# STRATEGIC NONVIOLENCE for Animal Liberation

BY FREEMAN WICKLUND, A.L.L. EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

**What if we aimed our opposition's best weapon against themselves, so that every time they used it, it hurt them? What if we maximized our recruitment of animal liberationists? What if we divided our opponents? What if we undermined our opposition's authority? *And,* what if we accomplished these objectives simultaneously? *Now that would be power!* Power to significantly accelerate obtaining total animal liberation!**

**By implementing strategic nonviolence, we can utilize that power. This booklet was created to explain strategic nonviolence, foster movement unity, advocate the adoption of strategic nonviolence by animal liberationists, empower activists to become their own leaders, and propose a plan for achieving total animal liberation.**

This booklet is far from the final word on strategy, but merely the Animal Liberation League's contribution to the animal liberation community's ongoing discussion regarding the best way to achieve total animal liberation as quickly as possible. The Animal Liberation League sees strategic nonviolence as the animals' best hope for complete and lasting animal liberation. We conduct our campaigns accordingly and actively promote the use of strategic nonviolence by all animal liberationists.

To those activists who disagree with strategic nonviolence, we share your frustration, desire for immediate victories, and an end to the intolerable oppression animals face, and we offer you our unconditional respect and moral support. We further invite you to read this booklet with an open heart, open mind, and a desire for understanding, that together we may find peace for all animals.

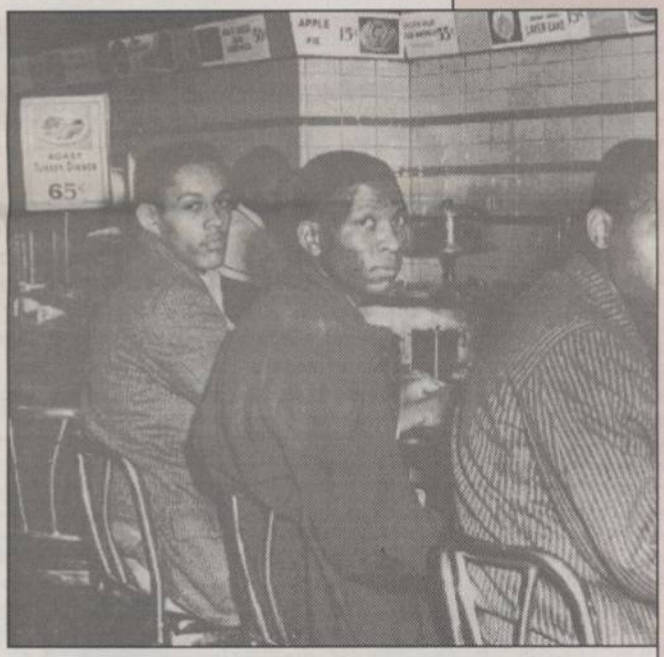
## What is Strategic Nonviolence?

*"It is not enough to call for freedom, democracy and human rights. There has to be a united determination to persevere in the struggle, to make sacrifices in the name of enduring truths, to resist the corrupting influences of desire, ill will, ignorance and fear."—Aung San Suu Kyi, the Nobel Peace Prize winner and leader of the nonviolent democracy movement in Burma.*

Strategic nonviolence, as explained in Gene Sharp's trilogy *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, is a "weapon system" that derives its force from fundamental human psychological, social, and political tendencies. Provided we adhere to nonviolent discipline, noncooperation, persistence, fearlessness, and openness, strategic nonviolence will doom our opponent to failure regardless of how they respond to our actions.

Historically, strategic nonviolence resisters have overthrown dictators, freed colonies, defended countries from occupying forces, and advanced social justice in a variety of circumstances and countries. Its adaptability makes it a powerful and relevant force for eco-animal liberationists.

To gain a full understanding of strategic nonviolence, we first need to understand some foundational information such as: how conflicts can be won, what our objective is,



Nonviolent civil disobedience--like this 1960 sit-down strike in Greensboro, North Carolina protesting segregated lunch counters--challenges unjust laws, exposes tyranny, and revels the activists courage, sincerity, and determination to achieve their demands.

## MYTHS of Nonviolent Action

### No one tactic--such as strategic nonviolence--will achieve animal liberation.

True, no one tactic will achieve animal liberation. But, strategic nonviolence is not a *tactic*. Rather, it is a *weapon system* that provides a framework under which an unlimited number of tactics may be used. This makes it a highly adaptable weapon system suitable for use in a variety of situations.

### Strategic nonviolence does not work.

No weapon system guarantees victory, whether it be strategic nonviolence, guerrilla warfare, conventional warfare, terrorism, or otherwise. As the examples in the main article show, strategic nonviolence has succeeded in overthrowing dictators, freeing colonies, defending countries from occupying forces, and advancing social justice.

Given our struggle's objectives, human and material resources, and available skills and knowledge, strategic nonviolence is clearly our most suitable weapon system. But, our ignorance of this weapon system prevents us from utilizing it effectively. This booklet hopes to remove that ignorance so we can maximize its power and achieve total and lasting animal liberation as quickly as possible.

### Nonviolent action is too slow.

History shows that nonviolent action can produce swift victories: in 1920, nonviolent action defeated a right-wing, pro-monarchist force's coup d'etat of Germany's Weimar Republic in just days; in 1942 the Nazi-ruled Quisling regime's efforts to establish a fascist Cooperative State in occupied Norway was nonviolently thwarted by teachers within a matter of months; and, in 1944, the dictators of El Salvador and Guatemala were nonviolently ousted in mere days. The length of a struggle is not dictated by its chosen weapon system, as much as by the strength and skill of its soldiers. This booklet was created to increase the strength and skill of our soldiers.

### Strategic nonviolence only works when violent actions force the opponent to agree to the demands of the nonviolent activists.

Classical military strategy, as explained in this booklet, reveals the inefficiency of utilizing contradictory weapon systems within the same struggle, thereby refuting the idea that violent action encourages the opposition to negotiate with nonviolent activists. Strategic nonviolence is a form of conflict with power and force enough to gain victories on its own merits.

### Nonviolent action only works with a moral opposition who cares about our suffering and is willing to change.

In any conflict, there are three ways to win: conversion, accommodation, and coercion. Strategic nonviolence utilizes all of these mechanisms. So, if the opposition does not voluntarily adopt our beliefs, nonviolent coercion may be applied to gain our demands against their will.

See more "Myths" on the next page!

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## More MYTHS of Nonviolent Action

### Nonviolent activists are cowards.

**Some people support "nonviolence" to minimize personal risk while still maintaining the appearance of a progressive revolutionary. But, as this booklet shows, strategic nonviolence is not passive, submissive, or cowardly. It demands courage, fearlessness, and self-sacrifice to effectively confront the opposition's violence and apply sufficient force to gain the desired objectives.**

### Nonviolence is a luxury for privileged and educated classes.

**History reveals that nonviolent action is often used by underprivileged and uneducated people for the simple reason that, given their situation, it is the most expedient means for achieving their goals. Unfortunately, this myth is perpetuated because some privileged activists advocate nonviolence, but are unwilling to endure any significant sacrifices to end the carnage they claim to be fighting.**

### In the interest of movement unity, we must embrace and support all actions--be they nonviolent or not.

**Movement unity is not about agreeing with each other. It is about respecting each other despite our differences. Our struggle needs educated and empowered soldiers who can think for themselves--not dogma which with people must agree or be persecuted. Whether an activist supports nonviolence, sabotage, or violent revolution, he or she should be able to respectfully express his or her opinions on the relative effectiveness of different tactics. Without this diversity of ideas and respectful dialogue between activists, we will not be able to improve or adapt our tactics to the changing conflict, and our struggle will stagnate and die. But, a diversity of ideas, respectfully and nonjudgmentally shared, will enable activists to think, be empowered, stay true to themselves, and become stronger, more skillful warriors. This booklet hopes to contribute to this respectful dialogue.**

### Nonviolence prevents the opposition from using violence.

**Strategic nonviolence makes it politically harmful for the opposition to use violence against us, but it does not prevent them from doing so. In fact, strategic nonviolence's use of persistent and fearless civil disobedience often results in activists receiving violent repression. But this repression, which initiates *political jiu-jitsu* (using the opponent's force against themselves), should not be feared as it is one of the most powerful forces nonviolent activists have to further their cause.**

### You must be nonviolent in principle in order to use strategic nonviolence.

**Strategic nonviolence is a means of conflict, and, as such, does not require its participants to hold any views advocating principled nonviolence or pacifism. An estimated 85 percent of all known cases of nonviolent action were conducted by people who were not committed to nonviolence on grounds of principle.**

and how political power works. To start, we explain the mechanisms for successfully resolving a conflict.

## The Roads to Victory

*"A major fault of nonviolent struggles, historically, is that they make little or no provision for actually winning. They expect that actions will happen on the subordinate levels of strategy and tactics, and that following these actions, the opponents will capitulate. But why should they? What is the mechanism of their defeat? Will they be persuaded to view the contentious issues differently, or strike an opportunistic deal, or ultimately be coerced, in the sense that their peoples, armies, and resources will no longer perform well enough to keep them in power?"—Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler, authors of* Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: The Dynamics of People Power in the Twentieth Century.

According to Sharp, conflicts are won by three possible mechanisms: conversion, accommodation, and coercion. *Conversion* is where the opponent adopts our belief in animal rights and therefore stops their abusive practices. True life examples of conversion include former vivisectors Jerry Vlasak, M.D., Don Barnes, Ray Greek, M.D., and Neal Barnard, M.D., who now actively fight animal research; former cattle rancher Howard Lyman who now vocally promotes veganism; and former hunters Jonathan Paul and Steve Hindi who now sabotage hunts.

*Accommodation* is where the opposition disagrees with our beliefs and has the resources to fight us, but grants our demands because another issue takes precedence. For example, a department store discontinues selling fur after a boycott campaign results in them losing more money than their fur sales make. We achieve our objective because making money is more important to the store than denying us our demands.

*Coercion* is where the opposition's sources of power are so decimated they cannot fight us, even though they want to. An example of nonviolent coercion would be the collapse of the meat industry through the world-wide adoption of veganism. This forces our rivals in the meat industry to stop their operations as they lack the financial support to continue.

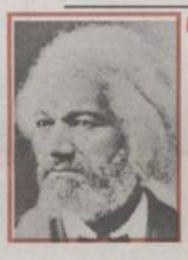
*All struggles, including nonviolent ones, achieve victory by using a combination of these mechanisms.* However, to maintain our focus and effectively strategize, we must choose which mechanism is best suited for achieving our objectives. Yet before we pick a primary mechanism for achieving victory, we must first understand our objectives.

## Total Animal Liberation

*"All competent strategy derives from objectives that are well chosen, defined, and understood. Yet it is surprising how many groups in conflict fail to articulate their objectives in anything but the most abstract terms. In each conflict there is an ultimate goal that, once attained, will constitute victory. That goal should be seen as the dependent variable toward which all levels of decision making are directed."—Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler.*

Total animal liberation is our ultimate goal. This means humans will not eat animal products, wear animal products, hunt or fish, vivisect, or otherwise exploit and abuse animals. This is what we must strive for, but how will we achieve it?

Among conversion, accommodation, and coercion, conversion should be our primary mechanism at the present time. Why? Because unless the majority of people *voluntarily* adopt a vegan lifestyle we will never successfully create total animal liberation as the demand for animal exploitation will still exist. Furthermore, in order to create lasting change with accommodation and nonviolent coercion, we need more troops (which we get by converting people).



**"Those who profess to favor freedom and yet depreciate agitation, are [people] who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightening. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. The struggle may be a moral one; or it may be a physical one; or it may be both moral and physical. But it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without demand. It never did and it never will." --Fredrick Douglass, nineteenth century abolitionist who escaped from slavery.**

Converting others may sound overwhelmingly tedious and tragically slow, but, as we shall see later, strategic nonviolence accelerates the conversion process. Some may also argue that conversion is idealistic and impractical, but what are our options?

If total animal liberation were achieved through accommodation or coercion, we would have to force a vegan lifestyle on an unwilling public. Martial law would be needed. Privacy rights would be abolished. Police would monitor the public all the time. Camping and canoeing expeditions by "unbelievers" would require police escorts to prevent them from hunting, trapping, or fishing. A special task force would be responsible for finding and eliminating the inevitable black market trade in animal products, raiding the homes of "unbelievers" in search of "contraband," and busting the "speak-easy" hamburger houses. Such a world is not only unpractical—as we lack the finances, people, skills, and authority to implement it—but also totally undesirable.

Currently, we are a tiny minority. We lack the strength to effectively apply accommodation or coercion. But each new animal liberationist represents a permanent short term victory that simultaneously improves our power position so we can achieve more substantial victories in the future. Therefore, what we need now—and in the foreseeable future—is to increase our numbers. Choosing conversion as our primary mechanism will help us keep that focus.

Now we will examine the six sources of power to show how converting people not only builds our strength, but also undermines our rival's power. Understanding the six sources of power will help us evaluate our tactics, determine intermediate goals, and guide us in planning campaigns.

## Understanding Power

*"The tyrant and his subjects are in somewhat symmetrical positions.* They *can deny* him *most of what* he *wants—they can, that is, if they have the disciplined organization to refuse collaboration. And* he *can deny* them *just about everything* they *want—he can deny it by using the force at his command. It is a bargaining situation in which either side, if adequately disciplined and organized, can deny most of what the other wants; and it remains to see who wins."—Thomas C. Schelling, military strategist.*

According to Sharp, every power-holder—be it an animal abuse industry or an animal rights group—has six sources of power (in the parenthesis following each definition are examples of that source of power if the power-holder was the meat industry):

- ***Authority:*** The willingness of people to voluntarily obey. (People who eat meat, farmers, meat-industry workers, and anyone else who voluntarily supports or assists the industry)
- ***Human Resources:*** The number of people who will obey, cooperate, and assist the power-holder. (People who eat meat, hired workers, business associates, media outlets they advertise with, governmental agencies they work with, etc.)
- ***Skills and Knowledge:*** The abilities, skills, and knowledge available to the power-holder and how well they meet her or his needs. (Skills in advertising, marketing, financial accounting, management, public relations, scientific research, raising animals, etc.)
- ***Intangible Factors:*** Psychological or ideological factors which help encourage obedience and submissiveness—such as a common faith, ideology, or sense of mission. (The belief in human dominance over animals, pride that encourages them to resist threats and intimidation by animal activists, etc.)
- ***Material Resources:*** The amount of property, finances, and natural resources available to the power-holder. (Farms, stockyards, slaughterhouses, money, stocks, cattle transport trucks, etc.)
- ***Sanctions:*** The power-holder's ability to enforce his or her wishes and punish those who disobey. (Government surveillance,

beatings, imprisonment, ridicule, and harassment carried out by opposition members, police, hired security, FBI, ATF, etc.)

These six sources of power can be thought of in this way: imagine a table with six legs where the table top represents the power-holder and each of the legs represents one of their sources of power. As activists, we must significantly weaken or remove the legs of our opposition to topple the table top and achieve victory.

