

## **Gandhi's principles of non-violence and the palestinian resistance movement**

**SALEEM AHMAD**

Centre for West Asian Studies, School of International Studies,  
Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India  
(Email : s.ahmad982@gmail.com)

**Key Words :** Non-violence principles,

Gandhi is now dead and he cannot be in Palestine physically. Nevertheless, he is there in spirit, and there are literally hundreds of “Gandhis” in the occupied territories, carrying on non-violent resistance movement in the finest tradition of Gandhi. Regarding Palestine, Gandhi was very clear, and his position was that Palestine is Arab territory, and if Jews settled there they should not expect the protection of a colonial power. Gandhi was completely against the creation of the Jewish State of Israel in Palestine. Supporters of the Jewish State tried very hard to make him change his view, but Gandhi remained firm. President Barak Obama argues that if only Palestinians renounced violence, peace would come to there. He ignores the non-violent resistance that goes on daily in the occupied territories. In fact, the problem is not that there are no “Gandhis” in Palestine but the media has made them invisible.<sup>1</sup> For generations, Palestinians have adopted in their daily lives a culture of non-violent (in Arabic “*Sumud*” that means to be “steadfast” and to “persevere”). Moreover, Palestinian children resist the will of their occupiers non-violently as they make their daily journey to school despite the long waits at the checkpoints and the harassment by Israeli Defense Forces.<sup>2</sup>

### **Non-violence principles :**

The principles of non-violence as practiced by Mahatma Gandhi lie in its “capacity to function both proactively and reactively”. He used non-violence principles against the British during the freedom movement of India. First, he built a relationship based on respect, understanding, acceptance and appreciation, and then he made it difficult for the opponent to take ruthless action. Gandhi argues that ‘no one can oppress us more than we oppress ourselves’. He talks about the fear that controls us from taking bold and sensible action. However, liberation from fear is the first step of non-violence principles. The second step is not to wait until a situation becomes persistence before launching opposition campaigns. Third, he was shrewd in reading his opponent and modified his struggle accordingly. At all times, the important thing to remember is that provoking the opponent is totally against the principles of non-violence. In short, Gandhi argues that one must do nothing that would cause suffering or hurt in any manner. The purpose of a non-violent action is to appeal to the goodness in the opponent. This comes from the ancient belief that every individual is endowed with an equal measure of ‘good’ and ‘bad’, and a person reacts according to the provocation. On the one hand, when someone talks to you politely, one should respond kindly. On the other hand, if one is

**How to cite this Article:** Ahmad, Saleem (2015). Gandhi's principles of non-violence and the palestinian resistance movement. *Internat. J. Appl. Soc. Sci.*, 2 (3&4) : 104-112.

aggressive, then the response too is aggressive. For instance, two people under Gandhi's training once had an argument that progressively got more and more heated. Finally, one of them was so frustrated that he spat on the other man's face, provoking him to slap the culprit. Both went to Gandhi to resolve the issue. "I wasn't violent," said the man who spat on the other's face, "whereas he slapped me." "Both of you were violent," Gandhi said. "One was physically violent and the other passively violent".<sup>3</sup>

More significantly, when Gandhi organized campaigns they were massive in numbers. They usually started with a few hundred but quickly got involved thousands. He trained people not only in how to be non-violent under all kinds of provocations, but also how to be aware of infiltrators who could be sent to sabotage the struggle. In spite of all precautions, there were saboteurs who sometimes disrupted Gandhi's non-violent movement. But he quickly regained control by suspending the movement and removing all the saboteurs peacefully. Throughout the non-violent campaign in India, Gandhi never lost respect for the British. He treated them with the same dignity that he expected in return. Even when the British were violent and ruthless, Gandhi never permitted any angry reply. Further, Gandhi says that "If we do to them what they do to us then we all become like animals." Wisdom lies in making them realize their mistake. However, Gandhi not only liberated India from British Colonialism but he also liberated the British from their own Imperialism.<sup>4</sup>

