

Unit 8

Courage Part II-

Challenging the -ISMS: Sexism, Racism, Nationalism & War

**"Noncooperation with evil
is as much a duty as is cooperation with good"
- Gandhi & Dr. King**

**"If we do not act, we shall surely be dragged down
the long, dark, and shameful corridors of time
reserved for those who possess power without compassion,
might without morality, and strength without sight"
- Dr. King**

**"Hate begets hate; violence begets violence;
toughness begets a greater toughness.
We must meet the forces of hate with the power of love;
we must meet physical force with soul force."
- Dr. King, STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM, p. 87.**

Rationale for the Components of This Unit

ACTIVITY #1: The Courage It Takes to Challenge the "-ISMS" - p. 184

This activity is designed to introduce Gandhi's and King's conviction about the types of courage that are necessary to challenge what Gandhi calls "social evils" in general. Segments from the GANDHI Video are especially effective here, particularly the "March on the Government Salt Works."

ACTIVITY #2: "Noncooperation with Evil": Gandhi, King & Us - p. 189

This activity introduces Gandhi's principle of "noncooperation with evil" and the various situations he applied it, plus excerpts from King's Letter from a Birmingham City Jail on the idea of "positive peace." Then the activity challenges us to apply noncooperation to current situations, using the case study of whether to cross a picket line. Lots of current boycotts are listed in the "Resources" (pp. 305-306).

ACTIVITY #3: Struggle Between "-ISMS" & Those Who Noncooperate - p. 195

This activity is designed to make us more aware of the power of domination - in the form of the various "-ISMS" - to resist social change, what it costs those who noncooperate, and initial reflection on who will win the struggle. It uses the examples of leaders in the 20th century who were assassinated for their leadership in the struggles against these "-ISMS."

ACTIVITY #4: Challenging Sexism - p. 201

This activity focuses on three dimensions of sexism - unequal treatment of women, devaluation of "women's work," and the sexual abuse of women. It ends with data and a case study on dating violence, challenging students to apply Gandhi's principles to a major issue in their own lives.

ACTIVITY #5: Challenging Racism & Untouchability - p. 207

This activity examines the strategies Gandhi found effective in challenging racism and the Indian corollary of "Untouchability." The "Family Handout" on "What to Do About Racism" offers students 12 suggestions for applying Gandhi's principles to their life-styles and challenging racism in their community. It is followed by two case studies to his strategies.

ACTIVITY#6: Challenging Racism in the Community: A Case Study - p. 215

This case study is raised by Arun Gandhi's challenge to the NAACP and its aggressive campaign to outlaw the public display of the Confederate flag in Mississippi.

ACTIVITY #7: Challenging Racism at School: A Case Study - p. 217

This case study focuses on a real situation in a suburban public school district in St. Louis County, challenging students to reflect on racism at their own schools. The activity ends by asking students to respond to Dr. King's "I Still Have a Dream" 1967 Christmas message.

ACTIVITY #8: Challenging Narrow Patriotism - p. 221

This activity deals with the critical issue of patriotism and how it can be narrowed, especially during war time. It examines Gandhi's and King's sense of an inclusive nationalism and patriotism and then presents several contemporary examples of this kind of patriotism which most students will find very challenging.

ACTIVITY #9: Gandhi, King and the Challenge of War - p.228

While definitely not being exhaustive on the issue of war, this activity raises some of Gandhi's and King's basic concerns with war, nuclear weapons and the need for nonviolent international alternatives. It raises the issue of military service and challenges students to clarify their own moral principles on this issue. The activity also challenges students to apply these concerns to the US war on Iraq, offering competing visions for their consideration - President Bush's National Security Strategy, former President Carter's response, and Arun Gandhi's own strategy which he wrote in response to the terrorist attacks on 9/11.

ACTIVITY #10: Responding to the Victims of War - p. 240

No matter what position students have taken on the US war on terrorism and Iraq, there is often common ground on the need to respond to all the victims of war. This activity challenges students to broaden their awareness of the victims of war and violence and focuses on material aid personal contacts. It concludes with a ritual of remembrance for all the victims of war and terrorism.

ACTIVITY #1: The Courage It Takes to Challenge the “-ISMS”

STEP 1 - Gandhi on the Courage It Takes to Challenge the “-ISMS”

- Have students read the Gandhi quotations (pp. 185-186) and invite clarification questions. Recall the quotations and situations from Unit 7, pp. 173-174.
- Consider these segments of the GANDHI Video -
 - Gandhi refused to be intimidated by South African toughs (Part I, 13:00 - 15:00)
 - Gandhi's first arrest in S. Africa (Part I, 31:00 - 33:00);
 - Gandhi's arrest after helping farmers in Champaran (Part I, 1:03:00-1:10:00)
- Have students write their answers to the questions, perhaps sharing them in pairs before discussing them as a whole class.

STEP 2 - The March on the Government Salt Works at Dharasana

Use the STEPS in this activity to provide a dramatic illustration of the kind of courage necessary and an opportunity for further consideration and application of Gandhi's principles to our own lives.

STEP 3 - Dr. King's Fears

- Use the one passage from Dr. King (p. 186) for students to read and raise clarification questions. Note: this passage is on the wall of a display in the Civil Rights Museum in Atlanta, with the actual table and phone where the encounter took place.
- Have students write their answers to the questions, perhaps sharing them in pairs before discussing them as a whole class.

STEP 4 - OPTIONAL: Use or Recall the Video “Pay It Forward” (p. 47)

This story is a dramatic way of raising the question about how far do we have to be willing to go sometimes - Was Trevor's sacrifice worth it? Why or why not?

Gandhi on the Courage It Takes to Challenge the “-ISMS”

Overcoming the fear of being beaten

“I can't remain in fear all the time,” Gandhi said to his wife Kasturba when he refused to have bodyguards and she agreed; quoted in Arun & Sunanda Gandhi, *THE FORGOTTEN WOMAN*, p. 157).

Question: What fears did you, or would you, experience when you took an unpopular stand on a social issue; e.g., came out publicly against a war that your country was waging? Or against the treatment of women or gay/lesbian students at your school?

Overcoming the fear of jail: “Keep absolutely firm to the end. Suffering is our only remedy.” (Gandhi to his wife Kasturba when he decided that his going to jail is the only way to bolster faith in the faltering movement against the Immigration Act in S. Africa; quoted in *THE FORGOTTEN WOMAN*, p. 161).

Women going to jail too: Against the law on registering non-Christian marriages in S. Africa, Gandhi told Kasturba - “You women must raise your voices, you must protest this insult...You must go to jail, just as the men do.” *THE FORGOTTEN WOMAN*, pp. 182-3.

Questions: Does going to jail for something a person believes in seem unreasonable or excessive? Why or why not? What is it about jail that frightens people? frightens you?

Overcoming the fear of loved ones suffering: Kasturba challenged her daughter-in-law Sushila's fearful tears over Manilal's participation in the Salt March - “Do you want your husband to carry with him the image of a weeping wife?’ Kasturba asked, stroking mother's head. Ba directed Sushila's attention to the other women. 'Look,' she said, 'all of them are parting from sons or husbands. They are not crying, so why should you?'... Ba stepped forward then and addressed them all - a tiny, erect figure, speaking with a fierce dignity Sushila could never forget. 'Our men are warriors,' Ba declared. 'We are warriors' wives. We must give the men courage. If we are brave, they will be brave.’” *THE FORGOTTEN WOMAN*, p. 251

Questions: Why is it sometimes harder to accept the suffering of persons we love than our own suffering? How can women “give men courage”? What makes a “nonviolent warrior” a “warrior”? Is this an accurate label? Why or why not?

Overcoming the fear of death: "You must be prepared to die. The British may use guns against us, but you must not fight back. If you surrender out of fear, it would be a disgraceful act. I would rather such people not come with me." (Gandhi's instructions to those on the Salt March, 3/30; quoted in THE FORGOTTEN WOMAN, p. 251).

Questions: What, if anything, do you think is worth dying for? Do you think death is the worst thing that could happen to anyone? To someone your own age?

Dr. King's fears

Dr. King acknowledging his own fears at age 26, just weeks after agreeing to be the leader of the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Sitting at his kitchen table in January 1956, he picked up the phone and heard -- "Listen, nigger, we've taken all we want from you. Before next week you'll be sorry you ever came to Montgomery.' I hung up but I could not sleep... I got out of bed and began to walk the floor. I tried to think of a way to move out of the picture without appearing to be a coward. In this state of exhaustion, when my courage had almost gone, I determined to take my problem to God. My head in my hands, I bowed over the kitchen table and prayed aloud:

"I am here taking a stand for what I believe is right. But now I am afraid. The people are looking to me for leadership. If I stand before them without strength and courage, they too will falter. I am at the end of my powers. I have nothing left... I can't face it alone.'

Questions: Does this surprise you about Dr. King? He was 26 years old at this point. He turned to prayer in the face of his fears? How do you handle yours?

What might have happened if he had given in to his fears?

The March on the Government Salt Works

STEP 1 - Introduce the Event

Following the success of the Salt March to the sea in the spring of 1930 and the civil disobedience campaign of making and distributing salt, Gandhi escalated the resistance to the unjust law of prohibiting the manufacture of salt and requiring Indians to pay a tax on the salt they had to buy - as a symbol of British domination of the Indian people. He organized a march on the British salt works (factory) at Dharasana. But after Gandhi was arrested the night before this march, his son Manilal took over.

STEP 2 - Tell the Story

- The most graphic way is with the *GANDHI* Video, Part II, 21:00 - 25:00.
- To provide the context as well (see STEP 1), you could begin with Part II, 10:00 - 21:00, with Gandhi the Salt March itself.
- If the video is not available, use the description by Arun Gandhi, Manilal's son, in *THE FORGOTTEN WOMAN*, pp. 254-55 (on the next page).

STEP 3 - Reflecting on the Experience

- Have students pair up and share with each other their feelings about what they watched or heard.
- **Then as a whole group, discuss the following questions:**
- How do you think the Indian men felt as their turn came to meet the Indian policemen?
- How do you think the Indian women felt during all this?
- How do you think the Indian policemen felt?
- How was it possible for those about to be beaten not to raise an arm to fend off the blows?
- Was it worth it? Why or why not?

STEP 4 - Personal Application

- Which of the groups would you have most likely been with? Why?
- Is there anything you believe strongly enough in right now that you would be willing to take a beating for it or be willing to help others who were being beaten?

The March on the Government Salt Works at Dharasana

"...On May 21, 1930, 2500 unarmed 'Gandhi raiders,' all wearing white homsepun shirts, dhotis and the familiar white 'Gandhi caps,' arrived at the Dharasana salt works, halted several hundred yards from the great salt pans, knelt in prayer; then, with Manilal in the lead, a small column of volunteers - 25 men, marching in ranks of four - began slow advance across the open field. Ahead was a water-filled ditch; beyond that, a barbed wire stockade surrounding the salt pans, guarded by 400 turbaned Indian policemen with steel-tipped *lathis*. Ignoring an order to disperse, marchers, in complete silence, moved on toward the stockade.

What happened next became an indelible image of the truth and force of Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha for all the world to remember - thanks largely to American reporter Webb Miller's graphic eyewitness story which was cabled round the globe by United Press:

'...Suddenly, at a word of command, scores of native police rushed upon the advancing marchers and rained blows on their heads.... Not one of the marchers even raised an arm to fend off the blows. They went down like tenpins. From where I stood I heard the sickening whacks of the clubs on unprotected skulls. The waiting crowd of watchers groaned and sucked in their breaths in sympathetic pain at every blow... In two or three minutes, the ground was quilted with bodies. Great patches of blood widened on their white clothes. The survivors without breaking ranks silently and doggedly marched on until every one of the first column had been knocked down. Stretcher-bearers rushed up unmolested by the police and carried off the injured...

Then another column formed... I could detect no signs of wavering or fear. They marched steadily, heads up, without the encouragement of music or cheering... The police rushed out and beat down the second column. There was no fight, no struggle. The spectacle of unresisting men being methodically bashed into a bloody pulp sickened me so much that I had to turn away...

Group after group walked forward... Hour after hour stretcher-bearers carried back a stream of inert, bleeding bodies... By eleven the heat reached 116 in the shade, and activities of the Gandhi volunteers subsided. I went back to the temporary hospital to examine the wounded... They lay in rows on the bare ground in the shade of the palm-thatched shed. I counted 320 injured, many still insensible with fractured skulls. Scores of the injured had received no treatment for hours, and two had died... In 18 years of reporting in 22 countries, I have never witnessed such harrowing scenes."

THE FORGOTTEN WOMAN, pp. 254-5

ACTIVITY #2: "Noncooperation with Evil": Gandhi, King & Us

STEP 1 - Gandhi on "Noncooperation with Evil"

- Have students read the quotations (pp. 190-191) and invite clarification questions.
- Consider these segments from the GANDHI Video,
 - Gandhi resistance to registration cards in South Africa (Part I, 5:00 - 11:00). See also THE FORGOTTEN WOMAN, p. 160.
 - Gandhi's "hartal" (spiritualized general strike (Part I, 1:12:00 - 1:19:00)
 - Noncooperation with British cloth (Part I, 1:31:00 - 1:35:00)
 - Gandhi's defense of noncooperation in court (Part II, 0:00-5:00); see also THE FORGOTTEN WOMAN, pp. 232-9.
 - Noncooperation with the salt prohibitions (Part 11, 9:00-21:00)
- Have students write their answers to the questions, perhaps sharing them in pairs before discussing them as a whole class.

