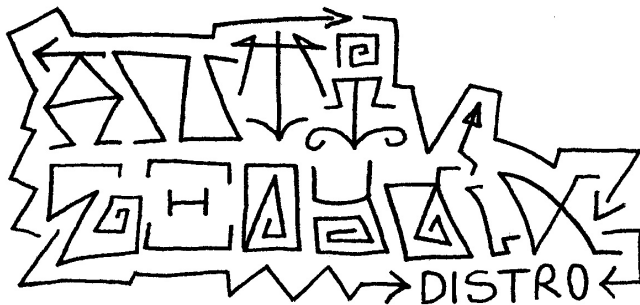


»People have made the mistake of confusing the methods with the objectives. As long as we agree on objectives, we should never fall out with each other just because we believe in different methods or tactics or strategy to reach a common goal.«

- Malcolm X

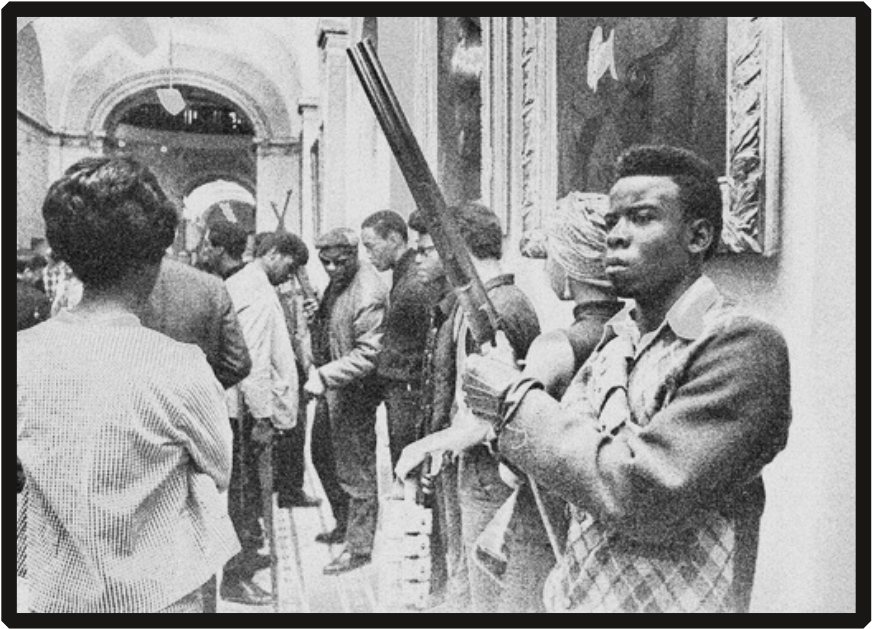
This text is a reflection on the non-violent tactics used during the civil rights movement and their limits.



anti // exusia // distro

anti // exusia // distro

anti // exusia // distro



Non-Violence is NOT enough

an essay by Anansi R.

This Text is a transcript of a Video Essay released by R. Anansi (www.linktr.ee/librariananansi). It was reworked and tweaked in small ways to be more readable - although we tried our best to not change any meaning, take this text with a grain of salt. If you would like to support them and their work, then consider supporting R. Anansi via Patreon.

Set and edited by:

ANTI//EXUSIA//DISTRO

exusia.noblogs.org

exusia@bastardi.net

ANTI COPYRIGHT FRONT

IF YOU SEE THIS ZINE - STEAL IT

Addendum:

This Text is a transcript of a Video Essay released by R. Anansi (www.linktr.ee/librariananansi). It was reworked and tweaked in small ways to be more readable - although we tried our best to not change any meaning, take this text with a grain of salt.

If you would like to support them and their work, then consider supporting R. Anansi via Patreon.

Editorial Note:

From a central european perspective, there is a lot of similarities in of pacifist organizing in german speaking countries, although the lack of PoC-Inegration into the anarchist movement is even more apparent, as palestinian and PoC-Perspectives get routinely called "fascistic", for stating the mere fact of the inevitability of violence in a dynamic of oppression (Master-Slave-Dialectic).

