



NON-VIOLENCE AND PEACE BUILDING

MANUAL

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“When elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers.”

Uganda

Executive Summary

- The Continental Leadership Research Institute (CLRI) with the support of the US Embassy in Zambia is pleased to begin a series of non-violence and Peacebuilding programmes in Zambia targeting youths and women. The manual is designed to be a reference for men, women, boys and girls as they work to create a culture of peace in Zambia.
- We hope this manual will be useful to men, women, boys and girls as Zambia goes to the polls in August 2021. The manual focuses on skills and techniques that young people need to resolve disputes non-violently. The ultimate aim is to provide resources to youths to spread the message of peacebuilding and conflict transformation to their colleagues. This includes assuming the responsibility to challenge and transform forms of violence before, during and after elections into sustainable peace.

Mundia Paul Hakoola

Executive Director

1th June 2021



MODULE ONE





INTRODUCTION TO VIOLENCE

- Social change is often characterized through violent events.
- Violence begets violence, while non-violence is a way of life founded on the basis of truth and love.
- Module one will cover violence and how it starts.
- Youths will also be introduced to the history of violence in Zambia and the involvement of youths in politics.
- Violence all over the world develops in stages and escalates in phases and magnitude.
- What this indicates is that violence transits from one stage to another.
- Youths should understand exhaustively and extensively the stages of violence as well as its phases and cycles.

THE POWER OF MAN

- Once upon a time, the animals used to hold an annual power celebration. Recently, the celebration had become very competitive. New winners emerged because of new techniques. Last year Monkey was the winner. Imagine! All the animals agreed that the monkey had succeeded in demonstrating new techniques of power and merited the first place. This year the competition was a little different. A new animal joined the race—Man. Most animals had not given him any chance but he had sailed through the preliminaries. The finals were held up the hill of Kwetu Forest overlooking the waterfall of hope. The five finalists were the Lion, Elephant, Monkey, Giraffe, and Man.
- As usual, the competitors arrived with their supporters. Monkey was the first to arrive. No one quite saw how Monkey arrived because he was jumping from branch to branch. It looked spectacular as the entire Monkey family arrived like a well-choreographed circus. Next was Lion who dislikes ceremony and arrived with only his wife. He looked around proudly as he stepped into the arena. Elephant and Giraffe are rather close friends and arrived almost at the same time. Elephant arrived chewing a branch while Giraffe nibbled some sweet leaves. Man arrived last. He came alone, with an object dangling from his waist.
- The master of ceremony, Squirrel, announced that the competition should begin. According to the rules, the competitors could step into the arena as soon as they felt ready. Elephant went first and demonstrated his power by digging a large hole, throwing lots of dust and making a lot of noise. Giraffe came next and did a poor modification of her dance of power but the melody sounded nice. She danced around gracefully then sat down. Monkey weighed in with his acrobatic jumps from branch to branch but few animals seemed impressed. Lion roared to demonstrate his power. Few animals were afraid since they had heard this roar many times before.
- Last came the new competitor, Man. He stepped into the arena and looked around. The animals fell silent. Slowly he untied something from his waist and raised it to his shoulder. Loud bangs followed. Suddenly almost every other competitor was bleeding. Lion was limping, and Monkey scampered with blood oozing from his ear. Even Elephant seemed helpless! He sat there with a bleeding trunk doing something that was between laughing and crying. Man laughed and slowly walked back into the forest.
- That night all the animals met. Man was not invited. The animals wondered what had become of Man. Why did he attempt to kill the animals even when he did not want to eat them? Some animals thought Man is different because he walks on his two feet, while others said he could be suffering from that rare disease, “superiority simplex.” The animals decided to investigate Man further. Dog and Cat were given the task to investigate Man and bring back a report. However, since then, no other competitions have been held. Dog and Cat seem to enjoy living with Man, once they accepted to be subject to Man’s control. They have not brought back a report.



- How did the animals define power?
- How do you define power?
- From the story, identify the sources of violence.
- What is the source of violence before, during and after the elections?
- Is violence the same as power?
- Why does violence erupt before, during and after elections in Zambia?
- Discuss the statement: “Violent leaders are powerless individuals.”