When the principles of non-violence is used as a weapon, it sometimes works but mostly it does not because non-violence is as much about "attitude" and "long-term" relationship as about "resolving conflict". Gandhi's principles of non-violence are positive because it encourages positive thinking. It helps to build up a positive and more compassionate relationship. Gandhi argues that the principles of non-violence is about purging our minds and our hearts of all the negativity like hate, prejudice, anger, discrimination etc., and replacing it with positive attitudes like love, respect, compassion and so on.<sup>5</sup> In a non-violent struggle, there is an attempt to change the deeds of the opponent without injuring his life. It enables the opponent ample time to change his ways. While violence works on the principle of creating fear in one's opponent, the principles of non-violence is based on freeing one's opponent from fear. There are various forms of non-violence suitable to the situation of each side in the conflict. For Palestinians who are trying to rid themselves of the Israeli occupation, there is the option of active non-violence.<sup>6</sup> But the point is that non-violence is the weapon of the victim and not the oppressor which Palestinian missed. If the oppressor believes in the principles of non-violence, he would not be an oppressor and there would be no conflict. It is clear that small, isolated non-violent campaigns against Israeli oppression will not work. Such campaigns can easily be crushed and forgotten. Palestinian needs massive, peaceful demonstrations against Israeli occupation. They need bold and fearless initiative against the Jewish State.<sup>7</sup>

### **Palestinians and the principles of Non-violence :**

According to Arun Gandhi the political situation in Palestine is different. In India, the British came to colonize the country and plunder it. While in Palestine, the Jews had come to conquer the country and set up a Jewish state. Israel has a dual policy like talk peace, provoke violence and act aggressively. It shows that Israel has no intentions of giving Palestine statehood. In fact, the Jewish state wishes to make life so intolerable for the Palestinians that they would leave and allow Israelis to usurp the Palestinian land. The Israelis know how to provoke the Palestinians and the Palestinians, on their part, have played right into the hands of Israel, and give them justification for ruthless oppression. Suicide-bombings, stone throwing, other acts of violence, though for a good cause, do not lead to better relations between them.<sup>8</sup> Rajmohan Gandhi offered some suggestions for Palestinians fighting for liberation:

Be patient; never give up your faith. The Soviet Union crumbled, Apartheid in South Africa crumbled, and the occupation of Palestine will also crumble; be appreciative of one another. Instead of

blaming a colleague for what is not done, appreciate what is done. Live to make the other person great. Then your team will become stronger, your cause will prosper, and your greatness will also be seen. But if your concern is to make yourself great, your team will weaken; Continue do the constructive work. Build the Palestinian home. Make everything you do of the highest quality; Continue to laugh amidst hardship; Enlarge the non-violent struggle; Strengthen the friendship and partnership of Palestine's Muslims and Christians. Let Palestine become an example of a country where the rights of all minorities are fully respected.<sup>9</sup>

He further stated that Gandhi showed that non-violent struggle “turns weakness into strength, the lack of a gun into a forceful weapon”. Allowing the spotlight to fall on the humiliation forced upon the Palestinians, could turn Palestinian indignity into images that stir the Judaic conscience. Ahmad Lazza of Bet Jala sees huge potential in Gandhi's principles, “we believe that non-violence is stronger than militant action, once we have a big mass of people. When people want something, nothing can stop them. We can give up the fight for a Palestinian state, but we will never give up our fight for equal rights and for democratic rights in a state where Israelis and Palestinians together live. Our acknowledgment of defeat in one battle is also a call for struggle in another battle, and it will be remained a non-violent struggle”. He further says, ‘If the world supports us, peaceful resistance will get us something back’,<sup>10</sup>

The principle of Non-violence is not new to the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. In the Palestinian resistance movement, ideas of non-violent movement were raised at various times. The most interesting experiment with introducing the principles of non-violence as a “practical strategy” in the Palestinian struggle against the Israeli occupation was made by Dr. Mubarak Awad in the 1984. This experiment had much influence on the early stages of the first Intifada of 1987. Actions such as the display of the Palestinian flag, the declaring of independence in villages, the boycott of Israeli goods and growing of food to replace Israeli produce, self-determination of opening and closing times for shops, and the tax revolt in Beit Sahour, were just a few of the non-violent actions conducted in the first Intifada. Nevertheless, for Israelis and apparently for the rest of the world, stone throwing came to be seen as the central action of the Intifada.<sup>11</sup>