STEP 2 - Dr. King on Noncooperation and "Positive Peace"

- Have students read King quotations (p. 192) and invite clarification questions.
- Have them write their answers to the questions, perhaps sharing them in pairs before discussing them as a whole class.

STEP 3 - Identifying How Students Can Participate in the "-ISMS"

- Use the "Participation in the -ISMS" Worksheet (p. 193) to identify possible situations and practices with which students might consider noncooperating.
- Start by having students answer the questions #1 - #5 as best they can individually, perhaps comparing their answers in pairs.
- With the whole class, compile all the different examples they generated on their own.
- Discuss any answers/examples that seem controversial

STEP 4 - Identifying Ways to Resist/Noncooperate with the "-ISMS"

Brainstorm with students various ways they can resist or noncooperate with any of the groups or institutions they identified in STEP 3.

STEP 5 - OPTIONAL - Consider a Case Study (p. 194)

Have students read "To Cross... or Not to Cross," answer the reflection questions, and discuss these as a whole class.

STEP 6 - Calculating the Costs of Action

Have students answer question #6, share their answers in pairs, and then compile them on newsprint for the whole class

STEP 7 - Choosing an Action and Creating a Plan

- Have students answer question #7, share their answers in pairs, and then compile them on newsprint for the whole class.
- Decide with the class whether to do an action as a whole class.

Gandhi on "Noncooperation with Evil"

The Basic Principle

When Gandhi was arrested for his national civil disobedience campaign, he made this statement in court on 3/18/22. "I believe that I have rendered a service to India and England by showing in noncooperation the way out of the unnatural state in which both are living. **In my humble opinion, noncooperation with evil is as much a duty as is cooperation with good.** I am here, therefore, to invite and submit cheerfully to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in law is a deliberate crime and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen. The only course open to you, the judge, is either to resign your post and thus disassociate yourself from evil, or to inflict on me the severest penalty if you believe that the system and the law you are assisting to administer are good for the people of this country and that my activity is, therefore, injurious to the public weal." Quoted in *GANDHI: A PICTORIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY*, p. 77. See also *THE FORGOTTEN WOMAN*, pp. 238-9.

Note: Gandhi was given a six-year sentence but was released after two years because of his health.

Was Gandhi's action justified in your opinion? Why or why not?

Why did he ask for the harshest penalty? Was he misguided in doing so? Why or why not?

Specific Social Problems Against Which Gandhi Applied This Principle

With British cloth

In a letter from Kasturba to the women of India after Gandhi was imprisoned for six years in March 1922: "I, therefore, appeal to all men and women who feel for me and have regard for my husband to wholeheartedly concentrate on the constructive program and make it a success... Our success will not only solve the economic problem of India in relation to the masses, but also free us from our political bondage. India's first answer, then, to Mr. Gandhi's conviction should be that a) All men and women give up their foreign cloth and adopt khadi and persuade others to do so; b) All women make it a religious duty to spin and produce yarn every day and persuade others to do so; c) All merchants cease trading in foreign piece goods." *THE FORGOTTEN WOMAN*, p. 239.

Questions: What good does burning or throwing away British-made clothes do? Was it stupid for Indian merchants to stop selling British-made clothes? Do you wear clothes and shoes that come from countries where the workers are exploited by cheap wages?

With the Salt tax, the British monopoly on making salt and prohibition of Indians extracting salt from sea water: Gandhi organized the March to the Sea from Ahmedabad to Dandi (March 12, 1930 - April 4, 1930), where Gandhi and 75,000 others took salt. "Suddenly, all India was obsessed by the collecting, making, buying, and selling of salt. Beaches were lined with squatting villagers scooping up illegal salt from the sand; old women and young girls waded into the sea to collect contraband seawater in cooking pots. Pamphlets on salt making were hawked illicitly on Calcutta streets, and sophisticated city dwellers boiled sea water in kettles to make forbidden salt. Even Congress members, who had once dismissed the salt commotion, were auctioning off unlawful salt at the party's Bombay headquarters." *THE FORGOTTEN WOMAN*, pp. 252-3.

Questions: Why was this such an effective action for India? Can you think of any campaigns like this in the United States?

With receiving British titles, schooling, jobs and awards

In response to the slaughter of nonviolent Indian demonstrators at Amritsar in 1922, Gandhi called for a massive policy of noncooperation, boycotts of British goods, of British schools, even of British government jobs. In a letter to the British viceroy with which he returned the two medals he received in S. Africa: "I can retain neither respect nor affection for a government which has been moving from wrong to wrong in order to defend its immorality... His call was heeded around the country: students left their classrooms, peasants refused to pay taxes, wealthy lawyers gave up their British-related practices." *GANDHI: A PICTORAL BIOGRAPHY*, pp. 72-3.

Questions: Why did Gandhi take these steps? Are there any circumstances in which you would consider doing anything like this in your own country? Why or why not?

With British laws that impose a "compulsory peace"

In March 1930, Gandhi wrote to the Viceroy (Lord Irwin) declaring noncooperation. The Viceroy expressed regret "at Mr. Gandhi's contemplating a course of action which was clearly bound to involve the violation of the law and danger to public peace." To which Gandhi replied: "I repudiate the law, and regard it as my sacred duty to break the mournful monotony of the compulsory peace that is choking the heart of the nation." *GANDHI: A PICTORAL BIOGRAPHY*, p. 85.

Questions: Was the Viceroy right in calling Gandhi a "danger to public peace" and arresting him for "disturbing the peace"? What does Gandhi mean by a "compulsory peace"? What was the difference between their two different understandings of "peace"? Which understanding of peace do you think is more correct and why?

Dr. King on Noncooperation and "Positive Peace"

"During the Montgomery Bus Boycott one of the leading white citizens approached King after a council meeting and said, 'Over the years we have had such peaceful and harmonious race relations here. Why must you and your associates destroy this long tradition?' 'Sir, you have never had a real peace in Montgomery,' King replied. 'You have had a sort of negative peace in which the Negro too often accepted his state of subordination. But this is not true peace. True peace is not the absence of tension; it is the presence of justice. The tension we see in Montgomery today is the necessary tension that comes when the oppressed rise up and start to move forward toward a permanent, positive peace.'" Quoted in THE WISDOM OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., p. 159.

"I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that our greatest stumbling block in the stride toward freedom is not the Ku Klux Klanner, but the white moderate who is more devoted to 'order' than to justice; who prefers a negative peace, which is the absence of tension, to a positive peace, which is the presence of justice; who constantly says 'I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I can't agree with your methods of direct action.'" Letter from a Birmingham City Jail.

Questions: What are the differences between a negative peace and a positive peace?

Is Dr. King fair to "white moderates"? Why or why not?

"Actually, we who engage in nonviolent direct action are not the creators of tension. We merely bring to the surface the hidden tension that is already alive. We bring it out in the open where it can be seen and dealt with. Like a boil that can never be cured as long as it is covered up, but must be opened with all its pus-flowing ugliness to the natural medicines of air and light, injustice must likewise be exposed, with all of the tension its exposing creates, to the light of human conscience and the air of national opinion before it can be cured." Letter from a Birmingham City Jail.

Questions: Do you think Dr. King was correct in his defense of direct action? Why or why not?

Are there situations of negative peace in your life, school or community that you could surface and challenge in some way?

Participating in the “-ISMS”

1. What books or magazines you read, video or computer games you play, TV shows or movies you watch exploit women, glorify violence, exclude or stereotype racial/ethnic groups, promote excessive consumerism?
2. What stores, businesses, or corporations you buy from provide poor wages and benefits, exclude unions, discriminate in hiring and promotion, mistreat the environment, sell clothing or other items that are produced by exploited workers in other countries, sell harmful products in unsafe situations or advertise in fraudulent ways? (1)
3. What practices or policies of your local government and/or national government are harmful to people or the environment?
4. Are there any practices or policies at your school that discriminate against others because of their economic status, race or ethnicity, gender or sexual orientation, language, learning styles, etc?
5. Are you part of any group (Scouts, church/temple/synagogue, school club, etc) that discriminates against others or engages in any activities that are harmful to people or the environment?
6. What would it cost you to stop participating in any of these groups or institutions and/or challenge their policies and practices?
7. Decide on one product or institution to begin your efforts to challenge it or noncooperate with it. Create a plan and consider inviting others to join you in the effort.

(1) Note: To research how this producer may be involved in social evil, consult a consumer's guide like *SHOPPING FOR A BETTER WORLD* that rates most of the corporations we use according to ten social criteria (e.g., environmental care, treatment of women and “minorities,” nuclear weapon production).

"To Cross or Not to Cross: The Moral Dilemma of the Picket Line"

Excerpts from an Article by Charles Bouchard in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 10/27/03

Background: Grocery workers in 3 St. Louis area chains went on strike at 1 chain and were locked out of the other 2 in Sept. 2003. The main issues were wages (the companies offered a 25-cent/hour raise) and health care (workers would have to pay more of their coverage).

"In the late 1800s, Mother Jones was defending the rights of coal miners in Virginia. If Mother Jones were alive today, one wonders how she would respond to the complexity of our 21st-century labor issues. At the turn of the 20th century, working conditions were not only miserable but dangerous. There was no such thing as a minimum wage, and workers often were held hostage by 'company towns' that owned everything from grocery stores to schools. Few miners lived long enough to collect a pension. For generations, families of immigrant workers who were unionized by Mother Jones would never have dreamed of crossing a picket line... The right to organize - and strike - was a hard-won victory, and no one questions it today. Owners and managers are highly organized by definition, and the unions provide an essential balance to that power.

Still, workers and management are not natural enemies as they once were. They function in an economic partnership, and it is rare that one or the other stands in a position of absolute justice. We might grant the benefit of the doubt to unionized workers, but that does not let us off the hook. We still have to make a moral judgment about how far to support the workers' claims and, ultimately, whether to cross picket lines.

Like other moral choices, this one requires that we weigh a number of factors. Unlike their 19th century colleagues, many unionized workers today are highly skilled professionals. Their struggle is not usually about a living wage and basic human dignity. More often it is about vacation days, sharing health care costs, job security and work rules. It is about making a good standard of living better.

In making a choice about where to shop, we have to consider workers' demands in light of actual economic conditions. We have to weigh the impact on the public, especially if work stoppages affect basic services such as transportation, health care and public safety. We also have to take into account the executives' salaries, and the impact of global competition. We have to consider owners' use of the media to influence public opinion and their ability to wait out a strike by hiring temporary workers or shifting revenue.

Finally, we need to be mindful of the irony that those who need unions most, namely unskilled workers who make minimum wage and receive no benefits, often have no hope of belonging to one of them.

I thought about all of these things many times in the past few weeks as I looked at striking and locked-out workers. I reached a decision, and I stuck by it. This particular labor dispute may be nearing an end, but there will be others, and I'll have to consider the facts and come to a decision again. Next time, I might choose differently."

Questions: Do you agree that unions are a positive step toward economic justice? Why or why not? Would you cross the picket line in this case? Why or why not? In what kinds of situations would you cross a picket line and in what kinds of situations would you not cross?

ACTIVITY #3: The Struggle Between the “-ISMS” & Those Who Noncooperate

STEP 1 - Gandhi's Assassination

- Show the scene from the *GANDHI* Video (Part I, 0:00-2:00; or Part II, 1:06:00-10:00)
- Ask students what they think are the reason(s) for his assassination.

STEP 2 - Consider Other Assassinations

- Ask students to read over the list of other leaders (p. 196) who tried to change their societies and noncooperated with evil as they understood it, and answer the reflection questions.
- Provide additional information about those leaders that students don't recognize.
- Discuss questions #1 - #4 as a whole class.
- Consider inviting students to do individual or group research projects on these leaders. See "Resources" for suggested books and videos on some of these leaders.

STEP 3 - The Power of Domination: The -ISMS at Work

- Distribute the worksheet "The Power of Domination: The -ISMS at Work" (p. 197)
- Read down each section on the front side and invite questions to make sure the students understand the basic concepts and examples
- Then have students answer question #5 on the "Assassination of Leaders" sheet

STEP 4 - Confronting the Power of Domination

- Have students read the top two quotations from Wink on "Confronting the Power of Domination" (p. 198), answer the questions, and then discuss them as a whole class.
- As a whole class, invite students' answers to questions #1 - #5 at the bottom.
- Have students answer question #6 on their own, perhaps share in pairs and then with the whole class.

STEP 5 - "Who Will Win"

- Have students read the quotations on the "Who Will Win" Worksheet (pp. 199-200)
- Discuss the questions with the Gandhi quotation as a whole class
- Discuss the question with the King quotation as a whole class
- Have students answer the questions with "It Depends in Part on You!" on their own
- Perhaps have them share their answers in pairs and then with the whole class

STEP 6 - OPTIONAL: "A FORCE MORE POWERFUL"

This outstanding series of videos shows how effective nonviolence can be in bringing about social change at local, national, and international levels. Each case study makes an excellent research possibility.