European examples of Diversity in Action:

During the 4. eviction of Hambach Forest in 2018 (and before) the diversity of tactics was an integral strategy to the success of the occupation.

Only the militant and violent resistance by forest-dwellers during the preparation phase of the eviction bought organizers and NGOs enough time to start a europe wide solidarity campaign and facilitate daily demonstrations, when the eviction of the forest-dwellers started.

Both violent and peaceful resistance combined their strength. This phalanx was composed of: guerilla style attacks with rocks, molotow cocktails and steel bullets, barricades, Sit-Ins, fake bombs, mass harassment of companies supporting the eviction, Lock-Ons, Tree-Sits, Blockades, arson attacks, solidarity demonstrations, prisoner support collectives and a spontaneous movement of people who supported the occupation with everything what was needed and smuggled these supplies through the police lines that tried to encircle the forest.

Due to this monumental stalling effort, the eviction (the longest eviction in german history until that point) took over a month - enough time for a court to stop the planned clear-cutting of the forest due to the big population of bats, a protected species.

Without this cooperation of militants, activists and community organizers and NGOs this would not have been possible. Diversity of tactics can be used as a powerful tool against the state.

St. Pauls Principles

I'm going to take time to review the St. Paul's principles, a system of thought developed in 2020 in order to foster better unity between different forms of protest and organization. That way we can reiterate these ideas, introduce them to people who are not familiar with them and help people gain an ethos and methodology for moving forward from this conversation.

1: Our solidarity will be based on respect for diversity of tactics and the plans of other groups. Recognize that under the very broad banners of Black Lives Matter or Stop Killer Cops, different groups and individuals organize in different ways. Groups have different tactics, goals, and messages. You don't have to participate in actions you don't support, but treat them with tolerance and respect.

2: The actions and tactics used will be organized to maintain a separation of time or space. Don't disrupt others actions. This can keep family-friendly spaces separate from those with risk of arrest. When sharing a time and location, come to an agreement on actions with the organizers. If not in agreement, do your actions at a different time or place.

3: Any debates or criticisms will stay internal to the movement, avoiding any public or media denunciations of fellow activists and events. Public dispute in the media and on social media hurts organizing and helps our adversaries. Authorities use disputes, rumors, and bad jacking, and drama-inducing interlopers to destroy movements. Our goals are more important than most grievances. Activist disagreement should be worked out privately between activists. Most agree that individuals doing active harm to community members are an exception.

4: We oppose any state repression of dissent, including surveillance, infiltration, disruption, and violence. We do not agree to assist law enforcement actions against activists and others ever. We do not snitch. We don't share plans with authorities. We do not trust cops to protect us. Unless you were assigned to do so by lead tactical during a protest, never ever respond to questions from law enforcement.

Thank you for taking time to read this text. I hope that it's been educational for you.

I hope that you have a wonderful day.

Non-Violence is not enough

Let me tell you a story: In 1959, a young black student by the name of Joseph McNeel, while on Christmas vacation with his family in Greensboro, North Carolina, attempted to buy a hot dog at the local Greyhound station.

Refused service due to his blackness and fed up with the constant occurrence of this particular kind of violence, McNeel went to several of his friends, Franklin McCain, Eel Blair Jr., and David Richmond. The group began brainstorming together a protest that would put an end to segregation in Georgia. On February 1st, 1960, at around 4:30 p.m., the group walked into a local department store and purchased a few items at the desegregated counter, then sat at the lunch counter and ordered all the same meal, a donut with a coffee and cream on the side. They were refused service and directed to the lunch counter for negroes, but refused. They waited until the store closed that night, refusing to leave. The next day, they returned with more students and more the next. The KKK began harassing them, while white patrons of the store reacted with a mix of anger, pride, and shock.

By day four, over 300 people joined the group, now known as the Greensboro 4. These protests would end in success. The department store they were protesting desegregated its locations and the moment stands as a shining example of the power of nonviolence as a tactic of protest. Moments like it were abound during the civil rights movement.

