BOOK REVIEWS

The Tea Party Warrior's Field Manual

As right-wing regimes gains ground in the United States and throughout Europe, ordinary people are forging new forms of resistance against state power and stand in solidarity to oppose repressive government policies. In the Trump era, resistance in the United States is drawing inspiration from unexpected places—including the conservative Tea Party Movement. Former congressional staffers created The Indivisible Guide, a manual for resisting the Trump Presidency based on Tea Party tactics that were used successfully to pressure members of Congress to reject President Obama's agenda.[1] The Guide deems the Tea Party's ideas "wrong, cruel, and tinged with racism" but advocates using their tactics to promote the values of "inclusion, tolerance, and fairness."

Yet those resisting the Trump administration may share more with conservative activists than a guidebook on obstructionist tactics. Republican town halls erupted across deeply conservative parts of the United States, from Utah to Iowa and Kentucky, as constituents condemned their representatives for planning to repeal of the Affordable Care Act (ACA). The resistance mounted in these town halls contributed to the failure of the health care repeal, dealing an embarrassing blow to one of Trump's campaign promises. This is not the only example of conservatives advocating similar positions as liberal voters. One of the Tea Party movement's founders, Debbie Dooley, has emerged as a prominent leader in the fight for clean energy and environmental justice.

These instances provide an indication that in a political landscape that seems hopelessly polarized, there may be more opportunity to find common ground than first meets the eye. It is therefore worthwhile, both for the field of resistance studies and progressive activism as a whole, to consider a primary source document produced by Tea Party members and analyze the tactics and principles advocated therein as means of civic mobilization and nonviolent resistance.

[1] https://www.indivisibleguide.com/guide/, Accessed 20 April 2017

In this review, I examine the online "Tea Party Warrior's Field Manual"[2] as a guide for conservative activists to mount nonviolent action for social change. As Gene Sharp writes in *How Nonviolent Struggle Works*, "Whatever the issue and whatever the scale of the conflict, nonviolent action is a technique by which people who reject passivity and submission ,and who see struggle as essential, can wager their conflict without violence."[3] This review highlights the ways in which the Tea Party's Field Manual can broaden our understanding of conservative resistance, while also criticizing aspects of the Manual that I find most inconsistent with the principles of nonviolence.

The Manual is hosted on a larger website, *Patriots Tea Party* (www.teaparty-patriots.com). Claiming to speak for the "Silent Majority" of Americans, the site promotes the need for "patriotic rallies and public awareness" to prevent excessive government spending and hold politicians accountable. Under the page titled "Our Mission," the site promotes "taking action by calling, writing, emailing, and faxing our representatives so that they know the overwhelming will of the people for whom they work."

Although it must be acknowledged at the outset that the Tea Party movement, as the authors of the Indivisible Guide characterized it, has promoted a conservative agenda with racist or xenophobic undertones, the website focuses on three main objectives of the movement: reducing government spending, advocating a smaller role of government overall, and making politicians more accountable to their constituents. These aims are not, in themselves, at odds with nonviolent resistance as long as they are advocated using nonviolent discipline.

Much of the website's content appears to be outdated, with most appearing to have been written in 2010 before the midterm elections but with some updated information encouraging people to vote in the Presidential election and strongly backing Donald Trump's candidacy. The website itself promotes numerous conservative political aims, from 2nd Amendment rights of gun ownership to vehement opposition to

[2] http://www.teaparty-patriots.com/field_manual.htm, Accessed 15 April 2017.

[3] Gene Sharp, "Power and Struggle" in How Nonviolent Struggle Works, 2013, The Albert Einstein Institute p. 18

the Affordable Care Act (deemed "Obamacare") and denouncing the mainstream media as the "*enemy*."

Beyond bombastic graphics of the American flag and Bald Eagles, and patriotic in-your-face slogans proclaiming "GOD BLESS AMERICA", the section labeled as the Field Manual consists of 12 points for taking action, which I have categorized into three broad categories: Increasing community involvement, becoming more informed on the issues and terms, and voicing grievances to elected representatives.