The Assassination of Leaders, 1948 to the Present

- January 30, 1948 - Mahatama Gandhi
- February 21, 1965 - Malcolm X
- March 24, 1981 - Oscar Romero, Archbishop of San Salvador and apostle of nonviolence
- April 4, 1968 - Martin Luther King, Jr
- April 16 - Iqbal Masih, the 12-year-old victim of child labor in the carpet industry of Pakistan who organized widely against this exploitation of children
- June 5, 1968 - Robert Kennedy
- October 6, 1981 -- Anwar Sadat, Prime Minister of Egypt who signed the first peace agreement with Israel in 1979.
- November 4, 1995 - Yitzhak Rabin, Prime Minister of Israel who signed the Oslo Peace Agreement with the Palestinians in 1993.
- November 22, 1963 - President John Kennedy
- December 2, 1980 - Ita Ford, Maura Clark, Jean Donovan, Dorothy Kazel, the four US women missionaries in El Salvador

Questions:

1. Is there anyone on this list that you think should not be included? Why?
2. Who else would you add to this list and why?
3. What do all these leaders have in common?
4. What made each of them so dangerous that some person(s) and/or group(s) decided they had to be assassinated?
5. Is there any sense in which it is fair to say that it was "the power of domination" (what Gandhi called "evil") that assassinated these leaders?

The Power of Domination: The -ISMS at Work

Walter Wink, in *THE POWERS THAT BE*, is helpful in understanding what we mean by the "power of domination," how this power manifests itself, and how we can confront it.

Some Definitions and Examples

"Powers" or "spirits" are "the impersonal spiritual realities at the center of institutional life, ... a 'corporate personality' or ... the soul of systems..." (pp. 27-29) Some powers are positive, but they can become destructive and become forms of domination.

Patriotism. A patriotic spirit, for example, can be good in mobilizing a nation to self-sacrifice, but it can also become so self-centered and protective that it destroys anything that would threaten it.

Team spirit. Wink describes how this can become destructive:

"Think, for example, of a riot at a championship soccer game. For a few frenzied minutes, people who in their ordinary lives behave on the whole quite decently suddenly find themselves bludgeoning and even killing opponents whose only sin was rooting for the other team. Afterward people often act bewildered and wonder what could have possessed them. Was it a 'riot demon' that leapt upon them from the sky, or was it something intrinsic to the social situation: a 'spirituality' that crystallized suddenly, caused by the conjunction of an outer permissiveness, heavy drinking, a violent ethos, a triggering incident, and the inner violence of the fans? And when the riot subsides, does the 'riot demon' rocket back to heaven, or does the spirituality of the rioters simply dissipate as they are scattered, subdued, or arrested?" (p. 28)

The -ISMS. Most of the -ISMS - nationalism, racism, sexism, ageism, adultism, materialism, militarism, colonialism and neo-colonialism - are all forms of domination, of one group promoting itself at the expense of others.

The Power of Domination or "The Domination System"

When you put all the powers or -ISMS together, you get what Wink calls "the Domination System. It is characterized by unjust economic relations, oppressive political relations, biased race relations, patriarchal gender relations, hierarchical power relations, and the use of violence to maintain them all...(p. 39)

The Myth of Redemptive Violence or "Holy Violence"

The power of domination uses what Wink calls "the myth of redemptive violence" - "the belief that violence saves, that war brings peace, that might makes right" (p. 42) - to preserve itself. "In this myth, the survival and welfare of the nation becomes the highest good. Here, a Power is made absolute... It justifies the suppression of poor people everywhere, and the extraction of wealth from the poorer nations." (pp. 56-57)

Confronting the Power of Domination

"We must die to our learned preferences for domination... die to such things as racism, false patriotism, greed, and homophobia. We must, in short, die to the Domination System in order to live authentically" (p. 97)

Questions: What does Wink mean by "our learned preferences for domination"? What benefits do some of us get from things like racism, false patriotism, greed and homophobia that make us "prefer" them?

"Dying to the Powers is not, finally, a way of saving our souls, but of making ourselves expendable in the divine effort to rein in the recalcitrant Powers... [Gandhi and King like others before them] drew a line in the sand and asked if we would step across - step out of one entire world, where violence is always the ultimate solution, into another world, where the spiral of violence is finally broken by those willing to absorb its impact with their own flesh. That new approach to living is nonviolence..." (p. 97)

Examples of How Gandhi and Others "Made Themselves Expendable..."

How did Gandhi respond to those who beat him almost to death at the port in Durban, South Africa (See Forgiveness, p.)?

How did his followers respond to the domination of the British in the form of the salt tax and other exploitative laws?

How did Dr. King respond to the domination of racism (See Forgiveness, p.)?

Who else do you know about who "made themselves expendable" in challenging the domination system, who "absorbed its impact with their own flesh"?

How have you responded to the dominating power of hate, violence, or any of the -ISMS in a nonviolent way?

Who Is Going to Win?

Gandhi near the end of his life: "When I despair, I remember that rough history, the way of truth and love has always won. There have been tyrants and murderers and for a time they can seem invincible. But in the end they always fall. Always."

Questions: From your knowledge of history, what evidence supports Gandhi's belief?

What evidence contradicts his belief?

What could be done now and in the longer-term future to make Gandhi's belief come true?

King: "And our victory will be a double victory"

"Somehow we must be able to stand up before our most embittered opponents and say we will match your capacity to inflict suffering with our capacity to endure suffering. We will meet your physical force with soul force. Do to us what you will and we will still love you. Throw us in jail and we will still love you. Send your hooded perpetrators of violence into our communities after the midnight hour and drag us out on some wayside road and leave us half-dead as you beat us and we will still love you. But be you assured that we will wear you down by our capacity to suffer. And we will so appeal to your heart and conscience that we will win you in the process. And our victory will be a double victory."

Questions: How would this be a "double victory?"

Which do you think has been more effective in bringing about the positive changes from the Civil Rights movement, Dr. King's nonviolence or the use and threat of violence? Why?

Ultimately truth and unconditional love will win

"Sooner or later, all the people of the world will have to discover a way to live together in peace... I refuse to accept the cynical notion that nation after nation must spiral down a militaristic stairway into the hell of thermonuclear destruction. I believe that unarmed truth and unconditional love will have the last word in reality. This why right temporarily defeated is stronger than evil triumphant." Dr. King's Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech, December 10, 1964.

Questions: From Dr. King's perspective, how is "right temporarily defeated stronger than evil triumphant"? What in history can you cite to support Dr. King's assertion? What would tend to contradict it?

It Depends, in Part, on You!

"We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the vitriolic words and actions of the bad people, but for the appalling silence of the good people. We must come to see that human progress never rolls in on wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless efforts and persistent work of people willing to be co-workers with God, and without this hard work time itself becomes an ally of the forces of social stagnation." Dr. King, "Letter from a Birmingham City Jail."

What does Dr. King mean by "human progress never rolls in on wheels of inevitability"?

Have you been part of "the appalling silence of the good people" in the face of social evils? How so? What can you do about that now?

Consider this story:

A Native American grandfather was talking to his grandson about how he felt. He said, "I feel as if I have two wolves fighting in my heart. One wolf is the vengeful, angry, violent one. The other wolf is the loving, compassionate one." The grandson asked him "Which wolf will win the fight in your heart?" The grandfather answered, "The one I feed."

Questions:

In what ways are you currently feeding the "vengeful, angry, violent" wolf?

In what ways can you stop feeding this wolf?

In what ways are you currently feeding the "loving, compassionate" wolf?

In what ways can you feed this wolf more?

ACTIVITY #4: Challenging Sexism

STEP 1 - Gandhi Against the Inequality of Women

- Have students read the quotations on this theme on the "Challenging Sexism" worksheet (p. 203) and invite clarifying questions to make sure the students understand them.
- Supplement these with excerpts from the GANDHI Video to show Gandhi's struggle to practice what he preached in his relationship with Kasturba
 - Gandhi's berating Kasturba for her unwillingness to do the work of the Untouchables (Part I, 15:00 - 22:00)
 - Kasturba announces the campaign against British cloth and Mirabehn's participation in the campaign (Part I, 1:31:00 - 1:38:00)
 - Gandhi and Kasturba renew their marriage vows (Part II, 6:00-8:00)
 - Gandhi's mature relationship with Kasturba and her death (Part II, 36:00 - 41:00)
- Perhaps supplement these also with other passages from THE FORGOTTEN WOMAN, a wonderfully sensitive and detailed account of their relationship by Arun and Sunanda Gandhi.

Gandhi's relationship with his wife Kasturba troubles many people because of how dictatorial he was with her early in their marriage. Most of this was a matter of Hindu culture at the time, though some of it may be due to the sense he had of his role as the teacher of all. In their first ashram, Arun Gandhi's phrase for his grandfather was "the complete patriarch" (THE FORGOTTEN WOMAN, p. 128).

There were many areas of living and decision-making where their relationship was not fully mutual (about money, the children's education and discipline, diet, sexual intimacy, moving to new locations, some health issues), but the more Gandhi matured in his "experiments with truth," the more he realized the equality of Kasturba in most areas.

STEP 2 - Interpersonal Application

- Using the questions following these quotations (p. 203), have students write out their answers, perhaps sharing them in pairs; perhaps with the whole class.
- Encourage them to choose one next step for personal change, perhaps sharing this in pairs and encouraging them to check in with their partner about their progress in implementing their decision.
- Set a time for the whole class to report their progress in these changes.

STEP 3 - Gandhi Against Devaluing "Women's Work"

Have students read the quotations on this theme on the "Challenging Sexism" Worksheet (p. 204) and invite clarifying questions to make sure the students understand them.

STEP 4 - Interpersonal Application

- Using the questions following these quotations, have students reflect on them and write out their answers, perhaps sharing them in pairs; perhaps with the whole class.
- Encourage them to choose one next step for personal change, perhaps sharing this in pairs and encouraging them to check in with their partner about their progress in implementing their decision.
- Set a time for the whole class to report their progress in these changes.

STEP 5 - Gandhi Against the Sexual Abuse of Women

Have students read the quotations on this theme on the "Challenging Sexism" Worksheet (p. 205) and invite clarifying questions to make sure the students understand them.

STEP 6 - Dating Violence: Data and Case Studies (p. 206)

- Have students read the definition and data on dating violence and invite clarification questions.
- Have students answer the questions, perhaps sharing them in pairs before discussing them as a whole class.
- Have students read over the case studies, answer the questions, perhaps sharing them in pairs before discussing them as a whole class.

STEP 7 - Interpersonal Application

- Using the questions following these quotations, have students reflect on them and write out their answers, perhaps sharing them in pairs; perhaps with the whole class.
- Encourage them to choose one next step for personal change, perhaps sharing this in pairs and encouraging them to check in with their partner about their progress in implementing their decision.
- Set a time for the whole class to report their progress in these changes.

STEP 8 - Social Change Application

- Discuss student answers to the final questions on "Inequality of Women" and "Sexual Abuse of Women" and brainstorm other aspects of these questions and other possible actions to challenge the institutional aspects of sexism.
- Invite each student to decide on one action they could take.
- Discuss and decide whether the class would like to do a group action.
- If they do, choose one, create a plan and begin to implement the plan.

Gandhi on Challenging Sexism

Against the inequality of women

His own mother's exclusion and inequality: To his mother's exclusion from intellectual discussions in her home with religious leaders who frequently visited her husband, despite her deep spirituality and intelligence: "Seeing his mother forced to hide her intellectual curiosity because of her gender inspired Grandfather to work to liberate Indian women from their cultural shackles." Arun Gandhi, *THE LEGACY OF LOVE*, p. 34

Wives as equal partners: "... only when I understood AHIMSA in all its bearings [did] I realize that the wife is not the husband's bondslave, but his companion and his helpmate, and an equal partner in all his joys and sorrows - as free as the husband to choose her own path." *AUTOBIOGRAPHY*, #38 (also quoted in *ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS*, pp. 8-9).

Women as equal partners in India's struggle: "Grandfather insisted that women come out of their kitchens and become equal partners in the struggle for India's freedom from British imperialism. At public meetings and after prayer sermons he admonished men for treating women like chattel and, worse, treating them as objects of sexual passion." *THE LEGACY OF LOVE*, p. 34.

Questions:

In your relationships with the opposite sex, in what ways have they been truly equal?

In your relationships with the opposite sex, in what ways have they been less than equal?

What could you do to change these unequal aspects?

Are there any ways in which your school treats young women in unequal or discriminatory ways?

If so, what could you and your classmates, friends, and some teachers do about these?

What's keeping you from doing something about any of these?

Do any other groups or organizations you're part of (church/temple/synagogue, Scouts, sports teams, etc) treat women unequally? If so, what could you do about any of it? What would be a good first step in taking action?

Against devaluing "women's work"

Gender equality in chores: "Cleaning the campus, working in the vegetable garden, and cleaning the public toilets - carrying buckets of urine and night soil to the fields and emptying them and washing them - was done by each person as part of a team. The teams rotated every week, and there was true gender equality. One could never say this is a woman's job, or, conversely, this is a man's job." Arun Gandhi describing life at the Sevagram ashram where he lived with his grandparents as a child. *THE LEGACY OF LOVE*, p. 68.

Are chores and other tasks in your home divided up into "women's work" and "men's work"? How so?

Do you find yourself resistant to breaking out of these stereotypes? If so, why?

Do you think some changes would be beneficial for the whole family? Which and why?

What would be a good first step in making one of these changes?

