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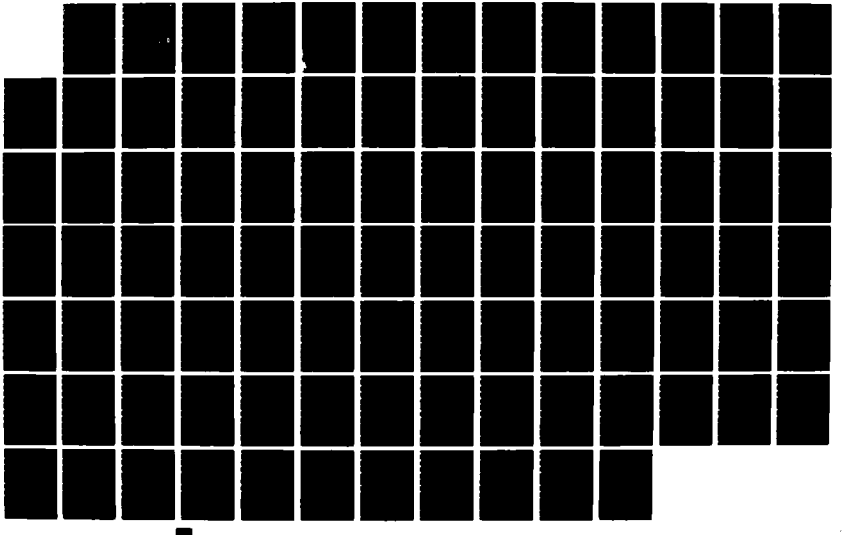

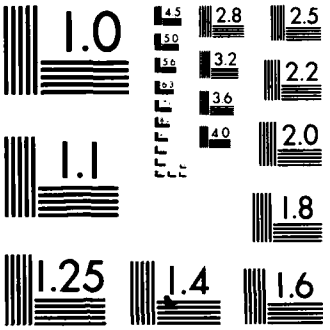

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THE EXISTENCE OF VIOLENCE IN NONVIOLENT PROTEST GROUPS

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THESIS

Submitted in partial satisfaction of
the requirements for a degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

CRIMINAL JUSTICE

at

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Summer
1986

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THE EXISTENCE OF VIOLENCE IN

NONVIOLENT PROTEST GROUPS

A Thesis

by

Gail A. Keefe

Approved by:

Thomas R. Phelps, Chair

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19 July 1985
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Department of Criminal Justice

Abstract

of

THE EXISTENCE OF VIOLENCE IN

NONVIOLENT PROTEST GROUPS

by

Gail A. Keefe

Statement of Problem

The 1980's has ushered in a new, more aggressive era of protest. The peace movement, i.e., the anti-nuclear movement has gained momentum since the early 80's and may well be the largest nonviolent protest movement in the world today. Not only is the movement gaining momentum in the United States and Western Europe, it is also gathering support in the Eastern bloc countries. There is the possibility of violence erupting during a nonviolent demonstration. This thesis describes the situations in which violence may occur, it reviews theories that relate to nonviolent protest groups and their propensity to become violent, and it provides recommendations to control peaceful demonstrations.

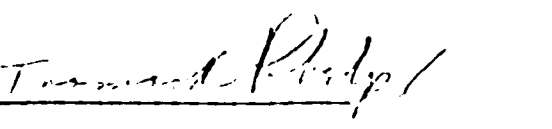
Sources of Data

Information for this protest study was taken from criminal justice, sociology, political science, and religious journals. Additionally, several well-written books on the subject were reviewed and the Journals of Dissent and Social Change index compiled by John Liberty for the California State University, Sacramento, Library was used extensively. Information gathered by the author at Vandenberg Air Force Base, California during the 1983 anti-nuclear demonstrations was incorporated into this study.

Conclusions Reached

The current peace movement is committed to nonviolence and it has much to lose, nothing to gain, by the use of violence. There are no direct acts of violence recorded against persons in the United States, however, the European movement is much more aggressive. The movement has turned toward acts of violence against property and has used a more

direct approach recently. The possibility for violence exists in every form of demonstration, rally, or march that any large protest movement is involved in. The literature suggests that left wing movements are in danger of losing sight of their nonviolent goals and resorting to more militant action.

Committee Chair's Signature of Approval 

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Dr. Tom Phelps - His genuine enthusiasm for this subject area made the research exciting and interesting.

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I would especially like to acknowledge my mother, Josephine Belsan, for her love and faith in me. Also, to my late father, James Belsan, who gave me the courage to follow my dreams.

DEDICATION

To Don. Thank you for the moral support, for your help when I needed it, and your undying confidence in me. I love you.

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CHAPTER 1

The Problem

Introduction

Norman Mailer relates a story in his essay, retitled "The Real Meaning of the Right Wing in America," that is a thought provoking tale as an introduction to the study of protest. The story, by Robert Welch, goes like this, "The minister has preached a superb sermon. It has moved his congregation to lead nobler and more righteous lives. Then the minister says, 'That, of course, was the Lord's side. For the next half hour, to be fair, I'll give equal time to the Devil.'"[1] This story is so appropriate because "equal time" is what protest is all about.

This thesis will discuss nonviolent protest groups and the possibility of violence existing within their ideology and practices. The issue is an ironic one at that. For if these groups are truly nonviolent, then violence would not exist at all and there would be no need to study this phenomenon. This, of course, does not allow for only the study of violence within the groups themselves, but the possible violence that occurs by other groups, including law enforcement personnel, directed at the protestors.

Ultimately, this violence can be initiated in three ways. The protestors themselves may become violent, the police who are controlling the protest may become overwhelmed and violate the protestors' rights to demonstrate, or a counter demonstration may incite violence.

Statement of Problem

The 80's ushered in a new era of protest, from farmer's rights to anti-nuclear action. The peace movement, i.e., the anti-nuclear movement, has gained momentum since the early 80's and may well be the largest nonviolent protest movement in the world today. According to the Institute for the Study of Conflict on Political Violence and Civil Disobedience in Western Europe in 1982, peace movements in many Western European countries have grown, mobilizing widespread opposition to the deployment of U.S. medium range missiles. The internationalism of the movement was reflected in large demonstrations throughout the year in many European capitals.[2]

Not only is the anti-nuclear movement on a rise in Western Europe, it is gathering support in the eastern bloc countries. A strong parallel between East and West is made in an article in Mother Lode. A stronger peace movement in the West would give the East German pacifists more scope and make it more difficult for the government to suppress them. Everything is connected, a rally in New York has its echo in

East Berlin.[3] This article also covers two other authoritarian countries, the Soviet Union and South Africa. The author noted certain patterns of behavior from these peace activists: "Many people are afraid of talking openly, they speak cautiously if at all, ask not to be quoted, and want to meet in anonymous places."[4] The other very interesting aspect of the movement in the East is that some of those who are involved have crossed a line. They are in such trouble with the government that there is no turning back, nothing more that they say can hurt them. The author found these people to be relaxed and open about their involvement in the movement. Thus, there may not be an extremely large contingent of dissidents in the East, but there are those who do identify with the western peace movement.

Not only is the anti-nuclear movement supported in Western and Eastern Europe, but the early 80's gave rise to social protests once more in the United States. "During the six-month period of March-September 1982, there were 3,481 arrests of activists."[5] On June 20, 1983, 1,028 anti-nuclear activists were arrested for blocking access to the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory and on June 25, 1983, about 3,500 anti-nuclear activists joined hands to form a human chain around the lab.[6] "During 1983 and 1984, there were four major anti-nuclear demonstrations at Vandenberg Air Force Base, California. As many as 500

demonstrators attempted to disrupt activities at the main gate while others attempted to enter the 98,000 acre installation from remote sections of the perimeter, trying to reach the M-X test facilities. All told, 802 people were physically detained by military personnel during the four major demonstrations."[7] Since 1984, there have been three small demonstrations at Vandenberg Air Force Base. A 60-day vigil in late 1984, a three-day Anniversary demonstration in 1985, and a march on Easter Sunday, 1986.

Quite visibly, protest with the use of civil disobedience is an American tradition dating back to the signing of the Declaration of Independence and is currently being used in the move to rid the world of nuclear weapons. Possibly not since the Civil Rights Movement or the Vietnam War has one cause, the anti-nuclear movement, become so widely supported by all facets of the world population, definitely a movement that deserves attention from criminologists, politicians, and law enforcement agencies. A concerted effort must be made to understand the objectives and motivations of the anti-nuclear movement in order to effectively deal with their tactics. With any mass protest, there is always a possibility that violence may errupt. It is imperative that planners, managers, and scholars understand this phenomenon and be prepared to handle it.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to present an up-to-date, complete descriptive analysis of the 80's non-violent peace movement and its propensity to become violent. A natural derivation of this type of study will be to enable military personnel, criminologists, sociologists, and politicians to better understand extreme right wing and left wing viewpoints regarding the peace movement.

Scope and Limitations of Study

The scope of this study will include a systematic review of the popular literature on the topic of the non-violent peace movement in the United States and Europe. The majority of the information that discusses the peace movement is found in left wing journals and magazines. Other literature that deals with opposing ideology comes from right wing journals. There is a distinct limitation on the amount of literature that deals with a central viewpoint on this topic.

The scope of this study will be limited to information on non-violent protest groups that profess to be factions of the peace movement. Several historic protest movements such as the Civil Rights Movement will be presented as background information because of its influence on the 80's movement, however, this study will be limited to the peace movement.

