Nonviolent Weapons

The Transnationalism of Nonviolent Resistance

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Abstract

This thesis takes a deep historical look at the adaptation of Mohandas Gandhi's nonviolent ideology and strategy in the civil rights movement in the American South in order to understand the composition, construction, and behavior of the modern nonviolent movement known as 15M in Spain. The complete translation of Gandhi's repertoire resulted in the formation of subversive groups, or contentious communities, which shared the common goal of desegregation and cultural integration of the southern black population. These contentious communities regrouped in nonviolent efforts, and interacted as a groupuscule with the same ideology.

This adaptation of nonviolent ideology and strategy also recently occurred in what is known as the 15M movement in Spain. The 15M movement is similarly composed of many diverse contentious communities whose collective purpose is economic equality and increased representation in government.

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Glossary of Key Terms and Organizations

Terms

Ahisma: Nonviolence, conceived both as a personal and a political value as an active agent of change (Dalton "Selected Political Writings" 159).

Campaign: A series of observable collective actions with at least 1000 participants to achieve a political objective (Chenoweth and Lewis 416-417).

Groupuscule: A network of organizations with a similar social or political goal. Organizations within groupuscules cooperate either by participating in collective action, or by networking their organization's supporters with other organizations with similar ideologies.

Meta-Politics: Political action that takes place outside of the tradition political scheme of voting for representation. Often associated with political protest and civil disobedience.

Satyagraha: Commonly translated as "soul-force," satyagraha is now used to describe nonviolent resistance campaigns which stem from Gandhi's nonviolent ideology.

Swaraj: Freedom in both an external and internal sense. The external swaraj regards political independence and self-rule. The internal swaraj stems from the Hindu and Buddhist ideas of spiritual liberation, specifically freedom from illusion, fear, and ignorance. In Gandhi's eyes, internal swaraj on a societal level was only achievable through satyagraha.

Organizations in the Civil Rights Movement:

ACMHR- The Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights- A smaller movement based out of Birmingham which partnered with the SCLC in 1963 (Barkan- 599).

DFD- Deacons for Defense (and Justice)- An armed self-defense oriented group formed in 1964 in Jonesboro, Louisiana in order to protect local blacks from the Ku Klux Klan (Boyer 254). They would later go on to serve as armed guards for camps during SCLC and SNCC marches.

FOR- Fellowship of Reconciliation. The largest American Pacifist organization of the 1920s (Chabot 48). Members of FOR included some of the early scholars who translated Gandhi's work into American society. Additionally, members of FOR splintered off to

form many of the contentious communities that would be key actors in the civil rights movement during the 1960s.

CORE- (1942- present) Congress (originally *committee*)(Chabot 95) of Racial Equality - Founded by Bernice Fischer, Homer Jack, and George Houser. Originally an offshoot of FOR, CORE served to "mobilize the brotherhood" and begin collective action campaigns by the black population. CORE was the first contentious community formed from FOR.

MFDP- (1961-1965) Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party- A political party within the Democratic Party in Mississippi established to challenge the sitting democrats for seats at the 1964 democratic convention in Atlantic City.

MOWM- (1940-1947) March on Washington Movement- Founded by labor movement leader Asa Philip Randolph, originally to pressure FDR into ending discrimination in the armed forces. Created the "We Are Americans Too!" conference that was preceded by race riots in Detroit, ultimately leading to the MOWM's demise (Chabot 101-102).

SNCC- (1960-1968) Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee- Started in 1960, SNCC (pronounced "snick") was regarded as an organization of organizers. They led sit-ins and many voter registration projects in the South. In the later years of their 8-year existence, their offices served as centers of community organizing and political activity (The Movement).

SCLC- (1957-Present) Southern Christian Leadership Conference- Started by Martin Luther King and 60 other black ministers in the wake of the Montgomery Bus Boycott with the purpose of "securing the right of ballot for every citizen (Chabot 138).

Organizations in Spain

15M- Also referred to as 15-M, M15, and the *Indignados*, 15M is the collective resistance campaign that emerged within Spain in 2011.

Democracia Real Ya – Translated as "Real Democracy Now"; Democracia Real Ya was an early umbrella organization for 15M protester, and the original organization to call for public assembly on the 15th of May, 2011.

PP- Partido Popular, translated as the "People's Party". The more conservative of the dominant parties within Spain that has held the parliament since 2011, with Mariano Rajoy as the Prime Minister.

PSOE- Partido Social Obrero Español, translated as the "Spanish Socialist Workers' Party". The social-democratic federalist party that held the parliament from 2004 until 2011.

Preface

My introduction to the topic of nonviolent resistance came in 2012 when I was studying abroad in Granada, Spain. The financial crisis was at its worst point, and just months after arriving I began to see large-scale demonstrations, including general strikes that shut down the entire city for days at a time. Strikes, marches, and sit-ins became a regular part of daily life there, whether by fellow students at the university, teachers, or trash workers refusing to pick up the garbage, making some streets to overflow with garbage.

In February of 2013, I moved into an apartment with three strangers. My new roommates decided to bring me to several illegally occupied spaces known as *okupas*, including one known as the *Biblioteca Social* or the *Biblioteca Anarquista* (Social Library or Anarchist Library, Figure 1). At that okupa, I was asked to translate for visiting members of the Occupy Seattle movement, after some of the group's members had been indicted by a grand jury and had faced extensive periods in solitary confinement. The okupa was being used as an educational center for those resisting against their state. Classes in how to resist nonviolently and how to live a nonviolent life were free and frequent.

Meanwhile, across the street, somebody had painted swastikas on a garage door (Figure 3). One of my roommates told me that this was because the *Biblioteca Social* was seen as a home for anti-fascists. A few months later, violence erupted at the *Biblioteca,* as what they believed was a neo-Nazi threw a Molotov cocktail into the doorway.

I was not present for this incident, but I was there as they later discussed how they should respond. To my surprise, there were few calls to attack them. People said that if they acted violently towards the neo-Nazis, they would only respond back with more violence.

Thus, I was introduced to the nonviolent strategy both within the confines of the *Biblioteca Social* and every day on the streets filled with protesters. It was unlike anything I had ever seen within the United States. The sizes of the protests were stupefying. I knew I wanted to learn more about nonviolent resistance and understand its roots.

In order to learn more about the movement, I decided to apply for a UROP grant to fly back to Spain and see where the protest culture had lead them. Upon returning to the country in December 2014, it was immediately clear that profound societal change had occurred. In my three weeks back, I did not see a single public protest, while in my year living there there wasn't a single week without at least one protest. While the crisis was often the first subject discussed in conversations in 2012-2013, the topic had largely been abandoned in conversations with friends in the country.

Several people who I talked to told me that the movement was no longer necessary because of the formation of the political party *Podemos*, which created a political voice for the protestors. Others told me that the *Podemos* party was merely being opportunistic, and was seizing a large portion of the population's votes by pandering to the populist movement. This was one of the most contentious debates I saw between former 15M members who I interviewed.

The lack of public assembly made me think that Spain was well on its way to economic recovery, but all economic indicators say that the economic outlook is just about as dismal as it was at the peak of the crisis. It is the outlook, not the economy, that has changed the country.

Part I
Nonviolent Resistance Campaigns

In this thesis, I will explore the transnational nature of nonviolent resistance campaigns and the transfer of nonviolent ideologies and strategies. First, nonviolent resistance campaigns must be defined.

Nonviolent Resistance

One of the bigger regrets in Gandhi's career was his coining of the term "passive resistance" to describe nonviolent resistance (Ackerman and Rodal 124)(Mantena 462). It was a regrettable term, because the idea that Gandhi's version of nonviolent resistance, *satyagraha*, is at all passive is a mistake. As author Kurt Shock puts it, "it is not submissiveness, it is not the avoidance of conflict, and it is not passive resistance. In fact, nonviolent action is a direct means for prosecuting conflicts with opponents and is an explicit rejection of inaction, submission, and passivity" (Shock 6-7). Nonviolent resistance is aggressive. It involves risk to one's own wellbeing (Shock 7). It can be used by anyone for any means, regardless of the morality of the intended ends.

Within the context of a nonviolent resistance campaign, a complete abstinence from violence by everyone involved with a campaign is not required for a movement to be considered nonviolent. There is an inherent problem with defining a campaign as *violent* or *nonviolent*. No campaign in history has been either completely violent, or completely nonviolent. Additionally, the perception of the violence of a campaign is largely determined by the interstate politics of a conflict and its reflection in mass media.

A modern example of the skewed perception of violence was the west's perception of the last two years of the first intifada of Palestine from 1992-1994 (Chenoweth and Lewis 418).

While imagery in mass media often reflected the throwing of rocks and Molotov cocktails in the intra-Palestinian infighting, leading many to define the conflict as violent, the Israeli Defense Forces reported that over 97% of Palestinian activity was nonviolent during the first intifada (Chenoweth and Lewis 418). This problem is not limited just to the Palestinian resistance campaigns, since each resistance campaign has its own political interests in the portrayal of the resistors.

Much of the scholarly work seeks to simplify the aggregation of resistance campaigns by declaring campaigns as violent or nonviolent. However it is clear upon deeper analysis that these declarations create a false dichotomy, and any campaign can include both nonviolent and violent participants and incidents. Thus, any declarations of a movement as violent or nonviolent are usually made by giving an arbitrary line in the sand, like x- number of violent incidences or x- number of casualties. A clear example of this is the Correlates of War database which only declares an incident as interstate war if there have been over 1000 casualties (Stephan et al. 17). These numbers are not necessarily the same across studies, and as such should not be referred to as absolute definitions of violent campaigns or nonviolent campaigns.

However, despite each one having violent incidents within their history, the three campaigns assessed in this thesis are widely accepted as nonviolent movements. Nonviolence is a common theme throughout statements from the leadership and in the literature from all three movements. Nonviolence was and is also understood as necessary for achieving the stated goals of each movement.

Campaigns and Their Likelihood of Nonviolence

Another term that needs to be defined is *campaign.* Throughout history resistance campaigns have been constant, although they have taken many forms. For the sake of this thesis, I adopt the definition of campaign from Erica Chenoweth and Orion A Lewis in *Unpacking Nonviolent Campaigns: Introducing the NAVCO 2.0 Dataset* which is "A series of observable, continuous, purposive mass tactics or events in pursuit of a political objective […] with at least 1000 observed participants followed within a year by another contentious even with 1000 or more observed participants" (Chenoweth and Lewis 416-417). According to Chenoweth and Lewis, there have been 250 campaigns that have sought to overthrow an existing regime since 1945 (Chenoweth and Lewis 416).

There is already significant scholarly work that looks at the likelihood of whether or not a campaign will adopt nonviolent ideology. For example, a 2012 study by Wendy Pearlman found that the internal political cohesion (the presence of common political goals of the populace) or political fragmentation of a country plays a strong role in determining whether or not a resistance campaign will include common use of firearms and violence. Pearlman describes cohesion as being derived from strong leadership, organizational structure, and collective purpose within a resistance organization (Pearlman 28).

The presence of cohesion is more likely in nonviolent movements than violent ones because it is required for many nonviolent resistance actions, where it is not required for many violent ones. Where many nonviolent actions must be taken by masses (i.e. boycotts and protests), many violent actions can be done by individuals or small groups of people, such as political assassinations. This reality makes cohesion of a resistance movement necessary for nonviolence, although being cohesive is not sufficient for nonviolence

(Pearlman 30). There are several incidences sited such as Vietnamese liberation and Tamil separatists that are often deemed as violent despite having internal cohesion.