Against the Sexual Abuse of Women

Against obsessive and exploitative sex: "Most importantly,' Grandfather urged women, 'do not allow men to treat you as sex toys made for the pleasure of man. Men, too, will be able to liberate themselves only when they break the shackles of outdated tradition and learn to look at women with respect and dignity as equal partners rather than as sex-pots.' In modern life, sex dominates people's lives to such an extent that it has become a cultural obsession. Mass media bombards us with erotic images, and marketers blanket us with offers to enhance our sexual pleasure. Grandfather was not opposed to the enjoyment of healthy sexuality. But he sought to break the obsession that destroys our humanity and makes us lose the respect we have for one another." THE LEGACY OF LOVE, pp. 36-37.

Kasturba's participation: Gandhi encouraged his wife's leadership in the struggle against sexual abuse in their home region in February 1939, despite her age and frail health: "I had not intended to say anything about my wife having joined the Rajkot struggle. It had never occurred to me that she would. But she is and has been for years absolutely free to do what she likes... The Rajkot struggle will be a stage forward in the fight for freedom. And when it ends in success, as it must sooner or later, Kasturba's share [in it] will count..." Then Gandhi escalated his own resistance with a "fast-unto-death." THE FORGOTTEN WOMAN, pp. 279-83.

Questions:

Are you (or were you) personally involved in a relationship that is sexually abusive?
How did/does it feel? And could you do about it?

What's keeping you from doing so? How could you overcome these obstacles?

Are any of your friends involved in abusive relationships? If so, is there something you need to say or do about any of these?

What about the sexual exploitation of women in video games, TV shows and movies, magazines, and advertising? Do you personally participate in or enjoy any of this?

Do you need to do something about any of this? If so, where can you start?

What could you, your friends and classmates, perhaps also some of the groups or organizations you are part of, do about the issue of sexual trafficking of children and young women?

Consider This Data on the Dating Violence

Dating violence may be defined as the perpetration or threat of an act of violence by at least one member of an unmarried couple on the other member within the context of dating or courtship. This violence encompasses any form of sexual assault, physical violence, and verbal or emotional abuse.

Summarizing many studies, the average prevalence rate for nonsexual dating violence is 22% among male and female high school students and 32% among college students. Females are somewhat more likely than males to report being victims of violence.

Over half of a representative sample of more than 1,000 female students at a large urban university had experienced some form of unwanted sex. 12% of these acts were perpetrated by casual dates and 43% by steady dating partners.

For more data, contact the National Center for Injury Prevention and Control of the Center for Disease Control: www.cdc.gov/ncipe/factsheets/datviol.htm.

Questions: Does any of this data surprise you? Why or why not?

What has been your personal experience and that of your friends with dating violence?

What needs to be done to eliminate dating violence in your own lives? In your school?

Consider These Case Studies

1. You've had a crush on this guy since your freshman year. Now he's a senior and you're a sophomore and he asks you out. You tell your friends, but they warn you to be careful, that he likes to sleep around. But you really want to go with him, so you do. He tells you how beautiful you are, that he has a condom, that it won't hurt, that you're just being old-fashioned. You're afraid he won't ask you out again if you don't have sex with him. What do you do?

2. In the midst of a conversation with your boy friend, you tell him you're going out Friday night with an old friend from out of town. He gets upset and says "what's wrong with going out with me? I had plans for us for Friday night." You complain that he's always calling you to find out where you are, who you're with, and what you're wearing. He really gets mad and knocks you down. What do you do? What can your friends do or say? What could his friends do or say?

ACTIVITY #5: Challenging Racism and Untouchability

STEP 1 - Gandhi Challenges Racism in South Africa

- Have students read or reread Gandhi's encounters with racism (pp. 173-177) and discuss the questions with them or recall this discussion.
- Have students read the additional quotations the "Gandhi on Challenging Racism and Untouchability" worksheet, segment 1, and invite clarifying questions to make sure the students understand them.
- Supplement these with excerpts from the GANDHI Video:
 - Gandhi resists racism in S. Africa: on trains (Part I, 2:00-5:00),
 - Gandhi burns his pass cards (Part I, 5:00-11:00)
 - Gandhi invites resistance to the marriage registration law (Part I, 22:00-27:00)

STEP 2 - Challenge Racism/Untouchability by Changing People's Thinking

- Discuss as a whole class Gandhi's quotation (p. 209) and invite clarifying questions to make sure the students understand it.
- Have students answer the questions, perhaps sharing them in pairs before discussing this aspect as a whole class.

STEP 3 - Challenge People's Way of Living

- Have students read the quotations from section 3 on the worksheet (p. 210) and invite clarifying questions to make sure the students understand it.
- Supplement these with segments from the GANDHI Video
 - Gandhi's berating Kasturba for her unwillingness to do the work of the Untouchables (Part I, 15:00 - 22:00)
 - Gandhi chides the Indian Congress Party for being out of touch with the Indian masses (Part I, 51:00 - 55:00)
 - Gandhi challenges Nehru and other young leaders visiting his ashram (Part I, 55:00-58:00)
 - Gandhi embraces the exploited farmers of Champaran, becomes one with them, and challenges others to do so too (Part I, 58:00-1:10:00)
- Have students answer the questions, perhaps sharing them in pairs before discussing them as a whole class.

STEP 4 - By Doing the Work of the Untouchables

- Discuss as a whole class Gandhi's quotation (p. 211) and invite clarifying questions to make sure the students understand it.
- Have students answer the questions, perhaps sharing them in pairs before discussing this aspect as a whole class.

STEP 5 - Taking on Suffering to Demonstrate the Seriousness of the Issue

- Have students read the quotations on this theme - #5 on the "Gandhi on Challenging Racism and Untouchability" worksheet (p. 211) and invite clarifying questions to make sure the students understand them.
- Have them answer the questions following, perhaps sharing them in pairs before discussing them as a whole class.

STEP 6 - "Dr. King on Racism in America"

- As a step toward applying Gandhi's principles and strategies to racism in the United States, have students read the quotations by Dr. King (p. 213) and invite clarification questions.
- Have students write their answers to the questions, perhaps sharing them in pairs before discussing them as a whole class.

STEP 7 - "What to Do About Racism?"

- Distribute this "Family Handout" (p. 214) and ask students to identify which 1 or 2 of the 12 suggestions makes the most sense for them personally; perhaps sharing in pairs.
- Ask students to identify which of the twelve gives them the most difficulty or they disagree with.
- Ask students to share these later items, state why they disagree or have difficulty, and discuss these as a whole class.
- Ask students to make a person decision about their next step in putting one of these suggestions into practice.
- Invite them to share this worksheet with their family and discuss what they might do together as a family. Provide time for students to share these family decisions and actions, if any, with the whole class perhaps a week or two later.

STEP 8 - Social Change Application

- Consider or reconsider suggestions #7 - #11 on "What to Do About Racism?" and brainstorm specific ways of implementing each of these and post these.
- Brainstorm ways in which your school may be participating in racism - e.g., admissions, diversity of faculty, testing and grading, disciplinary practices, clubs - and ways of addressing any of these issues; post these.
Note: If you are going to consider the case study below on "Challenging Racism at School," you might want to save this question for that time.
- Brainstorm other action possibilities for addressing the institutional aspects of racism in your community; post these.
- Invite each student to decide on one action they could take.
- Discuss and decide whether the class would like to do a group action.
- If they do, choose one, create a plan and begin to implement the plan.

Gandhi on Challenging Racism and Untouchability

1. The Evils of Racism and Untouchability Lie in People's Hearts/Minds

After being thrown off the train in S. Africa - "I began to think of my duty. Should I fight for my rights or go back to India, or should I go on to Pretoria without minding the insults, and return to India after finishing the case? It would be cowardice to run back to India without fulfilling my obligation. The hardship to which I was subjected was superficial - only a symptom of the deep disease of colour prejudice. I should try, if possible, to root out the disease and suffer hardships in the process. Redress for wrongs I should seek only to the extent that would be necessary for the removal of the colour prejudice." AUTOBIOGRAPHY, pp. 140-1; also quoted in ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS, p. 15.

Questions: Why did Gandhi decide to stay and fight?

Are you willing to "stay and fight" against racism in your community and school? Why or why not?

What does Gandhi mean by calling racism ("colour prejudice") a "deep disease"? How would this diagnosis affect the way he (and you) would deal with racism?

2. Confront These Evils by Changing People's Way of Thinking

Renaming "Untouchables" more respectfully as "Harijans" ("Children of God")

"And that was not as simple as it appears. Gandhi said, 'By their quiet suffering these people have earned the right to be called children of God. The rest of Hindu society will also earn the right to be called children of God when they atone for their past sins.' Clearly Grandfather looked forward to a day when all Hindus would be known as Harijans, a day when the caste system would be abolished." THE LEGACY OF LOVE, pp. 93-94.

Questions:

What social groups do you use derogatory language about and what specific words or phrases you typically use?

What could you do to substitute positive language yourself and challenge the negative language you hear from others?

3. By Changing People's Way of Living: Developing Personal Relationships

Living and Working Together

Embracing their children can be a first step in breaking down the internal resistance - Gandhi discovered that Kasturba and another woman leader in their first Indian ashram were avoiding personal contact with the Untouchable family, which he called "a subtle kind of discrimination"... Kasturba's heart began to change when she discovered with innocent beauty of Laxmi, the young daughter, and understood the real meaning of the new term "Harijan" (Child of God) - "Little Laxmi was surely a Child of God, and, more than that, a messenger of divine truth. Mohandas was right. All of us must love each other, for all of us are God's children." THE FORGOTTEN WOMAN, pp. 201-205.

Why is this often an effective strategy? How could you apply it to situations you are in?

To develop humility and solidarity instead of arrogance

Gandhi required Shriman Narayan, the young economics Ph.D with lots of ideas about reforming India economically, to live the life of the Untouchables - 'Your schemes are wonderful, but first I want you to stay at the ashram for some days and join the group that cleans the toilets. Then we will talk about blessings,' Grandfather said... It made no sense to him, and besides, he abhorred doing what he considered dirty, menial work... He had to perform this task twice a day for several days. On the third day Narayan pleaded with Grandfather, 'Why are you wasting my time with such mundane work? With my knowledge of economics I can do great things for the country.' 'I am aware of what you are capable of doing,' Grandfather replied. 'When you convince me that you can clean toilets for others with the same enthusiasm that you have for reforming their economic system, I will give you my blessing.' Humility, Grandfather was convinced, is a quality all human beings must learn. Respect and humility go together. Humility is not meekness; it is the opposite of arrogance." THE LEGACY OF LOVE, pp. 91-93

Questions:

What racial, ethnic, religious or social groups do you tend to avoid in your community? Why?

What could you do to break down these barriers where you live or work, when you travel/visit other parts of the country, and as you think about plans after you graduate ?

How could you meet and develop relationships with people through where you worship, the groups you join, the places you go for entertainment?

4. By Doing the Work of the Untouchables

"To make people understand humility, and to educate them in the need to respect all people, high and low, were important objectives of ashram living. It was a humbling experience to carry buckets full of urine and night soil, to empty them in the fields, to cover the holes, and to wash the buckets and replace them for use." Arun Gandhi, *THE LEGACY OF LOVE*, p. 91.

Question: Are there any tasks or jobs generally reserved for groups who are discriminated against that you could do as a way of developing a greater sense of solidarity? E.g., if your school janitor(s) is looked down on by some of the students, what about going out of your way to pick up trash?

5. By taking on Suffering to Demonstrate the Seriousness of the Issue

Gandhi's "fast unto death"

Over the proposed Indian constitution that granted separate electorates to each religious group and the Untouchables as "Depressed Classes" as well. "He was fasting to sting the Hindu conscience into right religious action.' ...to uphold the simple religious truth of the oneness of all humanity" On 9/26/32, an agreement was reached that eliminated separate electorates and "also included an unprecedented declaration: 'Henceforth, no one is to be regarded as Untouchable...'" *THE FORGOTTEN WOMAN*, pp. 260-1

Living as one of them: "...if I have to be reborn, I should be born an untouchable, so that I may share their sorrows, sufferings, and affronts leveled at them, in order that I may endeavor to free myself and them from that miserable condition." *YOUNG INDIA*, 5/4/21; quoted in *ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS*, p. 50.

If you hang out with people who are unpopular or discriminated against, you may pay a price. Are you willing to expose yourself to possible hurt? Why or why not?

What first steps could you take at school or in your community to stand with others who are put-down or discriminated against?

What do you think of Gandhi's practice of fasting as a way of calling attention to or doing penance for the evils of racism and untouchability? And why?

What about some kind of fasting during the period of Ramadan as a way of calling attention to and/or doing penance for the suffering of Muslim and Arab people in our country and in the Middle East?

What About by Changing Laws and Affirmative Action?

Gandhi was convinced of the necessity of changing people's hearts, for lasting change. He stressed personal relationships and incremental steps designed to change people's ways of thinking and living. He preferred taking on suffering to show the immorality of racism and Untouchability, rather than relying on laws to compel social change.

By love and moral education, never by law

"To outlaw discrimination and oppression, laws are necessary, but by no means sufficient. It is the nature of human beings to resent control by force. Any attempt to impose moral obligations upon unwilling people will lead to two reactions. The first will be 'tolerance' by those who don't want to put up a fight. The second will be counter-aggression by those who resent forceful conversion.

For any law to be effective, Grandfather said, it must first have moral appeal. For the most part, people refrain from stealing not because they are afraid of breaking the law, but because they know it is morally wrong to take what does not belong to them. Many of the same people will ignore seat belt laws, because they attach no moral obligation to their observance.