- The “Power of Man” illustrates that beyond the power of violence are other forms of power, including might, strength, and authority, to mention a few.
- The animals came together to celebrate their natural talents in a festival.
- Their competition was not about controlling or dominating the other. Instead, they demonstrated their gifts so that the community could know what each was able to contribute to it.
- The power that the animals displayed was not the power of domination, but the power of working together, each with his/her own unique skills and abilities. When another animal—man—entered the competition and brought a new form of power—violence—into the competition, the joyous sharing of power ended.



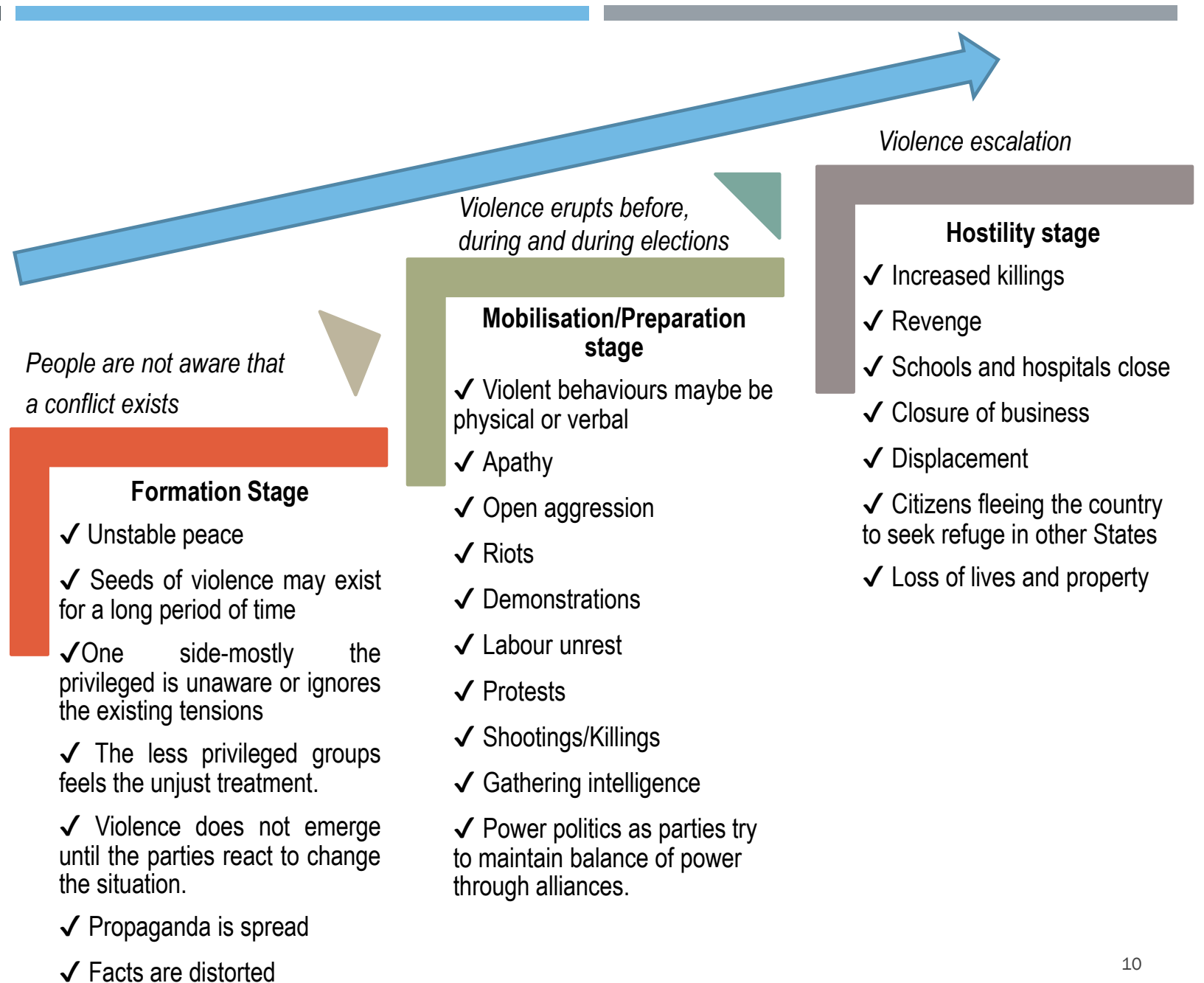
STAGES OF VIOLENCE



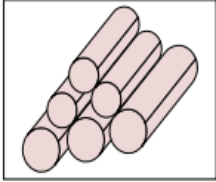
“Young people and youths have been given the means to hurt and kill each other. It seems like the streets have been made safe for guns and violence, not for youth. Violence has become an expected part of our lives. We need to discuss where violence starts, so that we can stop it. We need to speak out and take action before violence happens.”