*So how do we remove our adversary's sources of power?*

Well, re-examining the sources of power reveals that they all depend ultimately on people: authority is *people* obeying orders, human resources are *people*, skills and knowledge are provided by *people*, the intangible factors are created and advocated by *people*, material resources are provided by *people* who invest in the industry or buy their products, and sanctions are executed by *people*. With this understood, the answer to our question becomes apparent: we remove our opponent's sources of power by "removing" their people—*they are the root source of our rival's power.*

And how do we "remove" them? Through conversion. As people adopt a vegan lifestyle, they deny our rival the support and cooperation they need, thus weakening their "legs."

Of course, there are other ways to remove people. Some ideological-advocates kill them. Terrorism, guerilla warfare, and conventional warfare are *weapon systems* that use lethal force to remove their antagonist's sources of power. Thankfully, the animal rights movement almost unanimously opposes violence to promote our cause.

But some animal liberationists support *economic sabotage*—destroying the exploiter's property to make animal exploitation less profitable. However, this weapon system fails to address our rival's root sources of power: people. It primarily attacks only one aspect of the opponent's material resources: property. Economic sabotage fails to adequately address the people (customers and investors) who supply the money, or the opposition's five other sources of power. Gains made through economic sabotage are unstable and often temporary because our adversary's root sources of power remain intact.

In fact, given our present situation, most gains made through accommodation and coercion result in only temporary victories. The Nordstrom's department store in Seattle, Washington, stopped selling fur when protest campaigns threatened business (accommodation), but resumed the practice at their customers' request. The European Union passed legislation (coercion) to ban the importation of all wild caught fur, but, before the law went into effect, changes were made to ensure that the U.S., Canada, and Russia—the three major wild fur trapping countries—may continue to import wild caught fur. In Europe, enough people oppose the steel-jaw trap to pass such legislation, but the unconverted countries were able to exert their own pressure and weaken the legislation.

Victories achieved via accommodation or coercion will only last when we have the converts needed to enforce them. For example, in Colorado and Massachusetts, where voter referendums banned the use of steel-jaw leg-hold traps—the majority of people believed (conversion) that steel-jaw leg-hold traps were undesirable and—more importantly—believed they were so undesirable that it was necessary to take action against them. These laws which were voted into existence by the people will most likely be permanent because the politicians know their constituents support the law and are willing to take action on its behalf. Attempting to overturn such a law would put the politicians at risk of losing votes, so the law stays. Unfortunately, we lack the people power necessary to enforce most victories achieved through accommodation and coercion—especially on non-fur issues—which only reinforces the need for us to focus on conversion.



**"If you want to be respected for your actions, then your behavior must be beyond reproach.... This is how you gain the respect of others. If our lives demonstrate that we are peaceful, humble, and trusted, this is recognized by others. If our lives demonstrate something else, that will be noticed too."-Rosa Parks**

As these examples show, the animal liberation movement is also a power-holder, and, as such, we derive our force from the six sources of power. When we convert others, those converts not only withdraw their support from the opposition, but bolster our own power position by giving us their support and/or assistance. As our numbers increase, our power increases, and our ability to effectively utilize accommodation and nonviolent coercion increases—once again stressing the need for us to focus our limited resources on conversion tactics.



**On September 4, 1957, fifteen year old Elizabeth Eckford tries to enter the newly integrated Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas while angry white students yell racial slurs and threaten to lynch her. Eckford's bravery and nonviolent discipline helps expose the violent and unjust people in this picture.**

Finally, understanding our opposition's and our own sources of power allows us to evaluate our action's effectiveness. By determining how an action impacts our opposition's and our own sources of power, we can estimate the action's effectiveness and determine whether it is beneficial or counterproductive. We will use this method to see how our own hostility negatively impacts our power position. But, first, we will define *nonviolent discipline*.

## What is Nonviolent Discipline?

*"Undisciplined strength or strength which is not in keeping with right principles can never lead to a beneficial fruition. It could lead to danger for many."—Aung San Suu Kyi*

Regardless of whether conversion, accommodation, or nonviolent coercion is chosen as the primary mechanism for gaining total animal liberation, *nonviolent discipline* must always be followed in a strategic nonviolence campaign. So what is "nonviolent discipline"?

Nonviolent discipline is the self-discipline we must foster to implement five necessary components of strategic nonviolence:

- ***Fearlessness:*** Courage prevents us from compromising our beliefs, even when faced with personal danger and suffering. Fearlessness is a vital component of strategic nonviolence and will be discussed more later.
- ***Persistence:*** Persistence allows us to continue to fight even when morale is low or the situation looks hopeless. Setbacks should be expected, but, as long as we don't quit, victory is still possible. The only way we can truly fail is by giving up. Therefore activists need the inner strength necessary to continue the struggle during hard times.
- ***Selflessness:*** We must put the animals before ourselves, so we do what is best for them—not what makes us feel good. Activists need to be selfless enough to do the boring, unglamorous, and personally unrewarding tasks our struggle requires. As our struggle intensifies, some of us will face imprisonment and violent opposition. We will need to be selfless enough to endure pain, discomfort, and the loss of our freedom for the animals.
- ***Nonviolence:*** As will be explained later, for strategic nonviolence to be as effective as possible, we must never use violence or threats of violence in any situation—even to protect ourselves or other activists.
- ***Nonhostility:*** We need the discipline to treat everyone—animal exploiters, ignorant or hostile members of the public, activists we disagree with, etc.—with respect. We must maintain a dignified and calm composure during all of our interactions with others, while also being truthful, humble, non-judgmental, nurturing, and open-minded.

Nonviolent discipline is the self-discipline and inner strength activists need to be fearless, persistent, selfless, nonviolent, and nonhostile. The need for these components will be explained in more detail later, but first we will explain the need for nonviolence and nonhostility.

## Why Nonviolence?

*"In everything set them an example by doing what is good. In your teaching show integrity, seriousness and soundness of speech that cannot be condemned, so that those who oppose you may be ashamed because they have nothing bad to say about us."—Titus 2:7-8 (New International Version).*

According to Sharp, behaving in a nonviolent and nonhostile manner is vital to strategic nonviolence for three major reasons: it increases the sympathy and support we receive, it helps induce mutiny among the opposition, and it attracts maximum participation in the struggle.

People tend to ignore and ridicule the ideas of arrogant and hostile people—especially when those ideas are different from their own. If our behaviors express ill will, self-righteousness, or arrogance, then our ideas will not be taken seriously. Instead, people assume we advocate animal rights for personal gain. For example, many may think we only believe in animal rights so we can feel superior to other people or to justify our hostile nature or lawless behavior. By questioning our behaviors and the motives behind these actions, the public can ignore our message and even develop animosity for our cause. By only engaging in nonviolent and nonhostile action, we effectively remove most of our offending behaviors which prevents people from receiving our message.

Furthermore, nonviolent and nonhostile action maximizes the sympathy and support we receive. By promoting our issues in a non-judgmental, humble, truthful, respectful, calm, and dignified manner, we remove the distractions of arrogance and hostility, focusing more attention on the issue. Our honorable behavior gains us the public's respect and makes them more open-minded and sympathetic towards our ideas.

Nonviolent and nonhostile behavior also helps induce mutiny in the opposition's camp. Our commitment to nonhostile behavior prevents the opposition from feeling physically or emotionally threatened by us, and makes them more willing to consider our ideas and question their own behavior. Our collective integrity reveals the opposition's own hostility, violence, and lies to

themselves. Some opposition members will not be influenced by these realizations, but others will feel ashamed and be alienated by the immoral conduct of their more brazen peers. Therefore, by showing goodwill and friendliness towards the opposition while remaining assertive (fearless) and persistent, we undermine some opponent members' loyalty to their industries. Some will even defect from the opposition and join our struggle for animal rights—as many already have.

That said, we must avoid unrealistic expectations for converting our opponents as they have a strong financial self-interest for continuing to exploit animals. But the varying degrees of animal exploitation rest on a continuum, and, as animal activists, it is our responsibility to nurture our opposition towards the vegan end of that continuum. Opposition members who take partial steps in that direction help foster dissent and division within the opposition's ranks. The more rigorously we practice nonviolent discipline, the more effectively we will be able to foster the opposition's step-wise conversion and internal conflict.

Besides inducing mutiny, nonviolent discipline helps attract maximum participation within our struggle. Many activists who join hostile groups drop out because they disagree with the group's tactics. Most people perceive nonhostile actions as more legitimate than violent or hostile ones, and therefore are more willing to support and participate in them.

Furthermore, animal groups that show hostility towards the opposition are more likely to show the same hostility to group members who do not meet their standards. Such inter-movement hostility creates an oppressive and stifling environment that disempowers activists and leads many to exit the struggle. We must maintain nonviolent discipline not only towards our opposition, but also towards our own comrades, so that we foster a supportive movement based on mutual respect, trust, and understanding. Such an appealing environment maintains morale, empowers activists, and encourages activists to remain in the struggle.



**"We need to be extremely careful that our attitudes are proper and just. The people must also develop courage, but this courage they must strive to keep controlled by ideas of good and right. If we can't control our courage with such ideas, then there may be danger for others and ourselves."--Aung San Suu Kyi**

And, unlike a military struggle which requires its troops to be physically strong and agile—thus excluding many from getting involved—nonviolent struggles can utilize everyone regardless of whether they are strong or weak, able-bodied or crippled, young or old, educated or uneducated. Nonviolent struggles can recruit from all sectors of society, giving us an advantage over violent struggles whose strict requirements limit who can participate.

## What Are Our Options?

*"[Nonviolence] is the safe ground on which, unarmed ourselves, we can hold our own against armed forces."—Francis Deák, Hungarian leader in the struggle against Austrian rule during 1861.*

Some activists disagree with treating the opposition respectfully. They claim the opposition cannot be converted and will stop abusing animals only when we make their lives so miserable that they would rather stop their practices than deal with our wrath. Therefore, we must "make their lives hell" by screaming derogatory epithets at them, harassing them with hostile phone calls, damaging their property, destroying their industry's profits through economic sabotage, and engaging in other acts which induce fear and terror into the opposition or increase their expenses until their business becomes unprofitable.

These tactics stress accommodation and coercion as their primary mechanism for achieving victory. However, their hostility prevents them from being strategic nonviolence actions. Furthermore, their violation of *nonviolent discipline* would suggest these actions may be counterproductive to achieving animal liberation. Let's examine how these tactics affect the roots of our power and that of the opposition's to determine if they are effective or not.

Our hostility can certainly make the targeted individuals uncomfortable and fearful. Some opponents may even adopt a less controversial career, and younger people may avoid going into animal abuse careers to avoid such hostility. So according to our sources of power, the opposition will lose some of their *human resources* and the corresponding *skills and knowledge* of those people. From this perspective, it appears some form of success can be achieved through hostility.

Economic sabotage is also promoted as a way to make significant and immediate gains for the animals. Like hostility, economic sabotage can also have some success. A fur store destroyed by fire cannot sell furs, and it costs money to rebuild. More money will be spent on security precautions, and insurance premiums will increase as repeated attacks make fur retail a high-risk venture. All of this makes the industry less profitable for *individual* furriers, and some attacked stores might permanently go out of business. Therefore, economic sabotage decreases an opponent's *material resources*, although any security they add increases their *sanctioning power* by improving their chances of apprehending future saboteurs.

Certainly, benefits can be found in all tactics. However, evaluating a tactic by only looking at its positive aspects, will never give us a complete picture. We must strive to see all of its ramifications—both good and bad—before we can truly evaluate its effectiveness. We now look at the negative consequences of hostility and economic sabotage.

## How Hostility Hurts Us

*"To produce change, nonviolent action operates on much more fundamental psychological, social and political levels than other techniques of action. These more fundamental levels of operation in nonviolent action, which may produce shifts of loyalties and invisibly undermine the power of a hostile regime, often operate more quickly than dramatic acts which might only be possible by secrecy. Therefore, it is highly dangerous to threaten the operation of those sometimes less obvious but much stronger forces by a secret effort to produce a quick, temporary victory on some subordinate point."-Gene Sharp, author of* The Politics of Nonviolent Action*—the most comprehensive work on strategic nonviolence to date.*

Hostility and acts of economic sabotage—another form of hostility—do not act in a void. They produce many negative consequences which supersede their perceived benefits. Hostility hinders the conversion process in both the undecided public and the opposition, it decreases support for our cause, it can alienate our troops and supporters, it encourages loyalty within the opposition camp to their superiors, it strengthens the opposition's determination to fight us, and it justifies the disproportionately severe repression against activists. Let's look at these psychological results more closely.



**Women demand the vote! Even the elderly and very young have a role in nonviolent struggles as shown by this carload of women's suffragists participating in a pro-suffrage parade at Long Island, New York, in 1913.**

Hostility hinders conversion of both the opposition and the public. Think about what influences helped you gain the awareness you now have. Was it an arrogant person yelling at you, demeaning you, or calling you names that made you reconsider your position? Or was it a book you read, a vegan friend, or the lyrics of a band you liked which helped you become an animal liberationist? Most likely you learned about animal rights in a non-threatening manner that did not make you feel personally attacked. If animal rights activists did treat you badly, you probably became an animal rights supporter *in spite of* their activities, *not* because of them. By blocking people from hearing our message, hostility weakens our *authority* and stifles the growth of our *human resources* and the proportional growth in our *skills and knowledge*, and *material resources* that accompany the addition of people to our ranks. And, as we have fewer people, our ability to *sanction* the opposition through boycotts and other actions decreases.

If we verbally attack the opposition at protests or physically attack their property, members of the public give their sympathy to them. They see the opposition—not the animals—as the victims. None of us want to be treated disrespectfully or have our property destroyed. When we see others commit these acts for a political objective we don't already endorse, we discourage their

## Love Thy Enemy?

**Reprinted from Gene Sharp's Trilogy, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*. Page 635**

**The nonviolent action movement in the Deep South placed very great importance on "love" for the white segregationists. "The nonviolent resister not only refuses to shoot his opponent but he also refuses to hate him," wrote Martin Luther King, Jr. "At the center of nonviolence stands the principle of love." This extreme emphasis turned some people away from nonviolent means. When understood as a *requirement* for nonviolent action (rather than a helpful refinement), the demand for "love" for people who have done cruel things may turn people who are justifiably bitter and unable to love their opponents toward violence as the technique most consistent with bitterness and hatred. This confusion of secondary refinements with primary requirements and alienation of many potential users of the nonviolent technique has sometimes been aggravated by attempts of pacifists and believers in the principles of nonviolence to proselytize within nonviolent action movements, and to blur the distinctions between their beliefs and the nonviolent technique. Such efforts may in the long run impede rather than promote the substitution of nonviolent for violent means. Nevertheless, for the sake of effectiveness and beneficial long-term consequences, it is desirable for nonviolent actionists to minimize hostility and hatred and to maximize their goodwill for members of the opponent group while firmly continuing the struggle.**

hostile behavior by not supporting the individuals or their cause. Likewise, when the undecided public sees our hostile and destructive behavior, they support the animal exploiters and not us, which bolster our opposition's *authority*, while further weakening our own.

Furthermore, our hostility can alienate our own troops, decreasing our *human resources* and the corresponding *skills and knowledge* and *material resources* those activists had to add. Many people join our struggle because of their sensitive and compassionate nature. When they see other activists engage in activity they consider hostile or destructive, some become uncomfortable and less willing to work with the hostile activists. All of us have a different *hostility threshold*—the extent of hostility needed for us to consider an action inappropriate. Because every individual has a different hostility threshold, strategic nonviolence eliminates all hostility—thereby ensuring we don't lose any animal liberationists because our actions exceeded another's hostility threshold.