Cohesion may also be more pervasive in nonviolent movements because it slows or constrains the escalation of conflicts. Leadership within cohesive movements may be subject to the scrutiny of their peers, resulting in a check on escalating measures that can be taken. As Pearlman puts it, "cohesion at least subjects individual decision making to the constraints of leadership, organizations, and an overriding sense of collective purpose" (Pearlman 30). An actor in a cohesive movement is less likely to deviate in extreme ways, meaning if escalation of a conflict occurs, it will likely happen more slowly.

An alternative explanation for the presence or absence of violence in resistance movements is proposed by the NAVCO (Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes) datasets created by Maria Stephan, Erica Chenoweth, and other scholars. The NAVCO dataset, which is a survey of 323 violent and nonviolent resistance campaigns between 1900 and 2006 (Stephan et al. 15) allows researchers to take a statistically analyze campaigns. Analysis can help to derive a logical reasoning for the use of nonviolence and understand the determining conditions for the presence and absence of violence in resistance campaigns.

The first NAVCO study primarily sought to understand success rates for achieving the primary goal of each resistance group, and whether or not a pervasive presence of violence by the campaign played a role in their success. Their key findings were, "nonviolent campaigns have achieved success 53 percent of the time, compared with 26 percent for violent resistance campaigns" (Stephan et al. 8). Thus, there is a higher likelihood of achieving primary goals of the campaign if nonviolence is used. This could be a reason for the

recent uptick in nonviolent social movements if leadership can see that it is simply more successful.

The Case Studies Chosen

At the core of this thesis is the understanding of how nonviolent ideologies are transferrable through translation between distinct nonviolent movements. Because of the complications that new communication technologies create in understanding modern social movements, I look to a more studied transfer of nonviolent ideology and strategy in history. The first transfer I discuss is between Gandhi's satyagraha campaigns and the nonviolent civil rights movement in the American South. Then, after that transfer has been discussed, I will move on to the modern resistance campaign within Spain known as 15M (pronounced in Spanish as "*keentsay emay*"). I argue that even though the horizontal structure of 15M disallows us from knowing the specific actors who have translated nonviolent ideology, there is sufficient evidence that 15M follows a very similar nonviolent strategy and ideology to that of the U.S. civil rights movement.

Ideology and Contentious-Community-Based Groupuscule Formation

Beyond gaining an understanding of nonviolent campaign fundamentals, a thesis of this nature must have a good understanding of the logic behind nonviolent ideology. Scholarly work typically tends to divide nonviolent movements into two ideological categories. The first category is virtue ethic based nonviolence, and the second category is pragmatic nonviolence. In part II, I explain that even though Gandhi's nonviolent ethic is often portrayed as a pure virtue ethic, it is clear he used both virtue ethic based, and pragmatic nonviolence just as every subsequent nonviolent movement has.

Each movement applies an ethic to their nonviolence that is both pragmatic and based on an internal virtue ethic. The pragmatic reasoning for implementing nonviolent resistance is rooted in an early translation of Gandhi's work by the Fellowship of Reconciliation's Richard Gregg, while the virtue ethic origins of their nonviolence is often rooted in the nation's religion and culture.

After the translation of the Gandhian nonviolent ethic took place through Richard Gregg and FOR, several members of the fellowship of reconciliation splintered off to form their own sub-organizations that shared the value of nonviolence with FOR. These smaller organizations are defined as contentious communities. While the ideologies of these communities were not completely uniform, the communities remained in close contact and resisted collectively, forming what is known in the social sciences as a groupuscule. This establishment of a groupuscule with a common nonviolent strategy was key in the success of the civil rights movement.

This groupuscule concept is also essential to the 15M movement, in part because of the movement's diversity. The movement comprises over 1,000 contentious communities with goals spanning from enhancing women's reproductive rights to stopping evictions by banks (15M.cc). The groupuscle was able to achieve such ideological diversity through its online networking. A few websites (15M.cc and 15Mpedia) have become key parts to the movement by opening all of their content to crowd sourcing. The structure of these websites links the contentious communities, allowing them to work together in collective nonviolent resistance.

Methodology

The purpose of this thesis is to gain a better understanding of the widespread adaptation of nonviolent ideology and strategy since Gandhi's satyagraha campaigns. The most researched transfer of nonviolent ideology and strategy was between Gandhi and the civil rights movement in the American South. So my analysis begins with that transfer. Then what is learned from that transfer is applied to the modern nonviolent movement, the 15M movement in Spain.

Part II is dedicated to defining Gandhi's nonviolent ethic. The ethic is drawn out from Gandhi's writings as well as analysis by leading scholar on Gandhi's work, Dennis Dalton. Specifically I use Dalton's book for interpretation of how the concepts of swaraj and satyagraha interact.

In order to understand the transfer of nonviolent ideology I turn to Richard Gregg's translation of Gandhian nonviolence in his essay *The Power of Nonviolence*, which is cited in much of the scholarly work about the transfer of nonviolent ideology to the civil rights movement (Mantena 469; Stephan et. al 11; Sutton 561). Gregg's translation of nonviolent ideology is regarded by many as the official translation of nonviolence, and the primary introduction of Gandhian ideology into the United States.

Then, to learn more about the mechanics of transferring an ideology, I turn to Sean Chabot's model for transnational ideologies. In his book *Transnational Roots of the Civil Rights* Movement, Chabot explains adaptation of nonviolence within the civil rights movement in the American South through the formation of nonviolent sub-organizations known as contentious communities. I expand on the contentious community concept by defining the network of contentious communities as a groupuscule and analyze the

communication and cross-community collective action between the contentious communities.

As far as the specific transfer of Gandhian strategy to the civil rights movement, I depend on satyagrahi Krishnalal Shridharani's conception of satyagraha. In his 1939 book *War Without Violence*, Shridharani deconstructs satyagraha into a 16-step process. In order to understand its modern applications I took three steps. First, I simplified it, grouping several of the steps into six inclusive terms. Second, I saw how it was transformed by its translation in the civil rights movement in the American South. Lastly, I updated its language so it matches terminology used to analyze modern nonviolent movements. What emerged from the analysis of Shridharani's account of satyagraha and acts of nonviolent resistance within the civil rights movement was a simplified 6-part satyagraha referenced earlier, as well as in part III.

In part IV, this 6-part satyagraha concept is applied to a modern nonviolent movement, the 15M movement in Spain. By applying the concepts to a modern movement, we can see how similar strategies and ideologies have been pursued despite differing political, cultural, and technological settings.

In order to gather information on the nonviolence of the 15M movement I used two types of sources. First, I used Dialnet and EBSCO in order to find scholarly work by Spanish authors. Nearly all of this work was in Spanish, and I was its sole translator. I also went to Spain from December to January of 2014-2015 in order to interview former and current supporters of the 15M movement. Through gathering accounts from them, as well as from my own experience living in the country in 2012 and 2013, I was able to see clear examples of crossing over of nonviolent ideology and strategies that look very similar to satyagraha.

Part II: The Ethic

Two Types of Nonviolence

A key common thread between all of the resistance campaigns analyzed in this thesis is the adaptation of the Gandhi's nonviolent ideology. However, Gandhi's nonviolent ideology is often misunderstood at its origin, as strictly being nonviolent because of a moral aversion to violence. A deeper analysis of Gandhi's nonviolence reveals that it was based both on this moral aversion to violence and a tactical superiority of the nonviolent strategy. This distinction is important because later implementations of mass nonviolent resistance are often unfairly categorized as different from Gandhi's form of nonviolence because they are based on pragmatism rather than a virtue ethic.

Virtue ethic based nonviolence is nonviolence for the sake of maintaining virtue, or moral value of the nonviolent individual. Nonviolence is used because if violence were used, it would make the actor immoral in the conflict, regardless of the reasoning behind the resistance or any violence by the oppressive state.

Pragmatic nonviolence, on the other hand, is the concept that nonviolence should be used because nonviolence is effective. This perspective has grown immensely in recent decades because of emerging evidence that nonviolent campaigns achieve their goals more than violent ones (Stephan el al. 8)(Celestino and Gleditsch 388). While Gandhi is often described purely as a virtue ethicist, more recent nonviolent campaigns like the civil rights movement in the American South are often portrayed as pure pragmatic nonviolent movements (Boyer 254).

These two versions of nonviolence are inextricably linked. A pragmatic nonviolent actor is likely going to be nonviolent for the sake of appearing virtuous to the rest of the world.

Virtue ethic based nonviolent actors are often cited as arguing that ensuring that nonviolent actors win results in a nonviolent actor in power, leading to a less violent society.

Because of this crossing over effect between the two types of nonviolence, it is clear that the assignment of one category of nonviolence to a given nonviolent campaign is misleading, and accentuates a difference between nonviolent campaigns that may or may not be present. Nonviolent social movements never fit neatly into one category or the other, meaning they are likely to be similar, if not identical in their nonviolent ethic.

Viewing Gandhi as a pure virtue ethicist

Gandhi is often portrayed as an "exemplar of pure conviction politics" (Mantena 456), meaning that the Gandhian nonviolent movement is based solely on conviction or morality rather than the pragmatic seeking a specific end. This perception of Gandhi's virtue ethic based nonviolence stems from his emphasis on the concept of *swaraj*.

In the most basic terms, swaraj is freedom. But it is a far more complicated concept of freedom than the notion of freedom from a prison, or even freedom from an oppressive nation. There are both internal and external interpretations of the concept swaraj. In each case, Gandhi refers swaraj as both an individual freedom and a communal freedom as well. As Gandhi puts it, "Swaraj of a people means the sum of the swaraj (self-rule) of individuals. And such swaraj comes only from performance by individuals of their duty as citizens" (Dalton, "Selected Political Writings" 106). In this sense, external communal swaraj can only occur when citizens rule themselves.

The external version of swaraj is the more basic of the two. External swaraj is both freedom within the physical world and the freedom to rule. This definition comes from writings which emerged from Gandhi's time in South Africa early in his life, which were

arguably "one of the key writings of his entire career", *Hind Swaraj.* (Dalton, "Indian Idea of Freedom" 135). In the book, Gandhi argues that an essential freedom for India will be it's own self-rule.

However it is from the same book that Gandhi first clearly expresses his concept of internal swaraj. Internal swaraj can be seen in part as a freedom of the mind, and is the real source of the virtue ethic behind Gandhian nonviolence. "The individual who pursues truth through civil disobedience may be imprisoned but 'his soul is thus free' and 'taking this view of jail life, he feels himself quite a free being'"(Dalton, "Indian Idea of Freedom" 137). Thus, external swaraj is by no means necessary to achieve internal swaraj. Even in prison, the soul can be free.

The internal swaraj is also portrayed as a social transformation within the context of India. Gandhi's writings on swaraj develop from the concept of individual internal into a societal evolution with many components that seek to build the morality of the nation. Gandhi's requirements for societal swaraj include, but are not limited to:

1) Unity between Hindu's and Muslims
2) Removal of Untouchability
3) Prohibition
4) Khadi (Promotion of Indian Made cloth) (Mantena 465)
5) Adult education
6) Village Sanitation
7) Uplift of Women
8) Cultivating love of one's own language
9) Working for economic equality

(Dalton, "Selected Political Writings" 108)

Gandhi argued that "the country needed to develop a spirit of civic responsibility, through social activism or commitment to the uplift of others, which could then make political independence truly meaningful" (Dalton, "Selected Political Writings" 106). In other words,

the creation of swaraj and building of the virtue of the society, Indian society would be able to self-rule.