- There is a lack of awareness about injustices and imbalances of power.
- Youths need to erase ignorance of injustice and imbalances of power in order to avoid violence before, during and after elections.
- It is important to know that violence does not occur in a flash; before it erupts there must be an object of divergence, disagreement and differences.
- Before violence starts there must be a disagreement or difference over one thing or the other which may be tangible or intangible.
- Avoid violence because when the issues in dispute becomes more severe in nature it is hard for people to be objective enough to discuss the matter in an open and constructive manner.
- Here are the stages of violence

- Violence at all levels has certain predictable dynamics.
- May people have tried to identify the progression of violence
- During the latent violent stage, the parties involved don't realize there's a conflict brewing.
- In this stage, violence hasn't yet started, but there's a potential for it to start.
- Depending on the emotions of the people involved, the latent stage can quickly escalate into violence.
- The stages helps us look at violence differently. Violence is not simply the behaviour that relates to our perceptions of conflict.
- When we are aware that we are impacting the other person, but we continue to act in the same way, then violence manifests.



Violence is like fire.....



Stage 1: Gathering materials for the fire. In the early stage, materials for the fire are collected. Some of these materials are drier than others, but there is no fire yet. However, there is movement towards fire and the materials are readily available. During this stage people usually experience violence because of unjust structures and social systems.



Stage 2: Fire begins burning: In the second stage, a match is lit and the fire begins to burn. Usually a confrontation between parties, like a large public demonstration, serves as the match, which quickly ignites the dry, waiting materials. Confrontation usually means that the injustices and frustrations are being rejected publicly.



Stage 3: Bonfire: During the third stage, the fire burns as far and fast as it can, burning wildly out of control. In this stage, the violence reaches a crisis and just like the fire it consumes the materials fuelling it. When the violence get “hot,” those involved often resort to destroying property, killing etc in order to win – although usually, both sides end up losing something. The physical violence refers to actions that people purposefully do to harm, maim or kill others. War is the most organised form of overt violence that we humans have invented.

What do youths need to do:

- Provide civic education on violence prevention in schools, churches and communities;
- Educate peers on the impact of violence and strategies for change;
- Inform the media on the causes, impact, and solutions to violence;
- Provoke policy makers and political actors to take action to prevent violence;
- Provide positive role models for young people and youths.



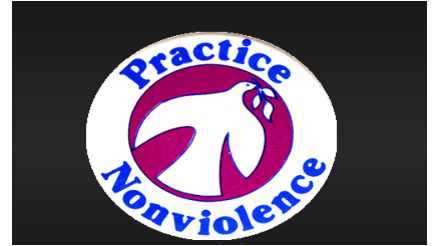
MODULE TWO

The ultimate weakness of violence is that it is a descending spiral, begetting the very thing it seeks to destroy. Instead of diminishing evil, it multiplies it. Through violence you murder the hater, but you do not murder hate. In fact, violence merely increases hate. Returning violence for violence multiplies violence, adding deeper darkness to a night already devoid of stars. Darkness cannot drive out darkness; only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate; only love can do that.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.



INTRODUCTION TO NON-VIOLENCE



- The module discusses strategies for embarking on the path of peace by applying nonviolent approaches to resolving issues and conflict.
- It presents an overview of nonviolent action, including accessible explanations of theories, methods, dynamics, and mechanisms.
- Case studies from Africa counter the myth that nonviolent action has not been used or has been unsuccessful among the continent's constituent nations and societies.
- We hope this will help to awaken curiosity and shed light on important, but sometimes forgotten, popular struggles that have achieved justice, transformation, reconciliation, and human rights through the use of nonviolent struggle.
- The contents in this module will serve to crystallise thinking on nonviolent action in the minds of the youths and it is hoped, lead to constructive dialogue and the peaceful resolution of violence before, during and after elections.
- Although nonviolent struggle has long been a form of individual and personal witness, this manual is concerned with its employment as a technique of fighting for social change.
- The concern here is not with interpersonal conflicts, which deserves a manual of their own, but instead with disputes and strife among groups at the local, communal and national levels.
- The focus is not on addressing nonviolence in the normative sense, as a value, although the moral attributes of fighting for justice without doing harm to the target group, combined with its practicality, make this method highly desirable.