Our hostility also causes the opposition to remain loyal to their leaders. When a group of people are threatened with physical violence, verbal harassment, emotional abuse, or hostility, they are less likely to reconsider their position or question and criticize the ideas of their group. Instead, their desire for self-protection encourages them to set aside any disagreements, follow their leaders, and act in solidarity with their peers. This further increases our opposition's *authority* while weakening our own.

Moreover, when the opposition feels personally attacked, many of them become *more* determined to fight back. For them, battling us now becomes an issue of personal pride and defending their honor. The persecution they endured at our hands strengthens their resolve to continue their offending actions and to undermine our efforts for animal liberation.

Many activists are familiar with activists whose imprisonment for the cause have made them stronger and more determined to fight than ever. This phenomenon also happens to our opposition when we are hostile towards them. Most will not succumb to our hostility and threats, but, instead, strengthen their efforts to fight the violence and hostility that we represent. Their increased will to fight us strengthens the opposition's *intangible factors*.

Finally, our hostility and acts of economic sabotage only serve to justify disproportionately severe repression against us. For example, activists who swear at the police, call them derogatory names, and shout in their faces are more likely to be arrested. Even though free speech is a constitutional right in our country, the activist's hostile behavior justifies—to the police and most of the public—his or her arrest and jailing.

As our acts of hostility increase, even greater forms of repression become justifiable against us. This explains why the FBI always try to label us as violent terrorists. If the public perceive us as violent terrorists then they will not be outraged when we are arrested, sentenced to long prison sentences, and have our rights violated through illegal wire-taps, harassing surveillance, and subpoenas to grand juries. The more the public perceives us to be a threat to another's safety, the more willing it will be to see our individual civil liberties violated for the benefit of the greater public good.

If this were not true, why would the Federal Bureau of Investigations, under their counter-intelligence operations, place agent provocateurs within social movements to encourage acts of violence and sabotage? Sometimes they do this to entrap activists, but mainly they do this to justify their use of force and violence against members of the cause. When opposing forces fight with violence, the playing ground is equal and the public consider it a fair fight. The police, the animal abusers, and the FBI are skilled in violence and prefer to use that weapon. But when we choose *strategic nonviolence* as our *weapon system*, it hinders their ability to effectively utilize violence—their favorite weapon—against us. Using violence against loving, respectful people looks monstrous and cruel, and public opinion shifts against them in favor of a nonviolent group. Acts of violence or hostility, perpetuated by agent provocateurs, helps level the playing field by justifying the opposition's brutal treatment of activists.

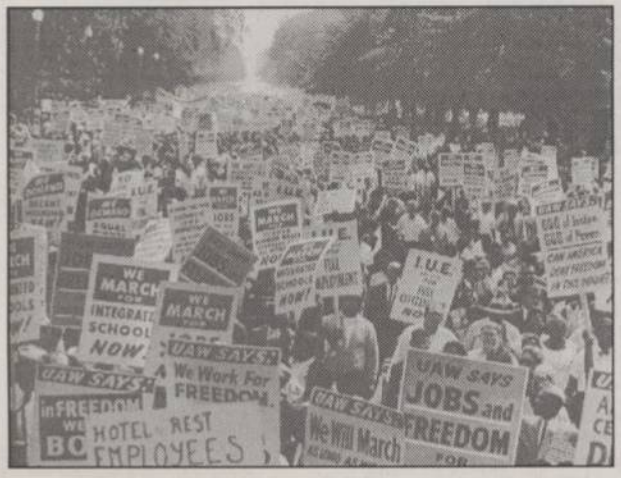
Of course, animal liberationists perpetuate almost all acts of sabotage against animal exploitation. However, these actions create the same outcome. They justify our violent repression, thereby increasing our opponents' *sanctioning* power. As animal activists, we want to use the opponent's repression against themselves so that every time they abuse us, they lose support and power. Later on we will discuss how maintaining nonviolent discipline will set the stage to do just that.

In terms of our sources of power then, hostility and economic sabotage undermine our *authority*, *human resources*, *skills and knowledge*, *material resources*, and *sanctioning* power. Meanwhile, it fortifies our opponent's *authority, human resources*, *sanctions*, and *intangible factors*. With this broader view of how hostility and economic sabotage impact our sources of power and that of our opposition's, we see that the minimal gains mentioned above do not serve to compensate for the ground we lose.

Besides being ineffective, violence and hostility executed on behalf of the animals perpetuate the root source of animal exploitation and all societal evils.

## Removing the Root of All Evil

*"Wars will never cease while men still kill other animals for food, since to turn any living creature into a roast, a steak, a chop, or any other type of 'meat' takes the same kind of violence, the same kind of bloodshed, and the same kind of mental processes required to change a living man into a dead soldier."—Feminist vegetarian, Agnes Ryan, wrote this in March of 1943 for the publication,* For the Church Door.




**The 1963 civil rights March on Washington drew over two hundred thousand people. Struggles committed to disciplined, nonviolent action attract more support than their hostile counterparts.**

Feelings of superiority are the root of all evil. Warfare, racism, speciesism, heterosexism, environmental destruction, violence, murder, and hostility can all be traced back to an individual or group who feels superior in some way to another. These groups use their beliefs in superiority to justify the brutality they inflict. Some of the reasons why people develop an attitude of superiority can be traced to a belief in a certain ideology or religion, because they have amassed a good education or wealth, or—ironically enough—*because they fight violence and oppression or even because they support strategic nonviolence!*

As animal activists, we must maintain constant vigilance to ensure that animal rights never becomes a force for evil. We must never let ourselves feel superior to others because of our beliefs so as to justify our hostility towards them. This only perpetuates the harmful belief that "superiority" justifies brutality—the root philosophy behind all violence and exploitation. Because of strategic nonviolence's commitment to nonviolent and nonhostile action, it allows us to fight exploitation effectively, without creating a new form of oppression to replace the old one (for example, the animal rights dictatorship described earlier).

The most ironic situation is when nonviolent activists exhibit hostility towards other activists who do not share their beliefs in nonviolent action. They allow their "superior" belief in nonviolence to justify directing hostility at "unbelievers" in an attempt to control their "undesirable" behavior. We—the nonviolent activists—must strive to maintain humility, an open mind, patience, and the discipline needed to respectfully share our views with those activists who see things differently from us. Furthermore, when consensus is not reached by these discussions, we need to respect their beliefs and allow them to act in accordance with their nature. To do otherwise would only violate nonviolent discipline, prevent the conversion process of the hostile activist, and undermine our own authority. After all, if nonviolent activists don't have enough faith in strategic nonviolence for it to work with small interpersonal conflicts, why should anyone else believe this weapon system can effectively solve widespread international social and political problems such as animal exploitation?

By removing our violence and hostility, we prevent the public from changing the focus so as to ignore the issue. But this does not force them to confront the issue or to motivate them to take action on its behalf. That is why strategic nonviolence also utilizes the strategy of noncooperation and the tactics of civil disobedience and political jiu-jitsu.



**"Nothing is more irritating and, in the final analysis, harmful to a government than to have to deal with people who will not bend to its will, whatever the consequences."**
**--Jawaharal Nehru**

## Noncooperation

*"All [people] recognize the right of revolution; that is, the right to refuse allegiance to, and to resist, the government, when its tyranny or its efficiency are great and unendurable." - Henry David Thoreau, an abolitionist and anti-war activist.*

Understanding the sources of power leads us to the uncomfortable realization that all of us—vegan though we may be—are partly responsible for animal abuse. It is *our* government and *our* laws that imprison animals. It is *our* taxes that fund vivisection, subsidize the meat and dairy industry, fund the Animal Damage Control programs, and the police and FBI who protect animal abuse establishments and arrest direct action activists. It is *our* participation in a system of working 9 to 5 to pay the bills that prevents us from taking serious and persistent action against the abusers. It is *our* use of ineffective or counterproductive tactics that enables the abusers to perpetuate their atrocity.

Unfortunately, many activists refuse to recognize their role in perpetuating animal abuse. Instead, they blame others for the problem and make excuses for why their actions are ineffective: "The public is apathetic," "Animal exploiters are evil and can never change," "The media is biased against us," "Animal liberation is an impossibility," "I'm the only one who cares." These excuses, and others like them, protect ourselves from the emotional pain experienced when we recognize our role in animal exploitation, but they become self-fulfilling prophesies that disempower us. Instead, we should recognize that animal liberation is a *compelling* philosophy grounded in truth and justice, and if the public, opposition, or media don't see that, then *we* must not be approaching them in the right manner. By owning our ineffective strategies, we empower ourselves to adopt new, more effective ones.

Similarly, by realizing our responsibility in perpetuating animal exploitation,*we also acknowledge our power to stop it!* This is why noncooperation is a major strategy of strategic nonviolence. *Noncooperation* is

when we do what our opponent does not want us to do, and we don't do what they want us to do. By removing our cooperation in the abuse we weaken the opposition's power base. If *enough people* engage in noncooperation, the opposition's "legs" will collapse and their table top will tumble.

## Repression

*"Without willingness to face repression as the price of the struggle, the nonviolent action movement cannot hope to succeed." -Gene Sharp*

As with all components of strategic nonviolence, noncooperation lies on a spectrum. The greater the act of noncooperation, the greater the impact on the opposition, and the greater repression the noncooperator receives. Legal forms of noncooperation (such as refusing to eat animal products) will only receive small amounts of repression (such as people making jokes about your diet or meat-eating relatives refusing to attend your vegan Thanksgiving). More serious acts of noncooperation (such as removing imprisoned animals from factory farms) will result in more serious forms of repression (such as criminal charges and possible prison sentences).



**Resistance always encounters repression. On May 4, 1970 the Ohio National Guard opened fire on unarmed anti-war protesters at Kent State University in Ohio. Four people were killed and nine were wounded.**

History is full of situations where activists have suffered barbaric and lethal repression for their acts of protest and noncooperation. On the afternoon of May 4, 1970, student anti-war demonstrators at Kent State University were protesting the presence of two platoons of the Ohio National Guard on their campus. The guardsmen shot an estimated 67 rounds at the unarmed crowds of students, resulting in the deaths of 4 protesters and the wounding of 9.

Certainly the Kent State killings are an extreme case of repression, as most protests happen without incident. But, this supports the fact that noncooperation can—and does—result in some form of repression.



**In May of 1963, segregationists bombed Reverend A. D. King's house in Birmingham, Alabama to intimidate civil rights activists.**

So how should we, as animal liberationists, respond to this repression? The answer is with courage, bravery, and by reasserting our demands while refusing to become submissive to our opponent's wishes. If we acquiesce to the repression, we only reaffirm our opponent's beliefs that physical force can control us. This encourages them to become more and more brutal towards us in an attempt to get us to obey and stop our acts of noncooperation. Therefore, we must *not* submit to their repression, and we must hold true to our values, come what may.

Rosa Parks—the black civil rights activist who refused to give up her seat to a white passenger on a segregated bus in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955—recognized how the black peoples' submissiveness and cooperation with segregation only reinforced the white segregationist's ideas that black people were a lower life-form who deserved what they got. Before she was arrested, she distinctly remembered thinking, "Our mistreatment was just not right, and I was tired of it. The more we gave in, the worse they treated us."

We need to let our opposition know that no amount of threats, violence, and jail time will ever make us compromise our belief in animal rights. Vegetarian and master strategist Mohandas Gandhi led the successful nonviolent revolution that resulted in India freeing itself from British rule. Gandhi said this about how nonviolent activists should respond to repression: "In the code of [nonviolence], there is no such thing as surrender to brute force."

Gandhi and his fellow nonviolent warriors practiced what they preached. During their revolution, British troops killed nearly 8,000 activists, permanently injured 500, and imprisoned more than 100,000 in response to the activists acts of noncooperation. But, despite this repression, Gandhi and his troops remained firm in their convictions and demands for an independent India. And, although they did not injure or kill even one British soldier, India won its independence in 1946. Gandhi himself was arrested and jailed numerous times during the struggle, and after India's independence was won, he continued to struggle for peace and justice despite death threats. On January 30, 1948, Gandhi died for his beliefs when an opponent assassinated him. Gandhi never surrendered.

Like Gandhi, none of us should surrender. However, not all of us are ready to go to jail, endure beatings, or die for the animals. Because of this, each of us as individuals need to honestly evaluate what sacrifices we are willing to make for the animals, and then refrain from engaging in acts of noncooperation or civil disobedience that will result in more repression than we can handle.

Furthermore, we need to respect other activists. If someone is afraid of jail or unwilling to attend protests, we must appreciate their honesty and respect their boundaries—not condemn them for an assumed "lack of commitment." Nonviolent activists should never be coerced or urged to engage in acts of noncooperation which will result in repression they are not ready to courageously endure.

However, our willingness to bear repression is not a fixed position. Animal liberationists can help increase the levels of repression that we as a movement are willing to endure by encouraging fearlessness, open defiance, solidarity, and an understanding of how voluntary and courageous sacrifice will make us victorious in our struggle for animal liberation.

## Fearlessness

*"A most insidious form of fear is that which masquerades as common sense or even wisdom, condemning as foolish, reckless, insignificant or futile the small, daily acts of courage which help to preserve [one's] self-respect and inherent human dignity."—Aung San Suu Kyi*

Because noncooperation inevitably results in repression, we must nurture our fearlessness so we never let repression make us subservient to the demands of the opposition, their courts, or their police forces.

*Fearlessness* is our willingness to accept and to endure any and all consequences of our actions. Once we are psychologically ready to bear these consequences, we have nothing left to fear. Such fearlessness in our troops creates true strength for the movement. As Gandhi explained, "Strength does not come from physical capacity. It comes from an indomitable will. No power on earth can make a person do a thing against his will. [Nonviolence] is a direct result of the recognition of this great law."



**"I'll speak on the ashes!"--Sojourner Truth's response to her opponent's threats to burn down the meeting halls where she was scheduled to speak.**

The more fearless we are, the more we can implement noncooperation and continue the struggle despite threats and violence from the opposition.

Abolitionist and suffragette Susan B. Anthony was an effective voice for black freedom and votes for women because of the courage she had fostered within herself. On her speaking tours, she endured numerous riots and threats of violence. Effigies of her were burned by angry mobs who would brandish guns and knives in an attempt to intimidate her, but she always remained calm, stood her ground, and never succumbed to pro-slavery intimidation.

As animal activists, we must model the courage of Susan B. Anthony so we never betray the animals or the earth out of fear. Open defiance is one way to empower ourselves and bolster our courage.

## Open Defiance and Honesty

*"So long as the [oppressor] is not convinced of [the activists'] nonviolent attitude, he will be inclined to strengthen his own position. Only an open resistance organization can convince the oppressor that its professed belief and the demands which arise from it correspond to the true aims of the campaign."—Theodor Ebert, author of* Theory and Practice of Nonviolent Resistance.

Openness is another component of strategic nonviolence that helps us decrease our fear, empower ourselves, maintain nonviolent discipline, and expose the violence and scandals of the opposition. *Openness* means we have no secrets and conduct all of our actions in full view of the public, media, police, and opposition. Openness also means we will not deceive people with lies, exaggerations, or misinformation.