The students were inspired by the arguable patron saint of non-violent resistance one Dr. Martin Luther King. Inspired by the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, King popularized the tactic and ideology of non-violence in America, applying Gandhi's pacifism to a black American liberation theology that became the primary language of resistance in America for a long time. But these tactics exist in an awkward historical position today.

It is common for King's legacy of non-violence to be upheld to the point of distortion. The pop historical idea of what it means to be non-violent is somewhat detached from how it was used before, and the efficacy of such tactics and their strength is also brought into question. Proponents of tactics of non-violence today often are missing critical aspects of what non-violence entailed and can entail, and the context in which such struggles win victory. But those who disparage non-violence are just as wrong, just as short-sighted. There is an appropriate and inappropriate time to approach non-violent direct action and tactics - I wish to discuss both.

The goal of these writings is to offer a newer, widened perspective on what non-violence as a tactic includes and to erase the dichotomy between non-violence and other radical tactics as well as introduce the audience to the concept of diversity of tactics. One of the first steps to this is bringing the word militancy back into the frame. Martin Luther King was not simply nonviolent. He was militantly non-violent and rejected inactive pacifism for an active non-violent resistance. What that means is that the use of this tactic came with a goal of causing disruption, but it required disciplined, strategic, and targeted protests with directly achievable material goals. high levels of organization and militancy.

Non-violent tactics like rent strikes and boycotts cut into the economic power of the exact socio-economic class standing in the way of civil rights. And they were made possible by tight logistical organizing, raising money for supplies and bail funds, organizing child care for participants, and other forms of support that sustained the movement.

King's commitment to non-violence was by no means a symptom of idealism, but was in his mind a fiercely pragmatic position. It is either nonviolence or non-existence, he wrote, with the context of genocidal war in Vietnam and renewed KKK violence pressing these ideals into the forefront of struggle in his mind. King feared violent resistance as dangerous and impossible, but saw in nonviolence a form of struggle that benefited his New Testament Christian moralities and allowed the moral high ground to those protesting, giving a powerful image to onlookers of the state and racist civilian violence, forcefully cracking

taining bail through anyone other than for-profit bond agents who turn a profit by extracting hefty fees and fines from desperate clients almost impossible. As of July 1st, anyone, be it a mother, uncle, church, or nonprofit, who tries to bail more than three people out a year, will risk being charged with a misdemeanor. Governor Brian Kemp claims the law gives the courts tougher tools to bring violent offenders to justice, but legal advocates see different, more sinister motivations: "This bill is part of a larger crackdown on protest," says Cory Isacson, legal director at the ACLU of Georgia. We want people to be able to protest actions from the government without fear that there will be retribution. But unfortunately, that's exactly what we're seeing in this state. Retribution certainly seems to be the order of the day in Georgia politics. The state's attack on community bail funds is a collaboration between some of the most reactionary forces in local politics. Drafted by aggrieved private bail companies eager to neutralize a threat to their \$2 billion bottom line and promoted by the American Legislative Exchange Committee, a right-wing think tank. The bill is a perfect vehicle for GOP lawmakers to champion law and order policies while expanding a highly profitable bail system that has been abandoned by nearly every nation in the world except the US and the Philippines.

Ultimately, a multitude of tactics and ideas lay sprawled before those of us who wish to participate in the liberation struggle. It is rarely anyone's place to dictate or decide for another what method their struggle calls for. Ultimately, it serves us not. In the modern day, the divide between such methods of struggle has begun to be bridged by a new methodology, diversity of tactics.

Such an idea relies on the understanding that multiple tactics and methods are required to truly wage a complete struggle. The public defender working to keep protesters out of jail and fight government surveillance and repression on the legal end is just as important as the eco saboteur pouring sugar in gas tanks to protect forests or the militant de-arresting those targeted by police for violence in the streets. None of these can wage a struggle alone.

And instead, their methods must intersect, support each other, and combine. Mutual aid groups providing PPE, gear, water, and medical supplies to protesters in 2020. The street medics who watched over those protesters during that same uprising were just as vital as those who fought back against fascist repression directly. Our solidarity with those in the struggle must be absolute:

So absolute that the militants will not abandon the pacifists to repression - so much so that the pacifists will not condemn the fighters.