THE THREE RED BULLS

- Once upon a time in a Loma village, three bulls lived. The three bulls, Red Bull, Black Bull and White Bull, agreed to live together to help each other in times of trouble. One cold evening during the rainy season, the three bulls sat near the fire enjoying the sounds of the forest around them. Suddenly they were startled by the sound of heavy footsteps. Immediately a thunderstorm poured, making it impossible for them to detect the sounds of the approaching footsteps.
- Not knowing what to do, they all looked in the direction from where the sound had come. Finally, Red Bull said they could not continue to look in one direction. “Each of us must look in different directions since we cannot see what is happening.” The others agreed. Each watched in a different direction. They were alert and ready to fight.
- After a long silence, Black Bull announced in a low but forceful voice that expressed fear, “It is the long awaited enemy, Leopard.” Red and White Bull hurried to their friend’s side. Although Leopard was an expert warrior, he came to a stop when he saw the three big bulls standing together. Leopard realised that he could not kill the bulls when they were together. He needed to find a way to kill them one at a time. He finally came up with a plan of action.
- Leopard began moving towards the bulls with calm confident steps. The three bulls did not trust his calmness. They asked, “How is it that you are about to fight without any investigation?” Leopard replied, “I have never been here before and would not be here now except for one reason. A few days ago, Black Bull completely destroyed my garden and everything I have worked for over months, so please excuse me and let me do what is right.” Red Bull and White Bull allowed their friend, Black Bull, to be murdered and eaten by Leopard.
- Later Leopard returned. This time, he stated that White Bull had offended him. Again, Red Bull let him have his will, and Leopard killed White Bull. Finally during the dry season while Red Bull was cleaning up, he heard someone calling from outside: “Come out here you fool, or else I will break in. You are my dinner tonight.” Before Red Bull could think, Leopard broke through the unlocked door and began his feast.



- “Leopard took advantage of the Bulls nonviolent approach.” Why?
- What would have been an alternative approach to the conflict by all the animals?
- “People who use violence seem more creative and clever than those who use nonviolence.” Do you agree?
- Make a list of stories, proverbs, stereotypes and prejudices we hold about other people. Discuss their origins and how they affect you.
- Make a list of stereotypes that you may have heard through the media and discuss their origins and how they affect your thinking and responses to violence.
- List activities that would help you overcome some of the challenges posed by stereotypes and prejudices?

- It seems almost natural that we all bear prejudices and stereotypes.
- Some psychologists argue that the human mind forms categories to help us understand the world in a manner that is predictable.
- Some stereotypes start as jokes. However, history tells us that stereotypes and prejudices may lead to discrimination and violence.
- Nonviolence is a deliberate and calculated effort to raise structural and/or covert conflict to the consciousness of parties involved while renouncing violence at the same time.
- Principled Nonviolence perceives violence as a product of unjust structures in relationships and societies.
- Principled Nonviolence is based on faith or moral values. It is the way of life. It cannot be analysed or rationalised.
- Some values of nonviolence observed in Africa include love, mutuality, inclusivity, truth, justice, and respect for strangers, respect for women, the elderly, children, and the vulnerable of society.
- Strategic Nonviolence applies techniques and skills to effect change.
- Strategic nonviolence persuades through social, economic, and political acts.
- The major element that is employed in strategic nonviolence is relational power.
- Strategies include persuasion, manipulation, and coercion. Practitioners of strategic nonviolence believe that in the end, these tactics are more powerful than violence in achieving their goals.