The first four points outlined in the Tea Party Warrior's Field Manual focus on the importance of organizing their friends and community members to take action. First, the Manual calls on Tea Party members to "Spread the Tea Party message to everyone you know." The author elaborates,

> Even after hundreds of protest rallies, many conservative people still have never heard of the Tea Party Movement, or have only a vague idea what it's about. Who are these political couch potatoes? They are among your friends, neighbors, relatives and co-workers. Some attend your church. Others coach your daughter's soccer team, cut your hair, fill your prescriptions, repair your car, or service your furnace. Most live nearby, but some reside in other cities or states. Make a list of everyone you know, excluding only those you're sure are committed Democrats. (…) Plan in advance what you're going to say. Tell them about the Tea Party Movement, and remind them that bad things can happen when good people sit idly by.

Expanding this initial appeal to start building a network, the second point tells members to create a longer list of e-mail contacts to spread their message "beyond the choir." It urges them to "add two new people to your list each week until you've reached a total of ten."

> When deciding which messages to forward, remember that political jokes and unflattering pictures of President Obama and Nancy Pelosi may be funny to some, but will do nothing to gain converts to the Tea Party Movement. Conservative arguments against the Democrat's socialist agenda can be won on their merit, so never forward anything

> that is sarcastic or disrespectful. Finally, remember one of the cardinal rules of effective e-mails: less is more. (…) Taking time to make sure that the e-mails you send are as concise and uncluttered as possible will pay big dividends on the receiving end.

This point adds strategic considerations for spreading a message effectively and trying to draw new people into a movement from different walks of life. The third point encourages readers to help older Tea Party members boost their "e-skills" to increase the use of electronic communication by helping them learn how to add new people to their address book, set up a Tea Party e-mail group, search on Google, and bookmark website of conservative media sites. It urges members to "explain how things like Podcasting, Face Book and Twittering are an increasingly important part of political communications."

Finally, the fourth point focused on community organizing and capacity building tells members to form a Tea Party political discussion group in their homes and bring other members, along with their "open minded friends and neighbors," to talk about "the unsettling changes that are occurring in Washington." The Manual says that the agendas for discussion group meetings should be set by the members and supported by relevant source materials, including newspapers, magazine articles, and video clips. It cautions readers,

> Going to protest rallies is important, but unless conservative activism also is brought into the heart of our local neighborhoods, those who claim that the Tea Party Movement is a flash in the pan will be proven right.

From a resistance standpoint, the community organizing methods advocated in the Field Manual are reflect many nonviolent organizers' descriptions of "people power" and grassroots organizing. Tea Party activists look to build capacities by broadening their network and increasing older members' technical skills. They attempt to reach across the aisle to include "open minded" people who don't belong to the movement, including "buyers-remorse Obama voters." The Manual advocates strategies that will increase stakeholders in their movement and bring people in. An important aspect of this is where the author

mentions, in the second point, that members should avoid using "sarcastic or disrespectful messaging" and to let their messages speak for themselves, so as not to alienate people from their core goals.

The next three points in the Field Manual have to do with educating people to better understand what they are fighting for and against. These points urge readers to "arm yourself with information" in order to be more effective in selling the Tea Party's message to others and stay informed in the context of a "heavily biased media." It recommends sources for information like Fox News and the Wall Street Journal, and urges people to subscribe and support these information outlets. The Manual concludes this point by cautioning readers, "If you don't take the time to stay well informed about what's happening on the political scene, you won't have the information you'll need to convince others that they should join the Tea Party Movement." Knowledge is power, this message implies, and recruiting people to a movement requires you to come prepared with a persuasive argument.

The Manual goes on to highlight the importance of knowing the difference between the "isms" – Marxism, socialism, communism, fascism, and capitalism. The definitions are heavily biased and not cited from scholarly sources (Marxism is defined as "a form of socialism that foments class envy for the purpose of forcing the creation of a classless society"). However, including this point shows that the Manual's authors place value on being able to distinguish, at least superficially, between the central ideas that underpin their argument.

The final point on being informed instructs Tea Party members not to believe information from the mainstream media, deemed "the enemy." An important insight into how the Manual characterizes the mainstream media's portrayal of their movement is found in this excerpt:

> Modern "journalists" don't give fair coverage to conservative ideas because they view conservatives as morally-defective people whose ideas don't even merit consideration. Rather than reporting the Tax Day Tea Party event for what it was — a peaceful grassroots protest by ordinary citizens exercising their constitutionally-protected right to express their grievances against government — the mainstream media aired numerous reports that characterized "tea baggers" (look that one

> up on UrbanDictionary.com) as a fringe group of mostly old white people (read: racists) who are bitter that a black man is president, an obscenely false characterization.