Actions that require secrecy create the need for security precautions. These very secrets and security precautions instill fear in activists—fear that the opposition will discover their plan, fear that other activists are informers, fear that they will be caught and punished, fear that any scandalous actions will be exposed, and so on. The fear created by these secrets can lead activists to become paralyzed by paranoia. The need for security precautions also spreads mistrust, suspicion, and rumors within the movement as paranoid activists try to expose suspected informers. This serves to destroy solidarity and our ability for cooperative action.

By conducting all actions openly, we have no secrets to hide and we rid ourselves of any security-induced fears, thus making us stronger. And, since we have no secrets, we foil the effectiveness of any informers. Is someone is an informer? Who cares? We are not ashamed or secretive about anything we do, so there is no information they can collect that could hurt us!

Openness not only reduces fear; it also empowers us. When we are openly defiant, it means we can look our opponents in the eye and tell them in a nonhostile manner exactly how we feel and what we think. Such open defiance empowers us, inspires onlookers, and unnerves the opposition. Power-holders expect their threats of force and repression to create submission and subservience, and when we remain openly defiant while facing those threats, they are taken aback by our commitment and sincerity.

Jawaharal Nehru, a comrade of Gandhi

during the struggle to free India, expressed the empowerment he gained by using openness when he wrote:

"Above all, we had a sense of freedom and pride in that freedom. The old feeling of oppression and frustration was completely gone. There was no more whispering, no round-about legal phraseology to avoid getting into trouble with the authorities. We said what we felt and shouted it out from the house-tops. What did we care for the consequences? Prison? We looked forward to it; that would help our cause still further. The innumerable spies and secret-service men who used to surround us and follow us about became rather pitiable individuals as there was nothing secret for them to discover. All of our cards were always on the table."

Being open and honest also helps us maintain nonviolent discipline. When we know our actions are exposed for the world to see, we are less inclined to engage in scandalous activities. Furthermore, movements that engage in guerrilla operations which require secrecy, need to enforce security among its troops by punishing those who betray other activists. Unfortunately, groups committed to nonviolent sabotage, sometimes slip into using violence and hostility to punish "traitors." This violates nonviolent discipline and causes all of the counterproductive harms previously discussed.

Our openness and honesty further benefits the animals by accentuating the differences between us and the opponent in a way which makes them look as bad as possible and us as good as possible: We are totally open about our activities and plans; the opposition hide their atrocities behind locked doors. We confront them publicly; they decline our attempts to engage us in public debates. We speak for ourselves; they hide behind public relation firms. We speak the truth, and, if we make a mistake, we admit it; they try to cover-up their scandals with more lies. We are committed to nonviolent action; they are willing to imprison and injure us to maintain their power. We are willing to endure sacrifices for the animals; they are willing to sacrifice animals for personal gain. These distinctions help create a powerful and consistent message which shows that we control the moral high ground and helps us gain public sympathy and support.

Besides openness, solidarity is another component of strategic nonviolence that helps us increase our fearlessness and endure the inevitable repression that results from our noncooperation.

## Solidarity

*"The gains we made came about because blacks realized that it takes cooperation and determination to make progress in their struggle towards equality. No one can fight effectively for justice alone."—Rosa Parks*

*Solidarity* is the support, mutual respect, and trust between activists. Solidarity is crucial to maintaining high morale and empowering activists to endure greater amounts of suffering.

Solidarity, *when applied to the entire struggle*, means we maintain nonviolent discipline towards each other. We unconditionally respect all people for the fact that all animals have inherent value—even though we might disagree with them on tactics, appropriate behaviors, or even the specifics of the issues we champion. What does this mean for nonviolent animal liberationists? It means we treat every animal advocate with respect—even if he or she supports violent revolution, economic sabotage, or eating animals—while still being true to ourselves by not respecting their hostile and/or violent actions. Gandhi put it best when he said, "My noncooperation is noncooperation with evil, not with the evil-doer." That is the essence of *struggle-wide-solidarity*.

Our differences of opinion and behavior should not factionalize us. Instead, these differences should create a diversity of ideas within our movement that help our continual evolution into a stronger, adaptable, and more powerful struggle. Such an atmosphere of trust and unconditional respect allows for the free-flow of ideas as activists don't fear other activists attacking them for their opinions. By encountering a variety of opinions, thought and intellectual growth will be stimulated. This respectful atmosphere will further help us collectively evaluate and select the best weapon systems, strategies, and tactics available to gain victories for the animals.



**Civil rights activists continued their campaigns despite the bombing of this Birmingham Baptist Church which killed four blacks and wounding over a dozen more.**

Although our differences should not disunite us, we must also respect and honor our personal beliefs by not engaging in activities we see as counterproductive or immoral. This means we need to form smaller *affinity groups*—groups of activists who take cooperative action with each other.

*Affinity-group-solidarity* means the unanimous agreement between the group members regarding what action will be taken, what each activist's responsibilities are, and how activists will respond to possible situations that arise during the action. Affinity group solidarity could be described as a contractual agreement between the members of that group. Trust and mutual respect are again major components of making the affinity group work well.

The better our solidarity within both the movement and our affinity groups, the more fearless we will be. This is because many activists will refuse to engage in risky actions of noncooperation unless they know other activists who they trust will provide sufficient support to make their sacrifice as effective as possible. Furthermore, people are more inclined to take risky actions when others are acting with them, than when they are acting alone. For these reasons, we must maintain both movement and affinity group solidarity.

Solidarity and open defiance help strengthen our fearlessness and ability to bear repression so we never become submissive. If we submit to the abuse, we violate the last component of strategic nonviolence: persistence.

## Persistence

*"I will stay in jail to the end of my days before I make a butchery of my conscience."—John Bunyan , a seventeenth century religious reformer and English preacher who spent nearly 12 years of his life in jail for repeatedly preaching without a license.*

Despite the brutality, setbacks, and demoralization we face, we must continue the struggle if we want to win. As long as we remain fighting, the animals have a chance. Once we stop, all hope of victory is lost. *Persistence* means we never give up.

Persistence paid off for the civil rights movement. During the struggle for desegregation in the U.S. led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.—leader of the nonviolent revolution for civil rights and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize—numerous nonviolent civil rights activists were wounded and killed by segregationists. Police forces brutalized nonviolent activists by spraying them with high-powered fire hoses, setting dogs on them, or beating them with clubs. From 1957 to 1963, there were 17 bomb attacks against black churches and the homes of civil rights leaders in Birmingham, Alabama. Despite enduring these brutal acts and having a letter opener stabbed into his chest by an opponent, King and his followers continued the campaign of nonviolent civil disobedience and eventually achieved their goal of integration.

The need for persistence is obvious. Unfortunately, most nonviolent struggles fail miserably because they lack persistence. If we commit to an action, we violate the persistence principle if we do not make good on our commitment. If we set campaign demands, we violate the persistence principle when we abandon the campaign before our demands are met.

## The Power of Focus

**"In analyzing our campaign in Albany, Georgia, we decided that one of the principal mistakes we had made there was to scatter our efforts too widely. We had been so involved in attacking segregation in general that we had failed to direct our protest effectively to any one major facet. We concluded that in hard-core communities a more effective battle could be waged if it was concentrated against one aspect of the evil and intricate system of segregation."**
**--Martin Luther King, Jr.**

The best way to attack all animal exploitation is by having a narrow *campaign focus*, while *focusing the message* on the root problem. A narrow campaign focus--such as only attacking one aspect of animal exploitation--improves a group's ability to do the often-neglected tasks of strategic planning, research and investigations, negotiating, membership maintenance, outreach, fundraising, coalition building, literature production, responding to mail, etc. Too many social justice groups have little focus, and consequently neglect these above-mentioned tasks because their resources are tied up in multiple ineffective and unfocused campaigns.

Worse, these groups often violate the persistence principle--causing the harms mentioned in the main article--because they lack the resources necessary to effectively respond to unexpected repression. A group with a narrow campaign focus will more likely have the resource *reserves* necessary to handle both expected *and unexpected* repression *without* straining the organization's day-to-day operations--thus preventing them from violating the persistence principle.

Animal issues such as factory farming are *symptomatic problems* of the *root problem* which is humanity's discrimination against non-human animals. While campaigning against symptomatic problems, we should speak out against all animal slavery, injustice and oppression. Let people know we campaign against factory farming not just because it destroys families, mutilates, imprisons and kills animals, but primarily because *animals are not ours to use*. This way, although a group campaigns against a single issue, our actions positively impact many more "symptomatic" problems by addressing the root cause of all animal exploitation.

When Martin Luther King, Jr. left Albany to campaign in Montgomery, Alabama he drastically narrowed his *campaign focus* to the symptomatic problem of segregated busses, while maintaining his *message focus* on the root problem of racial discrimination. This combination created civil rights victories beyond the city boundaries, and outside of the narrow symptoms they were addressing. In fact, the well-focused campaign and message advanced civil liberties nation-wide!

Animal liberationists should harness this power by adopting the combination of a narrow campaign focus while keeping their message focused on the root cause of animal exploitation.

Thankfully, by narrowing our focus, we have the power to maintain persistence. We must resist the temptation to proclaim we will conduct an action or a campaign which we lack the strength or resources to accomplish.

For example, if an activist arrested for civil disobedience valiantly proclaims she refuses to pay bail to a judicial system that imprisons nonviolent protesters, then she must fulfill her claim or violate the persistence principle. If she does not fulfill her self-imposed obligation, she appears weak and dishonest, reinforces the opposition's beliefs that repression will keep us controlled, disempowers those activists who believed in her, and also hurts her solidarity with other activists who will be less likely to trust her claims in the future.

If however, she hadn't expanded her focus by claiming to be morally opposed to paying bail, she could have paid bail without violating the persistence principle. As activists, we need to have the strength to honestly evaluate the suffering we are willing to endure along with our personal situations so we do *not* create our own failure. By maintaining persistence, we empower each other and gain respect from onlookers.

Another way we can violate the persistence principle is by not responding to the opponent's repression. For example, if security guards assault nonviolent fur protesters, we need to respond quickly and courageously to let the opposition know that such violence will not intimidate us or make us submissive. We could respond by reaffirming our resolve to continue the campaign at a news conference, or by holding a follow-up protest done as soon after the incident as possible. After receiving repression, our actions against the target must not diminish in intensity or frequency, lest we violate the persistence principle and reinforce the opposition's belief that their repressive measures allow them to control us.

## Unjust Laws

*"We no longer petition legislature or Congress to give us the right to vote, but appeal to women everywhere to exercise their too long neglected 'citizen's rights'."—Susan B. Anthony referring to her efforts to get women to register to vote and vote before women were legally able to do so in the U.S.*

*Civil disobedience*—violating unjust laws openly, respectfully, and with a willingness to accept the consequences—is a major tactic utilized by strategic nonviolence proponents. Civil disobedience highlights the issue, directly challenges the opposition, exposes their violence, and shows our courage, determination, and sincerity. It also helps create the voluntary suffering needed to utilize *political jiu-jitsu* (which will be explained later) so we can win massive support and accelerate the conversion process.

So what is an unjust law? According to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., "An unjust law is a code that a numerical or power majority group compels a minority group to obey but does not make binding on itself." Therefore, laws which reduce animals to slaves, targets, medical tools, and dinner (which would include any law that considers hunting and fishing, animal research, animal agriculture, animals in entertainment, trapping and fur farming to be legitimate activities) are unjust, because humans—the power majority—do not make such laws binding on themselves.



**"...if [oppression] is of such a nature that it requires you to be the agent of injustice to another, then, I say, break the law. Let your life be a counterfriction to stop the machine."**
**--Henry David Thoreau**

King also recognized another kind of unjust law: "Sometimes a law is just on its face and unjust in application. For instance, I have been arrested on a charge of parading without a permit. Now, there is nothing wrong in having an ordinance which requires a permit for a parade. But such an ordinance becomes unjust when it is used to maintain segregation and to deny citizens the First Amendment privilege of peaceful assembly and protest." A modern day example of a just law that is often unjust in application is the trespass laws. On their face, these laws are just and serve to protect people's privacy and property. However, when they are used to prevent us from rescuing wrongly imprisoned animals in laboratories, fur farms, and factory farms, they perpetuate human tyranny and animal oppression.

King further states, "One has not only a legal, but a moral responsibility to obey just laws. Conversely, one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws." And, also, "law and order exist for the purpose of establishing justice and when they fail in this purpose they become the dangerously structured dams that block the flow of social progress." He also reminds us, "We should never forget that everything Adolf Hitler did in Germany was 'legal' and everything the Hungarian freedom fighters did in Hungary was 'illegal.' It was 'illegal' to aid and comfort a Jew in Hitler's Germany." In the U.S., the animals are warehoused in concentration camps awaiting their death. It is illegal to aid and comfort them, but that is the right thing to do, and we must all strive to do the right thing.

As animal activists, we must foster our fearlessness, solidarity, and willingness to endure sacrifice so we can break these unjust laws effectively and bear the opposition's repression without backing down.

## Civil Disobedience

*"Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such a creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored."—Martin Luther King, Jr.*

To maintain the *openness* component, we risk almost certain arrest when we disobey unjust laws. To maintain the *persistence* component, we must endure jail, make numerous court appearances, and serve our sentence while never compromising our position. At our trial, we must honestly state our actions and why we did them—*even if that proves our guilt!* We should do this because our goal is *not* to avoid punishment, but to speak the truth and demand justice for animals while maintaining the required components of strategic nonviolence. Furthermore, our punishment further benefits the animals, as will become clear when we discuss political jiu-jitsu.

Enduring arrest, court trial, and punishment, while maintaining nonviolent discipline, openness, and persistence, is the *minimal* requirement for those strategic nonviolent activists to uphold when they break an unjust law. Although this is a minimal requirement, it is still quite a sacrifice. Therefore, it must be stressed again that *no one should engage in civil disobedience unless they are ready to endure days in jail, paying a possible bail, spending days in court, paying fines, performing community service, and/or spending weeks or—depending on what type of noncooperation you conducted—years in prison after being sentenced.*

*Before* engaging in civil disobedience, determine if you will be able to bear the repression without surrendering to it by thinking about how the above consequences will impact your companion animals, work, school, finances, family, and any of your other responsibilities. If you have such responsibilities, but still want to partake in civil disobedience, then you must organize the needed support to fulfill those responsibilities while you see your civil disobedience action through to the end. And, again, this should be done *before* violating the unjust law.

If, however, your responsibilities are

# FALLEN HEROES: In Memory of the Nonviolent

"Greater love has no one than this, that he lay down his life for his friends."
--Jesus, John 15:13 (NIV)

**The struggle for civil rights in America is remembered for its disciplined and nonviolent activists who returned hatred and violence with love and respect. This nonviolent strategy empowered oppressed people, galvanize the country, won supporters, and helped obtain numerous victories! However, these victories had their price. Dozens of civil rights activists and innocent blacks were killed during the struggle. We use this space to remember and honor some of the fearless and dedicated activists who made the ultimate sacrifice for their friends.**



## Rev. George Lee
### 1903 - 1955

In 1954, Reverend George Lee started organizing voter registration drives for black people in Belzoni, Mississippi. Segregationists immediately established a White Citizens Council which published and distributed the names of all blacks registered to vote. Many blacks on the list soon lost their jobs, were denied credit, and had their rent raised. Lee regularly received death threats. But one Saturday in 1955 the threats matrialized as a gunman in another car shot him in the face while he was driving. Lee managed to pull himself out of the car and drag himself to a cab stand. Two black cabbies rushed him to the hospital where he died. The sheriff refused to investigate the death and wrote in his report that Lee died of a traffic accident and claimed the lead found in his head was from fillings -- despite the fact that dentists did't use lead.