Dr. Mubarak Awad called on the Palestinians to adopt Gandhi's non-violence principles and since then it continued to promote the principles of non-violence in the Palestinian resistance movement. Significantly, these principles of non-violence should apply to both Palestinians and Israelis. But it should apply more to the Palestinians who tend to pay the higher price for violence and gain less from it than do the Israelis. It has been argued that the Palestinians would gain more through a non-violent struggle for independence and statehood than they would by violence. Elias H. Tuma argues that it is evident that the violent struggle for almost a whole century has failed to realize its objectives. Second, the Palestinians are fully justified in seeking an end to the Israeli occupation of their territories, and pursuing of violence has given Israel an excuse to claim a right to defend itself. As a result, Israel penetrated farther into the Arab territories, create settlements, and entrench itself to protect them. Third, the Palestinians have, in the meantime, suffered thousands of fatal casualties, tens of thousands of injured and billions of dollars in material losses, and devastating blows to their psychological, educational, and social health, as well as to their morale. The depravity of educational opportunities over three or four generations has added up to a major loss of human capital and economic and social development. The long run impact of these inflictions has yet to be estimated, but no one can doubt the immensity of the tragic effects the Palestinians have suffered.<sup>12</sup>

On the other hand, the violent approach has exhausted its potential to draw attention to the suffering and justness of the Palestinian cause. While people in many countries express sympathy for the Palestinians, few outside the West Asia approve their tactics of violence, suicide bombing, or attacks on Israeli civilians. But to minimize the cost of the fight for statehood, independence and to gain the upper moral hand in the struggle, it seems imperative for the Palestinians to abandon violence

and adopt the principles of non-violence as their new approach to end the conflict. According to E.H. Tuma, to abandon violence does not mean abandoning the goals of independence and statehood in a secure, peaceful, and viable environment within the legitimate boundaries recognized by the international community. On the contrary, the struggle to realize these objectives may be intensified but without violence: no firearms, no stabbing, no stone throwing, and certainly no rockets or suicide bombings, whether against Israeli soldiers or civilians. The struggle may take the form of non-violent protests, sit-ins, passive resistance, and non-cooperation with occupation forces. It may also include non-violent obstruction of the activities of the Israeli authorities, such as the appropriation of land, the building of settlements, or the control of water resources. All this can be done while negotiations are going on, and appeals to the international community for justice and restoration are intensified. Of course, there will be risks. The process may be slow, casualties may be suffered, and other losses may be anticipated, but all these losses will be less on the scale of the losses suffered through the violent approach. However, the gains may be monumental in future.<sup>13</sup>

By resorting to the principles of non-violence, the Palestinians will gain the power of moral and human values. They will enlist large segments of the Israeli public to strengthen the call for “an end to occupation and resolution of the conflict peacefully”. Non-violence will deprive the Israeli authorities of the excuses they use to suppress the innocent Palestinian people and inflict harm on them. By the same token, world public opinion will certainly shift in favor of the Palestinians and against the Israeli aggression. Public opinion in the United States will be revolutionized and become much more even-handed than has been possible so far. Even the extremists in Israel will find it difficult to mobilize public opinion into aggressive military action against the Palestinians. Consequently, the Palestinian negotiators and policy makers will have the upper moral hand in peace negotiations with Israeli counterparts, and they will have support and aid from the international community. Though, the non-violent approach is not easy. It takes a high degree of patience and self-discipline, both of which deserve strengthening among the Palestinians. It is more difficult to practice non-violence than to carry a gun and shoot. But in the short and long run, benefits are certainly worth. In the short run, there will be a drastic reduction of costs. In the long run, the Palestinians will be able to achieve independence, statehood and a viable economy and society.<sup>14</sup> However, the Palestinians at large must be active participants in protests, if the non-violent approach is to materialize. The sooner the Palestinians start on the road of non-violence, the sooner they begin to realize the potential gains that await them.<sup>15</sup>