This value of internal swaraj is then, in turn, applied to satyagraha and the concept of nonviolence (Mantena 457). The internal freedom achieved results in a demand for societal freedoms, like the ones that Gandhi listed above. Therefore, at its root, the nonviolent push for social change is derived from the virtue ethic of internal swaraj, making the nonviolence of the movement, in part, virtue ethic based nonviolence.

Gandhi's Pragmatism

Some scholars, however, challenge this traditional view that Gandhi's satyagraha was strictly virtue ethic based. Karuna Mantena of Yale agues in *Another Realism: The Politics of Gandhian Nonviolence* that Gandhi's implementation of nonviolence was driven as much by political realism as it was by a political moralist view, like that of virtue ethic based nonviolence. Mantena argues that Gandhi had a deep understanding of the escalation of conflict that occurs when violent resistance takes place (Mantena 461). But fear of escalation wasn't the only realist perspective that Gandhi took on nonviolence.

Gandhi's later satyagraha campaigns incorporated the application of economic pressures, including the refusal to pay a salt tax or buy British made cloth (Ackerman and Rodal 112). This aversion to contributing to the British economy was in no way reflective of a perceived moral superiority to the British. As Antony Copley says in his short biography of Gandhi, "Gandhi always differentiated between persons and institutions. If the British Empire was ostensibly his enemy, it was as a system of control: he had no particular animosity towards the British People" (Copley 33). Since Gandhi had no moral qualms with those who would be earning money by selling cloth to India, his advocacy for the boycott of British cloth was

made on pragmatic grounds. The boycotts lowered the benefit to the British of their rule over India, diminishing their interest in maintaining the Raj. The decision to incorporate boycott into the larger satyagraha campaign is a clear example of pragmatic nonviolence.

Additionally, it is important to note that Gandhi's goal with *satyagraha* was never limited to the end of British rule of India. As mentioned earlier, Gandhi sought a communal moral transformation in addition to the transfer of power to the Indian people. Gandhi believed that means of achieving freedom had an inextricable link to the type of freedom achieved (Mantena 462). Gandhi repeatedly stated that a society that did not undergo internal swaraj and adopt ahisma (everyday nonviolence) would not be able to run a free society. By taking the view that a violent resistance of the British Raj could not possibly create a sustainable Indian-led society, Gandhi's application of nonviolence could not have been strictly based on moral grounds because it was simply the only option of achieving the end that Gandhi wanted.

The Complete Gandhian Nonviolent Ethic

Despite the battle of defining the Gandhian nonviolent ethic as either virtue ethic based or pragmatic, it is clear that the nonviolent ethics that emerged from Gandhi's satyagraha were both virtue ethic based and pragmatic as well. Thus, deep analysis of Gandhi's nonviolent ethic can only reveal that Gandhi adopted a form of nonviolent political realism. While he was able to ground the morality of nonviolence within his virtue ethic and his desire to achieve communal swaraj, he was fully aware of the repercussions of violence, leaving nonviolence as the lone politically viable option.

This balance of grounding the moral superiority of nonviolence within a religious context, while adopting a pragmatic nonviolent strategy is what emerged with the translation of the

Gandhian nonviolent ethic to the civil rights movement in the United States. As I will show in part III, the translation of this two-sided nonviolent ethic occurred within Gandhi's lifetime, but persisted up through Martin Luther King's death in in 1968. Beyond the civil rights movement, the pragmatic use of nonviolence has clearly sustained, while virtue ethics have become less prominent in modern nonviolent resistance campaigns.

Part III: Transfer of Nonviolent Ideology and Strategy

Martin Luther King's Introduction to Nonviolence

Martin Luther King was aware that there would be interest in his personal introduction to nonviolence and the establishment of his resistance ethic. Luckily, this meant that Martin Luther King himself outlined his intellectual journey to nonviolent resistance in an essay entitled *My Pilgrimage to Nonviolence.*

In this essay, Martin Luther King discusses his introduction to Gandhian satyagraha. Martin Luther King, like the post-WWI pacifists clearly viewed Gandhi through a Christ-like lens.

> Prior to reading Gandhi, I had about concluded that the ethics of Jesus were only effective in individual relationship. The *turn the other cheek* philosophy and the *love your enemies* philosophy were only valid, I felt, when individuals were in conflict with other individuals; when racial groups and nations were in conflict a more realistic approach seemed Necessary. But after reading Gandhi, I saw how utterly mistaken I was"… "As I delved deeper into the philosophy of Gandhi my skepticism concerning the power of love gradually diminished and I came to see for the first time its potency in the area of social reform." (Wink 68).

It is clear that despite the long gap in time between Gandhi's movement and the civil rights movement Martin Luther King maintained a very similar ethic to Gandhi. In part III, I discuss how the nonviolent ethic was transferred to transnationally to the United States, and was maintained up through MLK's leadership.

A Model for the Transnational Movement of Ideology: Collective Learning Through Translation

While there is extensive evidence of the nonviolent ideology crossing national boundaries, there are few theories about how ideologies become universally transferrable across diverse cultural, economic, and social settings. Of all of the theories that I have read, Sean Chabot

gives the most plausible and basic explanation for the spreading of Gandhi's nonviolent ideology to the civil rights movement in the American South. Chabot discusses the transnational spread of nonviolence as an exercise in what he calls *Collective Learning.*

Collective learning can occur when there is a horizontal and reciprocal relationship between members of a community and amongst contentious communities that hold a similar belief or ethic (Chabot 5). Since the anti-segregationist community in the American South had a peer-to-peer relationship between its contentious communities, it was able to create subversive communities that united under the ideology of nonviolence and belief in social and economic equality. According to Chabot's model, the creation of these communities resulted in a change the culture surrounding segregation.

Collective learning is the multifaceted adaptation of the ideology, for which Chabot uses the adaptation of nonviolence in the struggle against segregation in the American South as a case study. Within the model, collective learning occurs in three parts: collective understanding, reinventing, and communicating (Chabot 4).

The first part of the collective learning model, understanding (or "acquisition" in similar collective learning models) (Heikkila 488), is typically done by an individual who searches outside of their informational network. Groups of individuals can simultaneously acquire the same information, "through active dialogue or deliberation among organizational members across networks of actors with diverse bases of knowledge" (Heikkila 488). The key of acquisition is that the learning group first has to look beyond their previously established base of knowledge in order to learn something new.

In the second part of the collective learning model, reinventing, can also be considered complex translation. Translation, however, is not just a simple language conversion in the

model of collective learning. Chabot argues that translation that facilitates collective learning must be a, "relational process that shapes encounters, bonds, and forms of communication between self and other" (Chabot 78). In other words, a translator must adequately understand both languages, as well as the context in which the piece is written. With the understanding of social and cultural context, the translator can establish new suitable vocabulary that better fits the context in which the piece is being adopted. The primary context in which Gandhi's work reached the United States and was translated was via the pacifists in the protestant clergy following World War I.

Lastly, communicating or disseminating a collectively learned ideology often occurs through implementing a practice that utilizes that ideology. For the sake of the collectively learning Gandhi's nonviolent ideology, learners had to witness acts of satyagraha within the United States.

Tracing Transnational Ideology: The Arrival of Gandhian Nonviolence to the USA

In the wake of World War I, pacifism was growing tremendously amongst protestant clergy who felt that the Great War was fought unnecessarily (Danielson 362). However the pacifism of the protestant clergy in the post-World War I era looked very different from the resistance taking place at the same time in India. The pacifists within the United States were primarily focused on the abolition of war, using the tactics of petitioning politicians to make war a crime. Popular Gandhian tactics such as fasting and civil disobedience were often viewed as coercive and contrary to Christian values (Danielson 368). Because of their discomfort with what was perceived as coercion, American pacifists were left between choosing to be ambivalent about violence or be ineffective in resisting it.

The most important pacifist organizations initially opposed to the "coercive" tactics of Gandhi was the Fellowship of Reconciliation, or FOR. The early years of FOR had a complex relationship with Gandhi and satyagraha. Some ministers who belonged to FOR seemed to be conflicted about the role that civil disobedience could play in the social progression of the nation, while others clearly advocated for the adaptation of satyagraha in order to fight against war.

A clear example of this conflict came from the Unitarian minister John Haynes Holmes. Holmes met Gandhi in 1931 in London, and consistently framed Gandhi as a Christ-like figure in his sermons (Danielson 365). But despite his personal affection for Gandhi, and his approval of Gandhi's virtue ethic, Holmes was actively opposed to applying "coercive" civil disobedience within the United States. He went so far to even decry participants in civil disobedience as having "bitterness of heart" and called for "friendly and fruitful cooperation with the government" (Danielson 369). This narrative, juxtaposed to Gandhi's call to satyagraha, looks contrarian.

Despite being a founding member of both the NAACP and the ACLU, Holmes never adopted civil disobedience. However around 1932 some members of FOR began to deviate from the passivity of the organization. Theologian Reinhold Niebuhr was one of several men calling for the adoption of tactics that were once seen as coercive, famously arguing in *Moral Man and Immoral Society* that morality of individuals is distinct from the morality of groups, challenging the opposition to civil disobedience (Danielson 370). This essay subtly gave the consequentialist argument that civil disobedience, or even some violent tactics, may be morally justified and would not taint the morality of the individuals involved. This challenge to traditional views of nonviolence resonated with Martin Luther King years later, but he

eventually chose to reject much of the logic in *Moral Man and Immoral* Society, saying, "I became so enamored of his social ethics that I almost fell into the trap of accepting uncritically everything he wrote […] My study of Gandhi convinced me that true pacifism is not resistance to evil, but nonviolent resistance to evil" (Wink 68-69).

This division within FOR came to a head in 1933 when co-secretaries of the organization J. B. Matthews and John Nevin Sayre found themselves on opposite sides of the debate of whether collective coercion would be acceptable. This conflict ultimately resulted in the resignation of Matthews, who had argued for the adaptation of "coercive" civil disobedience (Danielson 371-372). Matthew's resignation was quickly followed by Niebuhr's.

Towards the end of the decade, this conflict with coercion seemed to disappear within FOR. *War Without Violence,* a text published by FOR in 1939 by satyagrahi Krishnalal Shridarani delves into this concept of satyagraha as coercion, and argues that the more accurate word should be compulsion. He says, "Nevertheless, there being no spirit of punishment or revenge, compulsion does not achieve the extent of *coercion*. It stops with effecting what Gandhi calls 'a change of heart,' and the consequent 'redress of the wrong.' As a result, the opponent is not vanquished, but victory comes to both sides" (Shridharani 45). FOR's discomfort with what was seen as coercive tactics faded by the end of the decade, and texts that opted for *compulsion* like Shridharani's *War Without Violence*, became key texts for nonviolent communities to come like CORE.

Collective Learning in FOR

Notwithstanding the early disagreements as to whether or not Gandhi's tactics were coercive, FOR clearly served as the home of the collective learning of the Gandhian

repertoire. Even though they disagreed with many of the tactics Gandhi used, ministers like John Haynes Holmes achieved the first part of the collective learning model, understanding.

FOR also served as the home of the several key translators of Gandhian nonviolence, including Harvard lawyer, Richard Gregg. Richard Gregg spent seven months living in in Gandhi's ashram in India. During his stay in the ashram, Gregg developed arguably the single most foundational concept in the history of civil disobedience, *moral jiu-jitsu*.