## Viola Gregg Liuzzo
### 1925 - 1965

On March 7, 1965 Viola Liuzzo--39 year old mother of five--cried as she watched the evening news where state troopers attack peaceful civil rights marchers in Selma, Alabama. Outraged by the violence directed at the protesters, she left her home of Michigan and drove to Selma so she could help the struggle. On March 25, 1965 Liuzzo was shuttling marchers between Montgomery and Selma when a car full of Klansmen chased her down the freeway, shooting at her. A .38-caliber bullet shattered her skull, killing her. The Klansmen who killed her were caught, but were found not guilty by a Southern jury. The U.S. Justice Department--in an unusual move--brought federal conspiracy charges against them, found them guilty, and sentenced them each to 10 years in prison. This case was considered a major victory over discriminatory Southern justice.

such that you would be unable to engage in civil disobedience, then *don't do it*. It is extremely important that people who do civil disobedience conduct it through to the end. It shows the courts, the public, and the abusers how determined we are to gain our objectives, how sincere we are, and that we control the moral high ground. These courageous acts also serve to inspire the rest of the troops and win the respect of our opposition and the public, who—at the very least—give us credit for our bravery and convictions.

On the other hand, when we submit to their repression, it demoralizes our troops, makes us appear weak and uncommitted, reaffirms the government's beliefs that their repression can control us, destroys solidarity and trust between affinity group members, and disempowers the activist who submits. Because of these destructive results of submitting to repression, it is vital that activists *do not* engage in civil disobedience unless they can endure the above stated minimal requirements.

Furthermore, animal activists should *never* try to coerce or mislead other activists into an arrest scenario. If an activist can't risk arrest because of his or her responsibilities, or simply because of fear, they should never be made to feel ashamed of that. Instead, we must respect the activist's honesty and trust in us, and not condemn or criticize them for what may be interpreted as a lack of commitment. Instead, we should be respectful, supportive, and nurturing to help foster his or her inner strength, commitment, and willingness to make sacrifices. But—even if the activist *never* engages in civil disobedience—we must continue to respect and appreciate all the selfless activities which he or she does for the animals. Besides, considering all of the harms caused by a civil disobedience action that lacks follow-through, we honestly should not want people to get involved who are not ready to handle the repression.

However, some activists may be fearless enough to further increase their noncooperation with the courts and jails by doing such things as refusing to pay bail, conducting fasts or hunger strikes while in jail, refusing to accept probation, and refusing to pay fines. The extent of noncooperation expected by each member of the affinity group must be determined *before* the action. Most importantly, once all members of the affinity group reach an agreement, every activist must keep their promises and follow through with the plan. But remember, if you increase your noncooperation, repression will also increase, and you must be ready to handle the consequences. Avoid biting off more than you can chew.

Because of strategic nonviolence's strict requirements for those involved with civil disobedience, it may decrease the number of people willing to get arrested, and some activists may fear that the struggle will end because we will all be in jail. However, civil disobedience campaigns require good leadership. Leaders must maximize an arrest's positive impact while ensuring it does not deplete so many human and material resources that the group cannot sustain the struggle. Of course leadership has far more importance which will be discussed later.



**"We preach revolution; the politicians reform. We say disobey every unjust law; the politicians say obey them, and meanwhile labor constitutionally for repeal."**
**--Susan B. Anthony, women's suffragist and abolitionist.**

But now, we will look to see how to redirect our opponent's best weapon—their repression—against themselves. This technique is known as *political jiu-jitsu*.

## Political Jiu-jitsu

*"The late outrages in this and other places were shameful. [But they have] aroused the indignation of friends and the people of colour in the surrounding country. Thus we have reason to believe that all these things altho meant for evil may be turned to good."—Lucretia Mott, a Quaker, pacifist, and abolitionist in a letter to her friend regarding the riots, vandalism, and murders done by pro-slavery forces in Philadelphia and other northern cities throughout the 1830s.*

Jiu-jitsu is a martial art that uses the attacker's force against her or himself. And, because of this reversal, the attackers' greater size and strength only hurts them more. *Political jiu-jitsu* is a tactic whereby we utilize our opposition's best weapon—violent repression—against themselves. This tactic allows us to dramatically swing public support in our favor, accelerate the conversion process, and induce mutiny within the opposition group.

Political jiu-jitsu occurs when we bravely endure brutal treatment at the hands of our opposition while maintaining *openness* and *nonviolent discipline*. Cruelties and brutalities committed against clearly nonviolent people appear reprehensible, inhuman, and monstrous to most people. Outraged by such attacks, people withdraw their support from the violent opposition, and give it to the nonviolent activists—reducing our opposition's power while bolstering our own.

As American sociologist Edward Alsworth Ross put it, "The spectacle of [people] suffering and not hitting back is a moving one. It obliges the power holders to condescend to explain, to justify themselves. The weak get a change of venue from the will of the stronger to the court of public opinion, perhaps world opinion."

The more hostile or violent the repression, the more effective political jiu-jitsu becomes. Modest amounts of repression gives us modest benefits. For example, if a vivisector used minor forms of repression such as name-calling or arrogance during a debate with a nonhostile animal activist, most audience members would be more sympathetic and open-minded to what the activist says. If however, the vivisector defended animal research by pulling out her gun and shooting the nonhostile activist to death, the repression would outrage the entire country (if not the world), focus massive public and governmental scrutiny on animal research, and cause numerous people to withdraw their cooperation with animal researchers. This more violent repression by the opposition would create proportionately larger benefits for the animals. The following historical example accurately portrays this relationship.

Political jiu-jitsu was decisive in the overthrow of Guatemalan dictator General Jorge Ubico in 1944. The nonviolent revolution started small; two hundred teachers petitioned Ubico for a wage increase. He not only denied the request, but also arrested the teachers who had drafted the petition. This repression politically jiu-jitsued. His repression did not cause subservience in the teachers, as he desired, but it only made them more determined to fight. They responded by boycotting the annual teacher's march which is done in honor of Ubico. Ubico increased his repression by firing *all* of the teachers who refused to attend the march.

This repression also politically jiu-jitsued. By arresting many of the teachers, Ubico enraged the students who, on June 20, publicly demanded social justice, democracy, the release of political prisoners, and other demands that—if not met within 24 hours—would be backed by a student strike. The student strike occurred and the teachers joined their strike two days later.

On June 24, students, teachers, and supporters conducted marches in the street where they emphasized nonviolent action. A peaceful meeting that night demanded the *resignation* of Ubico. The police responded to these actions and other acts of defiance, by beating up and arresting hundreds of people at a neighborhood religious and social

# Activists Who Fought and Died for Our Freedom



## Samuel Younge Jr.
### 1944 - 1966

Samuel Younge Jr. was beaten, arrested, threatened, and shot at for his civil rights activism. Despite the violence endured, he persisted. On January 3, 1966 Younge was killed with a shot to the head by a service station attendant who didn't like his position against segregated bathrooms. Younge's murder sparked a 2,000 strong marche the next day. Although his killer was found innocent of murder, black leaders pushed for, and won, a city ordinance banning discrimination in hotels and restaurants. Younge's father remarked, "This is an era of social revolution. In such revolutions, individuals sacrifice their lives."



## Jonathan Daniels
### 1939 - 1965

At 26 years of age, Episcopal seminary student, Jonathan Daniels eagerly responded to Dr. King's nationwide call for clergy of all faiths to come to Selma to support the voting rights marches. He tirelessly helped blacks obtain farm assistance and welfare, assisted voter registration drives, tutored black students who had inadequate educational opportunities, and tried to integrate local churches. On Saturday, August 14, 1965 Daniels joined a march against stores that discriminated where he was arrested, along with 30 other protesters, for his own protection--according to the police. The demonstrators spent a week in jail. After being released without explanation, a part-time deputy sheriff of Lowndes County, aimed his shotgun at them and shouted, leave "or I'll blow your damned brains out!" Daniels managed to push a teenagers out of harms way, but took a shot in the stomach and died instantly.



## Medgar Evers
### 1925 - 1963

In the Spring of 1963, Medgar Evers lead a drive for fair employment and integration in Jackson, Mississippi. As the nonviolent direct action campaigns encouraged town officials to negotiate, tensions rose. On June 12, 1963, Evers arrived home late from a meeting. As he exited his car, he was shot by a segregationist. When his kids--still inside the house--heard the gunfire they fell to the floor--as their dad had taught them to do. Evers' wife and neighbors rushed him to the hospital, but he died within the hour. Although grief-struk and angry, his wife Myrlie Evers found the strength to encourage 500 people at a rally the following day to remain calm and continue the nonviolent struggle. In the aftermath of Evers' murder, the Mayor appointed the first black police officer onto the force as part of an agreement reached with black leaders.

## Factors that Improve Conversion

As explained in the main article, *nonviolence, nonhostility, openness* and *honesty* dramatically assist the conversion process. Other aspects that can help the conversion process are as follows:

- ***Courageous Suffering*** Not all suffering causes conversion. Tyrants often justify their brutality because their subjects passively accept it without resistance. Such passive suffering does not bring about the conversion mentioned in the main article. This explains why the overwhelming animal suffering does not convert our opposition--they misinterpret the animal's behavior as passively acceptance of their imprisonment and slaughter. Courageous suffering, on the other hand, shows one's sincerity, integrity, fearlessness, and gains a reluctant respect from the opposition and the public, thereby improving one's ability to convert them.
- ***Increasing Social Similarity*** The more social similarities we share with our opposition--in terms of beliefs, morals, lifestyles, dress, hygiene standards, etc.--the more impact our courageous suffering will have on them. Because of our opposition's incorrect belief in the fundamental difference between humans and animals, the animals' suffering has little impact on them.
- ***Maintaining Personal Contact*** Frequent, respectful, personal contact with the opposition prevents them from vilifying us and trying to socially distance themselves from us.
- ***Developing Empathy, Goodwill and Patience*** Understanding the opposition's situation will help us communicate our lack of personal hostility for them, avoid actions that will antagonize them, and find solutions that both sides agree to.
- ***Demonstrating trust in opponent*** Having high expectations of the opposition encourages them to live up to those expectations. If they abuse our trust, it only makes them look underhanded and cowardly to themselves and the public.
- ***Don't humiliate the opponent*** Humiliating the opponent is a form of emotional hostility and makes them defensive and unwilling to consider our position.
- ***Explain the oppositions' personal responsibility*** Group members often surrender their personal morals to the policy of the group. We need to hold each individual responsible for their own actions and explain to them their role in perpetuating the abuse.
- ***Conducting Constructive work*** Engaging in humanitarian efforts--outside of animal rights--that are necessary for the common welfare demonstrates our sincerity and social concern.

gathering. Of course, these repressive actions were also politically jiu-jitsued. The attacks galvanized even more resistance to Ubico and made the people increasingly fearless and willing to risk physical injury and imprisonment to protest the brutal treatment.

The next morning, June 25, huge demonstrations outside of the National Palace were met by platoons of soldiers, calvary, tanks, armored cars, machine guns, and police. That afternoon, grief-struck women assembled at the Church of San Francisco to pray that the brutalities, repression, and oppression would stop. Afterwards they conducted a silent procession. The calvary charged them, firing into the crowd. Many of the women were wounded, and one—María Chincilla Recinos—was killed.

As if in shock, the city *literally* stopped. This repression completely mortified the whole of Guatemala. The unprovoked lethal violence used against unarmed Christian women clearly revealed the character of General Jorge Ubico—pure evil—and all businesses and stores closed down, no workers went to work, the city streets were deserted, and nothing happened. It was an entire economic shutdown.

That act of repression was to be Ubico's downfall. With no economic activity, General Ubico's power dissolved, and letters and messages demanding his resignation flooded the palace. On July 1, he resigned his post. Although Ubico had ruled Guatemala for 13 years with an iron fist, nonviolent action utilizing political jiu-jitsu took less than one month to oust him from power.

Political jiu-jitsu is a powerful force, and we need to utilize it for the animals. Its power lies in the fact that regardless of how our opposition responds to us—as long as we maintain persistent, courageous, open, and nonviolent action—they are doomed to failure. If they punish us for our acts of *nonviolent* civil disobedience, they look monstrous and lose support. But, if they do nothing, our actions will escalate until we dismantle their operations. But in order to effectively invoke the power of political jiu-jitsu we need to establish *through our behaviors* that we are open, honest, nonviolent, nonhostile, and courageous.

Furthermore, in order for us to use political jiu-jitsu, some of us will have to suffer, and *we must be willing to do so*. If we are not collectively willing to endure the sacrifices forced upon us by our opposition's repression, the repression may demoralize us and create submission to our opposition. Therefore, we must maintain *persistence* despite our casualties. But to maintain persistence, we must be personally willing to endure casualties, and watch our fellow comrades endure casualties. If we are willing to make these sacrifices, then casualties only make us stronger and spur us on to victory!

We now further examine how our suffering helps the struggle.




**This "freedom bus" was torched by segregationists in Anniston, Alabama in May of 1961. "Freedom Rides" consisted of black people riding in the"whites only" section of segregated busses. As freedom riders exited the burning bus, segregationists attacked them. The freedom riders gained much support and sympathy for courageously enduring the violence and hostility, and after only a few months of freedom rides, the U.S. government integrated all buses, trains, and waiting rooms.**

### From Sacrifice and Suffering to Success

*"We must all sacrifice our own needs for the needs of others."—Aung San Suu Kyi, who voluntarily stayed under house arrest, separated from her husband and children for six years, rather than permanently leave her home country of Burma, where she leads the nonviolent democracy movement against an oppressive military regime.*

Civil disobedience challenges the opposition and forces them to respond. When they respond with repression, we suffer. We must all face the harsh truth that some of us will endure long prison sentences, injuries, and possibly even death during the course of our struggle. By facing this reality, we can emotionally and psychologically prepare for the sacrifices we must endure and build the inner strength needed to maintain nonviolent discipline while enduring the opposition's violence. Activists who are unable or unwilling to make these sacrifices can fill the other equally essential roles within the struggle.



**"I was scarcely breathing, but I was willing to suffer whatever the cause required."**
**--Lucretia Mott's thoughts while pro-slavery forces mobbed her house intending to burn it.**

As we evaluate the amount of suffering we can endure, we should not be discouraged by that potential sacrifice. For these sacrifices allow us to: maintain persistent action despite repression, utilize political jiu-jitsu, accelerate the conversion process, and strengthen our movement's determination to fight.

By understanding the role our voluntary suffering has in gaining animal liberation, we can increase our ability to bear the brutality. During the struggle to free India from British rule, Nehru—who fully understood the need to suffer for his cause—was beaten by a mounted police officer with a lathi. Recalling the beating, he wrote how he didn't feel the pain of the blows because of the "exhilaration that I was physically strong enough to face and bear lathi blows." By grasping the role our suffering plays in the struggle, we too can share Nehru's ability to courageously endure violence with a glow in our heart that animal liberation is that much closer.