Dr. Mustafa Barghouti, the General Secretary of the Palestine National Initiative (in Arabic *Al-Mubadara*), was instrumental in establishing, in 2002, to introduce a new political thinking. This initiative, which advocates firmly to the Gandhi's Principles of non-violent resistance to the Israeli occupation, is gaining momentum, popularity and developing into an alternative third voice to Fatah and Hamas, the two major political factions in the Palestinian occupied territories. Barghouti believes that the protests are taking place in various parts of the West Bank, and soon it would develop into a popular mass resistance against the Israeli occupation. Those who are unaware of the situation of the Palestinians and look at it from a distance think in terms of the old models. But it is not following old models. It is an awakening amongst the Palestinian people for non-violent resistance to the building of the Apartheid Wall; it has been slowly but consistently developing into the occupied territories. It started in remote villages like Bil'in, Nil'in, al-Ma'sra, al-Walaja, Sheikh Jarrah and etc., whose lands were being taken by Israeli defense forces in the course of building the wall. Subsequently, it spread from one village to another. It has now matured into a regional movement, where people come together from different parts of the West Bank to join in a common action of peaceful resistance. The establishment of the Palestinian village of Bab Es Shams, on Palestinian land in what the Israeli government calls the E1 area, demonstrated even larger collaboration in an organized, effective and national action.<sup>16</sup> The Palestinians are aware of that what is taking place on the grounds now. In the past, there were two

Intifadas. The assumption is that there would be a third one that would be militarized, which Israel will use its superior weapons to suppress the Palestinians.<sup>17</sup> He enumerated several factors that are contributing to the prevailing despair in the Palestinians. The peace process is frozen with no prospects of solution, and there is an unprecedented increase in Israeli settlements and land takeover throttling the idea of a Palestinian state. Third is an intolerable economic situation, with an unemployment rate in the 18-26 age groups, of around 70 per cent. It is the failure of the policy making and building institutions. Fourth, there is an internal division between Fatah and Hamas, and the lack of a viable political prospect between them. And finally, the humiliation that Palestinians are experiencing at the hands of Israeli defense soldiers. Such incidents only confirm that Palestinians live under a system of apartheid.<sup>18</sup>

Barghouti further says that when we speak about violence, it is totally unacceptable to carry on, and what is being done in the media that violence is described and criticized when it is practiced by Palestinians who are actually oppressed and particularly when they try to defend themselves for self-defense. But when it is practiced by a ruthless state or an army of a state it is not described as violence. Sometimes, when Palestinians are in totally peaceful non-violent demonstrations for hours, at that time, they are attacked by the Israeli army in every possible way, we are injured, and then a young little boy gets upset because of the teargas and the rubber bullets and throws a stone at the soldier, and then all the journalists come to tell me, "You see, there is a little bit of violence and this is not totally non-violent action."<sup>19</sup> This is a struggle between people who are oppressed and an oppressor, people who are under colonialism and a colonialist, people who are suffering from Apartheid, a system that is practicing by the cruel Jewish state and hurting the future of both Palestinians and Israelis. Because of this Apartheid system, the whole potential of Non-violent is destroying the possibility of two-state solution. This is a struggle between the "culture of power" and the "power of culture", the same power of culture that we have the "power of vision", of values, of humanity. Gandhi himself, from whom we learned a lot, said that the principles of non-violence would not be listened to unless it becomes a power. The Palestinians have learned that they can make their non-violent resistance powerful through self-reliance, through self-organization, and through defiance of injustice, because they have understood that non-violence does not mean submission. Non-violence does not mean non-struggle. Non-violence does not mean weakness, or passivity. Non-violence means struggling for your rights. Gandhi himself said: "I cannot teach you violence, as I don't believe in it, but I can teach you not to bow your head to anyone, even at the cost of your life".<sup>20</sup> Now Palestinians have learned that non-violence is about struggle, and struggle is about not giving up, and not giving up our dignity, even in the most difficult times, and nobody can take away from us our dignity. Barghouti stated that:

They [Israelis] can imprison us, they can torture us, they can shoot us, but one thing they cannot do, and that is to take away from us our dignity. We have learned that in our struggle we have to keep the initiative in our hand. That's why we call our movement the Palestinian National Initiative: it's about being proactive and not reactive; it's about taking the initiative and keeping it in our hands. We know that future and success depends on who determines the course of events. When we demonstrate peacefully, when we build a clinic or a school or plant a tree in a land that is confiscated, we are taking the initiative in our hands. When they attack us, they try to take the initiative back. Sometimes they manage. But we come back again next week, and the week after, and the week after, and the week after, because we would not let the initiative go away from our hands. We have learned from Gandhi that how not to give up our struggle. Sometimes things look dark. To that, Mahatma Gandhi said, when I despair, I remember that all through history the ways of truth and love always win; there have been tyrants and murderers, for a time, but in the end they always fall.<sup>21</sup>

### **Israeli response to the palestinian non-violence movement :**

According to Bansidhar Pradhan, 'the occupation will not remove us from our land. We will stay in our land as the roots of the olive tree,' reads a poster inside the tiny Media Center of Bil'in, a small village in the Ramallah Governorate. Bil'in has become a symbol of non-violent resistance against the Apartheid Wall, which Israel has built, and is still continuing to build, on Palestinian land. The valiant struggle of the villagers has attracted international attention ever since they succeeded in shifting the course of the wall through a court verdict few years back. To commemorate the victory, every year an international conference for non-violence resistance is being held which is attended by scholars, legal experts, and peace activists from different countries, including Israel.<sup>22</sup>

However, the strategy of non-violence or peaceful resistance is taking place both at political as well as civil society levels. The prisoners inside Israel have taken the lead by undertaking prolonged hunger strikes and succeeded in stirring the international consciousness which forced Israel to go for compromise deals. Khaden Adnan and Hana Shalabi have become the pioneers of non-violent resistance against Israel's cruel treatment of prisoners. For instance, the 35-day peaceful, silent, round the clock protest by the faculty and students of the prestigious Al Quds University, East Jerusalem, to change the direction of the Wall to prevent the division of the University into two parts. Consequently, the faculty and students ultimately succeeded in their peaceful protest to change the direction of the Wall, though the university still lost a huge portion of its land. 'The rationale behind this form of struggle' is, as Palestinian activists argue that 'it is foolish to talk about armed resistance against a mighty and ruthless military power with powerful bakers. The world has changed and we need to change our methods accordingly.' The regular Friday protests that one witnesses in Nabi Saleh, Qfir Qadum, El-Mashra, Bil'in, etc. are part of the non-violent resistance against Israeli occupation. In these places, every Friday, people gather in front of the local mosque, after the noon prayer, and take out a peaceful protest march.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to that a few international peace activists from different countries, including the US, join the protest as a mark of solidarity with the Palestinians. These protests are violently dealt with by the Israeli defense forces who often hit the protesters at their head with teargas canisters leading to profuse bleeding and unconsciousness. In some cases, the Israeli forces release ferocious trained dogs to pounce on the peaceful protesters in Qafar Qadum. At times, the Friday protests have also led to the death of young Palestinians. Further some Palestinians have started boycotting Israeli products as part of the non-violent campaign. These are done by individual levels and have little to do with the well organized international Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement. Nevertheless, they represent small but symbolic challenges to Israeli occupation.<sup>24</sup>

Since the Arab revolution, Palestinian non-violent resistance movement to Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip has renewed momentum. On the May 15, anniversary of the *Nakba*,<sup>25</sup> Palestinian refugees walk into Israeli controlled territory on the Golan Heights, the Lebanese border and inside the West Bank. Israel's response to the demonstrations was violent and the Israeli Army killed 23 unarmed protesters and wounded hundreds with live bullets, tear gas canisters and sound grenades. Since the *Nakba* day protest, other Palestinian demonstrations have renewed in the West Bank, and international supporters of Palestinian movement have also joined non-violent struggle to highlight Israeli occupation of Palestinian territory. Diana Alzeer, a 23-year-old Ramallah-based activist said, 'We are using new means of non-violence that Palestinians have not used in decades and Israel feels cornered by it all'. Alzeer is a part of the new face of Palestinian non-violence movement in the West Bank.<sup>26</sup>