When people are forced to respect civil rights and human rights or face legal consequences, they don't like it. Civil rights laws will be scrupulously observed only when people accept that it is morally wrong to oppress or discriminate against fellow human beings. **That awareness can come only through education.** A law will enable integration in public places, but it does not foster understanding or appreciation in the hearts of people who continue to live with their prejudices. The only way, Grandfather concluded, to achieve respectful relationships is through the transformation of the heart. Violence and law are useless in this effort. **'You can change people's hearts by love,' he said, 'never by law.'**" THE LEGACY OF LOVE, p. 126.

Questions:

Do you agree or disagree with Gandhi when he says "You can change people's hearts by love, never by law"? And why?

Which do you think is more important, affirmative actions laws that require people to work and go to school together and thus get to know one another or moral education and personal witness to break down barriers between races? And why?

Dr. King on Racism in America

Racism and poverty cause most international problems

"Racism and its perennial ally - economic exploitation - provide the key to understanding most of the international complications of this generation." *WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?* p. 173.

Give examples to support Dr. King's statement that racism and poverty are "the key to understanding" most international problems.

"The problem of race is America's greatest moral dilemma."

STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM, p. 205.

"For too long the depth of racism in American life has been underestimated. The surgery to extract it is necessarily complex and detailed. As a beginning, it is important to X-ray our history and reveal the full extent of the disease." *WHY WE CAN'T WAIT*, p. 119.

Conduct your own "X-ray" of US history and write down what it reveals of racism.

Racism can destroy nations. Will we let it happen to us?

"History has shown that, like a virulent disease germ, racism can grow and destroy nations." *WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?*, p. 93.

How could racism destroy our nation? Has widespread is the disease at this time?

"The racism of today is real, but the democratic spirit that has always faced it is equally real." *WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?* p. 83.

How strong is the "democratic spirit" in the US today? Is it willing to seriously tackle racism? Why or why not?

Are you willing to seriously tackle racism? Why or why not?

What to Do About Racism?

Obviously, there are no easy answers to that question. What follows are some beginning suggestions about actions within the family and within the school and/or congregation. The resources listed at the end contain more ideas. The specter of racism is very real in our society. It is easy to be overwhelmed. The challenge for all of us is to do something. We cannot do everything, but we can and must do something.

What Can Individuals & Families Do?

1. Inform yourself about racism

See the resources on the back of this flyer. For more regular updating, subscribe to "Witness for Justice," a news service of the United Church of Christ Commission on Racial Justice, 700 Prospect, Cleveland, OH 44115, shoresk@ucc.org (weekly three-page bulletin, no charge). Subscribe to an African American, Hispanic, Asian, or other ethnic newspaper in your community.

2. Talk about current events

Talk within your family specifically about the events that have racial implications. Encourage children to ask questions and draw conclusions.

3. Celebrate heroes, holidays and cultural events

Lift up for yourselves and your children the lives of people of color, past and present, who have fought, and continue to fight for racial justice. Enjoy the learning by surrounding it with a party or other enjoyable event. Many communities have cultural events (dance, theatre, art) that provide information as well as real insights into the culture, history, and life of different racial groups. Holidays (e.g., Kwanzaa, Cinco de Mayo, Chanukah) can also be times to learn more about the values of other people.

4. Form interracial friendships

Concern for racism and risk-taking and persevering action against racism are nurtured by the relationships we have across racial lines. Such relationships are more easily achieved if we live and work in integrated situations and our children go to integrated schools.

5. Seek out racially diverse role models/professionals

Children's attitudes are affected by the people they relate to a variety of capacities (doctors, dentists, teachers, ministers, counselors). Make racial diversity one of the criteria for choosing such professionals for yourself and your children.

6. Never use or allow racially derogatory terms

Children need to know that comments and/or jokes that belittle or insult the racial or cultural ancestry of any person or group are absolutely unacceptable in our homes. It is also important for them to see us confront other adults about their language.

7. Check TV programming

Children can be brought into our discussion about TV shows. We can look at the simple question of numbers: how many TV series have African Americans? Hispanics? Asians? Native Americans? We can also discuss the kinds of roles: are people of color shown in positive or in stereotypic ways? (For example, are African Americans shown in warm, loving family situations or as perpetrators of crimes?)

8. Look at your voting patterns

Political candidates at all levels need to be evaluated in terms of their stance and activity against racism in all forms. Children can be part of discussions about these candidates, about our voting decisions. In some communities, working on voter registration drives is a concrete way of putting into practice concern about the ability of all people to participate in the political system.

9. Write letters to the editor

In every community there are racial incidents that occur as well as ever-present economic and political realities that reflect the institutional dimensions of racism (for example, high unemployment, infant mortality, difficulties in voter registration). Families can let their opinions be known in the community through letters that can be signed by the whole family.

10. Involve yourself in community projects

It is important for both adults and children to be involved in projects in which the leaders are people of color.

11. Stand with the victims

Even though the circumstances vary from one community to another, there are always opportunities to add our voices to those fighting against the impact of racism, whether at school board meetings, city council hearings, court proceedings or vigils. At times these situations may be appropriate for the participation of children.

12. Visuals

The pictures and other visual representations in our homes should truly be multiracial. Children learn a lot from what they see in their home environment. It is also important to check for racial stereotyping in any of the visuals in our homes.

ACTIVITY #6: Challenging Racism in the Community: A Case Study

STEP 1 - Decide How to Present the Case Study

There are several ways you could have the class consider this situation - the NAACP challenging the public displaying of the Confederate flag in Mississippi.

- a debate between the state director of the NAACP and Gandhi
- a debate between teams representing the NAACP and the state legislature of Mississippi
- a debate between groups speaking for and against the referendum during the campaign leading up to the vote
- election day in which each student votes for or against the referendum
- a class discussion of the issue without any of the above additions

Choose which way would be most effective for your class.

STEP 2 - Present the Situation

Arun Gandhi writes about this situation: "While they [NAACP] have succeeded in some places, they have created ill will in others. In Mississippi, for example, the feelings among whites and blacks over the issue escalated so high that it led to a statewide political referendum in which two thirds of the votes were cast in favor of retaining the Confederate flag."

STEP 3 - Student Reflection and Decisions on the Issue

Depending on how you decided to present the situation, have students decide on whether they think the NAACP should have challenged the public display of the Confederate flag in the first place and how they would have voted in the referendum and why.

STEP 4 - Present and Evaluate Arun Gandhi's Criticism of the NAACP Action

Arun sees this as a case of aggressive tactics that created ill will and failed to produce the understanding that is necessary for lasting change. Have students read his criticism and write their answers to the questions before discussing them as a whole class.

STEP 5 - What Should You Do in Situations Like This?

Have students write out their answers to the last question on their worksheet, perhaps sharing them in pairs before discussing the question as a whole class.

Challenging Racism in the Community: A Case Study in Mississippi

The Situation

Because of how offensive the Confederate flag is to most African Americans, the NAACP challenged the public displaying of the Confederate flag in Mississippi.

What Happened

The feelings among whites and blacks over the issue escalated so high that it led to a statewide political referendum in which two thirds of the votes were cast in favor of retaining the Confederate flag."

Your Position

How would you have voted and why?

Was the NAACP wrong to carry the issue this far and in this way?

Arun Gandhi's Criticism of the NAACP Action

"I believe there were two things that went wrong in the NAACP's campaign. First, although the NAACP was not physically violent in their approach, they were very aggressive. Second, they lost sight of their ultimate purpose, which is to create and nurture harmony between whites and blacks in the United States. If the goal is to achieve true integration in the hearts of the people of the nation so that all can live with dignity and freedom, then aggressively fighting over a symbol is perhaps the wrong way to achieve it.

The issue of the Confederate flag seems to have only grown more bitter. Now that the die has been cast, the NAACP will have to take the battle to a new level, and the escalation could go on until one side or the other is legally restrained, or too tired to continue the fight. Neither of these outcomes will be a lasting victory."

Do you agree or disagree with Arun Gandhi when he writes from the perspective of his grandfather's conviction that you have to change people's hearts rather than legislate change on issues like this? And why?

What else could or should you do in situations like this?

ACTIVITY #7: Challenging Racism at School: A Case Study

STEP 1 - Present the Case Study

Have students read the editorials from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch about the incident of racist name-calling on the school bus (pp. 218-219) and invite clarification questions.

STEP 2 - How Can Students Deal with This at the Moment

- Have students identify ways that students on the bus could handle situations like this.
- **OPTION:** Roleplay the situation several times with several different students demonstrating different ways of responding to the racist name-calling
- Have them identify similar situations from their own experience.

STEP 3 - How Should the Parents, Principal and School Board Respond

- Have students discuss how the girl's parents responded and how the principal and superintendent responded and whether they agree with the first editorial that more should have been done.
- Have them consider the additional actions taken by the school board and whether these are appropriate to the situation.

STEP 4 - "Courageous Conversations"

The second editorial calls for "courageous conversations." Have students discuss whether these are needed at their own school, at home with their parents, and throughout their school district. And how they could be part of one of these "courageous conversations."

STEP 5 - "The Power of One"

- Have students write out their answers to the last question on their worksheet, perhaps sharing them in pairs before discussing the question as a whole class.
- Invite each student to commit to their decision and decide a good time for reporting back on how they implemented their decision.

STEP 6 - "Keep the Dream Alive - Help the Dream Come True"

- Have students read the excerpts from Dr. King's final Christmas message, December 24, 1967, and invite clarification questions.
- Have students answer the questions about what they can do to help the dream come true, perhaps sharing their answers in pairs before discussing them as a whole class.
- If you are using the "Your Own Experiments with Love/Kindness" (p. 26), have them record their decision there and encourage them to follow through on their decisions.

The power of one

THE ADVERTISING COUNCIL has unveiled a powerful campaign to get people to think seriously about prejudice. The campaign, released to coincide with the opening of the National Underground Railroad Museum in Cincinnati, shows how the power of one voice can make a difference.

It's the voice of a black girl who intervenes after her bigoted black classmates seated in a school lunchroom initially refuse to make a place for a white girl who wants to join them. The campaign asks viewers "What would you do . . ." as it presents scenarios in which a single person speaks up and makes a difference.

The power of one voice was absent recently when a 10-year-old white boy used racial slurs when speaking to an 8-year-old black girl on a school bus in the Parkway School District. Not only was the voice absent on the bus, it didn't speak loudly in the principal's office or in the superintendent's suite either.

The principal could have suspended the bully for 10 days. She decided it was enough to simply tell the kid to stay off the bus for a week, sit behind the driver thereafter, apologize to the girl and undergo counseling.

Last week, Superintendent Paul Delanty announced he was setting up a committee to review the district's disciplinary policies. That is a step in the right direction, but does not go far enough.

The district should look upon this incident as a teachable moment about the cancer of racism rather than addressing preju-

dice in such a cotton candy fashion that children miss the point about its poisonous power. That poison landed on Chesterfield lawns last week with the distribution of racist and anti-Semitic fliers distributed by a group called the National Alliance.

Kids need to know that epithets such as "nigger" are unacceptable, and they need to know the stories of American history and racism that tell them why. What child, moved by the story of Rosa Parks, would act the way the 10-year-old acted?

Adults in the district need to add their voices. That means parents need to talk to each other and to their children. They must also pay attention to whether their children are getting racist messages from movies and TV.

One question that the School Board should ask itself is whether it sent the right message about prejudice earlier this year when it watered down its bullying policy by removing specific categories of protected individuals.

Many Parkway parents undoubtedly think the bus incident has been blown out of proportion. But confronting the issue is better than covering it over.

Imagine how different the outcome of the bus incident might have been had some kid stood up and told the boy to put his hate speech back in the gutter. Parkway and other districts should use this incident to inspire students to speak out against prejudice just as many people of all backgrounds did during the era of the Underground Railroad.

If you were on this bus, how would you probably have acted and why? How could you act more courageously in the situation?

If you were the principal, would you have handled the situation any differently? Why or why not?

If you were the girl's parents, would you have done any differently than the Johnson's did? Why or why not?

Do you think the situation was blown out of proportion? Why or why not?

PARKWAY SCHOOLS

Lessons learned

PARKWAY SCHOOL OFFICIALS have mined positive developments from last month's incident in which an 8-year-old girl was the target of racial slurs from a 10-year-old boy on a school bus. The boy was suspended from the bus for a week, ordered to sit behind the driver thereafter, told to write an apology to the girl and undergo counseling.

But the girl's parents, Demetrious and Pat Johnson, objected that the punishment was too light and refused to let the matter rest. After meeting with the Johnsons, school officials set up a committee to review its disciplinary policies; Mr. Johnson is a member of that committee. Parkway also will begin making public the race and gender of students who are disciplined, and will require staff members to show zero tolerance for racial harassment, bullying and intimidation.

All this is to the good. So is the district's willingness to reconsider its own practices and attitudes, rather than respond defensively, or act as if racial problems don't ex-

ist. Parkway made public its survey of high school students who said sexist, racist and homophobic remarks were common. So were nasty comments about disabilities and looks. The students also reported that school staff members often didn't intervene and were sometimes guilty themselves of making demeaning remarks.

After the Johnsons complained about the district's handling of the bus incident, some of their neighbors in Chesterfield found racist fliers on their doorsteps. Parkway countered with an open letter addressing "a continued culture of racism and discrimination that pervades our communities."