Moral jiu-jitsu, as Gregg first described it, is responding to an attack with nonviolence, gaining the moral upper hand and converting the attacker to the activist's cause (Sutton 561). While research has emerged revealing that this does not specifically work to convert the attacker, being attacked and responding nonviolently does evoke sympathy in witnesses (Sutton 561). In Gregg's words, "The spectacle of men suffering for a principle *and not hitting back* is a moving one […] The sight of suffering, in all probability, causes an involuntary sympathetic response in the nervous system of the beholder" (Kosek 99). Therefore, it is still often in the best interest of a movement for an activist to be attacked by an oppressor as long as there are witnesses. Within modern conceptions of moral jiu-jitsu, third party observers are required for nonviolent resistance to be effective.

By revealing this strategy, Gregg blurred the lines between virtue ethic based nonviolence and pragmatic nonviolence because he theorized that they can work hand in hand. Gregg's book that outlined this, *The Power of Nonviolence,* portrays Gandhi's methods as, "pragmatic as well as principled, effective as well as ethical, reasonable as well as spiritual – both in everyday lives of individuals and in collective struggles for social justice" (Chabot 79). While the work of Gandhi was typically portrayed as stemming purely from eastern ideology that was purely based on virtue ethics, Gregg framed Gandhi's work in both an ethical and a

pragmatic manner which was easier to understand by western audiences. The political pragmatism of nonviolence was not as overt in Gandhi's writings, although it was present. Gregg's translation of Gandhi's nonviolent ideology, however, highlighted the political gains of having the moral upper hand. So, despite the fact that Gandhi was more often portrayed as a saint than a politician (Mantena 457), his true influence on nonviolence within the United States was on pragmatic nonviolence rather than virtue ethic based nonviolence, because of Richard Gregg's translation.

Richard Gregg was key in the translation of Gandhi's work. He saw himself within the collective learning context as a sole translator of Gandhi's work. Author Joseph Kosek describes Greg as, "the cultural broker, endeavoring to state in Western concepts and terminology the principles and practice of non-violent resistance" (Kosek 97). But Richard Gregg was not the only early translator of Gandhi's work.

As mentioned earlier, Krishnalal Shridharani's book *War Without Violence* had several profound impacts on FOR and nonviolence in the United States. In addition to helping resolve the coercion/compulsion debate, Shridharani also deconstructed satyagraha into a 16-part process which would later be adopted by CORE. The deconstruction included:

1) Negotiations and Arbitration
2) Agitation
3) Demonstrations and Ultimatum
4) Self-Purification
5) Strike and General Strike
6) Picketing
7) Dhurna (sitting strike)
8) Economic Boycott
9) Nonpayment of Taxes
10) Hizrat (mass emigration)
11) Non-cooperation
12) Otracizm (of cooperators during noncooperation)
13) Civil Disobedience
14) Assertive Satyagraha (aimed at government)

15) (Creation of a) Parallel Government
16) A Note of Possible Extension of the Pattern (Explanation of how Satyagraha will be used under the new government)
(Shridharani 9-34)

Examples of all 16 of these steps can be found within the civil rights movement, and specifically within CORE. Shridharani's deconstruction of satyagraha strategies allowed them to be applied in different societies and for different ends. Upon translation through FOR, Shridharani's account of satyagraha was simplified by civil rights advocates as they reinvented satyagraha to fit their needs.

Gregg and Shridharani achieved the first two of the three necessary components of successful translation (understanding and reinventing) in Chabot's collective learning model. While Gregg emphasized translation of nonviolent ideology, Shridharani translated in-depth the strategy of satyagraha.

The third step in the transnational dissemination of the ideology is communication. Understanding Gregg's concept of moral jiu-jitsu s requiring an observer of the nonviolent resistance means that communication, and therefore completion of the transnational movement of the ideology, can only happen upon the application of the practice of the ideology. While Gandhian nonviolence maintained its newfound support by the American protestant pacifists throughout the 1930s and the 1940s, the community had little opportunity to apply the ideology (Chabot 88). In order to complete the translation of the Ideology, the visible implementation satyagraha had to occur.

Here, because of the lack of application of Gandhi's nonviolence, there is a bit of a gap as far as American discourse of Gandhian nonviolent politics. But Gandhi's strategies did begin to emerge within the civil rights community of the American South, as peaceful contentious communities such as FOR began to challenge the status quo with nonviolence. With the

translation of Gandhi's ideology nearly complete, the implementation of strategy was on the precipice of American History.

Adaptation of Gandhian Strategy: 6 Component Satyagraha

The civil rights movement's translation of Gandhian strategy through Shridharani's 16-part satyagraha can be simplified and understood with more modern terminology. In order to see how satyagraha was implemented I have created a more basic and inclusive 6-part satyagraha, which captures the concepts behind the 16-part satyagraha. The six steps include:

1) Meta-Politics
2) Formation of Contentious Communities
3) Ashram
4) Assembly and March
5) Formation of a Groupuscule
6) Exit from Meta-Politics

Meta-Politics

The Origins of Meta-Politics

Gandhi was by no means the first nonviolent resistor. The idea of nonviolent resistance within the United States is traced back at least to slaves who would use "particular forms of sabotage and subterfuge short of open revolt to assert their autonomy and improve their material conditions" (Kosek 96). In 600 BC, both Lau Tzu and Ancient Greek philosophers were already preaching and practicing applications of nonviolence (Gregg 13). Gandhi himself acknowledged how ancient nonviolence was, saying, "nonviolence is as old as the hills" (Wink 284). What Gandhi did that previous nonviolent campaigns hadn't done is successfully use nonviolence against a major world power, and write about it. His writings

gave both the ethics behind his nonviolent ideology, as well as reflection on various satyagraha strategies.

The first reflection of Gandhi's strategy is a rather obvious one; Gandhi initially chose to work outside of the formal political system. In 2007, law professor Lawrence Lessig framed this type of decision with a now commonly used term "Meta-politics" (Morell 390). In Lessig's argument which coined this term, he argued that to advance a free culture, "it was necessary to face institutional corruption and to directly engage in political system reform; the political system"… "Is structurally corrupt, and therefore prevents any possibility of change in the institutional and administrative framework" (Morell 390).

This concept of operating outside of a formal political system because of its inherent brokenness was not original to Lessig, or even to Gandhi. Henry David Thoreau's *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience* was a common influence for many campaigns throughout the world, and arguably the origin of the Meta-Political frame.

In this essay written significantly before Gandhi's birth, Thoreau argues that a majority rule is often insufficient morally, which leads to the moral action sometimes being working from the outside of the political system to ensure what is right.

> I cast my vote, perchance, as I think right; but I am not vitally concerned that the right should prevail. I am willing to leave it to the majority. Its obligation, therefore, never exceeds that of expediency. Even voting for the right is doing nothing for it. It is only expressing to men feebly your desire that it should prevail. A wise man does not leave the right to the mercy of chance, nor wish it to prevail through the power of majority. There is but little virtue in the action of masses of men. (Thoreau 9)

It's clear that this notion of the moral requirement of disobeying the political system that is immoral resonated with both Gandhi and Martin Luther King. Gandhi applied this concept of going beyond the established political system to his concept of satyagraha, "Gandhi

insisted that there were two forms of representation, elections and Satyagraha. He was committed to the latter. Satyagraha as a form of representation" (Skaria 982). Clearly the idea of satyagraha as representation means that representation is not always morally sufficient.

Gandhi, however, demanded more out of satyagraha than Thoreau did out of civil disobedience. He was clearly influenced and inspired by the concept, but thought that it lacked a nonviolent component. When Gandhi reflected on the influence of Thoreau, he said, "He has left a masterly treatise on the duty of Civil Disobedience. But Thoreau was not perhaps an out-and-out champion of non-violence" (Chaudry and Starosta 2). But despite Gandhi's view that Thoreau's thesis was incomplete, it was clearly an important introduction to the concept of meta-politics.

Meta-Politics in the Civil Rights Movement

For Martin Luther King, the introduction to the meta-political concept preceded the introduction to nonviolence. In order for MLK and others to accept Gandhi's premise that nonviolent resistance could help transform society, MLK first had to believe that working outside of the mainstream political system was permissible, or even necessary. While studying at Atlanta's Morehouse College in 1944, King read *On the Duty of Civil* Disobedience.

In his essay *My Pilgrimage to Nonviolence*, he reflects on the impact that the essay had on him, "Fascinated by the idea of refusing to cooperate with an evil system, I was so deeply moved that I reread the work several times. This was my first intellectual contact with the theory of nonviolent civil resistance" (Wink 65). After Thoreau introduced the concept of meta-politics to King, he was able to accept the Gandhian premise that the communities of like-minded advocates around him were offering. As King read Thoreau's essay

organizations for creating nonviolent resistance campaigns, and satyagraha in America, were forming.

King, as a minister, had an incredible meta-political resource. Churches were by definition meta-political because of the United States' separation of church and state, so it seems natural that there would be little resistance against political action for an institution that is already meta-political.

Forming Contentious Communities

As the adaptation of Gandhian nonviolent strategies began, it quickly became clear that the civil rights movement needed some organizational structure. The dominant nonviolent organization, The Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), began to branch out and form other contentious communities. These organizations were diverse in their composition, origin, objectives, and even willingness to adapt nonviolent strategy. But they all sought the common end of desegregation of the South and racial equality.

The March on Washington Movement (MOWM)

Two years before CORE's roots in the Harlem Ashram, another contentious community known as the March on Washington Movement (MOWM) was created. Asa Philip Randolph, a union organizer and the founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters union founded the movement. Randolph used the organization to call 100,000 African Americans to march on Washington in May of 1941 (Chabot 100). Roosevelt, after failing to discourage to march called Randolph and Walter White of the NAACP to compromise. What resulted was the Executive Order 8802 which banned segregation and discrimination in the military, and a cancellation of the March (Chabot 100).

The following year, CORE formed, causing Randolph to want more organization and collective strategy. This lead to the formation of the "We Are Americans, Too!" conference which served as a resource for contentious communities to exchange Gandhi's nonviolent ideology and strategies. However, during the conference race riots broke out in Detroit, ultimately leading to the end of the MOWM (Chabot 101).

MOWM leadership, however, did not simply disappear after the unraveling of the organization in 1947. Eventually, Randolph and other founders of MOWM would be at the front of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963 for Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech.

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

As one of the earliest and most significant contentious communities, CORE served as a facilitator of American satyagraha throughout the entire civil rights movement. CORE was not limited to the South. Their first campaign took place in May of 1942 to desegregate Jack Spratt Coffee Shop (Chabot 96).

The tenants of CORE's implementation stemmed from a book written by an Indian satyagrahi, Krishnalal Shridharani. Shridharani wrote the pivotal book *War Without Violence: A Study of Gandhi's Method and Its Accomplishments*, in which he outlined the many steps for conducting a satyagraha campaign.

CORE's persistent implementation was even discussed by Shridharani, saying that, "applying the Gandhian repertoire in the United States required ongoing experimentation to bridge social and cultural differences between the two countries," but that they were "on the right track" (Chabot 97).

The key contribution of CORE was their ability to consistently create nonviolent campaigns regardless of geography.

The Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC)

The SCLC is often portrayed as the most important contentious community in the civil rights movement. They had the most charismatic leader in Martin Luther King, who founded the movement after the 1956 Montgomery bus boycott (Chabot 138). Originally composed of around 100 Southern ministers, the SCLC, "drafted a statement of purpose that expressed the central principles and practices of the Gandhian repertoire in familiar Christian language" (Chabot 138). Their primary purpose was to focus on, "the use of nonviolent philosophy as a means of creative protest; and securing the right of the ballot for every citizen" (Chabot 138). The SCLC was a contentious community birthed directly from the Gandhian repertoire, and it was able to propagate Gandhian ideology and strategy by cooperating with the other contentious communities.

The Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACMHR)

As one of the smaller contentious communities, the ACMHR was famous for only one campaign. In Birmingham in 1963, the ACMHR famously called upon children to participate in nonviolent action with the SCLC, which created the iconic images of children being sprayed by fire hoses and being attacked by police dogs. More details about the incident are in the groupuscule section of this thesis.

Deacons for Defense and Justice (DFD)

Among the nonviolent contentious communities, there were also organizations that did not outwardly preach nonviolence or claim to be nonviolent. A clear example of one of these organizations was the Deacons for Defense and Justice.

Formed originally as an armed force in Jonesboro, Louisiana in 1964 to protect the community from the Ku Klux Klan (Boyd 254), the DFD prioritized the right of self-defense over the moral value of nonviolence. While the DFD didn't launch resistance campaigns, they did serve as the armed defenders for marchers who were forced to sleep outside without protection on multi-day marches.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Founded as a part of the sit-in movement in 1960, SNCC started as a training ground for nonviolent resistance, as it was an organization of, "citizens seeking to confront oppression as a moral and political obligation required by citizenship" (Anderson 9). In its origin, SNCC was devout to nonviolence, however the late 60s for SNCC was marked by leadership that worked with other nonviolent organizations, but did not see nonviolence as a moral requirement for the movement.

SNCC was a prominent contentious community because it was able to mobilize bodies. As a student organization, it drew the appeal to a younger generation of black protesters. Eventually, the movement would coin the somewhat ambiguous term "Black Power", which was seen by some people as a threat, others as a mode of empowerment. In 1966, SNCC chairman Stokely Carmichael said, "Black power is not anti-white, unless whites make it that way"… and that it means, "if a negro is elected tax assessor, he will be able to tax equitably and channel funds for the building of better roads and schools serving Negroes. If elected to

sheriff, he can end police brutality." (The Movement 155). These statements came from another key component of SNCC's importance, the magazine *The Movement.*

From 1964-1970, *The Movement* was published monthly and distributed throughout the country for a nominal fee of 17-20 cents per copy (The Movement 148, 154). The magazine, while principally made to disseminate information about SNCC also discussed in depth nonviolent organizations and worldly resistance campaigns, even profiling teacher and student protests in Paris in 1968 (The Movement 404).

Eventually, as SNCC's dedication to nonviolence faded with the election of Stokely Carmichael, *The Movement* quickly became a tool for the Black Panther Party. In January of 1969, the magazine made the alliance official with their article *SNCC Alliance* which read, "(SNCC) has announced an alliance with the National Black Liberators, a militant black organization based in St. Louis. According to SNCC, the alliance is designed as show of black unity in the fact of increasing repression facing black communities in this country" (The Movement 529). Following that declaration, *The Movement* continued to cover international resistance campaigns, but much of the focus was shifted to the trial and defense of Huey P. Newton, one of the cofounders of the Black Panthers.

These are just some of the many contentious communities formed from 1940-1970. After each one of these contentious communities formed, each one launched individual campaigns, trained their own members, and created their own publications. However, I will argue in the next chapter, that it is not the contentious communities' individual actions that created change, but rather the interaction between them.

Ashram

One of the earliest true Gandhian nonviolent strategies that were adopted in the United States was the concept of establishing *ashram.* The Hindu concept of ashram is deeply related Dharma, in that it is the mental evolution through the four stages of life, or the four ashramas (Skaria 963). Gandhi, along with others in India at the time, applied the concept of ashram to political ends.

In the political sense, an ashram is a physical space for training. The content of that training, however, differed widely. While the aim of establishing the ashram system was to create Hindu nationalism (Skaria 963), each ashram associated with Gandhi had a different focus.

The religious source of the ashram stems from the Hindu concept of the four *ashramas*. The ashrams served as a place for spiritual development and integration into the political sphere as a community. It is in this value of creating spiritual and political health that the concept of ashram was passed down to future movements.

Ashram in the Civil Rights Movement

It is clear that Gandhi's ashrams had an impact on the civil rights movement in the United States. In 1935, American Methodist Missionary E. Stanley Jones began to adopt the concept of the Hindu ashram for Indian Christians, creating the "Christian Ashram" in India (Kosek 186). Among the missionaries attending the Christian Ashram was Jay Holmes Smith, who would later be named as the secretary for the Committee on Non-Violent Techniques in FOR, and fought for a "combination of Christianity and Gandhi's satyagraha" which was entitled *Kristagraha*. This Christian adaptation of satyagraha inspired many of the former absolute pacifists in FOR to go beyond the limitations of the organization, including participating in an

"Interracial Pilgrimage" between New York to Washington D.C. in 1942 (Kosek 185). This march, modeled after satyagraha, was made possible by a second adaptation of Ashram, one that was built in New York City.

On Fifth Avenue near 125th Street in Harlem, Jay Holmes Smith had begun another experiment modeled after the Hindu ashrams in India. Smith opened up the Harlem Ashram in 1940 as a base for training people on interracial peace. The Ashram housed eleven people, including seven white, three black, and one Indian Hindu (Kosek 186) in order to prove that unity between the races was plausible. In its early years, the Ashram served as a launching point for nonviolent campaigns like the interracial pilgrimage. But as time passed, the duties of the Harlem Ashram changed.

While the Harlem Ashram sought to demonstrate living unity between different races, another group sought to do the same in Chicago. As an offshoot of an interracial group of FOR, CORE (The Congress of Racial Equality), had gotten a lease within Chicago, "to test the residential segregation that dominated the city" (Kosek 187). However their lease expired before any significant demonstrations took place. The New York chapter of Core was housed in the Harlem Ashram for a short amount of time, but CORE's sights quickly expanded beyond housing segregation (Kosek 186). CORE sought to engage labor movements and desegregate restaurants and transportation. By 1948, the Harlem Ashram closed, as the movement had moved beyond the Ashram system.

Assembly and March

Another clearly transferred nonviolent resistance strategy is the concept of holding a march. In both of the resistance campaigns in the American South and in India, marches were a regularly used strategy.

Within India, a march initiated what was arguably the most important satyagraha campaign of all, the salt satyagraha. The march began with 79 satyagrahis including Gandhi (Gandhi Heritage Portal). It began in Aslali on March 12th of 1930, and over the next 25 days they made their way to Dandi along the coast (Gandhi Heritage Portal). In Dandi, Gandhi committed a much-publicized act of civil disobedience, as he collected natural sea salt in opposition to a salt tax imposed by the British. This was the launch of the satyagraha campaign that is commonly portrayed as the campaign which ultimately led to Indian self-rule.

March and Assembly in the Civil Rights Movement

Similarly, the march was an extremely common strategy in the civil rights movement. While the 1965 march from Montgomery to Selma is commonly referenced when discussing the movement, it was but one of many marches within the American South. The March on Washington Movement's leader, Asa Philip Randolph directly referenced the connection between the salt march and the desegregationists in one of his Keynote addresses. Randolph called for a, "mass organization with an action program, aggressive, bold and challenging spirit…Witness the strategy and maneuver of the people of India with mass civil disobedience and the marches to the sea to make salt…We must develop a series of marches of negroes at a given time in a hundred cities throughout the country" (Chabot 101). As one of the earliest contentious communities within the civil rights movement, the MOWM established a culture of Gandhian marching which would be used throughout the entire movement.

These marches also revealed who the key actors and organizations were within the wider context of the movement. As we will see in the next chapter, marches often were the classic

example of groupuscular behavior, as they crossed organizational boundaries and were reinforced by many groups with different ideologies.

Groupuscule

The Groupuscule Concept

The communication and cooperation between subversive groups in the civil rights movement is a complicated process. In order to better understand their network behavior, I have turned to a concept that scholars typically use when explaining right wing extremist subversive groups. This concept is *groupuscule.*

A groupuscule is a cluster of ideologically similar organizations that have the same political goal, but often achieve the political goal through meta-political means. The most common scholarly work about groupuscules has to do with understanding right-wing extremism and neo-Nazi networks in Europe. However, recently the conception of groupescules has expanded beyond Europe. In 2003, University of Toronto's Bonnie Burstow analyzed the Heritage Front, a "neo-Nazi, palingenetic racist organization intent on 'awakening' people to the 'reality of race'" (Burstow 417). Her analysis found that the Heritage Front was essentially an online facilitator of the extremist right-wing groupuscule, providing hyperlinks to a diverse network of neo-Nazi websites (Burstow 419). The networking and cross-group engagement makes the organization of only a few hundred people, appear to be much larger than it is.

Although it has not previously been done by scholars, this framing of a "groupuscule" can be applied to subversive groups outside of the extreme right. The organizational mold of a groupuscule clearly fits the nonviolent civil rights movement in the American South as well. Individual contentious communities were formed, often as subcommittees of FOR before

becoming autonomous organizations, which after years of growth and development joined other contentious communities in nonviolent collective action. In this sense, the civil rights movement was a groupuscule of nonviolent organizations.

Groupuscule in the Civil Rights Movement

During the emergence of the contentious communities, interaction between them began to occur. One clear example of this came from one of the more tactically difficult satyagraha campaigns of the civil rights movement, the Albany Movement.

As one of the original desegregation movements in 1961, the Albany movement sought to desegregate bus and train terminals, lunch counters, restaurants, and other public accommodations in Albany, Georgia (Barkan 556). However, this task was not an easy one, not because of the rampant racism in Albany, but because of the understanding of moral jiu-jitsu that Albany's then police chief, Laurie Pritchett had. In part of American Experience's *Eyes on the Prize*' documentary series, Pritchett revealed his full understanding of nonviolence when he said, "I did research. I found that his method was nonviolence; that his method was to fill the jails just like Gandhi in India. And once they fill the jails we'd have no capacity to arrest, and then we'd have to give into his demands." (American Experience "Eyes on the Prize 4")

Pritchett responded to the nonviolent resistance with a non-brutal manner. His response to the marches in Albany was to peacefully arrest any protesters and disperse them to neighboring jail systems so as to not overcrowd Albany's own jails. "I had sat down and took a map and went 15 miles, how many jails was in a 15 mile radius, how many was in a 30 mile radius, on up to maybe a 50 or 60 mile radius. And I'd contacted those authorities, and they'd assured us that we could use their facilities. When the mass arrests started, we'd have

marches. There would be 200 or 300, at one time I think we had almost 2,000, but none in our jail" (American Experience "Eyes on the Prize 4").

Additionally, chief Pritchett saw to it that if any SCLC leaders were arrested, their bail would be paid quickly and anonymously so that the detention of figures like Martin Luther King could not be leveraged in favor of protesters.

Pritchett, in the eyes of many, had won against the SCLC. The non-brutal strategy of the Albany police force had worked, and had stifled the SCLC, resulting in their movement to Birmingham, and abandoning of Albany.

But despite the SCLC losing in Albany, the movement all together was not abandoned. The SCLC had recently partnered with SNCC which held a far more horizontal leadership structure. Pritchett's strategy of arresting protesters then bailing out their leadership would not work on SNCC because the organization lacked the prominent leadership that the SCLC had with Martin Luther King.