Israeli response to Palestinian non-violent movement has been swift and explicit. Israel has desired to control of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The non-violent movement is overshadowing the peace process which Israel has feared. However, Israel's reaction to Palestinian non-violence, both local as well as international levels, reflects the existence of Israeli internal problem of its colonial

management of the territories. This tension also shows clearly in Israeli response to Palestinian led boycotts of Israel which started in 2005 with the support of over 170 Palestinian civil society organizations. The BDS movement has grown to hamper Israel's ability to maintain itself in the international community as a normal state. Dozens of musical and cultural performers have canceled their performances. European companies such as the French transportation company Veolia have lost billions of dollars in contracts due to pro-BDS movement, and Israeli exports to the West have declined in recent years. One of the major threats that the BDS movement poses for the Israeli government is that it highlights the depth of economic integration in the occupied Palestinian territories. In other words, almost every major business of Israel is doing in the occupied territories.<sup>27</sup> The BDS movement advocates boycott as long as Israel's noncompliance with international law, which undermines the Israeli economy to benefit from the occupation. Moreover, the Israeli government passed a controversial bill that criminalizes support of the BDS movement by Israeli citizens. The bill holds Israeli citizens personally and financially responsible for successful boycotts. It is being labeled as anti-free speech legislation by civil liberties groups in Israel. The bill has passed by 47-37 in Knesset votes and allows those companies which have suffered economically from political boycotts by Israeli citizens who publicly support the BDS. The petitioners only have to prove intent to harm business through economic boycott, and do not have to prove any actual damages. As a result, the criminalization of non-violent movement has created enormous publicity for the BDS movement, while raising some questions about the legitimacy of Israeli democratic institutions. Not only Israel is providing the publicity to the BDS movement but also it is demonstrating the effectiveness of the movement. Ofer Neiman, an Israeli citizen and supporter of the BDS movement, claimed, "Boycott from within". It is increasingly difficult for Israel to get away with its punishment of Palestinian non-violence". Neiman argued that "the world is awaking to the fact that [the] Israeli government will sacrifice democratic standards for Jews in order to stop Palestinian non-violent initiatives like the BDS movement".<sup>28</sup>

Wendy Pearlman investigates the conditions for successful Palestinian non-violent movement to engage Palestinians against the Israeli occupation. She argues that 'a movement must be cohesive to use non-violent protest, and fragmented movements are more likely than cohesive ones to use violent protest'. Movement cohesion is defined as 'the capacity for internal command and control that enables a composite social actor to act as if it were a unitary one'.<sup>29</sup> Accordingly, only cohesive movement possess adequate institutional capacity to mobilize mass participation, enforce discipline, contain disruptive dissent, and rein in violence driven by particularistic motives of single activists. As it has been discussed the Palestinian national movement chose unarmed forms of mass protest since the 1980s. During these protests, a legitimate leadership and grassroots network organized Gandhi's non-violent forms of protest in which Palestinians across classes, religions, and regions took part. On the other, during the armed uprising and violent forms of protest, the Palestinian national movement lacked a strong central leadership, institutions and a popular consensus was organizationally fragmented. However, a weak authority structure allows external actors to intervene and induce or coerce Palestinian to act in ways that fulfill their interests. These divisions left the Palestinian movement with an institutional incapacity to carry out non-violent protest on a mass scale, even if support for such a strategy existed. She further argues that the Palestinian national movement inside the territories, bolstered by the society's sense of collective purpose and a unified national leadership leading a network of neighbourhood committees, possessed an extraordinary degree of organizational cohesiveness that sustained the prevalent non-violent nature of the uprising.<sup>30</sup>

In a nut shell, for decades, it has been argued that the Palestinians need to adopt Gandhi's non-violent tactics in their struggle for national liberation. If this were take place, then the world would side with the Palestinian people and understand their legitimate battle for freedom from Israeli occupation. Now Palestinians are embracing whole heartedly Gandhi's principles of non-violence. They follow

these principles like “Quran and have firm belief in it”. If it takes twenty or fifty year’s long battle, Palestinians are ready to take this fight for their legitimate rights. They are persistent that one day they will be succeeded in their struggle. Moreover, the overwhelming support for the BDS movement, which would create severe problems for Palestinians in connection to the Israeli economy, is evidence that they are willing to take risks to avoid violence. Thus Palestinian non-violent movement would be able to create much panic in Israel as well as in the world, as non-violent protests engulf the West Bank on a weekly basis would provoke such fear.<sup>31</sup>