A study dealing with non-violent protest groups suffers from the limitation imposed by the political fervor of the time. Since the majority of the group's activities are spontaneous, the availability of current information is often non-existent. Therefore, this study will concentrate on the peace movement's ideology, goals, and tactics were they to organize a demonstration.

Procedure and Methodology Used in Study

An extensive review of the literature, available within the scope of this study, was conducted. Publications reviewed covered the various fields of study that hold an interest in the study of protest movements: criminal justice, sociology, political science, and religion. The Journals of Dissent and Social Change index compiled for the California State University, Sacramento, Library by John Liberty was used extensively and is a helpful tool for study in this topic area.

Additionally, information gathered by the author at Vandenberg Air Force Base, California during the 1983 anti-nuclear demonstrations is incorporated into this study. Personal experience, training manuals, and a paper written by an Air Force officer detail the mass demonstrations at Vandenberg Air Force Base and provide insight into the peace movement and its goals.

The combined materials of journals, books, and the author's collected data from Vandenberg Air Force Base provide a most comprehensive view of the non-violent peace movement and its propensity to become violent.

Definition of Terms

1. Centrist: "A member of a political party of the center."[8]
2. Civil Disobedience: "An act A is properly called an act of civil disobedience only if (1) there is some law L according to which A is illegal, (2) L is believed by the agent to be immoral, unconstitutional, irreligious, or ideologically objectionable, and (3) this belief about L motivates or explains the performance of A."[9]
3. Conservative: "Tending to preserve established institutions, opposed to change, moderate, cautious."[10]
4. Dove: Linked to nuclear arms race, "doves argue for building down various numbers and types of weapons."[11]
5. Hawk: Linked to nuclear arms race, "hawks argue for building up various numbers and types of weapons."[12]
6. Left Wing: "The more radical or liberal section of a political party, group."[13]
7. Liberal: Those thinkers who believe the world to be

profoundly other than it should be, and who have faith in the power of human reason and human action so to change it that the inner potential of all human beings can be more fully realized."[14]

8. Non-Violent: "An abstaining from violence, as in the struggle for civil rights."[15]

9. Owl: Michael Howard describes the owls in the nuclear arms debate as holding the "realist" point of view."[16]

10. Peace Movement: Combined definition from Webster's New World Dictionary. Movement, "an organized action by people working toward a goal."[17] That goal is peace, "an agreement to end war."[18] This author's definition is; organized groups of people who are working toward the common goal of disarmament.

11. Protest: "To state positively, to speak strongly against, to express disapproval, to object, or a formal statement of objection."[19]

12. Radical: "Favoring basic change, as in the social or economic structure."[20]

13. Reactionary: "Characterized by, or advocating reaction, especially in politics."[21]

14. Right Wing: "The more conservative or reactionary section of a political party, group."[22]

15. Violence: "Physical force used so as to injure, a

violent act or deed, or harm done by violating rights."[23]

Organization of Remainder of Study

This study is organized in three chapters. Chapter 1 contains the introduction, statement of problem, scope and limitations of the study, and a list of definitions of terms. Chapter 2 contains the extensive review of pertinent literature, including books, journals, and magazines. Chapter 3 includes a summary of the study with conclusions, recommendations, and a discussion of the need for further study.

Notes

[1] Norman Mailer, "The Real Meaning of the Right Wing in America," in American Protest in Perspective, ed. Robert W. Uphaus (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1971), p. 290.

[2] The Institute for the Study of Conflict, Political Violence and Civil Disobedience in Western Europe 1982, (London: Eastern Press Limited, 1983), p. 3.

[3] Adam Hochschild, "East Germany: Behind the Lines With Europe's Most Daring Peace Activists," Mother Jones, Sep./Oct. 1982, p. 37.

[4] Ibid., p. 53.

[5] Dean Snyder, "Civil Disobedience: What It Means," The Christian Century, 27 April 1983, p. 403.

[6] "Punishment to Fit the Crime," Newsweek, 11 July 1983, p. 25.

[7] Colonel Stephen C. Mannell, "Antinuclear Demonstrations and the Antinuclear Movement," (Research Report, Air University, 1985), pp. 1-2.

[8] Webster's New World Dictionary, s.v. "centrist."

[9] Jeffrie G. Murphy, ed., Civil Disobedience and Violence (California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1971), p. 1.

[10] Webster's New World Dictionary, s.v. "conservative."

[11] Graham T. Allison, Albert Carnesale, and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "Hawks, Doves and Owls: A New Perspective on Avoiding Nuclear War," International Affairs, 61, No. 4 (Autumn 1985), 581.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Webster's New World Dictionary, s.v. "left wing."

[14] David Curtis Skaggs, "Of Hawks, Doves, and Owls: Michael Howard and Strategic Policy," Armed Forces & Society, 11, No. 4 (Summer 1985), 614.

[15] Webster's New World Dictionary, s.v. "non-violent."

[16] Skaggs, p. 622.

[17] Webster's New World Dictionary, s.v. "movement."

[18] Webster's New World Dictionary, s.v. "peace."

[19] Webster's New World Dictionary, s.v. "protest."

[20] Webster's New World Dictionary, s.v. "radical."

[21] Webster's New World Dictionary, s.v. "reactionary."

[22] Webster's New World Dictionary, s.v. "right wing."

[23] Webster's New World Dictionary, s.v. "violence."

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

Background and Historical Review

American protest has a rather distinguished lineage including Henry D. Thoreau, David Walker, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. But most Americans do not consider Abraham Lincoln, Ulysses S. Grant, and the men who wrote the Constitution to have advocated protest or revolution. American protest has derived from two basic American documents--the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.[1] It is most important for any individual studying protest in America to reread and understand the key issues of the Declaration of Independence. Possibly the most valuable words are as follows,

> "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,--That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government,"[2]

It is now that we can understand why Abe Lincoln said in 1848: "Any people anywhere being inclined and having the

power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable and sacred right, a right we hope and believe is to liberate the world."[3] Also, General and President U.S. Grant said, "The right of Revolution is an inherent one. When people are oppressed by their government, it is a natural right they enjoy to relieve themselves of the oppression if they are strong enough, either by withdrawing from it, or by overthrowing it and substituting a government more acceptable."[4] We have not seen an overthrow in our country; however, protest and civil disobedience have become a natural part of our history and a real aspect of the present.

A detailed history of protest is not complete without discussing civil disobedience for they go hand in hand. Thoreau and Martin Luther King were not alone as advocates of civil disobedience through protest, they were accompanied by famous Americans such as Susan B. Anthony, David Walker, Stokely Carmichael, Albert Einstein, and Harriet Beecher Stowe. There is considerable discussion about the moral and ethical aspects of civil disobedience; however, this study will only concern itself with the fact that it is a part of our protest history that cannot be ignored.

David R. Weber refers to the history of civil disobedience as falling into three broad and generally distinct traditions. "The first is opposition, mainly by

individual dissenters in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to legal violations of the principle of religious liberty; the second is disobedience, mainly in the nineteenth century and among many twentieth-century war resisters, to statutes that seemed to implicate individual citizens in immoral actions; the third is the use of mass civil disobedience as a tactic to achieve social or legal change, mainly in the civil rights movement of the 1950's and 1960's."[5]

Each of the above eras in history are important to the development of protest. The first important protest is the evolution of the movement to free the slaves and continue freeing the black race in America.

The seeds of protest were planted when our forefathers wrote the Declaration of Independence. The Revolutionary War was fought to gain freedom from the British, thus, America declared her independence. The words of the Declaration, "all men are created equal" and that the people have the right to abolish a destructive Government will come under scrutiny in the early nineteenth century.

Henry David Thoreau's "Civil Disobedience" first appeared in 1849 under the title "Resistance to Civil Government." His work was at the very least controversial and at the very best ahead of its time. Thoreau advocated civil disobedience against the State because he felt that the State was not serving the people. He said, "I think

that we should be men first, and subjects afterward. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right."[6] One of Thoreau's most controversial 2issues and one he went to jail for was his refusal to pay taxes because he did not agree with the State and the way they spent his money. This practice is still an aspect of disobedience used today. To sum up Thoreau's beliefs he stated, "There will never be a really free and enlightened state, until the State comes to recognize the individual as a higher and independent power, from which all its own power and authority are derived, and treats him accordingly."[7]

Also, in the early 1800's a black man named David Walker lectured on the evils of slavery and wrote the article "Our Wretchedness in Consequence of Ignorance." Walker was said to have brought about a more militant form of social protest and abolitionists such as William Lloyd Garrison opposed his views. It's important to note that David Walker was found dead in 1830, apparently a victim of poison.[8] He again was ahead of his time as he advocated that ignorance was keeping the black man down and he called for the black man to become educated and rise up against the white man.

Henry Demarest Lloyd delivered the address "What Washington Would Do Today" at Chicago Central Music Hall, February 22, 1890.[9] This quote, from his address, sums up the feelings of many scholars of that time.