Such must be our loyalties.

2022, 25-year-old veteran journalist and Palestinian-American Shireen Abu Aklay was shot on purpose by an Israeli sniper. One could fill this essay with stories of clear non-combatants being slaughtered in the streets of Palestine, but I will refrain. Instead, I press the question, how is non-violence a choice when even the most staunchly non-violent among us fall upon the sword of conquest regardless? What is to be done if not to struggle by every extent of one's capabilities?

»For 70 years, not a day has passed without the loss of young Palestinian women and men who, tragically, found greater dignity and freedom in martyrdom than they did in obedient, passive living controlled by those who dared to dictate the parameters of their lives.

Millions of us worldwide dream of a better time and place for Palestinians ... free to spread their wings, to soar, to discover who they are and what they wish to become. Until then, I mourn not for the loss of those who stop their flight. Instead, I applaud those who dare to struggle, dare to win - by any means necessary.

There is no magic to resistance and struggle. They transcend time and place and derive their very meaning and ardour in the natural inclination, indeed, drive, of us all to be free - to be free to determine the role of our own lives.«

- Stanley L Cohen, "Palestinians have a legal right to armed struggle", 20 July 2017, Al-Jazeera.

I raise such points in part to dismiss the myth that has propagated many left circles in the US in recent years partly due to the mythology of non-violence that such tactics are the safer option. They are not and in some ways can be more dangerous. Not to discourage them, I believe non-violent participation in struggle through logistical support, legal aid, mutual aid and protest are extremely vital. But these are not safe by any means:

The RICO charges and fraud charges brought against the stop cop city movement allies in Atlanta Solidarity Fund are a prime example. The organization saw its home offices raided by police and dozens of people who had supported it along with those running it were given RICO charges. On top of this, the very state apparatus of Georgia has shifted its hefty body to criminalize such charitable forms of organizing. Community bail funds, which have served as an important mutual aid strategy for black communities and racial justice activists, are now functionally illegal in Georgia. The new law expands the cash bail system by making close to 30 offenses, including protest related charges like unlawful assembly, bail ineligible. It also makes ob-

down on measured, respectful, and honorable people, articulating a relatable desire for freedom.

His faith was a deep central aspect of his commitment to non-violence, and it shows in his six principles of non-violence:

Principle one: Non-violence is a way of life for courageous people. It is active non-violent resistance to evil. It is aggressive spiritually, mentally, and emotionally;

Principle two: Non-violence seeks to win friendship and understanding. The result of nonviolence is redemption and reconciliation. The purpose of Nonviolence is the creation of the beloved community;

Principle three: Non-violence seeks to defeat injustice, not people. Non-violence recognizes that evildoers are also victims and are not evil people. The Nonviolent Resistor seeks to defeat evil, not people;

Principle four: Non-violence holds that suffering can educate and transform. Non-violence accepts suffering without retaliation. Unearned suffering is redemptive and hastremendous educational and transforming possibilities;

Principle five: Non-violence chooses love instead of hate. Nonviolence resists violence of the spirit as well as of the body. Non-violent love is spontaneous, unmotivated, unselfish, and creative;

Principle six: Non-violence believes that the universe is on the side of justice. The non-violent resistor has deep faith that justice will eventually win. Non-violence believes that God is a god of justice.

But even faith aside, and discarding my own personal feelings as well, it was just politically quite savvy.

In the era of the proliferation of television, national and global high-speed news cycles, and the growing power of public opinion, King was acutely aware of the power of propaganda, and the image of non-violent struggle.

But even beyond mere imagery, his commitment to non-violence gave him access to tactics that were potentially just as disruptive as any violent means without carrying necessarily the similar risk. The famed Montgomery bus boycott being a prime example of this fiercely practical and impactful but non-violent protest. Far separated from the popular liberal understanding of non-violence, the tactic here is meant to have power to actually cause material problems and disruptions for the system in place. They are laser targeted against the chosen enemy.

