicum of trust—among lawmakers,” Kanegis notes.

In a second phase of the project, voters will encourage their leaders to engage in off-the-record, cross-party dialogue that seeks substance over sound bites. Stay tuned to AFSC’s e-advocacy lists to learn more as this work advances.



**Aura Kanegis, director of AFSC’s Office of Public Policy and Advocacy, shares her insights on lobbying with young filmmakers who came to meet their Congressional representatives.**



**Iamar Bailey, AFSC Policy Impact Coordinator in our Washington, D.C. Office**

Photos: Carl Roose/AFSC

# The Evidence Is In: Nonviolence Works

## WHY CIVIL RESISTANCE WORKS:

### The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict

Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan  
Columbia University Press, 2011

In a groundbreaking study of violent and nonviolent social-change movements, Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan carefully researched 323 social-change campaigns from 1900 to 2006. Chenoweth and Stephan's astonishing finding is that campaigns of nonviolent resistance are nearly twice as likely to succeed as violent uprisings.

In their book, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*, the authors found that far greater numbers of people from more diverse parts of society joined nonviolent campaigns than violent ones. This greater level of participation translates into more people who can demonstrate for change and withdraw their cooperation from an unjust regime.

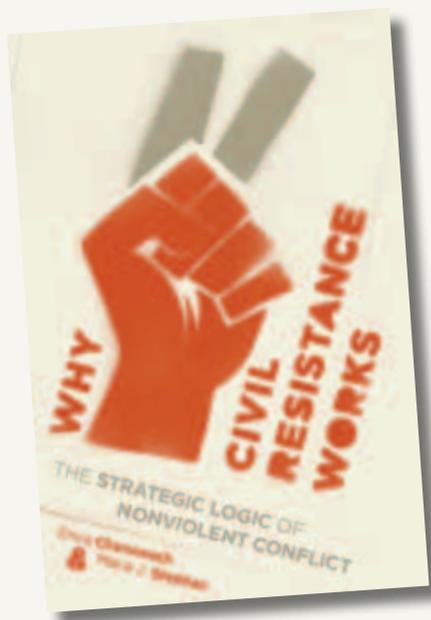
In addition, Chenoweth and Stephan found that when nonviolent movements overthrow an unjust regime, the victorious resistance groups are far more likely to establish democracies and protect human rights and are far less likely to lapse into civil war than their violent counterparts.

Their innovative research may be making heads spin in the circles of international-security studies and military analysts, but it was also a dramatic surprise to one of the authors, Erica Chenoweth.

Chenoweth is an assistant professor of government at Wesleyan University and teaches courses on international security, terrorism, civil war and contemporary warfare. She had spent four years getting her Ph.D. in terrorism studies and had come to believe that armed insurgency happens only because people found it is the best way to achieve their aims.

Yet, she found that researching hundreds of movements completely challenged her assumptions about the greater effectiveness of armed struggles. "I did the research and I'm shocked," she said.

"I think there are a lot of assumptions in our field that drive us to conclude that nonviolent resistance is ineffective or that it



can't be effective in certain circumstances."

Perhaps the most extraordinary confirmation of the authors' conclusions, after the book was completed, was the grassroots rebellions of the Arab Spring, which toppled one dictator after another. Their research had convinced Chenoweth and Stephan that nonviolent resistance was "perfectly viable as a strategy for removing authoritarian regimes and achieving self-determination almost anywhere in the world." Nevertheless, they still could not have expected the lightning-fast wave of nonviolent movements that toppled authoritarian regimes in the Middle East in the first months of 2011.

The word *zeitgeist* is translated as "the spirit of the times." The spirit of our times might be seen flowing through the massive nonviolent movements in Tunisia and Egypt and continuing with the Occupy movements across the U.S.

The same spirit is present in the scrupulous research of two highly original scholars who had the audacity to challenge generations of military analysis and security studies. In doing so, they have given us all the gift of new hope in the power of the people.

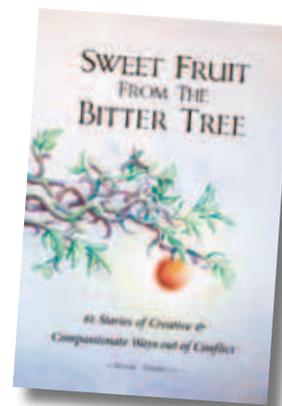
*Adapted from an article by Terry Messman in the March 2012 issue of AFSC's Street Spirit newspaper. Read Terry's interview with Erica Chenoweth here: [tinyurl.com/streetspirit-Chenoweth](http://tinyurl.com/streetspirit-Chenoweth).*

Another way of looking  
at conflict resolution...

### Sweet Fruit From The Bitter Tree: 61 Stories of Creative & Compassionate Ways Out of Conflict

Mark Andreas  
Real People Press, 2011

Conflict comes in major ways between groups and nations, but also in small, persistent ways between neighbors and friends. These moving stories, collected by Earlham College Peace and Global Studies graduate Mark Andreas, illustrate creative and often surprising ways people have found to address and transform conflict peacefully.



Visit  
**Quakerbooks.org**  
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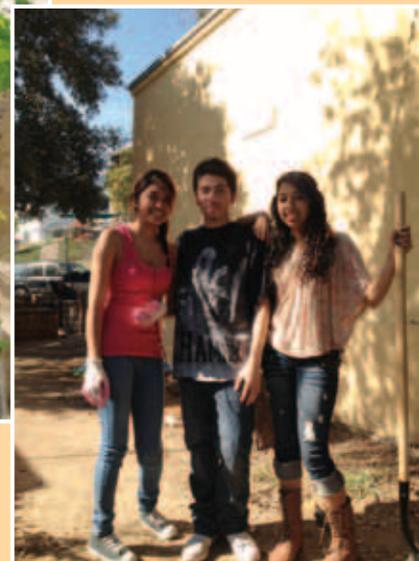
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**AFSC programs worldwide mentor young people as they develop as leaders for peace and justice.**



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**Who we are**  
The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) is a Quaker organization that includes people of various faiths who are committed to social justice, peace, and humanitarian service. Its work is based on the belief in the worth of every person and faith in the power of love to overcome violence and injustice.

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