One of the most important points in that letter is a plea for "courageous conversations" locally and nationally "to admit that intolerance is a part of the iceberg that lies dangerously below the surface."

Because of the bus incident — and the Johnsons' determination — Parkway has begun its own courageous conversation. Would that other school districts and communities follow Parkway's brave lead.

The editorial is entitled "Lessons Learned." What lessons do you think were learned? What did you learn from considering this case study?

The first editorial is entitled "The power of one." What one thing could you do to challenge racism and improve race relations in your school and/or community?

"Keep the Dream Alive - Help the Dream Come True"

There are so many before us who have given their lives to overcome violence and injustice. Gandhi, Rosa Parks and Dr. King, Cesar Chavez and Dorothy Day, and millions of other nonviolent drum majors for justice form a sacred cloud of witnesses who hover over us. They learned the courage it takes to stand up against the forces of domination and oppression, of violence and injustice. And their spirits inspire us in our own time and place to face our fears, lend our hands and voices, and work to keep their dreams alive.

From the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1956 until his assassination in Memphis in 1968, Dr. King struggled against racism, war, and poverty, and offered our nation and the world a "dream." Near the end of his short life, he returned to this dream and offered us a word of hope and challenge:

"I tried to talk to the nation about a dream that I had. But I must confess to you today that not long after talking about that dream I started seeing it turn into a nightmare. Yes, I am personally the victim of deferred dreams, of blasted hopes. But in spite of that, I close today by saying that I still have a dream. Because you know that you can't give up in life. If you lose hope, somehow you lose that vitality that keeps life moving. You lose that courage to be, that quality that helps you go on in spite of... "So this is our faith as we continue to hope -- that if there is to be peace on earth and goodwill toward all, let us know that in the process we have cosmic companionship.

"So today I still have a dream -- that we will rise up and come to see that we are made to live together as brothers and sisters. I still have a dream this morning -- that one day every person of color in the world will be judged on the basis of the content of their character rather than the color of their skin; that everyone will respect the dignity and worth of human personality; and that brotherhood will be more than a few words at the end of a prayer, but the first order of business on every legislative agenda. I still have a dream today -- that justice will roll down like water and righteousness like a mighty stream. I still have a dream -- that war will come to an end, that individuals will beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks, and nations will no longer rise up against nations. Neither will they study war any more. I still have a dream." (December 24, 1967, Ebenezer Baptist Church)

Questions

What fears do you have when you think about challenging violence or injustice?

What and who can help you to face and overcome these fears?

What can you do to help Dr. King's dream come true?

ACTIVITY #8: Challenging Narrow Patriotism

Introductory Note: To be critical of your society or country and to work to change some of its policies may not unpatriotic, if one understands "love of country" as a willingness to sacrifice oneself for the ideals of one's country, and to work, when necessary, to make its policies and values live up to these ideals. But in times of war or other national crises, people working for change are often accused of being unpatriotic, it is necessary to reflect on the meaning and implications of the broader understanding of patriotism that is reflected in the words of Gandhi, King, and others in this activity.

STEP 1 - Definitions of Patriotism

- Have students write their own initial definition or understanding of patriotism.
- Have them compare their definition with this definition from Robert Heinlein (writer & US Naval Academy graduate): "Patriotism means that you place the welfare of your nation ahead of your own, even if it costs you your life."
- Have students read the quotations from Gandhi and King (pp. 222-223) and invite clarification questions to make sure students understood what they read.

STEP 2 - Responding to Gandhi and King's Sense of Patriotism

Have students answer the questions following the quotations, perhaps sharing them in pairs before discussing them as a whole class.

For a fuller statement of Dr. King's understanding, have students read his whole "When Silence Is Betrayal" speech on p. .

STEP 3 - Patriotism after 9/11

- Have students read Amber Amundson's letter to President Bush (p. 224) on his response to the terrorist attacks that took her husband's life and discuss the questions with it.
- Have students the "Be the Best That We Can Be" essay (pp. 225-226) and identify what they agree and disagree with and why. Have them identify what they think are the values and policies that represent the "best" of America.
- See also Arun Gandhi, "Terrorism and Nonviolence-A Gandhian Perspective" (pp. 238-9)

STEP 4 - Personal Essay

Have students write an essay or paragraph on "What does it mean to be an (US) American?" or do a picture collage expressing their vision, perhaps entitled "Be the Best That We Can Be." They might also incorporate their initial definition of patriotism and how they may have changed it after having worked through the various steps in this activity.

STEP 5 - OPTIONAL: Patriotism and Flags

Have students discuss if their school should display all three flags and pledges (p. 227) and why or why not.

Gandhi on Nationalism and Patriotism

"It is not nationalism that is evil; it is the narrowness, selfishness, exclusiveness which is the bane of modern nations which is evil. Each wants to profit at the expense of, and rise on the ruin of, the other." *Young India*, June 18, 1925; quoted in *ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS*, p. 108.

"My patriotism is not an exclusive thing. It is all-embracing and I should reject that patriotism which sought to mount upon the distress or the exploitation of other nationalities... My patriotism is nothing if it is not always, in every case without exception, consistent with the broadest good of humanity at large..." *Young India*, April 4, 1929; quoted in *ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS*, p. 108

"For me patriotism is the same as humanity. I am patriotic because I am human and humane. It is not exclusive; I will not hurt England or Germany to serve India. Imperialism has no place in my scheme of life... And a patriot is so much the less a patriot if he is a lukewarm humanitarian..." *Young India*, March 16, 1921, quoted in *ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS*, p. 110.

What aspects of Gandhi's understanding of patriotism and nationalism do you agree with and why?

What aspects of Gandhi's understanding of patriotism and nationalism do you disagree with and why?

When has your country acted with a nationalism/patriotism that was "all-embracing" and "consistent with the broadest good of humanity at large"?

When has your country acted with a nationalism/patriotism that was "narrow, selfish, exclusive"?

What might Gandhi ask you to do in order to make your country better?

King on Nationalism and Patriotism

"In the days ahead we must not consider it unpatriotic to raise certain basic questions about our national character. We must begin to ask, 'Why are there forty million poor people in a nation overflowing with such unbelievable affluence? ...Why have we substituted the arrogant undertaking of policing the whole world for the high task of putting our own house in order?'" WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? p. 133.

Speaking in 1967 about the US war in Southeast Asia: "We are called to speak for the weak, for the voiceless, for the victims of our nation, for those it calls "enemy," for no document from human hands can make these humans any less our brothers and sisters. I think of them, too, because it is clear to me that there will be no meaningful solution until some attempt is made to know them and hear their broken cries...This call for a worldwide fellowship that lifts neighborly concern beyond one's tribe, race, class, and nation is in reality a call for an all-embracing and unconditional love for all humankind." April 4, 1967.

"May our country, on the brink of war, take to heart the final refrain of "America, the Beautiful": 'America! America! God mend thine ev'ry flaw. Confirm thy soul in self-control, Thy liberty in law.'" Speech at Riverside Church, New York, April 4, 1967.

Is it unpatriotic to raise critical questions about the policies of your country, as Dr. King is doing here? Why or why not?

Is it unpatriotic to sing the final refrain of "America the Beautiful" - "America! America! God mend thine ev'ry flaw"? Why or why not?

Is there one national "flaw" that you could do something about? If so, what is it and what could you do to help mend it?

Dr. King asks us to speak for those our nation calls "enemy" and to do so even in the middle of war. What do you think he means? Do you agree with this? Why or why not?

Dr. King speaks of the need for "a worldwide fellowship that lifts neighborly concern beyond one's tribe, race, class and nation." How can we do this and maintain a love for our own country?

Letter to President Bush, November 24, 2001

Dear President Bush,

My name is Amber Amundson. I am a 28-year-old single mother of two small children. The reason I am a single mother is because my husband was murdered on September 11, while working under your direction. My husband, Craig Scott Amundson, was an active duty multimedia illustrator for your Deputy Chief of Staff of Personnel Command, who was also killed.

I am not doing well. I am hurt that the U.S. is moving forward in such a violent manner. I do not hold you responsible for my husband's death, but I do believe you have a responsibility to listen to me and please hear my pain. I do not like unnecessary death. I do not want anyone to use my husband's death to perpetuate violence. So, Mr. President, when you say that vengeance is needed so that the victims of 9/11 do not die in vain, could you please exclude Craig Scott Amundson from your list of victims used to justify further attacks? I do not want my children to grow up thinking that the reason so many people died following the Sept. 11 attack was because of their father's death. I want to show them a world where we love and not hate, where we forgive and not seek out vengeance.

Please Mr. Bush, help me honor my husband. He drove to the Pentagon with a Visualize World Peace bumper sticker on his car every morning. He raised our children to understand humanity and not fight to get what you want. When we buried my husband, an American flag was laid over his casket. My children believe the American flag represents their dad. Please let that representation be one of love, peace and forgiveness. I am begging you, for the sake of humanity and my children, to stop killing. Please find a nonviolent way to bring justice to the world.

Sincerely,

Amber Amundson

Questions:

Is her letter patriotic or unpatriotic? And why?

If you were President Bush, what would you write to her in reply?

Be the Best That We Can Be

by James McGinnis

America revealed her "best face" in the immediate response to terrorist violence. Rescue workers especially, but everyone who donated blood, who reached out to their Muslim neighbors with reassuring concern, who gave their compassion, time, and money to help the victims of 9/11 showed the world the best of America. HATE HIT AMERICA AND LOVE RESPONDED. Evil gave America its best shot and American goodness prevailed, at least for a moment. But evil wasn't finished with America. Evil wants us to become like it. The battle of good and evil isn't Americans vs. terrorists, for evil also invades our own souls and the policies and the very soul of our nation. To be the best that we can be demands that we take a very painful look at ourselves as a nation, to see how our economic and military power has so often been used to enrich ourselves by exploiting others.

While these terrorists aren't righteous champions of the poor and powerless, it is poverty, powerlessness and humiliation that breed terrorism. Let's be the best we can be and drain the swamps of poverty and exploitation that breed terrorism. The only truly effective strategy for dealing with terrorism can be glimpsed in an unlikely campaign in an unlikely place. In 1982, patriotic youth and adults throughout Nicaragua were organized to eliminate mosquito-borne malaria. On the same weekend, these patriots placed tiny bags of a powerful antidote in every pool and container of stagnant water in every corner of the country. Instead of trying to track down every single mosquito in the country with fly swatters and bug spray, Nicaraguans went after the breeding grounds for these insects. And the patriots won. Malaria all but disappeared as long as this strategy remained in place. We can learn from this campaign and recover the idealism that has made America great at different times in our history.

In 1961, John F. Kennedy challenged American idealism in words no one of that generation will ever forget. "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country." Shortly after this ringing challenge, thousands of American patriots volunteered for the Peace Corps, to take the best of America to the poor and exploited peoples of this world. Today we need an even broader rallying cry, challenging Americans to "ask not what the world can do for us (providing cheaper products and greater corporate profits), but what we can do for the world." Instead of marshalling only the military forces of America to bomb terrorists and those who harbor them, we should be marshalling the police and intelligence forces of the world to bring the terrorists to justice. We must at the same time marshall our best moral force to say to the poor of the world who have been exploited by American wealth and power - we are sorry for this misuse of our power and wealth. We will mobilize our financial and human resources in another "Marshall Plan" for you, as we did for Europe after World War II. We will cancel your burdensome debts and provide development aid on a massive scale, not the paltry 0.1% of our GNP that we do now.

This is a KAIROS moment. As those wonderful patriotic youth of the 60's and 70's who made up the "Up With People" troupe sang to audiences throughout America - "Which way, America; which way, America, are you going to go?" The choices we are making in these perilous times will help or hurt the world for decades to come. Let's invest in the future of a world that is both safe and free. We can never again be safe and free unless the whole world is safe and free. And we can't do that alone. We have to work as one nation among many through the international auspices of the United Nations, using the International Criminal Court rather than our own military tribunals, to try the terrorists.. And let us bring to these international institutions and to the peoples of the world the best that we can be. That's the kind of patriotism the world needs and America needs. We can't let our government continue to squander what safety and freedom we have in a misguided adventure of brute military force.

I'm deeply saddened, scared, and angry that neither Americans nor those in the rest of the world will ever be safe and free again unless we find the courage, humility and compassion to turn our beloved America around. The rescue workers on 9/11 showed us how. Now it's up to the rest of us.

Questions:

Do you agree with the author's statement that "the battle of good and evil isn't Americans vs. terrorists, for evil also invades our own souls and the policies and the very soul of our nation"? Why or why not?

Do you agree with the author that the US responses to the terrorist attacks of 9/11 do not represent the "best" of what United States can be? Why or why not?

What would you include as some of the "best" things that the United States has done for its own citizens and for the rest of the world?

What are some of the "worst" things that the United States has done to its own citizens and the rest of the world?

What is your answer to the refrain - "Which way, America, are you going to go?" And why?

Three Levels of Patriotism or Citizenship for the 21st Century

Dr. Elise Boulding, an eminent US peace educator of the past 50 years, has written extensively about the need for a broader sense of citizenship or patriotism, to meet the challenges of the 21st Century. "The new century with its hoped-for Decade for a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence seems to be crumbling around us. But this is not a time for despair. It is a time for new learnings about the complexity of peacebuilding in a world alive with diversity... Particularly, we have not understood the emerging three-fold citizenship required of us in the 21st century: (1) faithfulness to our country, (2) faithfulness to the new requirements of citizenship in the United Nations for all six billion of us, and (3) faithfulness to another kind of citizenship entirely... which we share with all creation. Each of our three citizenships is intertwined with the other two. What shall our practice be?"