Non-violence also existed in a social context that gave it more power. The long hot summer of 1967 received its name from the nationwide riots that took place during it, and they were not isolated. King gave grave warnings amidst these riots that non-violence could only hold back this natural rage for so long:

»It is not enough for me to stand before you tonight and condemn riots. It would be morally irresponsible of me to do that without at the same time condemning the contingent intolerable conditions that exist in our society. These conditions are the things that cause individuals to feel they have no other alternative than to engage in violent rebellions to get attention. And I must say tonight that a riot is the language of the unheard. And what is it that America has failed to hear?

It has failed to hear that the plight of the Negro poor has worsened over the last 12 or 15 years. It has failed to hear that the promises of freedom and justice have not been met. And it has failed to hear that large segments of white society are more concerned about tranquility and the status quo than about justice and humanity.«

Popular conceptions of non-violence often only exist to neuter protests and what protest can mean. Republicans and liberals often enjoy the use of MLK's image to shame protests that involve any level of violence or even non-violent protests that verge on too disruptive.

Every year on MLK's birthday, for example, we are subjected to distorted reiterations of his ideas by people who would consider him a fierce and dangerous enemy in his time, even by his very killers. In the modern day, protests that so much as block roads are considered too far. Peaceful student occupations of campuses were compared to the January 6th uprising by some liberals and condemned. Zionist liberal fascists even celebrated the attacks on these encampments.

I believe it is these attitudes and the desire by many in our movements to assuage these people and their anger at any display of resistance that has harmed non-violence as a tactic and as an idea. Dr. King's policy was that non-violence would achieve the gains for black people in the United States. His major assumption was that if you are non-violent, if you suffer, your opponent will see your suffering and be moved to change his heart. That's very good. But he only made one facious assumption. In order for non-violence to work, your opponent must have a conscience.

The United States has none.

Protests are meant to be disruptive. The goal should always be to bring attention to an issue by disrupting the forces causing it directly while bringing attention to the issue. Non-violence still requires direct action to actually be a protest. Direct action is a term for political behavior whereby actors take agency over the achievement of a goal rather than simply negotiating for it. This could mean chaining oneself to clear-cutting equipment to protect a forest or doing tree sits to stop logging as some members

ons has found that there is a probable case for genocide against Israel due to their indiscriminate bombing of Gaza and their conduct of their soldiers toward civilians and prisoners. The conditions in Gaza are indeed dire.

Since the October 7th battle, where Israel enacted the Hannibal directive, instructing their soldiers to kill even their own civilians and men in response to attack, 1.9 million Gazins have been displaced, half of whom are children under the age of 18. Of those, 17,000 are newly made orphans and 27,000 already were orphaned (Text released in Sep. 2024). Starvation and disease run rampant as the population is forced to move from city to city with no rest or resources, all while being bombed repeatedly in the so-called safe zones Israel has established. Currently, over 70% of the population is suffering from famine and starvation. Even the UN is almost powerless to help as UN aid trucks have been destroyed, raided, bombed, and murdered by Israeli civilians. and the so-called mobile aid pier set up by the US was used to stage an IDF attack, delivered no aid at all before floating off and promptly collapsing. This is also not to mention the murder of nearly 300 aid workers in Gaza from both the UN and other independent organizations as recently as 2 days ago.

Under such conditions, the expectation that the people of Palestine engage solely in unarmed struggle is clearly not capable of being entertained in the slightest. Most Westerners bulk at the idea of non-violent solutions to someone stealing their bike or burger, let alone their land, homes, dignity, the lives of their children and their parents. Yet, the West continues to enforce the notion that Palestinians are to resist death, what has legally been termed genocide with calm, folded hands and sage-like bliss derived from an orientalist wararmonger's imagination.

Nonviolence has been tried before in Palestine. The 2018 March of Return protests were largely nonviolent with 35,000 Palestinians marching toward the border fences, separating them from the homes they'd been displaced from. Their demand being the right to return to the homes they lost. A small and arguably reasonable demand. 223 people, including children, were killed. 10,000 injured as Israel responded to both peaceful protests and small skirmishes with militants with live fire and tear gas.

On March 14th, 2003, American activist Rachel Corey was run over by a bulldozer seeking to destroy Palestinian homes. She had hoped to stand in the way of genocidal destruction, but was killed despite her non-violent intervention.