> "True Government is the union of the labor of all for the protection of the life, liberty, and happiness of all. But living under a high death rate in tenement houses, in full view of the unoccupied prairies, with wife and children forced to work to get enough food for the family, is not life; working 10 to 12 hours a day when the citizen wants to work but 8, signing ironclad contracts because he is hungry, and going without justice because justice is too dear for the poor, is not liberty; and getting a taste of concert music, and protection against accident, poverty, and old age only by the charity of the rich is not happiness."[10]

Moving into the twentieth century W. E. B. Du Bois, a prominent Negro historian and sociologist, helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Du Bois was a teacher, a writer, but more important he advocated social protest. In his article "The Souls of White folk" he compared the white man to black, brown, and yellow races. For example, he said, "Everything great, good, efficient, fair, and honorable is "white"; everything mean, bad, blundering, cheating, and dishonorable is "yellow"; a bad taste is "brown"; and the devil is "black." A white man is always right and a Black man has no rights which a white man is bound to respect."[11] He also said, "Small wonder, then, that in the practical world of things-that-be there is jealousy and strife for the possession of the labor of dark millions, for the right to bleed and exploit colonies of the world where this golden stream may be had, not always for the asking, but surely for the whipping and shooting. It is this competition for the

labor of yellow, brown, and black folks that was the cause of the World War."[12]

The use of the atomic bomb at Hiroshima was the next event that led to social protest and outcry. That fateful act has been reviewed and relived hundreds of times by persons protesting the use of nuclear weapons. In 1945, Dwight Macdonald wrote an article for the journal Politics titled "The Bomb." He discusses the development of the Atomic Bomb for World War II and suggests that in a free country, such as America, the people should have made the decisions as to its use. He also discusses the eminent scientists who worked on "The Bomb" and asked why the scientists did not consider the results of their work. He does praise those that did not choose to work on the atomic bomb by saying, "All honor then to the as yet anonymous British and American scientists-men I would rather say-who were so wisely foolish as to refuse their cooperation on The Bomb! This is "resistance," this is "negativism," and in it lies our best hope."[13]

The social protest in the 40's of the use of the Atomic Bomb, along with segregation policies in the deep South, brought to the surface several explosive social issues which led to mass protest in the decade of the 60's. The 60's had been a decade of confrontation, a revolutionary decade nourished, to a great extent, by the seeds of the American Revolution.[14] The war in Vietnam, the Civil Rights

Movement, and lack of funding for critical social programs such as poverty, brought to us some of the most charismatic protest leaders in American history. The following are quotes that help to visualize the feeling of the 60's. Michael Harrington on poverty in America: "To be impoverished is to be an internal alien."[15] Martin Luther King, Jr., on freedom and the black man in America: "We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed."[16] Eric Norden on the war in Vietnam: "To many critics of the war this 'new breed of Americans' bears a disquieting resemblance to an old breed of Germans."[17] Truman Nelson on the rights and duties of American citizenship: "It was just as plainly understood by the founding fathers that all government is a contract, and if it gives no rights, or even diminished rights, you owe it no duties."[18] Looking through history we find social protest in every decade, every aspect of American life. After the turbulent 60's were over, the decade of the 70's was approached with an apathetic attitude. The decade was relatively quiet with little protest action or cause for it. However, nonviolent protest is back and thriving in the 1980's with an emphasis on the peace movement and nuclear disarmament. What does the 80's hold for these nonviolent movements? Is it possible to remain nonviolent with so much emphasis on violence in our world today?

Potential For Violence

"It is the axiom of American constitutional law that every political or social position--short of direct, practical advocacy of insurrection--is entitled to expression. It is a fact of American political life that the attention of the public at large is most likely to be concentrated on those minority positions that receive the most dramatic forms of expression."[19] It is this right to protest that Americans hold so dear. However, the potential for violence in any protest, even one that professes nonviolent action, is great. There is the risk that in any large gathering there may be a small minority of participants that will be motivated toward violence. It could take only one person, as in the case of an anti-nuclear fanatic who had threatened to blow up the Washington Monument during a 1983 peace protest in the Nation's Capital.[20] Many believe that extremist propaganda literature about nuclear war causes terror, inflames individuals, and speaks to fear rather than reason. Spokesmen for peace groups such as Ground Zero fear that "if there is more such violence, or attempted violence, middle-class Americans as well as the churches will hesitate before involving themselves with such a movement."[21]

Over time, any demonstration or protest can move through a dichotomy from being peaceful, to using nonviolent tactics such as civil disobedience, to outright violence.

The demonstrations at Vandenberg Air Force Base, California, were primarily lawful, but progressed to obstructionism. A member of the protest group was ultimately caught defacing military property. It is an interesting coincidence that the logo for the United States Peace Council is a dove shaped into the outline of a clinched fist.[22] In fact, because some members within the anti-nuclear movement feel that the media is losing interest, they are openly calling for more militant action.

Nowhere was the anti-nuclear movement more impassioned or better organized than in West Germany in 1983. With the threat that new Pershing 2 missiles would be deployed in Western Europe starting in 1983, many anti-nuclear forces made Europe a focal point for protest. The biggest concern for the West German government and American military bases was to keep the protests from flaring into violence. Radicals did engage police in pitched battles, and the campaign in West Germany included a number of revolutionary cells with about 10,000 members who take orders from no recognized mainstream peace group.[23]

Unlike West German activists, British activists do not enjoy the full support from their countrymen. The British movement suffers from its affiliation with the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp that has alienated local residents. Officials in Britain saw a risk that declining public support could prompt activists to stage far more

brazen attempts at breaching security at nuclear weapons installations.[24] A far more concrete example of a protest turning violent occurred during a demonstration in West Germany in October 1983. "Things turned ugly when three American soldiers, dressed in civilian clothes, tried to slip through the blockade. The GI's were quickly surrounded by jeering demonstrators. After several minutes, the frightened soldiers escaped by scrambling over a chain-link fence."[25]

After reviewing several incidents of violence within nonviolent protest groups, it can be concluded that there are three occasions when the protest may become violent. The first is demonstrator-initiated violence such as those incidents discussed earlier. But, it is not always the demonstrator who initiates the violence. There is always a danger that the police may overreact to their frustration if they are overwhelmed by the number of arrests to be made. For example, "at Columbia University in April 1968, many policemen, according to well-documented accounts, used excessive force. The Chicago police had a similar effect on a peaceful demonstration in the park during the 1968 Democratic Convention."[26] A 1976 Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism provides police with preventive measures against the possibility of violence during mass protest. Some recommendations are for police to initiate advance consultation with organizers of the protest, continuing

two-way communication between police and protest organizers and publicizing the extent of police capacity and willingness to respond actively to all mass disorders.[27]

These recommendations are important to note as police overreaction is a possibility. Amitai Etzioni, in his carefully researched study of 216 demonstrations of all types that occurred from September 16, 1968, to October 15, 1968, concluded that there were 75 incidents of violence and that nine of those incidents were initiated by the police.[28]

Not only can the police initiate the violence, but counter demonstrators too can provide for a violent confrontation. During a protest, individuals with opposing views may attempt to physically or verbally abuse the demonstrators. Returning to Amitai Etzioni's 1968 study of 75 reported cases of violent demonstrations, in 17 cases the violence was initiated by people opposed to the demonstrators or their views or both. (In 11 other cases the cause of the violence could not be assigned. So, in 38 cases--the majority--the demonstrators precipitated the violence.)[29] An example of this type of violence could be found in some Chicago suburbs in 1966 when Martin Luther King, Jr., led nonviolent marches and the Black marchers were attacked by whites.

Counter demonstrations have also occurred at the Women's Encampment for a future of peace and justice nearby Seneca Army Depot in New York State. Several thousand women

assembled on and off for approximately two years, protesting the storage of nuclear weapons at the Depot. In August 1983, when about 150 women started marching 15 miles from Seneca Falls to their camp, approximately 300 residents of a nearby village blocked their path. One man even brandished a shotgun and was arrested.[30] Such incidents can happen when counter demonstrations are permitted to form.

Theory

We have just revealed three ways in which peaceful protests can become violent; the demonstrators themselves can initiate the violence, counter demonstrations can agitate the protestors, and unprofessional, frustrated police can overreact to the demonstration. It is now important to look at some of the theory surrounding protest movements. Since our forefathers authored the Declaration of Independence, it has been every citizen's right to let their grievances be heard. This form of expression is political, thus, it seems appropriate that we review political theory as it relates to protest movements.

According to Amitai Etzioni, "When the upward channels of communication are not effective, power relations among groups in the society and the distribution of political power will tend to grow further apart. The greater the discrepancies between the social and the political patterns of a nation, the greater the internal tensions, conflicts,

and potential for violence."[31] We observed this phenomenon in the decade of the 60's when young people demonstrated for the end of the Vietnam War. They felt that there was no upward channel of communication with those in power to end the war so they opted for mass disobedience and demonstration.