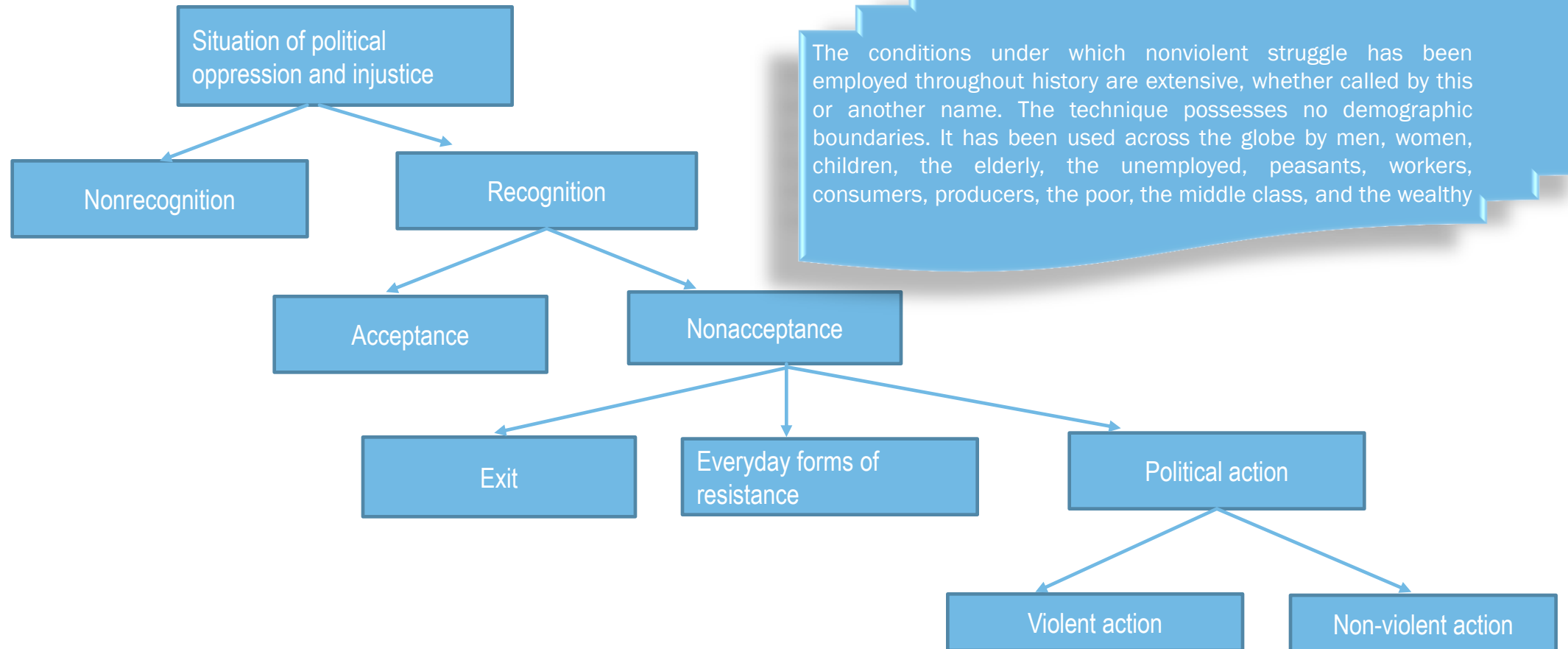


NON-VIOLENT STRATEGIES

“It is the action, not the fruit of the action, that is important. You have to do the right thing. It may not be in your power, may not be in your time, that there will be any fruit. But that doesn’t mean you stop doing the right thing. You may never know what results come from your action. But if you do nothing, there will be no result.”

—Mahatma Gandhi.

RESPONSES TO POLITICAL OPPRESSION



The conditions under which nonviolent struggle has been employed throughout history are extensive, whether called by this or another name. The technique possesses no demographic boundaries. It has been used across the globe by men, women, children, the elderly, the unemployed, peasants, workers, consumers, producers, the poor, the middle class, and the wealthy

When groups choose to employ violence to alleviate a grievance or hardship, a path of destruction is left in their wake. People are harmed in the immediate sense, and violence begins to substitute for addressing grievances and more general political processes. Changes in the society or community may still occur, yet violence leaves long-term trauma.



Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was a civil rights leader who followed the philosophy of change through nonviolence, based on the beliefs and methods of Mahatma Gandhi.

King promoted resisting racial discrimination through such actions **as sit-ins, boycotts, and peaceful marches and demonstrations.**

His objective was to let violent oppressors show themselves and the world how morally and legally corrupt is the practice of racial injustice.