As the SCLC moved to Birmingham, they created another groupuscular tie. Knowing that Birmingham's police commissioner Bull Connor would not likely adopt Pritchett's strategy of exporting arrested protesters to neighboring cities, the SCLC turned to a local civil rights group known as the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, or ACMHR. ACMHR's solution for filling the prisons was a simple, yet controversial one. They called upon school children to protest (Barkan 559). On May 2nd of 1963, police arrested 959 children and 9 adults in the various marches launched by the two groups (Barkan 559). The arrest tactics included the use of fire hoses and dogs on the children, and eventually the Birmingham jails filled with over 2000 arrested children (Barkan 559-560). ACMHR had racked up over 257,000 dollars in bail payments, which were ultimately paid by contributors from the north

and fellow organizations within the groupuscule (Barkan 560). But this collaboration between the contentious communities proved to be successful, as on May 10th an agreement was reached between the city and the civil rights groups, calling for the desegregation of all lunch counters and restrooms in downtown stores, as well as the release of all of the protesters who were still jailed (Barkan 560).

Groupuscule with Rhetorically Violent Contentious Communities

Some groupuscular interaction also occurred between groups committed to nonviolence like the SCLC and groups who were (at least in rhetoric) not committed to nonviolent resistance. One clear example of this was the contentious community known as the Deacons for Defense and Justice. The DFD originally formed as a group to defend black citizens of Jonesboro, Louisiana from the Ku Klux Clan (Boyer 254). But they quickly came to represent "a growing disillusionment of working-class blacks with pacifistic, legalistic, and legislative strategies proffered by national organizations" (Boyer 254). They were armed with 38 caliber pistols, 45 caliber handguns, and M2 machine guns and were "trained and prepared to use them" (American Experience "Eyes on the Prize 7"). This organization, whose purpose became to instill the threat of violence on behalf of the desegregationist groupuscule, was key in the success of the nonviolent campaigns that surrounded them.

In 1966, the need for the DFD's protection was clear because of an incident with a young man named James Meredith. James Meredith was a student who was accepted to the University of Mississippi but the school refused to enroll him because of his race. So Meredith decided to walk the 220 miles from Memphis to Jackson in what he called the March Against Fear. But on the second day, Meredith was shot by a sniper. After his shooting, leaders from the SCLC and SNCC decided to continue the march while Meredith was in the hospital. The

DFD served as the armed guards for these marches. (American Experience "Eyes on the Prize 7").

Within this march, there was other groupuscular interaction between nonviolent and supposedly violent contentious communities. By the time of the shooting of James Meredith, SNCC had largely abandoned nonviolent rhetoric. Stokely Carmichael, who would later become a member of the Black Panther Party, had already defeated John Lewis to become the chairman of SNCC (American Experience "Eyes on the Prize 7"). With the acceptance of Carmichael, SNCC abandoned nonviolence, and Carmichael said during the March Against Fear that he did not see nonviolence as a way of life, and was not committed to it (ibid). When police pushed Carmichael off of the road, he moved to punch the police officer, only to be held back by Martin Luther King himself (ibid). This moment is reflective of a wider division within the civil rights groupuscule. Post passage of the civil rights act, more formerly nonviolent organizations began to reject the nonviolent rhetoric.

Carmichael's rejection of nonviolence wasn't sufficient to stop their relationship with the SCLC. In 1965, the year before Carmichael was elected as chairman of SNCC, he and other SNCC members participated in the1965 voting rights campaign in Selma. SNCC and the SCLC continued to work together despite serious difference in ideology.

Similarly, differences in ideology between the SCLC and former members of The Nation of Islam were not sufficient to stop groupuscular interaction. The Nation of Islam itself showed very little groupuscular behavior, even forcing the likes of Malcolm X out for entertaining the idea of interaction with other contentious communities. Even though the Nation of Islam was incredibly isolated, after leaving the organization, Malcolm X and other former members began to show evidence of cooperation with nonviolent movements (Malcolm X and the

Nation of Islam). Even Malcolm X himself said, “we will work with any groups, organizations, or leaders in any way as long as it is genuinely designed to get results” (American Experience “Eyes on the Prize 7”) and, “I think people would do well to listen to Martin Luther King” (ibid).

Contentious communities like the DFD and former members of The Nation of Islam serve to show that the groupuscule both adopted Gandhian nonviolent strategies, but had members that chose to express that nonviolence wasn’t a part of their ideology. This kept the threat of violence alive, but the moral jiu-jitsu of the nonviolence present.

This groupuscular strategy was adopted out of necessity. As police forces grew innovative in their response to try to put an end to the civil disruption, the campaigns that were successful and achieved desegregation were campaigns that consisted of multiple contentious communities within the movement. Their diversity in both structure [SCLC vs. SNCC] or in nonviolent ideology [SCLC vs. DFD] allowed the movement to implement the most effective contentious community for the task at hand.

Since the civil rights movement, other nonviolent protest movements have evolved naturally to be composed of many contentious communities. Whether it is through technology facilitating communication between contentious communities, or simply because there is generally a higher standard for civil rights in the modern era, this groupuscule-like structure can be observed in many modern movements.

Exit from Meta-Politics

Even though resistance campaigns operate under a meta-political framework, a large part of their ultimate goal is for political control. After all, nonviolent campaigns are often a response to ineffective governing.

But the exit from meta-politics is often not a clean entrance into the political world for an entire movement. Because, under Chabot's model, a movement comprises many contentious communities that have slightly different ideologies, it is impossible for a groupuscule to have a true government representative that holds all of the values of all of the contentious communities. But a shift from working outside of the political framework to inside the world of politics is inevitable, since moral jiu-jitsu fosters attention and following of an ideology, the popularity of an ideology can easily be taken advantage of for political gain.

Exit from Meta-Politics in the Civil Rights Movement

Different communities exit meta-politics at different times in different ways. Within the civil rights movement, it is clear that the movement lost its emphasis on meta-politics in the mid-late 1960s. One of the earlier exits from meta-politics came with the formation of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party

One of the earlier attempts by the civil rights movement to exit meta-politics was the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. In a state notorious for stopping black people from voting, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was created in order to challenge the sitting democrats at the 1964 Democratic convention in Atlantic City. Volunteers collected 60,000 signatures joining the MFDP (American Experience "Eyes on the Prize 5")

By the time of the convention, the MFDP was lead by Fannie Lou Hamer, who gave a speech to the credentials committee at the convention calling for the seating of MFDP delegates. During the speech she yelled out, "If the Freedom Democratic Party is not seated now, I question America. Is this America? The land of the free and the home of the brave,

where we have to sleep with our telephones off the hook because our lives be threatened daily. Because we want to live as decent human beings in America-“ (American Experience “Eyes on the Prize 5”). At that point in the speech, Lyndon Johnson cut off television coverage of the speech, making a request for airtime, fearing that southerners would abandon the party if the MFDP was seated (Ibid). But the airing of the beginning of the speech was sufficient for viewers to send telegrams to delegates calling for the seating of the MFDP.

Ultimately, the MFDP was never officially seated at the convention. But the widely televised event drew attention to the fact that southern blacks were becoming more engaged in the political system. What followed that year was a series of voting rights campaigns by SNCC and the SCLC, which created the political pressure that caused the drafting of the Voting Rights Act (American Experience “Eyes on the Prize 7”). The meta-political frame was no longer necessary by the mid-1960s, and the formerly meta-political organizations turned their focus towards engaging black voters and obtaining actual representation within the political system.

Part IV: The Modern Protest

The nonviolent strategy is not a thing of the past. Arguably, nonviolence as a political strategy is more prevalent now than ever. The beginning of this decade in particular saw an absolute boom in the number of nonviolent resistance campaigns. Among the recent campaigns was the 15M movement (also referred to as the M15 or the *indignatos* movement), which surfaced on May 15th, 2011.

Methods in Studying the 15M Movement

Much of the information about Gandhian strategies being applied within the 15M movement had to come from first-hand experience. Some of that experience was gained in 2012-2013 when I lived in Granada, Spain. But after leaving the country there was surprisingly little coverage of the movement's events. From the United States it was difficult to tell how the movement had been developing. So, in order to understand how the movement had evolved, I decided to return to the country and revisit the sites and people involved in the movement.

To gather information I organized a series of five interviews with people who had been involved in the protests to varying extents. Some of them were present at the original encampment in 2011, others were simply aligned with the anarchist library in Granada and had attended the larger protests.

There is an issue of representativeness with using interviews for a movement like the 15M movement. Because of the leaderless nature of the movement, it is impossible to get a representative sample of long form interviews that draw out the true ideology of the massive groupuscule. Ideally, this would be done by large-scale surveys of participants. With the

limitations in studying the movement through interviews, interviewees can more completely represent their contentious community than they can the movement as a whole. But even with the limited number of representatives, the diversity of the movement was clear, specifically as to their thoughts about the political party *Podemos*.

The interviews were helpful in two ways. First, interviewees were able to discuss specific protest strategies that they had partaken in and witnessed. Second, they were able to tell me through their experience of living within the country the trajectory of the public discourse that created the movement and the trajectory of the movement itself.

Apart from the interviews, I also had to turn to scholarly work in Spanish regarding the movement. This is in part because I found it to be more detailed, but additionally because much of the English language work frames the movement as a four-month-long incident (Global Nonviolent Action Database) rather than an ongoing social movement (Sanz 258)(Martínez-Nicolás 122)(Perugorria 442).

Background of 15M

Source of Indignation: The SINDE LAW

What initially brought many of the organizations that eventually became 15M together was their opposition to an anti-piracy law known as the Sinde law. The Sinde law is similar to the rejected anti-piracy laws SOPA and PIPA within the United States. This unified opposition to the Sinde law also was supported by the largely liberal newspapers, which were constantly airing scathing op-eds against Spanish politicians who were allegedly passing the law because of American lobbyists (Hughes 410). This suspicion was later confirmed by wikileaks (Postill 2). The original draft of the law was rejected by then prime minister José

Luis Zapatero (of PSOE), but the law was fully implemented by Mariano Rajoy (of PP) in 2012, fully banning some peer to peer and file sharing websites (Pino 229). The public response was the No Les Votes (don't vote for them) campaign which called on, "Spanish citizens not to vote for any major parties as a response to this perceived betrayal" (Postill 2). No Les Votes eventually teamed up with Anonymous and other nontraditional resistance organizations to form Democracia Real Ya, and call for the protests on the 15th of May, 2011.

Source of Indignation: Spain's Economic History

Spain's economic woes did not begin with the financial crisis of 2009. Looking at Spain's modern European cultural identity, it is easy to forget that the country had a dictatorship from 1935 until 1975. During Francisco Franco's time as the countries leader, he conducted a monumentally flawed economic experiment by instilling an autarky in 1939, only to eventually be forced to instill a stabilization plan in 1959 during which the large banks within the country benefitted from being able to buy risk-free public debt (Chanrock 6). Like the creation of the Oligarchy in Russia, Spain's gradual transition from autarky created a perceived oligarchy in which the largest 7 banks of the country were able to capture political control in the vacuum of power that occurred in 1975 when Franco died. This notion of a banking oligarchy was recited to me repeatedly in interviews with current and former 15M members, and is often reflected in bannering and nonviolent protest since the inception of the 15M movement.

The opposition to the Spanish banking system was clear in the years leading up to 15M's assembly. In 2008, an early act of hacktivism by Enric Duran (who was later named Robin Bank by the media), "hacked more than 30 banks and extracted almost half a million euros in credits that he later used to finance newspapers that explained his actions and provide

information on functioning projects outside the capitalist economy" (Morell 388). The media framing Duran as "Robin Bank", a well-known hero, is evidence that the anti-bank sentiment was already present in Spanish society, and it had even begun to create anti-capitalism as well.