1. Gulam Husein Abba, “The Invisible Gandhi in Palestine: Long History of Non-Violent Resistance by Palestinians”, [accessed on 28 February 2014], URL: <http://www.opednews.com/articles/The-Invisible-Gandhi-by-Gulamhusein-Abba-100719-739.html> (2010)
2. Samah Sabawi, “Truth, Non-Violence and the Palestinian Hills”, [accessed on 2 March 2014], URL: <http://www.opednews.com/articles/The-Invisible-Gandhi-by-Gulamhusein-Abba-100719-739.html>, (2010), p.2.
3. Arun Gandhi, “Nonviolence in Palestine”, [accessed on 26 February 2014], URL: [www.arungandhi.org/resources/Peace+in+Palestine.doc](http://www.arungandhi.org/resources/Peace+in+Palestine.doc), P.1.
4. Ibid., p.3
5. Ibid.,
6. Amos Gvirtz, “A call for an Escalation of Non-Violence”, *Palestine-Israel Journal Of Politics, Economics And Culture*, vol.10, no.1, (2003), p.1, [accessed on 27 February 2014].
7. See Arun Gandhi, “Nonviolence in Palestine”, p.4
8. Ibid., p.2
9. Rajmohan Gandhi, “Role of Nonviolence in Israeli-Palestinian Relations”, [accessed on 1 March 2014], URL: <http://rajmohangandhi.net/sites/default/files/UC%20Peace%20Initiative%20Sept%2019%202010.pdf>, (2010), p. 9
10. Ibid., p. 7-12
11. See Amos Gvirtz, “A call for an Escalation of Non-violence”, (2003), p. 1
12. Elias H. Tuma, “Can A Non-violence Approach Resolve the Palestinian Israeli Conflict? Why Not Try?”, [accessed on 26 February 2014], URL: [http://www.econ.ucdavis.edu/faculty/tuma/images/avp\\_ns74.pdf](http://www.econ.ucdavis.edu/faculty/tuma/images/avp_ns74.pdf), (2002), p.1.
13. Ibid.,
14. Ibid., p.2
15. Ibid., p.3
16. Raja Shehadeh, “The Rise of Palestinian Non-Violent Resistance: A Conversation with Mustafa Barghouti”, *the Daily Beast*, [accessed on 25 February 2014], URL: <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2013/03/07/the-rise-of-palestinian-non-violent-resistance-a-conversation-with-mustafa-barghouti.html>, (2013), P.2,
17. Ibid., p.1
18. Ibid., p.2
19. Mustafa Barghouti, “The Rising non-violent movement in Palestine”, *Pulse*, [accessed on 27 February 2014], URL: <http://pulsemedia.org/2010/07/21/mustafa-barghouti-on-the-rising-non-violent-movement-in-palestine/>, (2010), p. 10,.
20. Ibid., p. 10-11
21. Ibid

22. Bansidhar Pradhan, "Palestinian Under Occupation: Some reflections", *Mainstream*, vol. L. no. 26, (2012), p. 11
23. Ibid., p. 17
24. Ibid., p. 18
25. he commemoration of the Palestinian displacement in 1948 during the creation of the state of Israel
26. Joseph Dana, "Israel's Reaction to Palestinian Nonviolence Threatens Israeli Democracy", *Truth out*, [accessed on 28 February 2014], URL: <http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/2368-israel%E2%80%99s-reaction-to-palestinian-nonviolence-threatens-israeli-democracy?> p.1,
27. Ibid., p.2
28. Ibid.,
29. Wendy Pearlman, *Violence, Nonviolence, and the Palestinian National Movement*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (2011), pp.9-11
30. See for more details, URL: <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/type=rezbuecher&id=18979&view=pdf>, pp.1-3, [accessed on 25 February 2014].
31. Joseph Dana, "Israel's Reaction to Palestinian Nonviolence Threatens Israeli Democracy", *Truth out*, [accessed on 28 February 2014], URL: <http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/2368-israel%E2%80%99s-reaction-to-palestinian-nonviolence-threatens-israeli-democracy?> p.3.

\*\*\*\*\*