Many will argue that instead of demonstrating, the masses should fight for what they want through the ballot box. Many Americans view voting as the only means and the right means of upward communication. However, many feel frustrated with the voting system. As Etzioni explains, "Demonstrations provide an interim election tool, especially for those groups which have no special representation (or lobbies) and for the public at large."[32] It is interesting to note that history shows that voting is less accessible to those minority groups that, especially in the 60's, were a majority in the protest movements. This theory may not hold true in the 80's where we see an increase in affluent citizens becoming visibly involved in various social protest movements. For example, Robert Blake, a well-known character actor is currently one of the marchers in the "Great Peace March" that is marching from Los Aangeles to Washington D.C. He was quoted in the Sacramento Bee as saying, "I know of people here who are going to D.C. if the San Andreas fault opens up and swallows them."[33]

Etzioni sums up the political theory of demonstrations as ways to reduce the inequality among the member groupings of society in terms of their access to political tools; they add to the tools particularly appropriate to the middle and upper classes, one which is especially suited to the underprivileged and young.[34]

Because demonstrations are political tools they do have flaws just as ballot boxes can be stuffed and voters can be swayed (as we have recently observed in the Philippines). Again, Amitai Etzioni, in his well-documented book Demonstration Democracy, suggests that there are three types of dysfunctions in demonstrations. Protest movements have a "flattening effect" on the political process. The signs and props that many demonstrations use tend to reduce positions to highly simplified statements that often obscure more subtle differences. Demonstrators put a premium on the very emotional props and gestures to the detriment of verbal expression and their obstructionist tactics and acts of violence gain more attention than peaceful ones but communicate very little.[35]

During the demonstrations at Vandenberg Air Force Base, one of the props was a large model of the M-X missile and several of the demonstrators lay across the model as if they were dying. Another prop was to fly the American flag upside down. Their costumes included various religious garments, death paint, and even a person dressed in a rabbit

costume who referred to himself as a "mutant bunny for peace."[36]

The second dysfunction of a demonstration is the unrepresentative representatives of the demonstration. Etzioni explains that demonstrators are often similarly more dedicated and "extreme" than most of the members of the groups for whom they claim to speak.[37] This can clearly be seen by the actions of the pro-life, anti-abortion groups that have bombed certain abortion clinics. Certainly others feel very emotional about the same issue but have not gone to these extreme measures.

The third and final dysfunction is volatility. Amitai Etzioni again stresses the fact that demonstrations have a tendency to escalate from peaceful to obstructionist and from obstructionist to violent action, in the course of a single protest.[38] It is interesting to note that in July 1983, the Cabinet of Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany approved a tough and controversial bill that allows the police to disperse all demonstrators, whether they are engaged in violent action or not, simply if they are in the presence of an outbreak of violence.[39] This means that in West Germany they will not distinguish between the violent and the peaceful, for one act of violence will render the entire demonstration illegal.

In James DeNardo's 1985 book Power in Numbers he suggests that nonviolent strategies are much more attractive

to individuals than violent ones because nonviolence involves much simpler choices. He states, "In our theory, the radical leaders develop a strategy by first considering the policies available to the regime, and then selecting demands and tactics to use in demonstrations against them."[40] In his book he raises the question, "When are peaceful strategies most likely to become violent?"

In constructing his theory, DeNardo uses the simplist situations imaginable. His radical movement relies on peaceful tactics and ideological recruiting, there is no repression, the population is distributed continuously across the ideological spectrum, and the parties on both sides avoid extreme positions.[41] He explains that some of the central problems in a theory of peaceful protest are the political dynamics of defining and adjusting demands. The demands depend on the interplay of three elements in the system of conflict: that power resides in numbers, the connection between demands and popular support established by the recruiting process, and the dissident leaders' own aspirations.[42] Thus, there is something to be said about power in numbers and the type of people that are attracted to a protest depending upon the way it is advertised. During the second demonstration at Vandenberg Air Force Base, over 500 demonstrators were apprehended. Clearly, they were able to clog up the judicial system and create minor problems for base officials.

DeNardo argues that "official reactions to demonstrations depend on how violent the protestors become, as well as on their numbers."[43] He does support the theory that "radical movements can use violence to win new concessions without mobilizing more people."[44] If this is true, then, why don't more failing protest movements use violence when they see support dwindle? The "Great Peace March" does not have enough money to realize their dream of marching in mass to Washington D.C., but they have not resorted to violence to continue on. They did, however, hide the ignition keys of a truck when a creditor came to repossess it, but again, they did not resort to acts of violence. DeNardo answers this question firmly that violent tactics carry substantial political costs that constrain the impulse to escalate. The costs of generating the violence can include money for weapons and ammunition and the costs of participating in the violence include repression and offending moral senses.[45]

These "costs" of violence are appropriately a concern of David R. Carlin, Jr., in his article "Civil Disobedience, Self-Righteousness and the Antinuclear Movement." He discusses civil disobedience and its negative effect on the anti-nuclear movement in spite of its nobel lineage--Martin Luther King, Gandhi, Thoreau. He states, "If it can be shown that the anti-nuclear movement risks doing damage to itself by resorting to civil disobedience, how much greater

must be the risks in resorting to more questionable techniques."[46] Mr. Carlin also warns, "The stakes are too high for the anti-nuclear people to engage in any self-defeating foolishness. We must beware of extremists in our midst."[47] Ellis Woodward, the director of public relations for the anti-nuclear group Ground Zero, sums up many protest groups' feelings in the decade of the 80's, "If there is more such violence, or attempted violence, middle-class Americans as well as the churches will hesitate before involving themselves with such a movement."[48]

Gerard A. Vanderhaar took a very nonviolent stand in everything from daily living to war, in his 1982 book Christians and Nonviolence in the Nuclear Age. He says, "Nonviolence takes two forms: a firm no to the forces that propel us on the road to nuclear destruction, and a strong yes to ways of affirming human life and dignity. It involves seeking constructive means to resolve conflicts on the personal, social, and international levels."[49] Vanderhaar's theory suggests that each individual can make a difference in the movement for peace by living each day in a nonviolent manner. Therefore, if each individual is nonviolent, then violence would cease to exist in our world.

A discussion of protest theory is not complete without studying the contagion argument. Mark Lichbach's article "Protest: Random or Contagious?" suggests that protest is contagious. He conducted an indepth study that reviewed the

contagion hypothesis and used a time series of the number of day/locales of protest events in the United Kingdom for data. "The implicit hypothesis in this position is that the likelihood of an outbreak of protest at one point in time is affected by protest at previoous time point(s)."[50]

The interesting idea of this theory is that protest breeds protest and the aura of large movements is infectious. Lichbach explains that there are "five basic and mutually consistent explanations for the persistence of protest campaigns by existing conflict groups."[51] Protest persists because the grievances that gave rise to protest activities remain unchanged, because of beliefs in its rightness and utility, because it becomes organizationally institutionalized, ritualized and generally accepted parts of the political process, because government policies toward opposition persist, and because external actors provide the resources needed to sustain protest.[52] The current peace movement contains several of these factors which may explain the existence of the movement over time and across national borders.

The alternate view that protest is random is held by several who study collective behavior. In this view, protests are seen to have resulted from mob behavior that contains no unity or leadership. Thus, "the typical protest group is believed to be transitory; it has no history and no future. Moreover, the participants in protest, from this

perspective, are said to be crazy, deviant, highly emotional, and largely irrational. A mob's personnel and lack of organization produce an absence of purpose in its goals and methods."[53] Certainly, the peace movement does not lack in organization and it does have very detailed, clear goals.

Lichbach concluded, "The evidence suports the views that there are persistent traditions of protest and that protest is somewhat self-generating, and it refutes the view that outbreaks of protests are completely random. Moreover, if the persistence of conflict argument were to be examined at more disaggregated levels--such as the individual, the conflict group, or the conflict campaign--greater contagious behavior would probably be located. But some contagious behavior is locatable even at the highly aggregated national level."[54]

As with DeNardo's theory of power in numbers, John Lofland also discusses the possibility of a nonviolent protest or movement resorting to violence. In his 1985 book, Protest, Lofland states, "we may take as a working premise the generalization that polite politics (nonviolent protest) seem unable effectively to respond to the churnings and grindings of modern societies. Violent and protest politics keep appearing, albeit sporadically and in waves. If the world cannot be made safe for and by polite politics and if violent and protest politics seem unavoidable or even

inevitable, a key question becomes not if but in what form and manner."[55] This theory of violent protest suggests that it is not a question of whether the protest or movement will become violent, but when and how it will. The United States peace movement is vulnerable to extremists and could become an explosive movement such as its European counterpart. This point of view is best expressed in a quote from Jerome Skolnick's book The Politics of Protest.

> "Violence has always been part of the political process. Politics does not merely encompass the actions of legislative assemblies, political parties, electoral contests and the other formal trappings of modern government. Protest activities of one form or another, efforts to dramatize grievances in a fashion that will attract attention, and ultimately the destruction or threatened destruction of life and property appear as expressions of political grievances even in stable, consensual societies. In one sense, to speak of violence in the political process is to speak of the political process; the ultimate ratio of political action is force. Political activity below the threshold of force is normally carried on with the knowledge that an issue may be escalated into overt violence if a party feels sufficiently aggrieved."[56]

What causes violence in protest groups and why does it occur, was the center of study in the late 60's and early 70's. The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence was established in 1968 as a result of Senator Robert Kennedy's assasination and increasing violence in our nation. Jerome Skolnick prepared a detailed staff report to the Commission where he analyzed several critical studies on violence and protest groups. He concluded that there are three critical points about protest and violence in America:

"There has been relatively little violence accompanying contemporary demonstration and group protest, it is often difficult to determine who was responsible for the violence when it does occur, and mass protest, whether or not its outcome is violent, must be analyzed in relation to crises in American institutions."[57] Thus, this theory of violence in protest groups suggests that the violence is not planned, that the violence arises out of interaction between protestors and the authorities, and that to change the potential for violence we must address social, economic, and political changes.