One of the emerging narratives of resistance amongst many of the movements that would compose the 15M movement was the challenge to capitalism, and reassessment of Marxism. As Mario Espinosa Pino put it, they're issues were related to "a critical approach towards free trade, financial capital, and neoliberalism as the other side of the Spanish problem: the political power seems to be completely entangled with capital […] politics does not govern for citizenship but for private economic power" (Pino 229). In other words, while many of the qualms that the indignant Spanish public had originated in the creation of the banking oligarchy, the core of the complaint is that the economic system has created a non-representative political system as well.

This notion of limited representation is clearly reflected in the analysis of the aforementioned mother organization of the 15M movement *Democracia Real Ya*, which originally called for the Madrid assembly in the Puerta del Sol, and eventually coined the terms "No nos representan" (They don't represent us), "Dormíamos, despertamos" (We were sleeping, we're waking up), and "No somos mercancía en manos de politicos y banqueros" (we aren't commodities in the hands of politicians and bankers) (Sanz 30).

Disillusion with the banking and political class seems to be justified by statistics, as Spain now has the largest rate of income inequality in Europe, and a child poverty rate of over 36% (Seguín 13).

Source of Indignation: Macroeconomic Collapse

The more historical explanation that takes into account Spain's history with its banks is not cited nearly as much as the contemporary economic state of Spain. In late 2007, Spain had a public account surplus of 2% of its GDP, with a yearly growth rate of 3.5%. The following year, the country had a running deficit and a growth rate of less than 1% (Perugorría 426-427). Following the bursting of a long inflating real estate bubble, unemployment began to skyrocket while a 99 billion dollar bailout was given to the country's banks (Perugorría 427). The bank bailout, paired with the historical contentions between the middle class created a secondary crisis, the implementation of austerity and cuts to the working class that created a polarized society (Sanz 38).

Stemming from this polarization is a central issue to the movement, housing. As the crisis effected more and more people's ability to pay their mortgage, evictions by banks would eventually cause some of the more violent clashes between protesters and police (Chanrock 9). From this conflict, organizations like "Plataformas de Afectuados por las Hipotecas" (Platform for Those Affected by Mortgages) and "Stop Desahucios" (Stop Evictions) began to form (Sanz 34).

Even beyond evictions, homeowners suffered even more because of the mortgage law within Spain. The law holds that homeowners retain their debt to the bank even after foreclosure of a house, which has caused "a wave of economically induced suicides" (Seguín 13), even in a country with history of low rates of suicide (Butler).

The Birth of the 15M Movement

The 15M movement emerged when various social organizations called for protests on the 15th of May, just before the municipal elections to take place on the 22nd (Morell 390). The

largest of the assemblies took place at the Puerta Del Sol in Madrid, which turned into an overnight affair as protesters elected not to leave the square.

This is where the 15M name was coined, as well as the beginning of the coverage of the resistance by traditional media. However, that was not the beginning of the disobedience. The 15M movement was a conglomeration of many previously established organizations that had differing goals but the same social strategies to achieve them. The organizations spanned from people fighting home evictions to establishing reproductive rights for women. Through the diversity of goals amongst its founding members, the 15M movement adopted a horizontal leadership structure (Hughes 411).

However, the complexity of the organization left traditional media sources in a difficult position, as they sought to explain a complex phenomenon in simple terms for a wide audience. Some turned to explaining the movement as endorsements of trade unions as new representation (Martinéz-Nicolás 57). While the traditional media struggled, social media flourished at disseminating information and held multiple roles within the movement as well. Assessing how social media was used in the first year of the 15M movement reveals that like the civil rights movement in the American South, the 15M movement adopted a groupuscular structure leading to rapid large-scale recruitment for the nonviolent campaign.

15M Adaptation of Gandhian Ideology

Understanding the ideology of a diverse, horizontally structured organization is a difficult task. However just because the organization is horizontally structured does not suppose that it does not show its connection to an historical ideology.

The movement is undeniably nonviolent. Some, like protester and scholar Fernandez Savater, argue that the nonviolence is based on the countries cultural history. He says,

"15M is a nonviolent movement. This is so essential to it that it wasn't even a decision taken in an assembly […] We don't decide our DNA, we start from it" (Postill 8).

It is clear, like Gandhi's regard for the British as friends, that the 15M protesters claim to have no enemies. Even though the movement is fundamentally a rejection of politicians, bankers, and those that defend them, the common practice is to not regard, "anyone as an enemy, not even politicians, bankers or the police. This was neatly captured, he adds, in the chant 'Police, join us!' (¡*Policía únete*!) heard in the early days of the encampments" (Postill 8).

Analyzing the nonviolence of the movement as either virtue ethic based or pragmatic is also a difficult task. As mentioned in part II, the reasoning behind nonviolence in movement usually includes both virtue ethic arguments and pragmatic arguments. This is also what I saw through asking members of 15M why they chose nonviolence (Chipi) (Akira). Protesters understand that in a country where police have guns, but every type of weapon is highly illegal for citizens, there is too significant of a firepower gap between the two sides to launch a violent attack against the state. But beyond that, violence just doesn't appear to be within the value system of the protesters.

The places where the Gandhian nonviolent ideology shines through most clearly are the Okupas, which are very similar to ashrams in that they are training grounds for how to live a nonviolent life. More details on Okupas can be found in the *Ashram in 15M* section.

15M Adaptation of Gandhian Strategy

Despite being nearly 80 years removed from the satyagraha campaigns in India, it is clear that components of the original satyagraha campaigns have been preserved into the modern

era. The core elements of creating a physical training ground, leading marches, and groupuscular networking are all clearly present within the 15M movement.

Like Gandhi's rejection of the "passive resistance" terminology (Mantena 462)(Ackerman and Rodal 124), 15M protesters have made it clear that their nonviolence is not passive, saying, "Nonviolence does not mean nonconflict. The nonviolence of 15M is not passive; it is neither abidance by the law nor an adherence to political convention. Rather it is active, rebellious, disobedient and creative" (Postill 1, 8).

The rejection of passive resistance in favor of aggressive nonviolent resistance is reflected in the adaptation of the specific techniques that previous Gandhian nonviolent campaigns have used. Along with many new resistance techniques, the 15M movement also uses the establishment of Ashram-like public spaces, and collective assembly.

In order to better see the connection to a translated version of satyagraha, we can place the 15M movement within the same 6-part satyagraha model used in the civil rights movement.

Meta- Politics in 15M

15M is clearly a meta-political movement. In fact, the slogans specifically cite politicians (along with bankers) as the creators of the financial crisis (Sanz 30), while one of the original Puerta Del Sol protesters told me that many of them joined the movement in order to abolish the entire political party system (Chipi).

The decision to be a meta-political entity is interesting in the case of Spain. The country famously has a ideologically diverse parliament with many political parties that hold seats. However, by many, it is still viewed as a two-party system (Hughes 409), because of the dominance over the past decade by PSOE and PP.

Just like Gandhi's movement and the civil rights movement in the American South, the 15M movement is framed by scholars who specifically cite a call to meta-politics citing Henry David Thoreau's *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience* (Sauto Galvan 125)(Anabirate 189). It makes sense that the Thoreau essay would emerge. The repeated speech I would hear is that 15M was necessary because the system itself was broken, and there needed to be a parallel functioning system of representation.

Every 15M member that I talked to both in 2012-2013 and in January of 2015 told me that they did not believe that Spain was a democracy (Akira)(Chipi). In more crass terms, the protesters in the Puerta del Sol in Madrid chanted, "esta mierda no es democracia" or, "this shit isn't democracy", on a popular Youtube video taken on the 17th of May, 2011 (Luis Sánchez).

So clearly, like previous nonviolent movements, there was a meta-political sentiment. There is even evidence that it was encouraged by Thoreau's *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience* like both Gandhi's movement and the civil rights movement. The 15M movement looks like the perfect contemporary example of a nonviolent meta-political movement, and it easily fits into Chabot's translation model.

Contentious Communities Within 15M

Part of the reason why traditional media has struggled to understand the purpose of the 15M movement is because it is extremely ideologically diverse. This ideological diversity has led to the creation in many contentious communities, which on the surface don't appear to even have the same end goal. What united the diverse movements was a collective rejection of the status quo during the economic crisis. The movement at its core was a, "structure of great assembly, self-organizing all the antagonisms that had participated in the

demonstration on the 15th […] when we say 'collective antagonisms,' we try to point to the coexistence of several movements with ideological compatibility (though not always): for example, *okupas,* radical trade unions (CNT), republicans of the Left, libertarian communists, LGBT groups, social democrats, leftist students, and so on" (Pino 235). So clearly, the contentious communities were less cohesive than the anti-segregationist contentious communities in the American South.

One can look to the website 15m.cc to find the contentious communities within the 15M movement, and the quantity is truly staggering. 15m.cc alone has links to information on 1054 organizations within the movement (15m.cc). The website does not rank them in order of their size of membership or involvement in the movement, so it is hard to tell at to what extent each organization is actually involved.

This list, however, can be used to loosely draw out the diverse ideologies of the movement. When divided into categories, the top 5 types of organizations (as defined by themselves) are as follows:

Feminist [110]
Anti-Fascist[64]
Anti-Repression [64]
Communication [63]
Anti-Capitalism [59]
Housing [56]
(15m.cc)

What emerges from the submissions to 15M.cc is the true magnitude of the groupuscule. It is truly a movement of movements. The ideological diversity is expansive, to the point that the movement's contentious communities may have fundamental ideological conflicts with each other, rather than simply diverse points of emphasis.

This makes discussing the 15M movement as a whole, very difficult. No individual or organization can logically encompass and represent the entirety of those who subscribe to the movement. But every contentious community within the movement subscribes to the belief that a nonviolent economic and societal change should occur.

One place where we can see this underlying value system is in the *okupa*, which is discussed in the next section.

Ashram in 15M

There is a clear reason that any ashram within the 15M movement would not appear to be like either the Hindu Ashrams in India, or the Harlem Ashram, the 15M movement is undoubtedly secular. The 15m.cc website declares, "Assemblies are non-union, non-party, and secular. This doesn't mean that all participants are independent from such organizations. But the movement is independent from them"(15M.cc). Despite the fact that many of the previous Ashrams also accepted multiple creeds, they still at their core were religious schools, so by definition there are no ashrams that are officially linked to 15M.

However that does not mean that the 15M movement does not have anything *like* an Ashrams in the earlier movements. The ashrams of both India and Harlem taught how to use nonviolence effectively and live a nonviolent life. Within the 15M movement, there are many places known for serving just this purpose, and they are known as *okupas.*

Okupas often serve multiple purposes, "they serve as a place to live for those participants that need them, and some are made into social centers in order to develop social, political, and cultural activities in an open and self-managed manner" (*Translated* Carmen Costa 118). From personal experience having visited multiple okupas, no two are the same. For example,

the okupa in Granada where I spent time translating in 2013 mostly consisted of anarchists, while one of the okupas in Madrid was converted into a training ground for a cruelty free circus (Akira). Another okupa in Granada (which can be seen in Figure 2) had a program teaching its members how to build bikes to reduce traffic in the city (Akira). Thus, they vary widely in their purposes and constituency.

The reason why the okupa movement is relevant for the 15M movement is that many of the okupas are used to spread certain leftist ideologies, and in particular nonviolent ideology. The rhetoric that is spread from okupas is very reminiscent of that which came from the Ashrams in India and Harlem.

> We could say that these social centers could be seen as 'cultural niches' or the building of a 'focus point of resistance'… it is the generation of spaces and times with autonomy, the need to establish their own order (or disorder), where there isn't a separation between that which is personal and that which is political, where they both flow on an axis without deception or contradiction, where theory and practice go hand in hand"
> (*Translated* Carmen Costa 119)

This conceptualization of the okupa as a place of merging the spiritual and political self is remarkably similar to Gandhi's conceptualization of the ashram. The okupas served the same purpose of gathering people in order to understand and evaluate the values of society, all while teaching a form of societal neighborliness.