At the time that he delivered this speech in 1966, some people in the civil rights movement were promoting the use of violence as a means to racial equality, but Dr. King believed that violence would give the opposition something to use to rally support against the civil rights movement

“ . . . I am convinced that for practical as well as moral reasons, nonviolence offers the only road to freedom for my people. In violent warfare, one must be prepared to face ruthlessly the fact that there will be casualties by the thousands . . . ”



“There are many people who feel that it is useless and futile to continue talking about peace and non-violence against a government whose only reply is savage attacks on an unarmed and defenceless people.”

Nelson Mandela supported Gandhi’s ideas about non-violence but became frustrated at the lack of impact nonviolence was having.

He started to believe that some armed resistance was necessary and joined in civil disobedience campaigns which included advocating bombings and the sabotage of power lines and transport links. These campaigns aimed to avoid civilian casualties but not those of the police or army who enforced apartheid laws.

Mandela also organised peaceful strikes from workers and refused to comply with laws about where black South Africans could travel.

It was for the latter two activities that he was jailed in 1964 and was sent to a prison on Robben Island.

He came to believe that while it was understandable that when people were mistreated they might consider violence, he also realised that it was not working to bring about the changes he wanted.

Violent acts that aimed to frighten the white minority resulted in greater fear but this only led to greater force being used against the black majority.

From prison, he started to move towards promoting and supporting resistance that was nonviolent. This included **strikes** in South Africa, the **boycott** of South African goods abroad and the establishment of the African National Congress as a political party.

The non-violent action gained greater support for the cause of equality and meant that while many white South Africans did not like the idea of giving up privileges, they no longer believed that they had to fear a system where all were granted equal rights



“The moment you have protected an individual, you have protected society.”

Kenneth Kaunda was one of the most outspoken supporters of nonviolent action.

Throughout the struggle, Kaunda endorsed nonviolence and spoke against racialism. He told people not to attack white settlers.

He observed that the capabilities of nonviolence were still largely undiscovered and that he estimated it was a method of great potential.

He admitted that his own and others' attempts to be nonviolent would be necessarily imperfect. Often times the officers of UNIP had been convicted of rioting, murder, assaults on the police and incitement to violence, but Kaunda never condoned the violence.

Kaunda noted that nonviolence works especially well if it is contrasted to immanent or existing violence.

Kaunda went on a 3,000 mile pilgrimage across Zambia, preaching nonviolence.

Zambians supported Kaunda's leadership because there was no bloodshed in his way of fighting for freedom. Zambians called the campaign for freedom “Cha Cha Cha” meaning “face the music.” They held huge bonfires of African Identification Certificates, reminiscent of Gandhi's earlier burning of passes in South Africa.



NONVIOLENCE



“Much silence has a mighty noise.”

Tanzania

- How can we embody our traditions and religions of peaceful resistance to injustice?
- What insights can we draw from these stories?
- Why should youths engage in non-violence as we prepare for the elections in August?
- What other non-violent strategies can youths use before, during and after the elections?



THOUGHTS FOR A PEACEBUILDER

“We can do no great things, only small things with great love.”

—Mother Teresa



This manual is not meant to provide specific skills and methodologies. Instead, it is meant to raise questions and stimulate thinking about issues important on elections and youths can promote peace and non-violence before, during and after elections.

The preceding module includes peacebuilding, questions to consider, and thoughts about the issues raised by the stories.