When violence does occur in a protest movement, some philosophers and writers view it (violence) as "just violence." Writers that support the just violence theory are Georges Sorel, Howard Zinn, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Herbert Marcuse. Although these writers are from a broad range of disciplines, they all agree that political violence is inevitable and that its end justifies the means. They assert that "violence is simply a means and that the necessity for using it must be determined in terms of the goals it is designed to bring about. If the violence brings an end to oppression, an increase in human freedom and happiness, or a realization of a regime based on nonviolence, it is just; if not, it is unjust."[58]

This just violence theory suggests then, that despite loss of life and human sacrifice, the use of political

violence is justified when personal freedom is at stake. Marcuse, Zinn, and Sartre all agree that "even judged against the normal established state of affairs, revolution and violence are clearly immoral. But when such a judgment is made in a given historical context in which one group of people is oppressed by another and uses violent coercion to break out of this situation to attain freedom, the blame for immorality shifts."[59]

The theory of just violence is attacked however, by an astute political theorist, Mulford Q. Sibley, He states, "All violence tends to be 'reactionary,' whatever may be the avowed objectives of those who employ it. Violent means taint the ends, and no matter how glorious or egalitarian the revolutionary aims, the users of violence become corrupted, lose sight of those ends, and get caught up in the immediate goal of physical destruction of their opponents."[60] What emerges from the discussion of just violence is that violence does occur in political movements, that in the minds of some participants the violence justifies the end, and in the minds of some it is not justified. This dicotomy of thought on just violence is evident in today's peace movement. The question now is why some individuals are motivated toward violence and why some are not.

Ted Robert Gurr collected and organized a wealth of empirical data referring to violence by the private citizen

against the state. "Gurr alleges that private violence is induced by deprivation and discontent."[61] What his analysis found is a "psychological explanation of political violence which focuses on the state of mind of individuals within a social system."[62]

A major study that focused on the relationship of political violence to stability, modernization, and rate of socioeconomic change examined 84 nations during 1948 to 1965. "In this study a direct correlation was found between the level of modernity and that of political violence: modern countries (with a high level of communications, health, education, political participation) show a lower level of political violence. Violence also increases in countries which are in a transitional stage of economic modernization, and in those which have coercive, rather than permissive, regimes."[63] An analogy can be made to the peace movement in the early 80's. United States demonstrations were relatively nonviolent with very few disruptions. The European movement on the other hand was quite energetic with more incidents of violence and confrontations. The United States is relatively stable with less socioeconomic change than Western Europe.

Several theories are presented here to assist in understanding political nonviolent protest movements, their goals, and their propensity to become violent. To enable the protest scholar to apply these theories in practice, a

greater understanding of the peace movement's ideology and its opposition's ideology is necessary.

Ideologies

When discussing political ideologies there are several ways to refer to the dichotomous terms left and right. There is the "New Left" the "Old Left" and there is the "Far Right", the "Extreme Right", and "Right-Wing Extremism." For the purpose of clarity and brevity, the terms right wing and left wing will be used when referring to the two extremes. A middle view, center of the dichotomy if you will, is the centrist view for this study.

This study will reveal extreme viewpoints in relation to the topic nonviolent protest movements, specifically the peace movement, and will explore the possibility of a centrist ideology. Before each extreme ideology is applied to the peace movement, it is important to review some basic differences between the left and the right as presented by Silvan Tomkins in "Left and Right: Assumptions of Ideological Polarity."

Tomkins refers to the left and right polarity as deriving from a belief of man about man. He writes, "On the left he (man) conceives himself to be an end in himself, to be of ultimate value; he wishes to be himself and to realize the potentialities which are inherent in him. On the right man is at best neutral, without value. There exists a norm,

an objective value, independent of him, and he may become valuable by participation in, conformity to, or achievement of this norm."[64]

From this basic idea, Tomkins summizes that there are a number of variations of this view of man. "The left affirms that man must be corrupted to become bad, the right affirms that he must labor by the sweat of his brow to become good."[65] "The left urges man to love man because he is an end in himself, whereas the right makes love conditional upon his conformity and his achieved value."[66] "The left urges unconditional glorification and respect and approbation for man as well as unconditional love, whereas the right urges a conditional respect dependent on norm achievement or compliance."[67] The underlying theme in this view of polarity is that the left is man within man, man for man no matter what man may do, and the right is man within norms, man for values and what man does is important.

The differences of ideology, the polarity of views of the left and right must be kept in mind when studying how each view the current peace movement. In these two extreme ideologies stark differences are evident when studying the peace movement. The following discussions contain radical, extremist views found in left wing and right wing journals and periodicals. The ultimate discussion of the two ideologies concerning the peace movement centers on the communist involvement or non-involvement in the movement's

goals, strategies, and tactics. This study will provide information on the left wing ideology, the right wing ideology, and will explore the centrist viewpoint. The ultimate goal is to discover why nonviolent movements become violent and whether they become so based on their ideology.

Left Wing

Saul Alinsky can be considered left wing. He is most well known for his work in teaching people how to organize for power. He has gone to jail several times for his beliefs and it was on such occasions that he wrote most of the book Reveille for Radicals. This is an exerpt.

> These are a few of the past battle cries of the American dream. Let the cry sound again, clearly, boldly, shattering the deathlike silence of decay. Let it reach every corner of America and let its echoes go beyond and shake the hearts of oppressors everywhere. Let it come so that the Western plowman will stop, wipe the sweat from his brow, and, looking up into the bright skies, see the same American vision that will come to the eyes of the millions who dwell in dingy New York tenement, to the sharecroppers of the South, to the rubber workers of Akron, to the shipbuilders and lumber workers of the Northwest, to the packinghouse workers of the Midwest, and to all the people of these United States. Sound it now. Whether it be the hoarse voice, the bell, the written word or the trumpet, let it come. Sound it clear and unwavering. REVEILLE FOR RADICALS![68]

Alinsky originally wrote Reveille for Radicals in 1946. Radical left wing movements have evolved since that time, changing and growing in the 60's, to the emphasis now on the movement to disarm the world of nuclear weapons. What ideology is the 80's peace movement based on and who is

involved in supporting and sustaining the movement? Is it a movement evolved in the West with support only from Western nations or is the East (specifically the Soviet Union) involved in this peace movement?

"Fear of war, particularly nuclear war, remains a key factor in accounting for much peace movement appeal."[69] The fear of war is specifically between the two superpowers; the United States and the Soviet Union. This fear, this nuclear threat has decidedly divided the left wing on who is responsible. It is important to recognize the two basic ideologies that are held by the left wing. Some hold the view that the United States is solely responsible for the nuclear threat, while other left wing groups such as the Green Party profess equal responsiblity of the two super powers.

Exploring the view that the United States is solely responsible, an article titled "Struggle for Peace--Even More Vigorously Now!" in the World Marxist Review suggests "it is becoming ever more obvious that the military counter-measures taken by the USSR, the GDR and Czechoslovakia to maintain the military parity in accordance with the Warsaw Treaty countries' general line on security matters has been necessary and correct. These measures are designed to neutralize the threat posed by the deployment of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles and to block the warmongers' main way of preparations for war, namely, the attainment of

military-strategic superiority."[70] The World Marxist Review is an extreme left wing periodical where several articles discussing the western peace movement exist.

Bill Andersen Chairman of the New Zealand Socialist Unity Party wrote an article for World Marxist Review in which he refutes the theory that the United States and Soviet Union are equally responsible for the arms race. He states, "More and more people in the peace movement are identifying the USA's aggressive preparations as the cause of the growing threat of war, a threat that is being felt also in our region."[71]

Another underlying theme to several articles written for World Marxist Review is to convince readers that the peace movement in not influenced by the Communists. Dietmar Ahrens, Vice-Chairman, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin insists that the peace movement is not a product of communist propaganda but he does state, "The truth is that the peace proposals of the USSR, the GDR, and other socialist countries harmonise with the interests of all the people of the world with the exception of those who are waxing the rich on the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction."[72] But if World Marxist Review is attempting to discount Communist involvement in the peace movement it does not hide the fact that its Communist ideology is blatantly obvious in the articles it publishes. An article

recording a young people's international symposium quotes a youth from West Germany as saying, "It is our mission as Communists to develop the peace movement, the social protest of the people and, at the same time, propagate our great ideals, explain them, and fight alongside young people for a better future."[73]

To sum up the ideology of the World Marxist Review, it is important to review two basic points. First, several articles refute the idea that the Soviet Union and the Communist party in general directly support the movement however, Communist ideology appears in every article. Second, there is no such thing as equal responsibility of the two superpowers for the nuclear arms race. The extreme left wing only recognizes the United States as responsible. In fact, several articles acknowledge the left wing Green Party as being too conservative because it believes in equal responsibility of the two superpowers. Ultimately, Andre Rauber of the Swiss Party of Labour stated the World Marxist Review ideology best by saying, "Distinguished by their dedicated work, initiative, and organisational ability, the Communists continue to enjoy wide recognition and prestige in the peace movement. Contrary to the assertions of bourgeois propaganda, we are not trying to dominate the movement. We are working to ensure productive and effective cooperation with the other forces in it."[74]

Another concern of the left wing peace activists is youth involvement. The 1983 demonstrations in the Federal Republic of Germany included a remarkable percentage of young people. Several studies have been conducted on West German youth and their propensity to join left wing radical groups. A 1982 study on the "changes of motivational structures within the younger generation in the Federal Republic of Germany states that 11 percent of the representative sample regard themselves as part of the peace movement, while 64 percent agree with its aims without actively participating in it, and no one actually dislikes it."[75] The conclusion reached in these studies is that today's youth have formed their political consciousness in the 70's during detente and when the two German states became members of the United Nations. They do not live with the memory of World War II therefore, they have much more liberal political ideologies.