In part II, we discussed Gandhi's internal conception of swaraj, and its application in creating a civil society. While many of the prescriptive claims do not apply to Spain because of cultural differences (one of them being unity between Hindus and Muslims for example), the overarching concept of creating a moral and connected society clearly appears in both the Indian form of the Ashram and the Okupa. The Okupa serves as a training space for a moral and thoughtful political life, just as the Ashram did.

15M's Assembly and March

As discussed earlier, the purpose of the assembly and march in satyagraha is largely to make visible a societal injustice that is often invisible. Within the context of Gregg's moral jiu-jitsu, this is the need for witnesses in nonviolent action. While the 15M movement does have many marches, the most witnessed act of satyagraha in Spain has been their occupation of public spaces.

This begins with the original occupation of the Puerta del Sol that initiated the movement. Coinciding with the Madrid occupation, a march in Barcelona turned into an occupation of over 15,000 people in the parliament's Plaza de Catalunya (Castañeda 311). While the Madrid and Barcelona occupations were the most mediated, these occupations of public squares occurred in over 53 Spanish cities (Casero-Ripolles and Feenstra 71). If the goal of these occupations was to be seen, they certainly succeeded, as online streams of occupations went live on websites like SOL TV, which had viewers from over 50 countries (Casero-Ripolles and Feenstra 71).

One of the larger of the encampments of the movement was in the Plaza Del Carmen in Granada. This encampment lasted 32 days starting on the 17th of May, 2011 (Hernandez Marayo 152). During this time, the plaza (which sits directly below the government offices) was occupied by protesters as they created a list of demands for the local government, and they refused to leave until there was an effort to meet those demands.

This strategy very closely reflects the satyagraha strategy of Dhurna. Dhurna originated in the middle ages in India, where a creditor who was not being repaid would sit in front of the home of the debtor, "refusing to budge from his place or take any food until the client paid in full. […] The debtor would make a supreme effort to pay rather than suffer a long drawn-out

with its attendant embarrassment" (Shridharani 18). The goal, in theory, is exactly the same for the protesters in the encampments in that they are entitled to change and will demonstrate their government's lack of will to change by essentially sitting Dhurna. Because of the networks like SOL TV, the on looking neighbors are the rest of the world, who are able to witness the encampment.

The 15M Groupuscule

Out of every modern case study, the 15M movement shows the clearest example of groupuscular networking. As mentioned earlier, a key component of a groupuscule is its ability to facilitate interaction between smaller organizations of similar ideology. The example given was the heritage front, whose websites linked to far right websites like, "the Church of the Creator, Aryan Nations, the Northern Hammerskins, and Samisdat Publishing" (Burstow 418). Simply by assessing the linking on one of the main 15M websites, the scale of the groupuscule can truly be seen.

In 15M.cc's mission statement, they say "This project has three aims: first, to document and host all kinds of narratives concerning this movement; second, to provide tools so that users can create the story of their own 15M experiences; and third, to transmit the collective experience of this historic moment for Spain" (*translated* 15M.cc). All of these aims parallel the scholarly understanding of groupuscule in that they facilitate interaction between communities of members of the movement.

The website itself includes two main parts, the "Banco de Ideas" or Idea Bank, and the 15Mpedia. The Banco de Ideas is essentially a media pool, where members can submit pictures and video with geographic and temporal information, and the website organizes the submitted material with other crowd-sourced media. 15Mpedia, a massive crowd-sourced

website which holds information on sit ins, assemblies, social centers (some of which are okupas), as well as ideologies within the movement like feminism, LGBT, anti-evictions, and many others.

This networking effort and others like it are key for the movement because they have "been able to universalize their personal experiences, understandings, and emotions related to the crisis and the actors responsible for it. They have also been able to acquire or regain a sense of joy, efficacy, and empowerment, not just of anger and indignation." (Perugorria 426).

15M Exiting Meta-Politics

Originally, the 15M movement was classically meta-political. While many of the protesters were people who had voted for the more liberal Partido Social Obrero Español (PSOE) in the 2008 election, the party had lost over 1.5 million votes from the beginning of the 15M movement until the election that took place in November of 2011 (Hughes 410). This was the political hit that the party had taken since the beginning of the Spanish Democracy (Chanrock 10). During the original wave of public assembly within the movement, 15M protesters even went as far as to distribute leaflets that read "the 15M movement couldn't care less who wins the elections (Hughes 411), affirming that this was not a political rally, but a meta-political rally.

This rejection of everything political stemmed from a Thoreuvian logic which argues that the political system itself was broken, so any political participation could not fix it. As Mario Espinoza Pino says in his book *Rethinking Marxism*, "The 15M rejects all forms of classical representative policy, considering such as unnecessary to transform the conditions of

existence" (Pino 235). This meta-political narrative was extremely common within the movement's early literature and amongst the original 15M protesters.

However, between my two stays in Spain (2012-2015), there has been a clear shift in public thought as far as the meta-political strategy. The party that was once against political parties, now arguably has one. Headed by 36-year-old political scientist Pablo Iglesias, the party *Podemos* (We Can) has emerged onto the political scene.

Podemos was born out of Lavapies, Madrid, a poorer bohemian neighborhood (Faber 14), which happens to house the largest okupa in Spain (Akria). On December 28th, I walked through Lavapies and met with member of the Granada Okupa, Malena Akira, and we walked to the Okupa. We discussed Podemos, and she shared a sentiment that I would here from many of the former 15M members that I talked to during that time. She said, "Podemos doesn't represent all of 15M. There were many anarchists at the marches in Madrid and Granada. Creating another political party just doesn't work because we already have enough politicians" (Akira). This was echoed with another protester who I met with weeks later in Granada, Cristian, who told me "A party that is against political parties just doesn't make sense. But they do have many of the same values that the 15M people did" (Butler). This discourse was repeated by writer Rafael Narbona, who stated that Podemos had "taken advantage of the legacy of the 15M, made use of the assembly model, but in the end constituted itself as a traditional party" (Faber 17).

Others who I talked to expressed an affinity towards Podemos. José Chipi, who was present at the original Madrid rally in 2011, said that while 15M didn't evolve into Podemos, Podemos was still a good thing for 15M because it further legitimized the views of the protesters (Chipi). So clearly there is division amongst former 15M members about whether

this is an actual political manifestation of the meta-political movement, or timely and opportunistic politics. Like we saw with the exits from meta-politics within the civil rights movement, not all contentious communities take part in entering the political arena.

Despite my observed divisions amongst former movement members, the party appears to be gaining significant success. After a series of regularly appearing on political debate shows on public Spanish television, the party gained 5 seats in the European parliament (Faber 14).

What is arguably more important than the party's actual representation is the effect that they are having on the political discourse and debate. As teacher Andrez Lomeña in Cadiz put it, "Podemos is reshaping the political lexicon and the national debate. Other parties are struggling to keep up" (Aldous 1). That ability to have sufficient political power to simply change the political conversation may be ultimately what is important. If we look back at the introduction of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, it did not simply pass because anti-segregationists had taken the majority of the house and senate. It was the public expression of discontent and the unified resistance that changed the priorities of politicians and created the social change.

Part V: Conclusion and Discussion

Learning about nonviolent resistance campaigns is an increasingly important part of the understanding power dynamics in democracies and autocracies alike. In a world where government entities grow increasingly militarily powerful, resisting violently has become more dangerous and less practical than ever. But even when we look into the past, nonviolence resistance appears to have always been more effective and practical. So in order to still maintain a balance of power, application of nonviolence is often the only option.

By looking at the translation of Gandhian satyagraha to the USA, we can begin to see how it has evolved through time and through cultural adaptation. While some specific strategies have been abandoned, the core mechanisms and value system of satyagraha have clearly maintained through the modern times. Societies still adopt meta-political strategies, create contentious communities, create ashram like places, assemble and march, interact within the groupuscule, and enter the political frame. This strategy is clearly durable and viable in modern political contexts. We can see through looking at the 15M example that satyagraha is still striving. In function and in structure, the concept of satyagraha is still being universally applied, despite differences in language, culture, and goals of movements.

Unresolved Questions

The obvious question that was left unanswered through my analysis is an understanding of the transfer of nonviolence to the modern movement. If we look at Chabot's model for collective learning, the first part of it involves actors expanding beyond their network to receive new information to bring back to their community. We can clearly see through the mirroring of satyagraha strategies that this did occur, but in the case of 15M we do not know

who the people were who sought Gandhian literature. Within the American civil rights movement, we can see the temporal progression through FOR that created a protest culture. Within Spain, it appears to be much more spontaneous or at least less traceable.

Limitations

One limitation when looking at the 15M movement is its lack of authoritative figures. Within the Indian independence movement and the American civil rights movement there are clear authorities who's works can be studied to better understand the movement as a whole. For the 15M movement, no such persons have emerged.

Because of this limitation, the logical step in better understanding the movement would be a representative survey. But because of the rapidly changing political climate of the country, a survey conducted at the beginning of the movement would undoubtedly be completely different if conducted now.

Interviews proved to be interesting, but rarely did they provide information that could contextualize the movement as a whole. Interviewees often could only speak to the actions and ideologies of their specific community, which poses a problem when discussing a profoundly diverse movement. Even in going and living with full-time members of the movement, the size and ideological diversity of the movement makes it far too complicated to understand in its entirety.

Future Research

Further research could begin with applying a broader understanding of the groupuscule concept. As discussed in the body of the thesis, the groupuscule terminology is almost exclusively used to describe violent (typically neo-Nazi) communities. But the logic behind

the groupuscule concept can easily be used to describe nonviolent communities as well. I used this concept to begin to understand the interactions between contentious communities of nonviolent movements, which is a clearly understudied topic.

Another study that could be done that would impact this study is an investigation into what economic indicators are present in the beginning of nonviolent social movements. All three movements discussed here involved communities that were being excluded from markets, so an analysis of economies with burgeoning nonviolent movements could show some interesting results.

Lastly, surveys of nonviolent participants should be conducted at several points throughout nonviolent movements. The reality of studying the 15M movement is that a researcher is largely dependent on the word and data of members of the movement itself. That way we can more concretely understand how a movement is evolving rather than depend on the crowd sourced information that members of the movement chose to show.

The Importance of Nonviolence

Better understanding how nonviolence is being used in a modern context is incredibly important. As I showed through the Laurie Pritchett example in Albany, nonviolence does not suppose morality. Its effectiveness can be dangerous as much as it can be beneficial to society. Yet, despite the potential gains and harms to society, nonviolence is discussed far less than violence is in the international affairs community.

Despite the fact that nonviolent movements have created significant social changes throughout history (but especially in the last century), it is remarkable that there is such limited understanding of the sociological structures within nonviolent movements.

Outside of the political sciences, understanding nonviolence can provide great benefits to our citizenry. As technology changes the way that citizens interact with each other, it is clear that the way in which citizens interact with the state changes as well. Nonviolence has been the medium for speaking out for some of the deepest held values within modern societies. Perhaps nonviolence should be used more often to establish the deep values of future generations. It is in looking to the success of the past and the success of nonviolence that we can see a model for how to build a more peaceful future.

Figure 1

The *Biblioteca Social* or *Biblioteca Anarquista* in Granada.

Figure 2

The larger Okupa within the City of Granada

Figure 3

A photo taken across the alley from the *Biblioteca Anarquista* In Granada.

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