For the world to survive in this time of unprecedented global peril, we must cultivate three senses of patriotism, which are represented below by the three flags and pledges below. Is it time to include all three in our hearts, school, and community? Why or why not?

As a citizen of the United States:

"I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the republic for which it stands - one nation, under God, indivisible, with LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL."



As a citizen of the earth:

"I pledge allegiance to the earth,
to cherish every living thing,
to care for earth and sea and air,
with peace and justice everywhere."



As a citizen of the global community:

"We the Peoples of the United Nations,
determined to save succeeding generations
from the scourge of war... and to reaffirm
faith in the equal rights of men and women
and of nations large and small... and to live
together in peace with one another as good
neighbors... have resolved to combine our
efforts to accomplish these aims."
(from the UN Charter, 1945)



ACTIVITY #9: Gandhi, King, and the Challenge of War

STEP 1 - Gandhi on War and Military Service

- Have students read the quotations (p. 230) and invite clarification questions to make sure they understand what Gandhi means.
- Have students answer the questions with the quotations and choose one or more of these for the whole class to discuss. **Note:** The last question challenges students to formulate their own positions on military service.

STEP 2 - Moral Strength vs. Military Strength - "Politics with Principles"

- Have students read Arun Gandhi's statement (p. 231) and invite clarification questions to make sure they understand what he means.
- Have students write their answers to the questions, perhaps sharing them in pairs before discussing them with the whole class.

STEP 3 - Dr. King on War and Nuclear Weapons

- Have students read the King quotations (p. 232) and invite clarification questions to make sure they understand what King means.
- Have students answer the questions with the quotations and choose one or two for the whole class to discuss.
- Have students read King's "When Silence Is Betrayal" speech (p. 233) and invite clarification questions to make sure they understand what King means.
- Have students answer the questions with the quotations; discuss 1 or 2 as a whole class.

STEP 4 - Gandhi and King on the United Nations

Have students read their two statements (p. 234), invite clarification questions, and have students write their answers to the questions before discussing them as a whole class.

STEP 5 - President George W. Bush and President Jimmy Carter

- Have students read each statement (pp. 235-237) and invite clarification questions to make sure they understand them. **Note:** For more on President Bush's vision, see <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/11/print/20031106-2.html>. for his "Age of Liberty" speech of November 6, 2003.
- Have students write their answers to the questions with the statements.
- Have students compare the two statements, answering question #1 after Carter's statement, before discussing these as a whole class.
- **OPTION:** Have volunteers form two teams to debate the two positions.
- Have students decide which position they tend to agree with the most and why.

STEP 6 - Enlarge the Debate to Include Gandhi and King

- Have students read Arun Gandhi's reflection (pp. 238-239) on going to war over the terrorist acts of September 11, 2001.
- Have volunteers form two additional teams to represent the positions of Gandhi and King to debate this question: Should the United States have gone to war with Iraq without a majority of UN Security Council supporting the war?
- As an alternative to a debate, ask each student to answer this question on their own, perhaps sharing their answers in pairs before discussing the question as a whole class.

Gandhi on War and Military Service

War is an unmitigated evil: "I know that war is wrong, is an unmitigated evil. I know too that it has got to go. I firmly believe that freedom won through bloodshed or fraud is no freedom...Not violence or untruth, but nonviolence/Truth is the law of our being." *Young India*, 9/13/28; quoted in *ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS*, p. 33.

"... It was quite clear to me that participation in war could never be consistent with AHIMSA. But it is not always given to one to be equally clear about one's duty. A votary of truth is often obliged to grope in the dark." *AUTOBIOGRAPHY*, p. 427; also quoted in *ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS*, p. 32.

Gandhi organized ambulance corps for the Boer War and the Zulu Rebellion in S. Africa and for World War I, because he still considered himself a citizen of the British empire: "By enlisting men for ambulance work in S. Africa and in England, and recruits for field service in India, I helped not the cause of war, but I helped the institution called the British Empire in whose ultimate beneficial character I then believed. My repugnance to war was as strong then as it is today; and I could not then have and would not have shouldered a rifle. But one's life is not a single straight line; it is a bundle of duties very often conflicting. I had to advise and lead men who believed in war but who from cowardice or from base motives, or from anger against the British Government, refrained from enlisting..." *Young India*, November 5, 1925; quoted in *ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS*, p. 32.

Why do you think Gandhi calls war "an unmitigated evil"? Do you agree? Why or why not?

What do you think Gandhi meant by "a votary of truth is often obliged to grope in the dark"?

In war time, do you see a real difference between organizing an ambulance corps and shouldering a rifle? Why or why not?

Based on your own moral principles, which position would you choose and why?

Against the atomic bomb on Hiroshima:

"I did not move a muscle, when I first heard that an atom bomb had wiped out Hiroshima... Unless now the world adopts nonviolence, it will spell certain suicide for humankind."

MAHATMA GANDHI, THE LAST PHASE, 1945; quoted in ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS, p. 46.

Question: Do you think the world has already begun to commit suicide through violence? What examples could you cite to support this position and what examples could you cite to disprove this position? Which side seems to predominate?

Moral strength vs military strength; Arun Gandhi compares the US President & Gandhi: "The difference between Mohandas Gandhi as a political leader and the President of the United States as a political leader is simply that Gandhi was powerful because of his moral strength, while Presidents have been powerful, with very few exceptions, because of military strength. Without the United States armed forces, the President would have a severely limited level of influence in the world. If a nation were to practice 'politics with principles,' Grandfather said, it would be able to build positive, constructive relationships with people everywhere, and would not have to depend on martial force to maintain its position in the world." THE LEGACY OF LOVE, pp. 129-30.

Identify ways the United States practices "politics with principles" and ways it does not do so. Which has been more prevalent the past decade?

Which is more important for the United States in its role as a global leader? And why?

Dr. King on War and Nuclear Weapons

War is obsolete because the weapons of war are now too destructive

"Wisdom born of experience should tell us that war is obsolete. There may have been a time when war served as a negative good by preventing the spread and growth of an evil force, but the destructive power of modern weapons eliminates even the possibility that war may serve as a negative good." THE STRENGTH TO LOVE, p. 29.

Questions: Do you agree with Dr. King that war is obsolete because of its destructiveness? Why or why not?

What wars in the past do you believe "served a negative good" and why?

War is the enemy of the poor

"I knew that America would never invest the necessary funds or energies in rehabilitation of its poor so long as adventures like Vietnam continued to draw men and skills and money like some demoniacal destructive suction tube. And so I was increasingly compelled to see the war not only as a moral outrage but also as an enemy of the poor, and to attack it as such." THE TRUMPET OF CONSCIENCE, pp. 22-23.

Questions: Why does Dr. King claim that war is the enemy of the poor? Do you agree? Why or why not?

Have recent US wars proven Dr. King correct? Why or why not?

Questions about Dr. King's "When Silence Is Betrayal" Speech (on the next page)

What does King mean in each of the highlighted sentences? What aspects do you agree with and why? What aspects do you disagree with and why?

At what point does "silence become betrayal"? Betrayal of what?

In your opinion, is our nation "approaching spiritual death"? If so, in what ways and why? If not, why not?

If there is some policy you think needs to be challenged publicly, how could you add your voice to those already speaking on the issue?

"When Silence Is Betrayal" by Martin Luther King, Jr

"A time comes when silence is betrayal. Even when pressed by the demands of inner truth, men [and women] do not easily assume the task of opposing their government's policy, especially in time of war. Nor does the human spirit move without great difficulty against all the apathy of conformist thought within one's own bosom and in the surrounding world. Moreover, when the issues at hand seem as perplexing as they often do in the case of dreadful conflict, we are always on the verge of being mesmerized by uncertainty. But we must move on.

"Some of us who have already begun to break the silence of the night have found that the calling to speak is often a vocation of agony, but we must speak. We must speak with all the humility that is appropriate to our limited vision, but we must speak. For we are deeply in need of a new way beyond the darkness that seems so close around us.

"We are called to speak for the weak, for the voiceless, for the victims of our nation, for those it calls "enemy," for no document from human hands can make these humans any less our brothers. I think of them, too, because it is clear to me that there will be no meaningful solution until some attempt is made to know them and hear their broken cries.

"I am convinced that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. We must rapidly begin the shift from a thing-oriented society to a person-oriented society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights, are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, extreme materialism, and militarism are incapable of being conquered.

"A true revolution of values will lay hand on the world order and say of war, 'This way of settling differences is not just.' A nation that continues year and year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death.

"America, the richest and most powerful nation in the world, can well lead the way in this revolution of values. There is nothing except a tragic death wish to prevent us from reordering our priorities over the pursuit of war.

"This call for a worldwide fellowship that lifts neighborly concern beyond one's tribe, race, class, and nation is in reality a call for an all-embracing and unconditional love for all mankind. **We can no longer afford to worship the God of hate or bow before the altar of retaliation. The oceans of history are made turbulent by the ever-rising tides of hate. History is cluttered with the wreckage of nations and individuals that pursued this self-defeating path of hate.**

"We still have a choice today: nonviolent coexistence or violent co-annihilation. We must move past indecision to action. **If we do not act, we shall surely be dragged down the long, dark, and shameful corridors of time reserved for those who possess power without compassion, might without morality, and strength without sight.**

"Now let us begin. Now let us rededicate ourselves in the long and bitter, but beautiful struggle for a new world. If we will but make the right choice, we will be able to speed up the day, all over America and all over the world, when justice will roll down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream."

"May our country, on the brink of war, take to heart the final refrain of "America, the Beautiful": 'America! America! God mend thine ev'ry flaw. Confirm thy soul in self-control, Thy liberty in law.'" (Riverside Church, New York, April 4, 1967)

Gandhi and King on the United Nations

Gandhi: "The San Francisco Conference [at which the Charter of the United Nations would be adopted] is announced to meet shortly [on April 25, 1945]. The conference will have much to do with the world-to-be after the so-called end of the war. I very much fear that behind the structure of world security sought to be raised lurk mistrust and fear which breed war..

I reiterate my conviction that there will be no peace for the Allies or the world unless they shed their belief in the efficacy of war and its accompanying terrible deception and fraud and are determined to hammer out real peace based on freedom and equality of all races and nations. Exploitation and domination of one nation over another can have no place in a world striving to put an end to all wars. It is only in such a world that the militarily weaker nations will be free from the fear of intimidation or exploitation...

Peace must be just. In order to be that, it must neither be punitive nor vindictive. Germany and Japan should not be humiliated. The strong are never vindictive. Therefore, the fruits of peace must be equally shared. The effort then will be to turn them into friends. The Allies can prove their democracy by no other means.

It follows from the foregoing that there will be no armed peace imposed upon the forcibly disarmed. All will be disarmed. There will be an international police force to enforce the lightest terms of peace. Even this retention of an international police will be a concession to human weakness, not by any means an emblem of peace." COLLECTED WORKS, Vol 79, April 17, 1945; quoted in MOHANDAS GANDHI: ESSENTIAL WRITINGS, pp. 171-2.

Questions:

What do you think Gandhi means in the second paragraph (written at the end of World War II)? Do you agree with Gandhi's statement? Why or why not?

Dr. King: "The United Nations is a gesture in the direction of nonviolence on a global scale." WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? P. 184.

Questions:

Do you agree with Dr. King? Why or why not?

What do you think needs to be done to strength the United Nations?

Excerpts from President Bush's National Security Strategy - 9/20/02

"Today, the United States enjoys a position of unparalleled military strength and great economic and political influence. **In keeping with our heritage and principles, we do not use our strength to press for unilateral advantage. We seek instead to create a balance of power that favors human freedom:** conditions in which all nations and all societies can choose for themselves the rewards and challenges of political and economic liberty. By making the world safer, we allow the people of the world to make their own lives better. We will defend this just peace against threats from terrorists and tyrants. We will preserve the peace by building good relations among the great powers. We will extend the peace by encouraging free and open societies on every continent...

"The gravest danger our Nation faces lies at the crossroads of radicalism and technology. Our enemies have openly declared that they are seeking weapons of mass destruction, and evidence indicates that they are doing so with determination. The United States will not allow these efforts to succeed. We will build defenses against ballistic missiles and other means of delivery. We will cooperate with other nations to deny, contain, and curtail our enemies' efforts to acquire dangerous technologies. **And, as a matter of common sense and self-defense, America will act against such emerging threats before they are fully formed.** We cannot defend America and our friends by hoping for the best. So we must be prepared to defeat our enemies' plans, using the best intelligence and proceeding with deliberation. History will judge harshly those who saw this coming danger but failed to act. **In the new world we have entered, the only path to safety is the path of action...**

"We are also guided by the conviction that no nation can build a safer, better world alone. Alliances and multilateral institutions can multiply the strength of freedom-loving nations. The United States is committed to lasting institutions like the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, the Organization of American States, and NATO as well as other long-standing alliances. ..

"This is also a time of opportunity for America. We will work to translate this moment of influence into decades of peace, prosperity, and liberty. **The U.S. national security strategy will be based on a distinctly American internationalism** that reflects the union of our values and our national interests...