Dan Mihai Barliba, in his astute article "Youth and Peace," advocates educating youth in the spirit of peace and modes of action. He feels that "the ever wider reception of the generous ideas of peace by young people with different political, ideological and philosophical views, as well as by the broad youth movements in Europe and other parts of the world in support of peace and disarmament, are distinctive features of the 1980's."[76] He advocates teaching youth how to conduct political discussions and

debates, how to launch forms of action including marches and demonstrations, and how to develop relations with various segments of the population. He stresses that ultimately today's youth are the key to peace in the future through education today.

The Church is becoming increasingly involved in left wing ideology concerning the peace movement. The United Presbyterian Church in their 1980 statement on peacemaking:

> The classical biblical image for peacemaking is the turning of swords into plowshares....The making of swords and the making of plowshares are two different functions and imply different lifestyles....Plowmaking is for nurture, for new growth, and ultimately harvest. It is the essential creative activity that makes sustenance of life possible. It is also the activity through which productivity makes possible the inclusion of other people in the new community, potential and promising."[77]

A statement by the Catholic Bishops at Vatican II is quoted continuously by peace movement activists. It states that "Peace is not merely the absence of war...it is rightly called 'an enterprise of justice'."[78] Religious groups all over the world are jumping on the peace bandwagon. The Evangelical (Lutheran) Church in Germany is currently forging a link between peace movements in the East and West. In July 1982 the Conference of Church Directorates proclaimed the production, development, testing, and deployment of nuclear weapons 'a moral evil'. It held that nuclear deployments 'regardless of where and by whom' ought to be abjured by all religions, thereby calling for a

complete freeze and a moratorium on inimical rhetoric.[79] Clearly, involvement in the peace movement by the Church brings credibility to the movement's ideology.

Left wing ideology permeates the 80's peace movement in Europe and the United States. Some views are more extreme in their ideologies than others, however, all will agree that the nuclear arms race must come to a complete stop with an emphasis on disarmament. The campaign is based on peace without nuclear weapons; it includes young radicals, elderly, religious groups, actors, politicians, communists, professionals. Ultimately, the left wing ideology stems from this basic premise; "to transform all social relations throughout a society and argue for immediate fundamental change."[80]

Right Wing

Extreme right ideology is aptly defined by Gary B. Rush as follows:

> The Extreme Right is a militant and millenarian political ideology, espoused by numerous Right-Wing groups and individuals, which maintains as an ideal the principle of "limited individualism"; this principle being articulated as opposition to "collectivism" in government, international relations, modern social principles, and modern social structure and operation."[81]

This definition of right wing radicals gives a general basis of thought when attempting to understand the right wing attacks on the peace movement. Opposition to collectivism includes a basic motivation to prove that the

Soviet Union influences the peace movement both in Europe and the United States.

Vladimir Bukovsky formerly spent twelve years in Soviet prisons, work camps, and psychiatric hospitals. His commentary, The Peace Movement & the Soviet Union, is strong support for the right wing. He explains that the struggle for peace has always been the basis for Soviet foreign policy and that anytime a society is demoralized, the people will believe anything to make life better. He quotes Lenin to say, "As an ultimate objective peace simply means Communist world control."[82]

Bukovsky's indepth report on The Peace Movement and the Soviet Union is a classic example of right wing ideology and it provides strong arguments for anti-Communist groups. About nuclear war, Bukovsky argues that the threat has not changed from, say, two or three years ago and he wonders why everyone is so concerned about it now. Bukovsky answers his own questions by saying, "The entire history of East-West relations shows that the only way to force the Soviets to respect agreements is to deal from a position of strength. So are we to understand that because the Soviets might cease to be militarily superior to us, nuclear war is once again a reality? Should we, then, take this proposition to its logical conclusion and say that the only guarantee of peace is Soviet military superiority?"[83] He suggests that it is not.

Several Communist backed organizations are directly linked to the peace movement both in Europe and the United States. The British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) distorted the Soviet Union's invasion of Afganistan and reported it to be necessary based on the USSR's fear of its growing encirclement. "According to the CIA, "The World Peace Council is the Soviet Union's single most important international front organization."[84] It is interesting to note that the World Peace Council held its 1983 meeting in Prague, Czechoslovakia and the main agenda at this assembly was to organize mass demonstrations against the deployment of the NATO defensive weapons.

The World Peace Council is a powerful force in the peace movement and a target for right wing radicals. More specifically the target is the Program of Action 1981 developed by the World Peace Council in Helsinki. The program included such items as elimination of all artificial barriers to world trade, clear definitions of just and unjust wars, and directives to the mass media to serve the cause of peace and not the military-industrial complex by confusing public opinion with lies.[85] The program also urges the need for "further intensification of actions against the deployment of the new U.S. weapons of mass annihilation in Western Europe" and plans for "strengthening and broadening of national movements into a world-wide network of peace organizations."[86]

In 1982 the FBI's Intelligence Division provided a detailed House Select Committee report on Soviet efforts to use the peace movement for its own gain. The report stated, "Through the World Peace Council, which is directly controlled by Moscow, the U.S. Peace Council (its American chapter), and the American Communist Party (CPUSA), the Soviets have penetrated the peace movement in a serious fashion. Needless to say right wing ideology has been trying to convince people of this for years.

The evidence is convincing for those on this side of the ideological dichotomy. According to an interview with a KGB defector, the Soviet secret police has been transformed into a professional organization equipped to infiltrate western peace movements to undermine NATO support for the United States.[87] A former Soviet intelligence agent named Lewtschenko states that "one of the KGB's purposes is to influence the mainstream of politics in the West and to influence such organizations as the peace movement...international labor organizations and so on."[88]

The FBI's report detailed several active measures techniques the Soviets use in the United States. Forgeries are circulated to mislead the media and public opinion, oral and written disinformation is fabricated, foreign media is manipulated, and nonruling Communist Parties (such as the CPUSA) are used as international front organizations. In fact, the CPUSA has initiated letter-writing campaigns,

organized demonstrations, formed coalitions and sponsored seminars and workshops to promote Soviet ideology on arms control and to bolster the peace movement.[89] The CPUSA even took credit for the popularity of the peace movement in the early 80's.

Overall, the FBI assessed that the Soviet Union continues to spend an enormous amount of money on active measures in the United States to bolster the peace movement therefore they must feel, at least, that they are being successful. The report does go on to say however that there is no evidence American policymakers are adopting policies that concur with Soviet ideology and political doctrine.

Right wing ideology not only attacks the Soviet involvement in the peace movement but also finds fault with some left wing Americans who speak out for disarmament. An interesting article by Ed Fredricks published in Human Events compares two Kennedy brothers' views. While Sen. Kennedy leads the assault against nuclear weapons today, the article suggests that there are no demonstrations against nuclear war in the Soviet Union. John Kennedy on the other hand, suggested that this gives totalitarian regimes an edge and freedom to demonstrate is the primary shortcoming of free nations. John Kennedy wrote in his book Why England Slept:

> "We must be prepared to recognize democracy's weaknesses in competition with a totalitarian form of government. We must realize that one is a system geared for peace, the other for war....It means that in preparing for war today, a democracy may be struck such a knockout blow by a totalitarian form of government. Especially it is complicated by the fact that a democracy's free press gives the speeches of the totalitarian leaders, who state their case in such a 'reasonable' manner that it is hard always to see them as a menace."[90]

E. Merrill Root sums up the discussion on the strength of a democratic society with this, "The world today praises "peace." But the world can praise peace safely only when, in the living harmony of noble tensions, it balances its praise of peace with the courage that prepares for war."[91] He also argues against left wing ideology by saying,

> "Pacifists consider it a virtue to avoid the horrors of war even if, to do so, we make a horror of peace. They would let the Red Death conquer the Earth unchallenged, lest to check it we engage in "war." In such a world the passivist "reverence for life" would have no meaning, for life would not be worth reverencing."[92]

As E. Merrill Root centers his writings on the "horrors" of allowing a Soviet occupation of the United States, several articles have been explicit in detailing life as a dissident inside the Soviet Union. In June 1982 a few Russian citizens called a press conference and announced that they were forming an organization called "The Group to Establish Trust Between the USSR and the USA." Soon after the announcement of the group's goals they began to be harrassed by the government. Mikhail Ostrovsky, a founding member of the group who is now in exile, stated

that he knew they would have some trouble but that they did not expect such a degree of troubles or "that they should occur for being involved for peace, because the government was placing such an emphasis on the peace movement."[93] The organizer of this group, Sergei Batovrin who is also in exile, relates that they could not protest openly as do groups in Western Europe and the United States do. He said they would be shot for treason if they protested at a Soviet military installation. Interestingly enough, protestors at Vandenberg Air Force Base, California were allowed to do so as long as they did not obstruct traffic, trespass or break the law. The Base Commander, Major General Jack L. Watkins even stated that the small group has a right to be heard, but has chosen the wrong place and manner in which to demonstrate.[94]

Why, if the Soviet Union is so pro-peace, won't they allow their own citizens the right to express their desire for world-wide peace? Right wing journals and periodicals continuously explore this question only to reach basically the same conclusion. The Soviet Union wants only to permeate dissention in Western society while it seeks to be known as the world's keeper of peace. They have even been formally recognized for their peace efforts. The 1985 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW). "The IPPNW, for all intents and purposes, is part and parcel of the Soviet peace

movement and its "active measures" apparatus. The movement is for "peace" on Soviet terms."[95] Right wing conservatives were appalled and several politicians boycotted the award ceremony. The Nobel Committee certainly received major critisism for their decision.