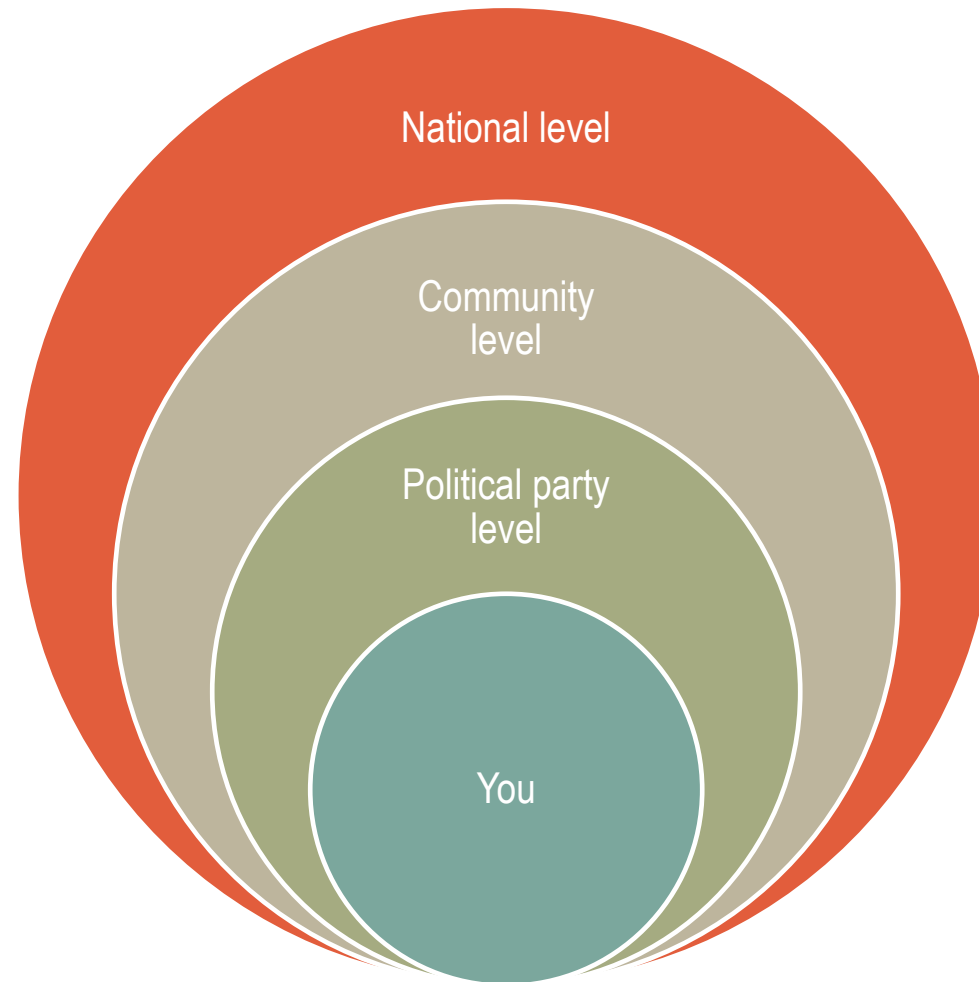
This final section focuses on ideas that you as a peacebuilder may find useful. Remember that these are just suggestions and that culture, circumstances, your own critical thinking and your heart are more important than any “technique” or “method” of peacebuilding.

THINK SHORT-TERM AND LONG-TERM

- A woman had a child who was very hungry and crying for food. The woman took the last money she had and went to the market. She bought bread to take home to feed her child that night.
- However, the mother was wise and she didn't use all of her money for bread. She took some of it and bought beans for planting. She went home, prepared her farm and planted the beans. She knew that these plants would not ease her child's hunger today, but she also knew that with proper care the bean seeds would start producing in a few weeks, and the beans she harvested would feed her child for many months.
- This mother was indeed wise and she saved enough of her money to buy a mango. She fed the fish to her child and carefully planted the seed. Over the months, she tended the seed carefully, although she knew that her child would be grown before the tree produced its first mango. However, she knew that once the mango tree grew to maturity, she would feed her not only her own grandchildren but also all the children of the entire community with the fruit from that mango tree.
- Then, this very wise mother took her very last coin and visited the tree nursery where she purchased a very small mahogany seedling. She took the seedling home, and carefully planted it in a corner of her homestead. She faithfully watered that small seedling, and protected it from goats and other possible harm and she taught her child to do the same.
- She knew that she would tend this mahogany tree throughout her entire lifetime and her child would do the same, without reaping any benefit from it. But she also knew that by the time her greatgrandchildren were born, they would play under the shade of that mahogany tree, and her great-great grandchildren would be able to harvest that tree and build a strong and sturdy house that would last for many more generations.

LEVELS OF PEACEBUILDING AND TRANSFORMATION

- For peacebuilding to be comprehensive, youths needs to look at how violence affects them, the members of the party, the community and citizens at a national level
- For peacebuilding to be strategic, it can focus on one particular depth of issue and try to maximize change at an individual level while also trying to affect change at other levels.