First, our suffering allows us to remain uncooperative with the abusers. We have already discussed the need to persist despite repression in order to withdraw our cooperation, show our determination, inspire others, and not compromise our beliefs, so we will continue.

Second, the asymmetrical conflict—created by our opposition using violence against our nonviolence—allows us to use political jiu-jitsu when they brutalize us. The public will view the suffering inflicted upon us as unprovoked and wrong. Uncomfortable with this repression, the public will withdraw their support from their opponent and give it to us.

Third, courageously suffering at the hands of our opposition accelerates the conversion process. Education rarely is enough to convert the public. Conversion often occurs after a person experiences a lot of emotional discord. When nonviolent activists suffer at the hands of the opposition, strong and conflicting emotions may result in onlookers. Often, waves of guilt, anger, shame, and frustration wash over them as their old habits clash with their new—possibly unconscious—beliefs. This emotional conflict provides the motivation to change their offending behavior. Once their behavior is in line with their new belief, their mental discord dissipates as well.

Our voluntary suffering helps to create this emotional discord in others. Say, for example, we are beaten by workers while administering aid to animals suffering at a stockyard. The public's emotional outrage, caused by our unjust beating, will turn to guilt when they realize they share responsibility for our suffering because they eat the very animals we were trying to help. Furthermore, the worker's violence will discredit the stockyard's authority, and make the public more sympathetic to our cause and willing to listen to our message. And, if the public honestly examines the horrible suffering caused by the meat industry, this will certainly create even more emotional anguish. All of this emotional conflict—generated directly or indirectly by our suffering—helps accelerate the conversion process.

Our courageous suffering also creates emotional discord in some members of the opposition. Many of them will give us reluctant respect because of our bravery and

dedication. Some will feel shame and guilt for using violence against us. Others will feel a lack of control because they can't effectively respond to our nonviolent civil disobedience. Many of them will also feel emotional discord because the favorable public opinion they once took for granted, has now surged against them. All of these components will contribute to the emotional storm in the opposition's minds that will force them to reevaluate the issue, and start them down the road of conversion.

Finally, our suffering also helps increase our determination to fight. As Sharp writes, "When nonviolent actionists understand the role of suffering in the dynamics of their type of struggle, and regard suffering as not simply a necessary risk, as in war, but also as an effective weapon for strengthening their cause, casualties will not lower their morale. Voluntarily accepted suffering for the sake of winning goals may instead enhance morale and unify the actionists and others in support of their objective."

Because suffering allows us to persist in acts of noncooperation, utilize political jiu-jitsu, accelerate the conversion process, and strengthen our determination to fight, we should not fear it, but rather view it as an opportunity to further help the animals. This does *not* mean that we should try to provoke the opposition's violence; it does mean, however, that we must never back down when confronted with it.

## Conversion

*"I have found that mere appeal to reason does not answer where prejudices are age-long and based on supposed religious authority. Reason has to be strengthened by suffering and suffering opens the eyes to understanding."*
*—Gandhi*

We must avoid over-simplifying the conversion process. Over-simplification causes those who disagree with strategic nonviolence to ridicule the process, and those who support it to create unrealistic expectations. We must be aware of conversion's limitations to avoid both of these problems.

To begin, while not everyone can be converted, this does not invalidate its power and effectiveness. Activists should realize that conversion can be a slow process. One should not expect a fur farmer—or any opposition member for that matter—to convert to an avid animal rights activist overnight. Conversion happens in incremental steps, which means we need to remain patient and nurturing—yet persistent—throughout the entire process.



**Women's suffrage activists held numerous parades to draw attention to their cause, and win support. This parade down Fifth Avenue in New York City took place in 1917, the year New York adopted suffrage for women.**

Nonhostile appeals to the opposition—where we explain our grievances and demands—help the conversion process. Personal contact with the opposition shows our human side and undermines any industry propaganda which paints us as hostile, violent fanatics who have ulterior motives. Because conversion happens gradually, we must appeal to them to do actions which edge them in the right direction, yet do not compromise our belief in animal rights.

Furthermore, during the conflict, activists should provide "breathers" for the opposition. If they feel constantly under attack, they will not have any "down time" to reexamine their position. Therefore, during direct action campaigns, we should avoid constantly bombarding the opposition with civil disobedience, and thus allow time for the conversion process to work.

It is also good to trust your opposition, and act on that trust. When we have high expectations of them, they often strive to meet those expectations. The following is a good example of how trust, respect, personal contact, and making incremental appeals to the opposition helped the conversion process and gained a victory for women's rights.




**In the nineteenth century, few laws protected women and children from drunken husbands and fathers. So in 1873, 100 Hillsboro, Ohio women--dressed in their Sunday best--entered a local bar, knelt down on the tobacco spit-covered floors, and prayed aloud for the saloonkeeper to quit selling alcohol. The saloon closed after newspapers ran the story. Similar actions started nation-wide. Because some of the activists were prominent women in the community, authorities refused to arrest them, and the women's actions resulted in over 3,000 saloons temporarily closing during the next year.**

In 1913, women suffrage activist Elizabeth Booth lobbied the Illinois legislature to grant women the vote. At the start of her efforts, she met with the leader of the opposition within the legislature. At this meeting she respectfully introduced herself and acknowledged the fact that he was committed to voting against the bill for women's suffrage. She further said she also knew he was a gentleman of his word, who keeps his promises. She then requested he promise her one thing; that he would not actively attack the suffragist's campaign. He was charmed and impressed by her professionalism, sincerity, and boldness, and gave her his word to not work against the campaign. As Booth continued her efforts, she maintained contact with him. He not only kept his word, but, at times, even offered her excellent professional advice.

On the big day, with just minutes before the vote, Booth noticed that seven legislators pledged to vote for the bill were missing. She fluttered a note down to her friendly adversary on the floor, and he retrieved the seven missing legislators in time for them to cast the deciding votes that gained women the right to vote in Illinois. Booth's opponent had not at that time fully converted to where he supported women's suffrage, but he had definitely started the conversion process, and ultimately was decisive in helping women win the vote.

Now that we understand the components of strategic nonviolence: nonviolent discipline, fearlessness, open defiance, and persistence, as well as its strategy of noncooperation and tactics of civil disobedience, political jiu-jitsu, and conversion, we can start to put it all together and further understand their strategic relationship to each other.



**"[Nonviolent action] was grasped by the Negro masses because it embodied the dignity of struggle, of moral conviction and self sacrifice. The Negro was able to face his adversary, to concede to him a physical advantage and to defeat him because the superior force of the oppressor had become powerless."**
**--Martin Luther King, Jr.**

## Levels of Strategic Decision Making

*In April of 1975, an American Colonel who fought in the Vietnam War told a North Vietnamese Colonel, "You know you never defeated us on the battlefield." The North Vietnamese Colonel pondered this remark and then replied, "That may be so, but it is also irrelevant."*

Although we can roughly evaluate a tactic's effectiveness by determining its impact on both the opponent's sources of power and our own, there is another way to help us decide the most effective strategies and tactics to implement. Classical military strategy explains the *levels of strategic decision making* which allows activists to fully analyze a conflict; measure their progress; maintain focus; determine the efficacy of their plans, strategy, and tactics; and help spot emerging problems before they become critical.

Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler, in their book *Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: The Dynamics of People Power in the Twentieth Century*, have adopted these levels of strategic decision making to suit nonviolent struggles. Some decisions are more important than others, and these levels help us keep perspective on which decisions take precedence. According to Ackerman and Kruegler, the five levels of decision making are, in order of importance: policy, operational planning, strategy, tactics, and logistics.

The most important decisions are made on the *policy* level. On this level we decide our goals; what sacrifices we are willing to make in terms of time, resources, and personal suffering to accomplish the goals; and which weapon system (strategic nonviolence, guerrilla warfare, conventional warfare, terrorism, etc.) we will use to advance our objectives.

*Goals* should be measurable, concrete, have a deadline, and be of vital importance to the activists. Realistic, measurable goals, with a deadline help keep activists motivated and focused. Larger goals that will require a lot of time should have subordinate intermediate goals. *Intermediate goals* further serve to focus and motivate the activists, but they also help measure performance, and, as the goals are met, increase the confidence and empowerment of the activists, while undermining the belief that the opposition is somehow "omnipotent." The majority of activists should find the goals of utmost importance so they are willing to make many sacrifices to achieve them.

The *operational planning* level is where we outline in concrete terms how we will achieve the objectives detailed on the policy level, with the weapon system chosen at the policy level, and without incurring more sacrifices than we are willing to make which was also decided on the policy level. On the operational planning level, we also decide the primary mechanism for achieving our goals (conversion, accommodation, or nonviolent coercion), what actions will be used at the start of the campaign (being sure to match those actions to the levels of commitment and skills of the current resistance force), and map the precise steps needed to move from our current position to victory. The operational plan also determines which tasks will be important on the strategic, tactical, and logistic levels and decides who will be responsible for them.

The operational plan is static. It does not change throughout the struggle, but, instead,

plots its course. However, the effectiveness of the operational plan is based on the ability of its author or authors to accurately assess the opposition forces, the activists, and the impact of their strategies and tactics. Therefore, it may prove inaccurate and need modifications to correct those inaccuracies.

Despite its potential to be inaccurate, the operational plan imparts numerous advantages to a struggle. By explaining how the goal may actually be achieved, it gives the troops hope and inspires them to greater heights of activism. It serves as a yardstick to measure our progress, prevents lack-of-a-plan-paralysis, and ensures we maintain the initiative and are not simply reacting to the movements of the opposition.

On the *strategy* level, decisions determine how to allocate the activists' resources. The decisions on this level are subservient to the operational plan, but, unlike the operational plan, are very dynamic. They need to constantly fluctuate in response to the opposition's movements and the changing situation of the activists. On this level, activists want to ensure they are not squandering their resources on insignificant tasks or spreading their resources too thin to make any significant impact.

The *tactics* level is where decisions on how to handle an individual encounter with the opposition, public, or other relevant player, are made. For example, should we hold signs and leaflet, stage a sit-in, have speakers, raid the targeted facility, or do a combination of these activities at our next protest? Tactical decisions are subordinate to the levels already mentioned. This means *our tactics should never contradict the decisions we have made on the policy, operational planning, and strategy levels.*

*The logistics level is where we decide* how to conduct the physical tasks needed to fulfill the strategic and tactical decisions. For example, if on the tactical level we decided to give speech at the protest, the logistical level would concern itself with how to get the podium, microphone, and amplifiers to the protest site and set up in time for the protest.

It is crucial to understand that each level is subservient to those levels above it. *When each subservient level stays within the bounds established by the higher levels, a consistent, focused, and powerful struggle results.* But, if our tactical decisions contradict the decisions made at the policy level, we waste our energies on counterproductive actions that hurt our chances of success. Therefore, we must strive to keep our actions within the boundaries prescribed on the dominant levels.

A good strategist understands the level to which each decision pertains. This allows her or him to quickly see if less important decisions are taking precedent over more important decisions or if consistency in decision making is being maintained. In this way, the levels of strategic decision making simplify the task of sorting beneficial from counterproductive strategies and tactics.

## Deadly Decisions

*"The five levels of strategic decision making offer a framework in which to reduce misperceptions and to avoid missing the significance of particular events. Leaders who clearly see the difference between these levels will not be tempted to reason from tactical outcomes to strategic conclusions. That is, they will not be susceptible to misconstruing either a victory or a defeat on a limited front as having any more than its real, and limited, significance. The [historical struggles] we looked at are replete with examples of confusion between tactics and strategic outcomes with sometimes disastrous consequences."—Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler*



**On January 9, 1905, political jiu-jitsu occurred when the Tsar's soldiers opened fire on peaceful, unarmed petitioners assembled near the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg, Russia. Over 200 people were killed. In the aftermath of "Bloody Sunday," widespread strikes and troop defections crippled the Tsar's ability to rule Russia.**

History is littered with examples of leaders who ignored these strategic levels of decision making and suffered greatly for it. Bloody Sunday was an excellent example.

On January 9, 1905, thousands of Russian workers marched towards the Winter Palace, home of their beloved Tsar, Nicholas Romonov II, to petition him for relief and better conditions. The workers believed the Tsar was unaware of their poor living conditions. Many were forced to work 16 hours a day, seven days a week, earn only subsistence wages, live in cramped accommodations, and had few political or civil rights. They believed the police and the bureaucrats were responsible for the problems, and hid them from their "little father," as they affectionately called the Tsar.

As they peacefully approached the palace in a spirit of humble reverence, the last thing they expected was what they got: the Tsar refused to hear their petition and ordered the guards to keep the people out of the palace square. As the masses approached the palace, guards opened fire on the unarmed crowds of men, women, and children, killing an estimated 200 to 4,000 people and wounding many more. The carnage shattered the workers' former image of the Tsar as their "little father," and clearly revealed his tyrannical nature.

The killing of nonviolent petitioners aroused strong protests from the population. During the rest of January, more workers were on strike than had been for the last decade. Numerous medical, legal, agricultural, and pedagogical societies denounced the regime, and called for a constituent assembly. Many soldiers refused to obey orders or actively mutinied. As historian Charques put it, Bloody Sunday "did perhaps more than anything else during the whole regime to undermine the allegiance of the common people to the throne."

So what happened here? Well, whether the Tsar recognized it or not, he had sought a tactical victory at the expense of an operational plan decision. The Tsar's goal (a policy level decision) was to rule Russia, his operational plan to maintain this goal (as our discussions on the sources of power would reveal) would be to maintain the people's obedience and cooperation.

However, when the Tsar considered how to respond to the petitioners, he allowed the *tactical goal* (a goal that may be achieved at a single encounter with the opposition) of keeping the petitioners out of the palace square to supersede the operational plan's requirements that he maintain the obedience of the people. On the *tactical* level— the Tsar was victorious that day. His troops

## Levels of Strategic Decision Making

| Level | Decisions Made (for this level). | Examples of Decisions (taken from the Animal Liberation League's No New Factory Farm Campaign) |
|---|---|---|
| POLICY | • Goals | • Twenty-five percent of Minnesota's population will be vegan or vegetarian by 2005. |
| | • Weapon system | • Strategic Nonviolence as defined by this booklet--our actions will be conducted openly, respectfully, and with a willingness by the participants to accept the consequences of their actions. |
| | • Sacrifices willing to endure | • Eventually, some activists must be willing to volunteer 40 hours a week, go to jail for 2 years, or risk death. Initially, activists must be willing to volunteer for ALL, educate themselves on the issues, and understand ALL's strategies. |
| OPERATIONAL PLAN | • Primary mechanism of victory | • Conversion |
| | • Plan | • The plan consists of four phases (contact ALL for the full plan):<br>Phase one: Build our resource base in the Twin Cities.<br>Phase two: Mobilize greater Minnesota.<br>Phase three: Train activists and escalate protests.<br>Phase four: Conduct the largest direct action campaign to date against animal agriculture. |
| | • Initial Tactics | • Initial tactics will include research and investigations, video showings, tabling, public service announcements, utilizing cable access channels, creating and distributing a newsletter, grant writing, outreach and recruitment, office maintenance, and animal rights training and activist training. |
| | • Who is responsible for implimenting the initial tactics. | • Here you would want to list the specific people responsible for completing the above mentioned initial tactics. ALL has it so that as our volunteer staff grows, we will expand our repertoire of tactics. |
| STRATEGY | • How to allocate resources | • Initially, most of our resources will be directed towards R & I; creating policy, training materials, and literature; outreach and recruitment; and training new recruits. Few resources will be directed towards protests, civil disobedience because we currently lack the strength to gain the full advantage of those tactics afford. |
| TACTICS | • Decisions regarding specific encounters with the opposition | • One example: Accepting an invitation to speak at a high school health class about the vegan diet. |
| LOGISTICS | • Decisions regarding physical tasks necesary to accomplish strategy and tactics. | • Logistics for the above tactical example include: Writing the speech, deciding what to wear, creating visual aids (slides and posters), deciding how to get to and from the school, decisions regarding how you present the speech, etc. |

successfully kept the people out of the palace square (achieving his tactical goal) and his troops easily regained control of the streets as the shootings broke up the protest procession. However, this superficial victory on the subordinate tactical level violated the operational plan by encouraging his subjects to become defiantly disobedient. Overall, this action severely weakened his power and ability to rule.