Right wing ideology, concerning the peace movement, is concerned with Soviet involvement. They are concerned about the growing number of people who support unilateral disarmament and the growing sentiment that the United States is solely responsible for the arms race. Basically, the right wing ideology rests on the following three premises. First, right wing ideology states that "it is clear that the heat behind the nuclear freeze is being generated in Europe and North America through a Soviet political warfare campaign."[96] Communist fronts are used to persuade people of the Free World to support unilateral desarmament. Second, the nuclear freeze campaign defies logic. Those on the right see military weakness as inviting attack not detering it.[97] Unilateral disarmament calls for all nations of the Free World to disarm which leaves the Soviets the capability of first strike. Third, right wing ideology supports the statement, "The cause of tension between the Soviet Union and America is not the existence of nuclear weapons. The cause is the agressive nature of Communism."[98] Until the Soviet Union stops trying to force Communism on

other nations, the only alternative the Free World has is to create a strong defense to deter the Soviets.

Centrist

It is rather easy to find literature on left wing and right wing ideologies as the two have been evaluated, re-evaluated and discussed continuously throughout history. In fact, the two political ideologies are considerably active in formulating thoughts and ideas on today's peace movement. The challenge begins when one tries to examine those writers who are concerned with a centrist viewpoint; a centrist ideology. Is there really such an ideology? Can anyone be truly centrist in thought? David Curtis Skaggs wrote an interesting article that refers to Michael Howard as a "strategic owl operating between the hawks and doves."[99]

Exploring Michael Howard's centrist ideology further, we find he is an astute military historian and strategic analyst. Howard advocates a realist viewpoint in his writings and teachings. He seeks peace in the world that exists today, not in an ideal, nonexistent world.[100] The centrist feels that the state should be able to guard its cultural values with power as a morally neutral force.

Michael Howard's equally interesting view of the peace movement coincides with that of Maj Gen Watkins earlier quoted. Howard states, "The irony of the peace movement in

the West is that its ability to engage in such activities is guaranteed by the nuclear-tipped military machine against which it protects."[101] Thus, he does not advocate ridding America of this movement but he also does not give it total support. In fact, this is how Howard places himself in the center of the nuclear policy debate:

> The recipe of the CND doves seems likely to provoke exactly that catastrophe that we are all of us trying to avert. The advice of the hawks that we should develop a capacity to fight a nuclar war, based as it is on a worst-case analysis of a kind bordering on fantasy, is no more attractive. There remains no way to save the unspectacular programme of what I would term "the owls:" the patient negotiation of multi-lateral arms control, based on a sympathetic but reciprocal understanding of the adversary's own security problems combined with a prudent awareness that nuclear power, even if it is not used, is...a formidable weapon of intimidation in international politics."[102]

In another article that compares the hawks, doves, and owls and their perspective on the causes of nuclear war, it is evident that the owl continues to be the centrist viewpoint. The article summizes that the hawks and doves actually "share a common set of assumptions about the logic of the process by which war might come. Each sees war starting deliberately. Each assumes that national leaders with accurate information make a careful calculation of risks, costs, and benefits, and control the actions of their governments."[103] "Owls worry primarily about loss of control. In the owl's view, a major war might arise not from careful calculation but from organizational routines,

the malfunction of machines or of minds, misperceptions, misunderstandings, and mistakes."[104]

To best sum up the centrist ideology we must go back to Michael Howard and the point of view he holds;

> "That international conflict is an ineluctable product of interests, perceptions, and cultures; that armed conflict is immanent in any international system; but that war can and must be averted by patience, empathy,...[and] detailed work of inconspicuous statesmanship....Romantic gestures will do nothing to help."[105]

Summary

The history of protest in America has a rather distinguished and noble past. The American Revolution, the Civil War, the Anti-War Movement of the 60's, and the Civil Rights Movement. All of which were led by charismatic leaders. Each movement containing certain goals and strategies to meet those goals whether they be violent or non-violent. The type of protest that this study is concerned with is that which professes to be non-violent when reaching its goals.

The current peace movement, with its mixture of people from all over the world professes to be a non-violent group whose goal is peace for all. Does violence exist among these groups? It can safely be said that violence has the capacity to exist in large groups when the leaders lack control over all the people. A good example is the demonstrations in West Germany where there was some violence created by left wing radical groups. The violence also can

occur when frustrated police officers become overwhelmed and forceful with the protestors. This was seen in a June 1986 anti-nuclear demonstration in Northern Germany where several protestors were injured and arrested. Counter demonstrations may also cause violence during non-violent demonstrations. Several white people attempted to stop black non-violent protests during the 60's by intimidation and violence.

There are several theories presented why violence erupts during non-violent protests. Amitai Etzioni and James DeNardo present theories that suggest people who are either without the capability to express themselves politically or those groups that lose their power in numbers, may resort to violence to achieve their goals.

Other theories that are relevant to non-violent protest suggest that if each person lives each day in a non-violent manner than the world would be at peace. Other theories suggest that protest is contagious or that it could be random, that polite politics is not working in today's society and violence is inevitable, and there are even those who believe in just violence. In other words, the end justifies the violent means.

After reviewing all theories one can conclude that the violence is not planned, that is arises out of interaction between protestors and authorities, and that to eliminate it

we must seek change through social, economic, and political means.

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CHAPTER 3

Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Summary

The purpose of this study has been to examine and assimilate information on the non-violent peace movement of the 80's and its propensity to become violent. A secondary purpose was to examine the far left wing and extreme right wing ideologies as they relate to the current peace movement, exploring the accusation of widespread Soviet influence in shaping the movement's ideology.

The history of civil disobedience and protest in America has a noble lineage. The Boston Tea Party represented a massive act of civil disobedience, Henry David Thoreau advocated civil disobedience by not paying his taxes, and Martin Luther King, Jr., advocated nonviolence in the Civil Rights Movement of the 60's.

This study reveals that there is a direct possibility that any protest at any demonstration could result in the emergence of violence. Because the possibility exists, it is very important to know just how the violence occurs and why.

Violence occurs during a demonstration in one or a combination of three forms. The demonstrators themselves

may precipitate the violence. Amitai Etzioni's study of 75 violent demonstrations found that 38 acts of violence were started by the protestors. Violence can be created by unprofessional and frustrated police as was the case in several violent confrontations between police and protestors in the 60's. Also, violence can be found when a counter demonstration takes place.

Why does the violence occur? This study explored several theories to explain the existence of violence in nonviolent movements. A popular political theory suggests that due to lack of upward communication with lawmakers and lack of access to political tools, individuals may become frustrated and resort to violence to solidify their position. Other theories suggest that when a movement lacks power and support that it may make up for the deficiencies with violence.

Ultimately, those who support protest movements and those who do not, agree that violence will not assist anyone in seeking a positive resolution to the goals set. This study realized that there are acts of violence related to nonviolent protest groups and to the demonstrations in general, however, these are not generally supported by the leaders of the movements. Should nonviolent protest groups be condemmed because their actions, even though peaceful, precipitate violence, as they are in West Germany? If we take away the right to opinions, would this not be turning

against the very concepts that make our country so great? Martin Luther King, Jr., sums up the feeling of nonviolent protest with these words, "Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue."[1]

The study of the history of protest reveals that this nation has confronted several issues through time that has taken the nation forward. Nonviolent protest will continue to force the Free World to face issues and ask questions. The important goal now is to learn to deal with nonviolent protest strategies, maintaining the goals of nonviolence and the laws of the land.

Conclusions

Potential For Violence

It is an ironic issue at that, studying a peace movement whose commitment to nonviolence is strong, to ascertain if violence exists or could exist in the the movement. This study reveals that the movement has much to lose, nothing to gain by the use of violence. The tactical goals of the peace movement are:

> ...to present a favorable image to the public and elected officials through the new media;
>
> ...To reduce the potential for outbreaks of violence, which could not only lead to physical injury but also discredit the movement and divert attention from the nuclear power issue;

> ...to represent a contrast to the "violent technology" that the protestors claim nuclear power represents;
>
> ...to deflect actions by possible agents provocateurs of the kind that helped undermine the Vietnam peace movement;
>
> ...to maintain good relations and develop lines of communication with the police and National Guard.[2]

Most, if not all facets of the peace movement in the United States are committed to nonviolence and detest those militants in their midst who may ignite a political rally or march, into a violent scene. A detailed Rand Corporation study concluded that "There are no documented instances of any acts by U.S. groups that might have constituted violence against persons, a tactic fairly common in the European anti-nuclear movement, nor have there been any acts of "nuclear terrorism" endangering the public safety."[3]

Although no direct acts of violence toward individuals are recorded, the movement has inclined to turn toward acts of violence against property. A Clamshell splinter group called the Coalition for Direct Action at Seabrook put into effect the militant direct action strategy of damaging and destroying property at the site. This type of direct action provoked a distinct change in police strategy and initiated a more violent reaction from the authorities.

Clearly, the possibility for violence exists in every form of demonstration, rally, or march that any large protest movement is involved in. Violence, whether directed toward property or individuals, can result from a frustrated

movement whose goals and tactics are not realizing success. The literature suggests that left wing movements are in danger of losing sight of their non-violent goals and resorting to more militant action.