"The United States possesses unprecedented - and unequalled - strength and influence in the world. Sustained by faith in the principles of liberty, and the value of a free society, this position comes with unparalleled responsibilities, obligations, and opportunity. The great strength of this nation must be used to promote a balance of power that favors freedom...

"We will disrupt and destroy terrorist organizations by:....defending the United States, the American people, and our interests at home and abroad by identifying and destroying the threat before it reaches our borders. **While the United States will constantly strive to enlist the support of the international community, we will not**

hesitate to act alone, if necessary, to exercise our right of self-defense by acting preemptively against such terrorists, to prevent them from doing harm against our people and our country...The United States has long maintained the option of preemptive actions to counter a sufficient threat to our national security. The greater the threat, the greater is the risk of inaction -- and the more compelling the case for taking anticipatory action to defend ourselves, even if uncertainty remains as to the time and place of the enemy's attack...

"We know from history that deterrence can fail; and we know from experience that some enemies cannot be deterred. The United States must and will maintain the capability to defeat any attempt by an enemy -- whether a state or non-state actor -- to impose its will on the United States, our allies, or our friends. We will maintain the forces sufficient to support our obligations, and to defend freedom. **Our forces will be strong enough to dissuade potential adversaries from pursuing a military build-up in hopes of surpassing, or equaling, the power of the United States...."**

Questions:

What do you think the President means in each of the highlighted parts?

How do you think Gandhi would have responded to these statements? Be as specific as you can.

Which parts of his strategy do you agree with and why?

Which parts do you disagree with and why?

"The Troubling New Face of America" - by Jimmy Carter

"Fundamental changes are taking place in the historical policies of the US with regard to human rights, our role in the community of nations, and the Middle East peace process - largely without definitive debates (except, at times, within the Bush administration). Some new approaches have understandably evolved from quick and well-advised reactions by President Bush to the tragedy of September 11, but others seem to be developing from a core group of conservatives who are trying to realize long pent-up ambitions under the cover of the proclaimed war against terrorism.

"Formerly admired almost universally as the pre-eminent champion of human rights, our country has become the foremost target of respected international organizations concerned about these basic principles of democratic life. We have ignored or condoned abuses in nations that support our anti-terrorism effort, while detaining American citizens as 'enemy combatants,' incarcerating them secretly and indefinitely without their being charged with any crime or having the right to legal counsel...

"While the president has reserved judgment, the American people are inundated almost daily with claims from top officials that we face a devastating threat from Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, and with pledges to remove Saddam Hussein from office, with or without support from any allies. As has been emphasized vigorously by foreign allies and by responsible leaders of former administrations and incumbent officeholders, there is no current danger to the US from Baghdad. In the face of intense monitoring and overwhelming American military superiority, any belligerent move by Hussein against a neighbor, even the smallest nuclear test (necessary before weapons construction), a tangible threat to use a weapon of mass destruction, or sharing this technology with terrorist organizations would be suicidal. But it is quite possible that such weapons would be used against Israel or our forces in response to an American attack.

"We cannot ignore the development of chemical, biological or nuclear weapons, but a unilateral war with Iraq is not the answer. There is an urgent need for UN action to force unrestricted inspections in Iraq..." (Washington Post, 9/5/02)

Questions: Compare President Bush's National Security Strategy Memorandum with President Carter's article. What are the basic differences between the two? Which position do you tend to agree with and why?

Was the US Congress right or wrong in passing a Resolution authorizing a war against Iraq (9/19/02) and why?

Was the majority of the UN Security Council right or wrong in opposing the US war on Iraq in March 2003 and why?

Was "regime change" in Iraq (deposing Hussein) a sufficient reason for the US to wage war on Iraq? Why or why not?

"Terrorism and Nonviolence -A Gandhian Perspective"

by Arun Gandhi, September 2001

"Understandably, after the tragedy in New York and Washington DC on September 11, many have written or called the office to find out what would be an appropriate nonviolent response to such an unbelievably inhuman act of violence.

First, we must understand that nonviolence is not a strategy that we can use in a moment of crisis and discarded in times of peace. Nonviolence is about personal attitudes, about becoming the change we wish to see in the world. Because, a nation's collective attitude is based on the attitude of the individual. Nonviolence is about building positive relationships with all human beings -- relationships that are based on love, compassion, respect, understanding and appreciation.

Nonviolence is also about not judging people as we perceive them to be -- that is, a murderer is not born a murderer; a terrorist is not born a terrorist. People become murderers, robbers and terrorists because of circumstances and experiences in life. Killing or confining murders, robbers, terrorists, or the like is not going to rid this world of them. For every one we kill or confine we create another hundred to take their place. What we need to do is to analyze dispassionately what are those circumstances that create such monsters and how can we help eliminate those circumstances, not the monsters. Justice should mean reformation and not revenge.

We saw some people in Iraq and Palestine and I dare say many other countries rejoice the blowing up of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. It horrified us, as it should. But, let us not forget that we do the same thing. When Israel bombs the Palestinians we either rejoice or show no compassion. Our attitude is they deserve what they get. When the Palestinians bomb the Israelis we are indignant and condemn them as vermin who need to be eliminated.

We reacted without compassion when we bombed the cities of Iraq. I was among the millions in the United States who sat glued to the television and watched the drama as though it was a made for television film. The television had desensitized us. Thousands of innocent men, women and children were being blown to bits and instead of feeling sorry for them we marveled at the efficiency of our military. For more than ten years we have continued to wreak havoc in Iraq - an estimated 50,000 children die every year because of sanctions that we have imposed - and it hasn't moved us to compassion. All this is done, we are told, because we want to get rid of the Satan called Sadam Hussein.

Now we are getting ready to do this all over again to get rid of another Satan called Osama Bin Laden. We will bomb the cities of Afghanistan because they harbor the Satan and in the process we will help create a thousand other bin Ladens.

Some might say "we don't care what the world thinks of us as long as they respect our strength." After all we have the means to blow this world to pieces since we are the only surviving super-power. Do we want the world to respect us the way school children respect a bully? Is that our role in the world?

If a bully is what we want to be then we must be prepared to face the same consequences as a school-yard bully faces. On the other hand we cannot tell the world "leave -us alone." Isolationism is not what this world is built for. All of this brings us back to the question: How do we respond nonviolently to terrorism?

The consequences of a military response are not very rosy. Many thousands of innocent people will die both here and the country or countries we attack. Militancy will increase exponentially and, ultimately, we will be faced with another, more pertinent, moral question: what will we gain by destroying half the world? Will we be able to live with a clear conscience?

We must acknowledge our role in helping create monsters in the world and then find ways to contain these monsters without hurting more innocent people and then redefine our role in the world. I think we must move from seeking to be respected for our military strength to being respected for our moral strength.

We need to appreciate that we are in a position to play a powerful role in helping the "other half" of the world attain a better standard of life not by throwing a few crumbs but by significantly involving ourselves in constructive economic programs.

For too long our foreign policy has been based on "what is good for the United States." It smacks of selfishness. Our foreign policy should now be based on what is good for the world and how can we do the right thing to help the world become more peaceful.

To those who have lost loved one's in this and other terrorist acts I say I share your grief. I am sorry that you have become victims of senseless violence. But let this sad episode not make you vengeful because no amount of violence and killing is going to bring you inner peace. Anger and hate never do. The memory of those victims who have died in this and other violent incidents around the world will be better preserved and meaningfully commemorated if we all learn to forgive and dedicate our lives to helping create a peaceful, respectful and an understanding world."

Questions: What parts of Arun's essay do you tend to agree with and why?

What parts trouble you and why?

ACTIVITY #10: Responding to the Victims of War

STEP 1 - Learn About the Victims of War

- The American Friends Service Committee (www.afsc.org) is a reliable source for data on the victims of current wars.
- September Families for Peaceful Tomorrows (www.peacefultomorrows.org) is a good source on Afghanistan.
- Voices for Creative Nonviolence (www.vcnv.org) is a good source on the war in Iraq.
- Christian Peacemaker Teams (www.cpt.org) and the Shalom Center (www.shalomctr.org) are good on the struggle between Israel and the Palestinians.

- Videos are helpful to make the realities more graphic. See the list of videos in the Appendix E, pp. 305-306.

- The importance of the Holocaust experience for understanding Jewish feelings and positions on the issues is obvious. Many communities have a center for Holocaust studies you can consult. One book appropriate for students of all ages is Chana Byers Abells, *THE CHILDREN WE REMEMBER* (Kar-Ben Copies, 6800 Tildenwood Lane, Rockville, MD 20852; 1983), moving photographs from the Yad Vashem Archives in Jerusalem about the children who lived and died during the Holocaust.

- For stories of Arab children, contact the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee, 4201 Connecticut Ave NW, Suite 500, Washington, DC 20008.

- Use the story of *SADAKO AND THE THOUSAND PAPER CRANES* by Eleanor Coeur (available from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, www.forusa.org; Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960) as a gentle way of experiencing the victims of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima. Consider making the origami peace cranes as symbols of solidarity and concern and sending them to victims of war through the groups listed in STEPS 2 and 3.

STEP 2 - Personal Contact with the Victims of War

- Letter-writing with Afghan youth through the Afghan Kids Card Exchange began in 2002. Contact Global Exchange (www.globalexchange.org; 2017 Mission., # 303, San Francisco, CA 94110; 1-800-497-1994 Ext 242;

- See also the American Friends Service Committee for contacts in other countries.

- The American Friends of Neve Shalom/Wahat Al-Salam (see STEP 3) can put students in touch with this unique small community in Israel of Jews and Arabs committed to reconciliation, and with their special School for Peace.

STEP 3 - Material Aid to the Victims of War

- Direct Aid Iraq (www.directaidiraq.org) is a network of Iraqis, Americans, and others supporting a future of peace for Iraq through providing aid, especially for Iraqi refugees, facilitating cooperation, engaging in advocacy, and providing education.
- For victims of the war, poverty, and oppression in Afghanistan, see the campaigns of September 11th Families for Peaceful Tomorrows (www.peacefultomorrow.org); plus relief agencies like the American Friends Service Committee (www.afsc.org) and Women for Women International (www.womenforwomen.org).
- For victims of war and poverty in Nicaragua, the Nino a Nino Program (www.canteranicaragua.org; c/o Friends of CANTERA, 918 Benton Place, Santa Rosa, CA 95404; 707-545-1798) is a great way for classes, and youth groups to support Nicaraguan children. \$50 a year enables a Nicaraguan child to go to school and participate in an after-school program. Quest for Peace (www.quest.quixote.org) also continues to aid Nicaraguan communities, partly by selling beautiful cards from Nicaraguan Cultural Alliance.
- The SHARE Foundation (www.share-elsalvador.org) and CRISP AZ (www.crispaz.org) continue to minister to the victims of war in El Salvador.
- Rabbis for Human Rights (www.rhr.israel.net) has been replacing some of the 30,000 Palestinian olive trees that have been uprooted in the escalating violence of 2000-01, as well as trees for some impoverished villages in Israel. Contact the Shalom Center in Philadelphia (www.shalomctr.org) for information on this and other solidarity activities and analyses of the violence in the Middle East.
- The American Friends of Neve Shalom/Wahat Al-Salam (www.oasisofpeace.org; 12925 Riverside Dr., Sherman Oaks, CA 91423; 818-325-8884) supports this small community in Israel of Jews and Arabs committed to reconciliation, with a special School for Peace. They are encouraging youth groups to contribute \$25 for planting and nurturing one olive tree in NS/WAS. The OASIS OF PEACE videos give a visual version of their story.

STEP 4 - Choose Actions and Create Plans

- Invite students to choose one of these options for themselves personally.
- Decide as a class (or school) whether to do one of these as a group project.
- Create a plan and set a time for reporting in on progress.

STEP 5 - A Litany of Ashes and Stones

Choose an appropriate site and body/basin of water and say this "litany" aloud in memory of the dead of 9/11/01 and all the victims of terrorism and war.

A Litany of Ashes & Stones

In Memory of the Dead of 9/11/01 & All Victims of Terrorism and War

For vibrant lives suddenly and shamelessly sacrificed,
we lift up the ashes of our loss.

For the lives that continue, haunted forever by the pain of absence,
we lift up the ashes of our remorse.

For the conflagration of flames and nightmare images forever seared into our memories,
we lift up the ashes of our pain.

For the charred visions of peace and the dry taste of fear,
we lift up the ashes of our grief.

For all that has been destroyed in the fire of anger,
we lift up the ashes of our disillusionment.

For all the deaths that have been justified with the arrogance of patriotism and
fanaticism of ideology, we lift up the ashes of our shame.

As we cast these ashes into the troubled water of our times, we hope and pray that they
will make fertile the soil of our future and nourish the seeds of peace.

[The people cast the ashes in silence into the some body/basin of water]

For the ways humanity pursues violence rather than understanding,
we lift up the stones of our anger.

For the ways we allow national, religious and ethnic boundaries to circumscribe our
compassion, we lift up the stones of our hardness.

For our addiction to weapons and the ways of militarism,
we lift up the stones of our fear.

For the ways we cast blame and create enemies,
we lift up the stones of our self-righteousness.

As we cast these stones into this troubled water of our time, we hope and pray that just
as water wears away the hardest of stones, so too it will soften the hardness of our
hearts and draw us into a future of justice and peace.

[The people cast the stones in silence into some body/basin of water]

Adapted from a religious version by Rev. Patricia Pearce, Philadelphia, PA; 9/11/03