You might have already noticed that what happened on Bloody Sunday was, from the worker's perspective, a case of *political jiu-jitsu*. However, when we gain tactical goals—such as getting media coverage, increasing our opposition's expenses, occupying an animal abusers office, disrupting an abuse establishment, etc.—at the expense of our written or unwritten policy and operational plan decisions, we create a situation where political jiu-jitsu works against us! This is why it is very important that the less significant decisions made on the lower levels remain subservient to the more important decisions made on higher levels.

So let's determine what our movement's best overall policy and operational plan is so we can relate this information in a concrete manner to our struggle.

## A Proposal

*"It is vital to start from a plan that envisions how the desired outcome may be achieved."—Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler*

So what are the implications of these levels of strategic decision making on the struggle for animal liberation?

First, we must determine our struggle's overall policy. Our ultimate goal is total *animal liberation* which we defined earlier as everyone *voluntarily* adopting a vegan lifestyle. What are we willing to sacrifice to obtain this? The answer to this will constantly change, but it can be said with certainty that to achieve this goal, many of us will need to be willing to sacrifice our money, time, careers, liberty, and freedom, and some of us must be prepared to sacrifice our lives.

What weapon system will be most effective in achieving total animal liberation? *Strategic nonviolence*. As adopting strategic nonviolence is a policy decision, its intrinsic components of nonviolent discipline, openness, honesty, and persistence are binding on all other levels of decision making.

Now what is our struggle's operational plan? As was already explained, our main mechanism for achieving victory is *conversion*. What types of resistance would we use? *All of them!* Our tactics would include researching; investigating; negotiating with the opposition; staffing booths; organizing boycotts; distributing literature; holding news conferences; writing letters; lobbying; collecting petitions; giving speeches; organizing protests; conducting video showings, sit-ins, raids, liberations; and so on. *However, we would conduct all of these actions openly, respectfully, fearlessly, persistently, and with a willingness to accept any possible consequences for doing them.* These guidelines flow from the policy level decision to adopt strategic nonviolence as our weapon system of choice.

And what would our step-by-step plan to achieve total animal liberation be? Space considerations prevent too much detail, but, briefly, activists and groups across the world would design their own local campaigns where strategic nonviolence would be their weapon system and at least *one* of their campaign's goals would focus on converting people. For example, a Minnesota animal liberation group could conduct a campaign against factory farming with one of their goals to be converting 25 percent of their state's population into vegetarians, with vegans accounting for 40 percent of those vegetarians, by the year 2005. Or, a university animal rights group could campaign against a specific vivisection project with one of their goals being that 75 percent of the students would oppose animal research on moral grounds within four years.




**The Birmingham, Alabama fire department uses high-powered fire hoses to blast nonviolent civil rights demonstrators. Courageous civil rights activists selflessly continued their struggle despite such repression.**

These campaigns by local groups would serve as intermediate goals on our road to total animal liberation. The local groups would have complete decision making authority over their campaigns. They would be responsible for developing the specifics of their policy and operational plan, and for remaining true to those decisions when deciding their strategy, tactics, and logistics.

This is definitely not a comprehensive operational plan for achieving total animal liberation, but it should suffice for the time being to get things started, keep us focused, unified, and help us campaign more effectively towards our ultimate goal.

## Translating Policy and Plan Into Tactics

*"That [strategic nonviolence] has considerable effect on the opponent is undoubted. It exposes his moral defenses, it unnerves him, it appeals to the best in him, it leaves the door open for conciliation. There can be no doubt that the approach of love and self-suffering has powerful psychic reactions on the adversary as well as on the onlookers."—Nehru*

Understanding the levels of strategic decision making helps us plan and evaluate our strategic, tactical, and logistical considerations.

Say, for example, that a group of activists want to *lock down* (use chains or bike locks to fasten themselves to a stationary object) to a fur store's doors in an attempt to disrupt their business. To ensure they are able to get to the door and lock down without interruption, secrecy will be needed. When we examine this plan in light of our policy, we see the goal to disrupt the business is a tactical one and it does not advance our policy goal to convert others. Furthermore, the need for secrecy violates the openness component of strategic nonviolence—also a policy level decision. These two discrepancies would point to the fact that this protest will not effectively advance our goals. Therefore, we must develop another plan of action.

A possible civil disobedience action that would be consistent with the higher levels of decision making could include a sit-down inside the store, where we notify the police and store prior to the action. This forewarning is consistent with the *openness* policy. Their knowledge of our action may prevent us from entering the store, however, we must keep in perspective that entering the store is only a *tactical victory*, and its success or failure is of *limited* value.

On the day of the action, the protesters arrive to find a police line guarding the stores' doors and preventing protesters from entering, but allowing customers to do so. However, *persistence* and *nonhostility* are also policy level decisions that guide the protesters' actions. Each protester approaches one police officer and respectfully engages her or him in a one-on-one conversation. The activists respectfully appeal to the officers to step aside so they can enter the store for the purpose of educating and negotiating with the management and customers. Of course, the police do not accept our request, so we stay persistent—and continue to talk with our *permanent* audience.



**"You have to be prepared to die before you can begin to live."--Fred Shuttlesworth, a civil rights activist who was beaten and had his home bombed by opponents.**

In a spirit of humility, respect, compassion, and dignity we explain to the officers their role in animal suffering by protecting animal abuse establishments and hold them personally responsible for their actions. We ask them questions such as, "Do you think animals suffer? How do you feel about fur? Would you eat animals if you knew they suffered?" Questions are a good way to engage them in the conversation and make them think. Many police officers will tell us to stop talking to them, or threaten to arrest us for interfering with their duties. Since we expected to get arrested anyway and we must stay persistent, we continue our discussions with them. Again, we reassert that we have no hostility towards them, but we must stop the bloodshed. We further explain how they are ultimately responsible for their own behavior, even though they are just "doing their job." We say we believe in them, have hope in their ability to adopt a more compassionate lifestyle, and try to empower them to live animal-friendly lifestyles. We further appeal to the officers to adopt a vegan lifestyle and educate them about the issues. We encourage sympathetic officers to tell their superiors that they do not want to be assigned jobs where they protect animal abuse establishments from animal rights activists.

It is quite possible that the police will arrest us for talking with them. This benefits us as we successfully engaged in civil disobedience without violating the principles of nonviolent discipline, openness, or persistence. The store owner could also decide to close the store's doors and lock them to allow the police to move away from the protesters and not have to endure our education. Or else, the police may be assigned to stay there for the entire day, at which point we have two options: we continue our discussions with them until the store closes or we escalate our activity by doing something like linking arms and making an activist line in front of the police line to prevent customers from entering the store, resulting in our arrest. Both of these actions would be acceptable as they maintain our persistence, and the affinity group should have foreseen this possibility of this situation and decided *before* the protest what action the group would take.

However, if we do not stay with the store until it closes or escalate our activities until we are arrested, we violate the persistence principle. If we did not follow through with our promise to engage in civil disobedience, the officers' simple repression of denying us entrance would have been force enough to make us submissive—drastically violating the persistence component of strategic nonviolence and disempowering us.

However, the behavior we display at the protest clearly shows our sincerity, fearlessness, determination, persistence, openness, honesty, solidarity, and integrity. Our educational efforts and self-sacrifice (staying at the protest all day, or enduring the arrests) encourages the conversion process to start in the officers and the onlookers. As this example shows, our main goal at every protest and action is first and foremost to maintain nonviolent discipline, openness, honesty, and persistence, and all other tactical goals such as getting media coverage, temporarily closing the business, increasing the opposition's expenses, etc., must be subservient and achieved while remaining true to those policy level decisions. Certainly, tactical goals have some importance, however, we must *never* achieve them at the expense of higher level decisions.

It must be stressed that the above protest example is just one of an unlimited number of possible actions that could be done under the confines of strategic nonviolence. Raids on mink farms, vivisection labs, and factory farms could also be conducted, however, they will require more sacrifices from the activists. The choice of tactics ultimately depends on the how much sacrifice the protesters are ready to endure, what their skills and material resources are, what targets are locally available, and many other variables.

If we lack the human and material resources necessary to conduct the desired

actions, then that helps us to create intermediate goals to work for—gaining those human and material resources—so that later on we can implement these more effective actions. Progress towards animal liberation will occur in this step-wise process. Therefore we must have a "big picture" or long-term view of our struggle and *effective leadership* that can determine our intermediate goals and develop plans for their attainment.

## Egalitarian Leadership

*"When we speak of filling the jails, we are talking of a tactic to be flexibly applied. No reasonable person would promise to fill all jails everywhere at any time. Leaders indulge in bombast if they do not take all circumstances into account before calling upon their people to make a maximum sacrifice."—Martin Luther King, Jr.*

Although strategic nonviolence is a powerful weapon, its use does not guarantee victory. Good leadership is vital to effectively executing a strategic nonviolence campaign. The more competently the leadership maintains consistency throughout the decision making levels and skillfully applies the principles of strategic nonviolence into real life situations, the more effective the campaign will be.

*Leadership*—the act of leading or directing—is an important and necessary skill. Because it is a skill, some people are more better at it than others, just as some people are more effective at writing grants, debating a vivisector, speaking to the media, rehabilitating and releasing animals, or treating injured wildlife than others. As just one of many needed skills, leadership does *not* necessitate the creation of a hierarchy.

The potential problem with leaders—be they an individual, group, or combination of the two—is some may desire leadership to gain personal power and control over others. Those who desire a leadership position because they crave power, will often be very unscrupulous in their efforts to maintain that power once they have it. They might threaten, misinform, censor opposing ideas, horde vital information, intimidate, or use hostility and other forms of sanctions against those who challenge their authority.

Strategic nonviolence solves the problem of potential tyrants seeking leadership position within our struggle, by recognizing that *activists choose their own leaders*. If activists follow a leader, it is because they voluntarily choose to follow that person. If a leader is hostile and abusive, activists can refuse to carry out the leader's plans. Does this sound familiar? It should because it is the foundation of strategic nonviolence—*removing the sources of power through noncooperation.*

The followers ability to not cooperate with abusive leaders provides the checks-and-balances that will keep the leader honest and responsive to the follower's wishes. In a strategic nonviolence campaign, power-hungry, controlling, and hostile leaders will simply not exist because activists will be empowered enough to recognize the problems, refuse to cooperate with them, and instead follow someone who they deem a competent leader, or simply become their own leader.



**During the civil rights movement, many protesters were held in custody at the fairgrounds because the jails were already full of activists.**

In this way, leaders lead by the force of their ideas and by setting a good example, not by rule of force, coercion, and manipulation.

## The Tasks of a Leader

*"Always one to practice what he preached, Aung San himself constantly demonstrated courage—not just the physical sort but the kind that enabled him to speak the truth, to stand by his word, to accept criticism, to admit his faults, to correct his mistakes, to respect the opposition, to parley with the enemy and to let people be the judge of his worthiness as a leader."—Aung San Suu Kyi, speaking of her father, Aung San, the great military leader who organized the army to free Burma from British rule before it fell into the hands of a military regime after his assassination.*

Leaders have many responsibilities. They must work with the activists to plan the strategy and tactics that will produce maximum impact, offer solutions to problems and organize the implementation of those solutions, and determine the best way to utilize the groups resources. The more the leadership understands strategic nonviolence, the more effectively they will be able to implement it. Therefore, it is their responsibility to learn as much about strategic nonviolence as possible and feel comfortable with it. (For those of you who are future movement leaders, be sure to read the suggested reading listed at the end of this booklet).

Besides having a solid grasp of how strategic nonviolence works, the leadership also needs the ability to effectively evaluate the situation. The leadership must have a clear understanding of their long term, short term, and immediate goals; evaluate the fearlessness, solidarity, morale, and willingness to make sacrifices among the activists to ensure that planned actions do not exceed their ability to handle the repression; determine the needs of the organization; accurately evaluate the group's resources; determine all of the resources that will be needed for a planned action; determine if their resources will suffice to carry out their action, and if not, decide to either change the action or develop a plan to acquire the needed resources; and so on. All of this evaluation and planning will help prevent the potential problems such as squandering too many resources on unimportant tasks, over-exerting ourselves, losing our focus, and/or trying to do too much.

Leaders also need to fulfill other tasks besides planning and evaluating. They must promote discipline, empower activists, maintain group morale, gather support for the issue, negotiate with the opposition, serve as an articulate spokesperson, psychologically and emotionally prepare the troops for the hard times ahead, constantly train new leaders, and set a good example for others to follow.

It is often the leaders' selfless acts of bravery that inspire other activists to greater heights of noncooperation. But, by being on the front lines, it also leads them to be one of the first casualties. Because of this, leaders must constantly be training and empowering all activists to become their *own* leaders. This ensures that the struggle will continue, even if they are imprisoned, injured, or killed. This training can be done by giving speeches, organizing conferences, one-on-one training, and the development of brochures, leaflets, and other documents that explain strategic nonviolence and other leadership-related information.

While the leaders try to implement these tasks and continuously and simultaneously evaluate a complex set of variables, they must always keep perspective by maintaining the big picture view of the struggle.

## Keeping Perspective

*"Those [activists] demanding to see outcomes too soon may quit before the real opportunities to win become clear. Lack of persistence, a major cause of failure in nonviolent conflict, is often the product of a short-term perspective. Explaining to supporters that certain events have only tactical significance and that they must try to see the larger picture in terms of policy objectives and operations will keep supporters informed, motivated, and patient." —Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler*

Our ultimate goals cannot be achieved through one letter, one protest, one raid, one speech, or any one tactic. By being aware of this fact, we realize the importance of making sure all of our tactics are in alignment with each other, striving for the same goal to help construct—a little at a time—our ultimate goals.

Think of it this way. If creating animal liberation was building a castle, each encounter with the opposition and public would be a brick—some bricks would be our protests, others our speeches, others our tabling efforts, others our nonviolent and nonhostile raids on fur farms, and so on.