Journalist activists in Palestine have long found themselves falling to Israel's bullets more times than should ever be allowed. Since October 7th, 158 journalists have been killed by Israel, multiple on live television. On May

been achieved without the complimentary and still underappreciated practice of armed self-defense. The claim that armed self-defense was a necessary aspect of the civil rights movement is still controversial. In spite the fact, that wielding weapons, especially firearms, let both participants in non-violent struggle and their sympathizers protect themselves and others from terrorist attacks for their civil rights activities. This willingness to use deadly force ensured the survival of not only countless brave men and women, but also of the freedom struggle itself.

The pervasiveness of anti-black violence during the era of the civil rights movement and the early freedom struggle cannot be understated: In both the antebellum south and postworld war II United States violence from the KKK, the white league and lynchings overall saw major spikes. The exercise of the black right to suffrage in the antebellum period onward until the 1960s was frequently contested by white vigilantes engaging in voter intimidation or outright violence against black people attempting to vote. Black struggle for civil rights in America has always taken place amid the context of frequent and institutionalized anti-black violence - with that violence often triggered by black progress or resistance.

What becomes apparent then when observing the response of white vigilantes to the civil rights movement with extreme violence via bombings, shootings, and other forms of attack is that the choice to engage in self-defense is not much of a choice. In fact, it seems to be an inevitable point of many endeavors towards non-violence, yet at UCLA now or with the civil rights movement in many cases: The decision to use violence is often taken away from protesters by those attacking them.

»If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom yet depreciate agitation are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one, or it may be both moral and physical, but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without demand. It never did and it never will.«

- Frederick Douglass

This is ultimately a predictable outcome in line with and mirroring anti-colonial struggles within the third world. Take for example the ongoing struggle in Palestine where a multitude of political actors are fighting against the IDF in open combat: As of March 2024, the United Nati-

of the environmental group Earth First did in their time or engaging in the same sit-ins we discussed earlier.

Civil disobedience is a defining factor of direct action in many cases. This means non-violently engaging in the breaking of certain laws or regulations, one means to protest. A protest without these two components isn't really a protest.

Engaging in direct action and civil disobedience often necessitates illegalism. To define the term, illegalism is a term usually associated with anarchism. Illegalism can be viewed either as merely a tactic radicals use or in its more historical form as a separate ideology in and of itself in line with certain forms of egoist anarchism. Illegalism extends forth from the idea that we are in opposition to a particular system and therefore resistance requires breaking its rules or laws for the sake of a higher cause or simply because those laws do not deserve to be followed absent of any goal per se. In the historical anarchist sense, illegalists argued for the use of illegal means as a tactic but also a lifestyle of expropriation without any necessary social goal or progression in mind.

In this historical sense, while some radicals of the 19th and 20th century expropriated for the sake of a movement, revolution, or party, the illegalists did so simply for their own benefit or for the mere sake of the act itself being worth it. Originally, the term illegalism had a specific meaning. An illegalist was an anarchist who chose to use illegal means as the way to make their living rather than begging or taking a job. So, illegalism referred specifically to robbery, burglary, theft, counterfeiting, etc. not to propaganda of the deed, attentat and things like that, nor to such things as refusal of military service, taxes, etc.

The original debates over illegalism were therefore not about whether anarchists should take illegal action.

It was assumed that all anarchists did, but about whether individual reappropriation was a legitimate tactic. And for an egoist, this is not even a question. The only question is: "What can I get away with?"

»In any case, anarchists and for that matter all free-spirited, unsubmissive individuals will inevitably break laws. When laws exist, my choice to live on my own terms will make me an outlaw because I will ignore law except as an obstacle to avoid.«

- Wolfi Landstreicher, the Anarchist Outlaw

Speaking in a tactical sense outside of the term's original context: Illegalism is the willingness to use illegal means for the purposes of resistance.