Practical Application of Theory

After reviewing political theories on nonviolent protest action, it is clear that theory and practice must work to come closer together. For example, Etzioni theorized in the 70's that minorities and the poor, who have the least access to voting, are the most likely to protest. They lack upward communication and access to political tools. This must be explored more in-depth, however, because in the 80's several influential groups of middle and upper class Americans are taking to the streets and protesting.

DeNardo's theory that there is power in numbers may not hold true in the real setting of a protest movement. He suggests that violence may occur during a nonviolent protest if official reaction is lacking or the numbers of support decrease. But, we saw the numbers decrease at Vandenberg Air Force Base, the M-X missile was test launched and the demonstrations did not become violent. One issue that DeNardo does put forth is that the violence may cost too much politically for those individuals who are involved in the protest movement. There is evidence of this in David R.

Carlin's article "Civil Disobedience, Self-Righteousness and the Antinuclear Movement" where he discusses his concern about acts of civil disobedience and possible violence and how it could hinder the movement.

The theory of personal nonviolence, as depicted by Gerard A. Vanderhaar, is a simple solution to a complicated world problem. He supports the theory that if every individual is nonviolent every day of his or her life there would be total peace in the world. War and violence are a fact of history throughout the ages and it is simply too idealistic to suggest that there could be a time when every living individual would be nonviolent. Donald R. Taft, an American sociologist, published a statement regarding the characteristics of a "crimeless society", he said;

> A crimeless society might have to reverse the trend toward impersonal relationships and restore the personalized culture of the past. It might need to restrict human freedom. It might resort to a return of religious superstitions as agencies of social control. Though different in some respects, such a crimeless society would seem more nearly to approximate primitive or peasant society, than does modern society....[4]

Society never reverts, it will always move ahead and therefore, if this description of a crimeless society is valid, we shall never observe a society without crime.

Mark Lichbach's contagion theory of protest can be applied to the peace movement's growth and momentum in the early 1980's. The impending U.S. deployment of missiles in Europe, in 1983, spurred the peace movement on to its

height. The movement was not random, it was meticulously planned and coordinated. The Rand Corporation documented, "there have been virtually no spontaneous anti-nuclear protest actions of any kind."[5] This theory can assist authorities in planning counter measures for a mass demonstration. Knowing the peace movement is virtually predictable, authorities can rely on past demonstrations for detailed information.

The theory that "polite politics" is not working today is supported by those who see protest movements becoming more aggressive. The literature proves that the peace movement is increasingly using more aggressive tactics to further their goals. Direct action such as obstructionist behavior and defacing property are used by factions of the movement. It may not be long before the movement becomes entirely frustrated and resorts to violence.

There are those in the extreme left wing faction who argue that violence used to eradicate nuclear weapons is "just violence." The theory behind just violence states that the end (ridding the world of nuclear weapons) justifies the means (violence). As this theory is studied, more facets of the peace movement are turning to just violence as a way to explain their motives and to justify their means.

Theory, in relation to nonviolent protest groups, suggests that the movement is slowly gravitating toward more

direct, aggressive action. The nonviolent protest clearly can escalate into a violent confrontation between protestors, authorities, and counter demonstrators.

Ideology

"If the antinuclear movement is so one-sided in its criticism, so quick to ignore Soviet militarism, aggression, and expansionism, is it possible that the entire antinuclear movement is controlled by the Soviets? There is no conclusive answer, but it appears that manipulation is a better description than control."[6]

The Soviets are in the thick of the battle between left wing and right wing ideologies. The extreme left wing believes that the United States is soley responsible for the nuclear arms race and advocates unilateral disarmament. Left wing ideologies that are not as extreme advocate equal responsibility for both the Soviet Union and the United States. The left continues to deny the Soviet's influence in the peace movement even though Communist ideology quite obviously exists. Right wing radicals, on the other hand, maintain that the Soviet Union manipulates the peace movement for its own political goals. They believe that a strong defense is the only way to deal with Soviet aggressiveness and expansionism.

The question is not if the Soviets are involved in the peace movement but to what degree are they involved. There

can be no denying that the Communist Party of America (CPUSA) plays an active role in the American peace movement recruiting members and participating in demonstrations. But, how much influence does the Communist party exert on the peace movement? The Rand Corporation finds that "while there is no doubt that the left represents a major force in the anti-nuclear movement, there is disagreement among observers as to the degree of direction and influence actually exerted by the CPUSA and such groups as the World Peace Council and the United States Peace Council."[7]

The extreme left wing calls for disarmament while the extreme right wing fights for deterrence. The peace movement contains left wing ideologies that appear to be manipulated by the Soviet Union. The right wing is concerned about the increasing one-sided view coming from the peace movement. The United States should not be held solely accountable for the arms race; the Soviet Union is equally responsible.

Michael Howard, the owl operating between the hawks and the doves asks;

> "Does "Peace mean the maintenance and wherever possible the incremental improvement of the existing international order, its preservation as a framework for continuing nonviolent intercourse--even though this involves the preservation of unjust relationships, domestic and international, throughout the world...? Or does it mean the elimination of those injustices at whatever cost to international stability, so as to create a more peaceful order?"[8]

Overall, it is imperative to remember that the peace movement has the legal right to assemble as long as laws are not broken. It is when the demonstration or protest becomes violent that the authorities must be concerned about and must be able to handle effectively.

Recommendations

There is a sudden change of emphasis in the peace movement from legal action to more dramatic forms of protest such as civil disobedience. Amitai Etzioni establishes responsiveness as the key to keeping nonviolent protests from becoming violent. He suggests that "a society which fails to respond effectively to its members, especially when the neglect of the needs of some of them has been accumulating and has been repeatedly called to its attention, will have little choice except between anarchy and tyranny."[9]

Leadership is another policy that is discussed for not only the movement itself but for the law enforcement agencies dealing with the protest. In The Report of the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism, it is recommended that dissident organizations should strive to adopt effective legal means of protest, that the leaders of the protest should assume responsibility for the conduct of their participants, and the general public (including the

media) should take special care to appreciate the political context of nonviolent protest activities.[10]

Law enforcement agencies must take an active part in assuring that nonviolent demonstrations remain just that, nonviolent. In 1982, when the Vandenberg Air Force Base Security Police began to prepare for the mass protests, the emphasis was on containment and nonviolent tactics for arresting the demonstrators. Several hours were devoted to teaching the police officers the motives and tactics of the protestors so they would be able to react appropriately to them. Over 500 demonstrators were arrested in one protest and no acts of violence were observed.

Law Enforcement agencies have a constitutional responsibility to protect the rights of nonviolent demonstrators. Police have been accused of overreaction and discrimination when attempting to control disorders. With protest movements on the rise again, it is imperative that all police departments, state police agencies, National Guard units, and military police agencies initiate positive training on handling protests.

Need For Further Study

Although several questions have been answered in relation to the existence of violence in nonviolent protest movements, the need for continued study and observation of demonstrations is necessary to ensure current data is

obtained. The peace movement is not static in operation, it continually evolves, changing its tactics and goals. As the political climate changes, so too will the movement. To fully understand the dynamics of this movement, deliberate, continuous study is needed.

This study has also pointed out the relationships between the extreme left and right wing ideologies and their relationship to the peace movement. Although the relationship is studied in-depth, the involvement of the Soviet Union in the peace movement is a virtual mystery. Further study is needed to determine the extent of the Soviet involvement in the movement and if it influences the propensity for violence.

Lastly, and possibly the most important issue for further study is the authorities reaction to protest movements and what can be done to maintain a nonviolent atmosphere. This type of information would be valuable to law enforcement planners who face the dilemma of protecting the rights of peaceful protestors and keeping the peace.

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> In the politics of order, people divide their attention between the changes to be accomplished and the accepted rules of society about the "legitimate" ways of bringing about change. In the politics of violence, people divide their attention between the changes to be accomplished and those powerful people who get in the way of change--the enemy. In the politics of disorder, people tend to reduce greatly their interest in both the given rules and the enemy; instead they focus very strongly on the changes to be accomplished.

To over-simplify a bit, in the politics of order, [people]...follow the rules; in the politics of violence, they attack their enemies; in the politics of disorder, they pursue change.[11]

Notes

[1] Martin Luther King, Jr., "Letter From Birmingham Jail," in American Protest in Perspective, ed. Robert W. Uphaus (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1971), p. 328.

[2] Steven E. Barkan, "Strategic, Tactical, and Organizational Dilemmas of the Protest Movement Against Nuclear Power," Social Problems, 27, no. 1 (October 1979): 26.

[3] Victoria L. Daubert and Sue Ellen Moran, Origins, Goals, and Tactics of the U.S. Anti-Nuclear Protest Movement (California: The Rand Corporation, 1985), p. 12.

[4] Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey, Criminology Tenth Edition (J. B. Lippincott Company, 1978) p. 687.

[5] Daubert, p. 7.

[6] Colonel Stephen C. Mannell, "Antinuclear Demonstrations and the Antinuclear Movement," (Research Report, Air University, 1985), p. 32.

[7] Daubert, p. 18.

[8] David Curtis Skaggs, "Of Hawks, Doves, and Owls: Michael Howard and Strategic Policy," Armed Forces & Society 11, no. 4 (Summer 1985): 611.

[9] Amitai Etzioni, Demonstration Democracy (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1970), p. 57.

[10] National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, Report of the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism, (Washington, D.C.: n.p., 1976), p. 362.

[11] John Lofland, Protest (New Jersey: Transaction, Inc., 1985), p. 262.

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