However, if we randomly hurl these bricks in the same direction we will only have a pile of bricks. Therefore, we need to have a plan. The policy decisions and operational plan represents the blueprints needed for the castle. But plans do us no good unless they

## Preparing for a Direct Action Campaign

The following suggestions briefly outline how to prepare for a sustained and successful direct action campaign. For more detailed information, read *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* by Gene Sharp.

**1. Research and Investigation** Obtain fair and accurate information on the grievances. Get the opposition's response to all unsettling facts discovered. This will prevent you from making incorrect assumptions or overlooking important facts.

**2. Sharpen the Campaign Focus** Concentrate your strength by narrowing your campaign focus. A multitude of objectives drains limited group resources; confuses the public, opposition, and activists; and hinders victory. A specific, concrete demand helps focus a group's resources, clarifies the issue, and improves the likelihood of success.

**3. Develop Demands** With the information gathered and the chosen focus, generate a statement outlining the grievances and listing the demands. Fair and accurate information as well as focusing on only the most important demands will make your case stronger. Don't confuse primary demands with secondary ones.

**4. Negotiation** After developing the demands, begin negotiations. Explain your minimum demands to the opposition. Once set, demands cannot be changed without hurting your credibility and decreasing the sympathy you receive. Therefore, be sure of your demands before making them. Negotiations help you maintain the moral high ground, and justify the escalation of your campaign if the problems are not resolved.

**5. Generate "Cause Consciousness"** Educate the public about your grievances and demands, and empower them to take nonviolent action. Don't distort, exaggerate, or lie. Don't arouse feelings of hatred or intolerance. Instead, promote nonviolent action and prepare activists for the sacrifices they may have to endure over the course of the struggle.

**6. Train Activists** Strategic nonviolence leaders like Gandhi argue that a few quality activists are more important than large numbers of undisciplined activists. According to Gene Sharp, quality is determined by an activists' degree of fearlessness, nonviolent discipline, willingness to persist despite sanctions, and wisdom in choosing strategy and tactics. Therefore, as people join your struggle, you must help them develop these qualities by setting a good example to follow, organizing nonviolence and strategy training, and by distributing literature to them on strategic nonviolence.

**7. Organize the Struggle** Numerous tasks are necessary to sustain a successful movement--fundraising, generating publicity, continuing research and investigations, recruiting activists, training new recruits, developing strategy, organizing direct actions, jail support, etc. Groups need to develop organizational structure that provides training and the delegation of responsibility to qualified activists to ensures the above-mentioned tasks will be done. Within this organizational structure, safeguards should be created which prevent and help rectify any internal corruption. Voluntary formal, or informal discipline will be needed to ensure a respectful and nonjudgmental group environment. Communication channels between the various branches or levels of the organization will need to be established and used. With the organization formalized, you are now ready to launch a formidable direct action campaign!

are followed and have people to implement them.

Workers—who represent the activists—are needed to build the castle, and they also need the skills and knowledge to do their job efficiently and correctly. Good leadership is also needed to effectively direct the workers and implement the designs on the blueprint. Communication and solidarity between the leadership and other workers are also needed to ensure the job is executed smoothly.

However, it takes more than bricks and workers to build a castle. It also requires a strong foundation on which to build and mortar to hold the bricks together. The foundation and mortar represent the other activities needed to sustain the movement such as raising funds (through writing grants, direct mail appeals, fund raising events, etc.), doing research and investigations, and other such activities.

With all of these ingredients—leaders, workers, blueprints which are conscientiously followed, communication, solidarity, needed skills, a strong foundation, and mortar—the lowly bricks, which are insignificant by themselves, can create a strong, stable, and towering structure that is impervious to attack.

This castle analogy serves us well because achieving animal liberation is a huge accomplishment that will take some time, but—like the castle—we can drastically accelerate its attainment with the aid of a good plan that is skillfully executed. The analogy also shows how relatively insignificant our tactics are in comparison to our goal, but also illustrates that those tactics *only* help us if they are utilized in accordance with the plan.

This big picture view should help us *keep the struggle* in perspective so: we gain understanding of what matters and what doesn't, remain motivated because our expectations are not unrealistic, and are patient enough to do the needed support roles such as fundraising and research. Most readers probably see all of this to be common sense. But understanding common sense and implementing it are two different things. It is time to ensure we implement this common sense.

## Implementing Stategic Nonviolence

*"Nonviolence is a powerful and just weapon. It is a weapon unique in history, which cuts without wounding and ennobels the man who wields it. It is a sword that heals. Both a practical and moral answer to the Negro's cry for justice, nonviolent direct action proved that it could win victories without losing wars."—Martin Luther King, Jr.*



**"Nonviolence cannot be taught to a person who fears to die and has no power of resistance..."**
**--Mahatma Gandhi**

So how does someone implement strategic nonviolence in their own community? We offer a few steps to get you started:

• ***Gain a fuller understanding of Strategic Nonviolence.*** A solid understanding of strategic nonviolence drastically improves our ability to organize effectively. One of the best ways to see the full implications of strategic nonviolence is by analyzing personal experiences. Look at past conflicts you have had with parents, friends, and acquaintances. Think of protests and campaigns you have been a part of. Remember the behavior of both sides, how the other side reacted, and the ultimate results of that encounter. Determine what principles of strategic nonviolence were and were not used and whether they accurately predicted the outcome of the individual conflicts.

Reading more books on strategic nonviolence, as well as those advocating different views will also give you a more comprehensive understanding of it. It might be good to re-read this booklet in a few days after digesting what you have read.

Finally, engaging in respectful discussions with other activists who disagree with strategic nonviolence forces you to think through the issue more carefully, make more distinctions, and ensures you are not getting a one-sided view of the situation. All of these tasks will help you gain a better understanding of strategic nonviolence so that you can expertly execute it.

• ***Develop self mastery.*** Strategic nonviolence demands much of its soldiers. You will want to develop your inner-strength and selflessness so you can maintain nonviolent discipline regardless of the repression you face. Inner discipline can be strengthened through meditation, prayer, visualizing how you will respond to difficult situations, or other methods that will help you gain the discipline necessary to give others unconditional respect, while also developing the fearlessness necessary to endure sacrifices for the animals.

Anger often causes people to break nonviolent discipline. Notice what makes you angry and analyze why it makes you angry. At the root of all anger is the desire to control someone. Who is it you want to control? What is it you want them to do? Does your anger help create the desired change or inflame the situation? If *you* are angry at *yourself*, change your offending behavior. If others are the source of your anger, recognize you only have control over your own actions and that no one should have the power to reduce you to anger or hostility. Discipline yourself to rise above such anger and hostility. By developing inner strength, we become more effective soldiers and we set a good example for others to follow.

We must also honestly assess our fears and the sacrifices we are willing to make. If we are unwilling to do an action, why are we unwilling to do it? What are we afraid of? Inconvenience? Humiliation? The loss of our job? The loss of our freedom? The loss of our lives? Why are we afraid of these things? Are they reasonable fears or have we blown them out of proportion? Are we ready to make these sacrifices? If so, then there is no need to fear them. If we are not ready to make these sacrifices, why aren't we? In what situations would we make these sacrifices? Analyzing our fears and our willingness to make sacrifices helps us understand our limits, while encouraging us to overcome many of the fears which we hold that are baseless.

• ***Find people who want to be a part of an affinity group willing to implement a strategic nonviolence campaign for animal liberation.*** Strategic nonviolence depends on *cooperative action* for its power, so the next step would be to find other animal activists who want to be involved in a strategic nonviolence campaign. You might want to give a copy of this booklet to those who are unfamiliar with strategic nonviolence so they can make an informed decision as to whether or not they want to be a part of your affinity group. Copies of this booklet are available from the Animal Liberation League.

• ***Set goals and develop an operational plan.*** Once you have an affinity group, develop campaign goals and other policy and operational plan decisions. Take time developing a realistic plan that motivates and inspires your affinity group members to stay active and make sacrifices. An example policy and operation plan can be obtained from the Animal Liberation League.


Help the Animal Liberation League Campaign for:

**No New Factory Farms**

We need your help to tackle the largest, most vile industry of them all -- *ANIMAL AGRICULTURE!*

With your help, the Animal Liberation League will launch the *largest* nonviolent direct action campaign *to date* against the slavery and mechanized murder of factory farming.

The animals will settle for nothing less than total liberation, *and neither will we! Please--right now--give as generous a donation as you can to help us expose and abolish the barbaric animal flesh trade!*

Send check or money order to:

**Animal Liberation League**
**PO Box 7245**
**Minneapolis, MN 55407**

ALL is a federally recognized 501(c)3 organization, and donations are tax deductible to the fullest extent allowable by law.


## Suggested Reading on Strategic Nonviolence

• ***Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: The Dynamics of People Power in the Twentieth Century*** **by Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler.** This book defines 12 strategic principles that enhance the success of nonviolent campaigns. It then uses these principles to analyze six historical conflicts. (see advertisement on back page for purchasing info.)

• ***The Politics of Nonviolent Action*** **by Gene Sharp.** This three volume set comprehensively explores strategic nonviolence. It details the specifics of what it is, how it works, and how to implement it while providing scores of historical examples. (see advertisement on back page for purchasing info.)

• ***Why We Can't Wait*** **by Martin Luther King, Jr.** In this book, King gives a historical account of, and reasons for, the successful Birmingham City bus boycott which he lead. It provides an excellent and detailed example of a strategic nonviolent campaign. (see advertisement on back page for purchasing info.)

## Suggested Reading on Differing Views

*To completely understand any topic, one must understand its rival ideologies. The below books present articulate, well-reasoned arguments that condemn exclusively nonviolent action, or promote actions inconsistent with strategic nonviolence.*

• ***The Pathology of Pacifism: Notes on an American Pseudo-Praxis*** **Part I and II by Ward Churchill.** The articles can be found in the 1996 Winter and Spring editions of "Issues in Radical Therapy" Volume 12, numbers 1 and 2. In these articles, American Indian Movement activist, Ward Churchill challenges the tenants of pacifism, denounces it as ineffective, and reveals how privileged people use nonviolent action to look progressive while avoiding serious repression or sacrifice.

• ***Keep Fighting: Three Interviews with Britain's Animal Liberation Front Press Officers.*** In this booklet, Animal Liberation Front founder, Ronnie Lee, and ALF Press Officers Robin Lane and Robin Webb explain the history, philosophy, and strategy behind the ALF's tactics of economic sabotage and animal rescue.

• ***Ecodefense: A Field Guide to Monkey Wrenching*** **edited by Dave Foreman and Bill Haywood.** The beginning of this book explains the philosophy behind economic sabotage on behalf of the earth and her ecosystems.

• ***Declaration of War: Killing People to Save Animals and the Environment*** **by Screaming Wolf.** This anonymously written book outlines the case for using violence to protect the animals and the environment.

## Suggested Reading on Military Strategy

*Military strategists have been analyzing conflicts and improving strategy for centuries and, despite fundamental differences, there is still a lot that nonviolent activists can learn from them.*

• ***On War*** **by Carl Von Clausewitz.** Considered the bible of military strategy, *On War* attempts to comprehensively cover all aspects of military strategy.

• ***Strategy: The Logic of War and Peace*** **by Edward Luttwak.** Many insights into the nature and patters of conflict can be obtained from this book.

• ***Establish group communication.*** Once the goals and plans are decided, good communication will ensure everyone understands the long- and short-term goals, how they will be achieved, and how strategic nonviolence works. This group-wide understanding will maintain organizational cohesion, cooperation, and focus. It will clarify the objectives and keep activists aware of their responsibilities.

What tactics can be used to implement good communication? Some organizations create a *general pledge* for their volunteers to sign which details the behaviors expected from them. Meetings, booklets, or leaflets can educate newcomers on the group's goals and strategy, and the roles that activists have in achieving those goals. *Discipline leaflets*—which explain the expected behavior of demonstrators—can be distributed at protests to ensure activists are aware of your policy and strategy.

Group activists can also be designated to enforce policy by approaching those activists who violate nonviolent discipline in an attempt to explain the need for the policy and appeal to them to stop their offending behaviors. When doing so, these enforcers should be humble, respectful, and nonjudgmental, but also assertive. If the activist still refuses to abide by the affinity group's decisions, invite them to leave and organize their own demonstrations with their own affinity group that agrees with their tactics.

Communication is also vital within affinity groups. Affinity group meetings should be conducted so group members know what action is planned, what possible outcomes will result from the action, and how the group should respond to each outcome should it arise. If activists will be risking arrest, the group needs to decide how far they will take their noncooperation with the courts, what is expected of each activist, how activists will respond to violence, who will handle court support, and so on. Such communication will help maintain affinity group solidarity, decrease fear among group members, and keep them focused and prepared for all contingencies.

• ***Change the world.*** The fate of the world now rests in your hands! You have an education, self mastery, a group, a goal, a plan, and some established communication channels. Now you just need to implement your plan and help create a nonviolent world that respects all life. Best wishes to you!

## A Plea for Unity

*"In the present stage of the Woman's Suffrage movement in this country a division in our ranks is rather to be deplored, for when friends [fight] newcomers hesitate as to which side to join; and from fear of being involved in personal bickering they withhold their names and influence altogether; still more deplorable is the result to the old friends themselves, when instead of fighting the common enemy, prejudice, custom, unjust laws and a false public sentiment, they turn, as the old Abolitionists in their divisions did, and rend each other."—Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton in the October 28, 1869, issue of their magazine* The Revolution.

As activists, each of us needs a strong mind and the assertiveness to make our own decisions. Therefore, we urge you to not blindly adopt the suggestions and ideas presented in this article. Instead, we strongly suggest you critique, analyze, and discuss these ideas to see if they make sense to you or not. Only if these arguments make sense to you, and stand up to your scrutiny, should they be adopted.

As a movement, we must continue to refine and improve our strategy. This booklet is not intended to be the final word on strategy, but merely a contributor to our movements' ongoing discussion on the best way to achieve animal liberation. The Animal Liberation League hopes this booklet accurately communicates the power of nonviolence, but fear any weaknesses or oversights of strategic nonviolence arise from inadequacies in our presentation, and not because of any inherent faults in the weapon system. Therefore, we encourage further discussions to clear up any possible miscommunications.

The Animal Liberation League believes strategic nonviolence is the animals' best hope for complete and lasting animal liberation. We advocate and promote its use and conduct our campaigns accordingly. This booklet is our proposal to the movement at large. To those of you who support this proposal, we invite you to implement it with us, or on your own in your own communities.

To you readers who disagree with strategic nonviolence, we offer you our unconditional respect and moral support. Despite our disagreement, we feel a deep kinship with all people touched by the desperate plight of the animals. Anyone who carries the burden of the animals' struggle on their shoulders deserves our compassion and understanding. Fighting the seemingly omnipresent selfishness, greed, and violence is a formidable challenge that can easily overwhelm us and send us into despair, depression, and apathy. It is important that despite our disagreements, we support each other as activists and individuals.

Our disagreements will at times prevent us from working together. However, we must work with each other when we can, and respect each other's differences when we cannot. This mutual respect will make us a diverse, supportive, strong, and unified movement. And, as we march down that road to victory, we will do so shoulder to shoulder and arm in arm until we finally reach our destination. Total animal liberation is not a dream. It is ours for the taking. We just need to be unified, fearless, determined, persistent, and willing to make sacrifices to obtain it. So on with the struggle!

* * *

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