This sounds scary at first, but remember that MLK Sit-Ins were incredibly illegal, and the breaking of those laws was often a pretense for violence against protesters. Rent strikes are also technically not a legal tactic. Eviction defenses often necessitate the disruption or downright halt of legal processes of evictions. For example, in 2020 when protesters chained courtrooms shut to prevent landlords from being able to file for eviction. It is important that even non-violent actors trying to resist remain militant, aggressive, disruptive, and willing to still engage in illegalist tactics. Illegalism for many takes the assertion that morality and legality are frequently separate and acts from that assertion.

Sit-Ins and disobeying segregation laws, burning draft cards, refusing to go to Vietnam for the military, ignoring curfews to continue protesting. All of these are illegal means of resistance. Nonviolence cannot mean complicity in the system. It must still be an act of material, measurable resistance. On top of this, it is a commonly held belief among many radicals today that property damage is not violence, and it is dangerous to make it out to be so.

This was a vital point of unity in 2020 as the violence of looters taking from corporations or protesters pulling down statues was nothing in comparison to the unwarranted beating and shooting of protesters by the police during the same time period.

In such conditions where even peaceful kneeling protesters were being beaten and shot - in some cases to death and grievous harm - non-violence did not make them unacceptable targets, just softer ones, just easier ones.

Direct action does not necessarily have to be illegal. However, the Black Panthers engaged in armed protests. Their display of arms meant to signal a willingness to engage in self-defense. Bearing these arms, they would engage in an activity called cop watching, monitoring police stops and arrests of black people to ensure they did not turn violent and the police did not engage in any illegal activity. This was at the time fully legal, but still directly disrupted racist policing and was fully nonviolent. It relied, however, on the threat of self-defensive violence.

Part of the popular problematized image of MLK and his protests is one of inactive pacifism. As we mentioned before, this passive nonviolence is antithetical to MLK's active non-violent resistance. But while MLK and his ilk were sworn to non-violence, this does not imply a lack of capacity for self-defense. I would even go so far as to argue that anti-fascist community defense is a form of nonviolent resistance to fascism. The goal of a community

defense of LGBT spaces or black and brown communities is rarely, if not never, to start any confrontations with fascist agitators in any sense, but to physically block and inhibit their ability to cause violence wherever they happen to be targeting. In most cases, the mere presence of an organized community is more than an effective deterrent to any violence. Arguably, any self-defensive action people resisting fascist violence are made to take, should be considered an exception to non-violent tactics.

Even in line with them, Martin Luther King himself, to reference the patron saint of pacifism once again, was known for keeping several firearms at his home for the sake of defending himself and his family. He knew how to use them, and he was willing to if needed.

The issue of self-defensive violence is a particularly difficult snag on the culture of resistance. Let us take a case study and look at the UCLA Pro Palestine protest encampment from April 2024. Here the student organizers were deeply committed to a policy of non-violence to mixed results. This policy was a challenge for the encampment as they faced nightly escalating antagonisms from Zionist counterprotesters actively engaging in violence via physical attacks and even sexual violence. The harassment from these counterprotesters was not random. However, night after night, there were both hecklers and quieter scouting parties and individuals talking to others on phones or walkie-talkies while surveilling the camp. There was a clear effort to manifest greater, more organized attacks. People at the encampment dealt with the harassment by non-violent means. The camp's barricades were modular and capable of being moved, disassembled, or reassembled with relative ease. This became a boon, as the very borders of the camp could be used to expand defensively and push out hecklers or attackers, and on multiple occasions were enough to ward off attacks and harassment on their own.

This could only work for so long - with a larger attack clearly looming overhead. When the April 30th attack on the UCLA encampment took place, the students faced a situation that greatly stretched what a policy of strict non-violent pacifism was capable of dealing with. Facing deadly violence from the Zionist mob and with no intervention or aid from first responders, protesters had to work to defend themselves. In witnessing the students struggle to defend themselves despite a policy of non-violence, I was reminded of the book, "This Non-violence Stuff'll Get You Killed" by Charles E. Cobb Jr. It tells the stories of resistance during the civil rights movement and discusses how preparation for violence while being committed to nonviolence was critical for the civil rights movement's success. Although non-violence was crucial to the gains made by the freedom struggle of the 1950s and 60s, those gains could not have