- Read a story of violence from a newspaper, internet or radio broadcast or social media. Imagine that you are a person involved in the violence. What are the possibilities for working for a peaceful resolution of the conflict? As a peacebuilder in this situation, what would be your first activity?
- In your peacebuilding, are you buying bread, harvesting beans, or planting trees? Are you aware of both the short- and long-term consequences of your actions?
- What kind of society do you want your children and grandchildren to inherit?
- Are your actions moving your community or country (in very small steps) towards that vision?

*“God grant me the serenity to accept the things
I cannot change, courage to change the things
I can and wisdom to know the difference.”*

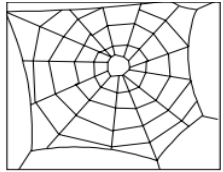
—Reinhold Niebuhr

- When violence erupts, people can quickly lose hope, becoming discouraged and cynical.
- Violence can seem endless, peaceful resolution seems impossible.
- Peacebuilding is a long-term, often rocky journey. Quick and easy solutions are not often possible.
- It can be very discouraging to work hard to bring people together, only to realise that the violence has actually worsened.
- Working as a peacebuilder often means dealing with other people’s anger, fear, and pain.
- Peacebuilders can be seen as disloyal to their own family, tribe, political party or community by trying to work with people on various sides.
- Peacebuilding requires energy and great inner strength to continue to work for peaceful solutions in the midst of swirling emotions, tensions, and violent acts.
- It also is important for you to recognise your limits and to pull back when necessary to preserve your emotional, physical, and spiritual stability.

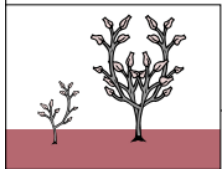
OPERATING LEVELS OF PEACEBUILDING: HOW CAN WE HAVE PEACEFUL ELECTIONS?



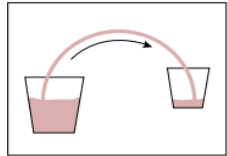
Comprehensive: As a peacebuilder you need to be able to see the overall picture in order to affect change. Lasting peace comes from addressing the multiple sources of violence at multiple levels of society. This suggests you need to develop lenses to identify the needs of those you are working with, a vision of what you are working towards, actions that can get you there, and a design or plan that you can use as a guide. To do this, you must be able to step back from the swirl of day-to-day crises around you and situate your actions and daily events within a broader vision and purpose.



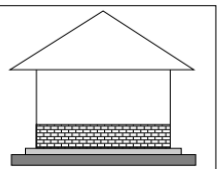
Independence: Peacebuilding involves a system of interconnected people, roles, and activities. No one person, activity, or level of society is capable of designing and delivering peace on their own. All things are linked and mutually affect one another. With people at the core, peacebuilding is intimately connected to the nature and quality of relationships. Peacebuilding builds and supports the interdependent relationships necessary for pursuing and sustaining desired changes. So before, during and after elections, you must develop processes that forge relationships with people or groups who are like-minded to build a culture of peace in Zambia.



Sustainability: Building peace is a long-term prospect. Violence occurs over generations and you should expect that peacebuilding will take no less time. For peacebuilding to be sustainable, you need to pay attention to where your activities and energies are leading you. Rather than thinking only about the immediate and coming up with effective responses to issues and violence, sustainability requires that you think about what will create an on-going capacity within the settings for responding to and transforming recurring cycles of violence. Like sustainable development, sustainable peacebuilding seeks to discover and strengthen the resources rooted in the context of understanding the root causes of violence before, during and after elections.



Strategic: For the specific programmatic actions ensure that you are strategic. That means learning to respond proactively to emerging, dynamic social situations and meeting immediate concerns and needs, while at the same time reinforcing a larger, longer term change process. As you design and assess peacebuilding actions/activities link them to the immediate needs and the desired vision of change. Be crisis-responsive and not crisis-driven and this requires a strategic assessment of the activities you are working on, including the what, where, and how of the activities.



Infrastructure: Infrastructure is needed to provide the social spaces, logistical mechanisms and institutions necessary for supporting the process of change and long-term vision of peace. The foundations are people, their relationships and the social spaces you need to support the process of transforming division and violence to increased respect and interdependence and increased involvement in and responsibility for building peace. The infrastructure provides the basic support that enables you to weather the immediate crises/violence while patiently pursuing the slow, long-term desired change within a context of relationships whenever elections are held.



“If we are to teach real peace in this world and if we are to carry on a real war against war, we shall have to begin with the children.”

– Mahatma Gandhi

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