The language shows a strong reaction against a perceived misportrayal of conservative grievances and Tea Party members as a whole, and shows that the author considers events like the Tax Day Tea Party rally a form of nonviolent civic mobilization. The author goes on to encourage people to cancel their subscriptions or cease contributions to news sources that do not report fairly on conservative views, including National Public Radio, the New York Times, and Newsweek.

These three points advocate nonviolent resistance tactics, like an economic boycott against liberal media outlets, and principles such as using information to your movement's advantage, which are central components of nonviolent struggle. While employing militaristic language of knowledge as a "weapon" and media as the "enemy" detracts from the Manual's applicability to nonviolent civil resistance, the issues and tactics promoted are still consistent with the principles of nonviolent action by encouraging readers to stay informed, engage in grassroots organizing, and withhold their money as a form of protest.

Lastly, the Manual advocates four tactics for taking direct action to affect political change. These include donating to grassroots organizations that support the Tea Party Movement, registering to vote and convincing friends and family to do the same ("For the ones who aren't registered, be persistent in politely staying on them until they have"), and regularly contacting elected officials to make their voices heard.

The Manual encourages members to contact their representatives at least twice a month, "remembering to make your comments concise, and to always maintain a respectful tone." It reassures first time callers, "It's no disgrace if you're don't know the names of all three people who represent you in Congress, but it will be if you allow that situation to continue. Finding their names and contact information is easy -- just click on *Contacting the Congress.*"

This approach gives practical guidance to engaging in civic participation (although not entirely accurate, as only seven states have three Congressional representatives at the national level). The guide also

aims to make beginners feel welcome, telling them not to feel ashamed or embarrassed if they haven't contacted their representatives before. By emphasizing the importance of voicing grievances to those in power and letting them know that "politicians will take notice if enough voters speak out," the Tea Party Manual evokes one of the core principles of nonviolent action, as written by Gene Sharp, that "the sources of the rulers' power depend intimately upon the obedience and cooperation of the subjects."[4]

Despite advocating a conservative agenda, The Tea Party Warrior's Field Manual provides a new perspective on civil resistance and nonviolent action as implemented by conservative activists in the United States. If liberal activists and academics can separate their disagreement with the Tea Party's political ideology from the tactics and strategies it uses to pursue that agenda, primary source documents produced by Tea Party conservatives can provide an important window into understanding the American right, as well as offering food for thought on whether our methods of social change are so very different from those on the "other side" afterall.

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Stellan Vinthagen: A Theory of Nonviolent Action – How Civil Resistance Works

(ZED Books, 2015)

For over 40 years Gene Sharp's seminal work on "The politics of Nonviolent Action" has built the theoretical basis for nonviolent action and civil resistance scholars. Two years ago, in 2015, Stellan Vinthagen published "Theory of Nonviolent Action" with the aim to "develop a conceptual

[4] Gene Sharp, "Power and Struggle" p. 7 in How Nonviolent Struggle Works, 2013, The Albert Einstein Institute

framework and a new theoretical framework of what 'nonviolence' is" (page 3). However, it seems that the book has not received the attention it deserves so far.[5] To change this, I will discuss the main arguments of Vintagen's book in a teaser-like review (the book is actually too rich to fully cover it in short).

The author Stellan Vinthagen is one of the key figures within the community of resistance studies. He is founder of the Resistance Studies Network, editor of the Journal of Resistance Studies and, last but not least, owner of the Inaugural Endowed Chair in the Study of Nonviolent Direct Action and Civil Resistance at the University of Massachusetts. Considering Vinthagen's solid background as an activist on the one hand and as a well-read sociologist on the other, the book promises a lot.

Vinthagen's overall goal laid down in the introduction is to develop a "sociological perspective to interpret and conceptually describe nonviolent moments in conflict situation" (6). Therefore, he starts with the 'forefathers' of nonviolence, Gandhi and Sharp.

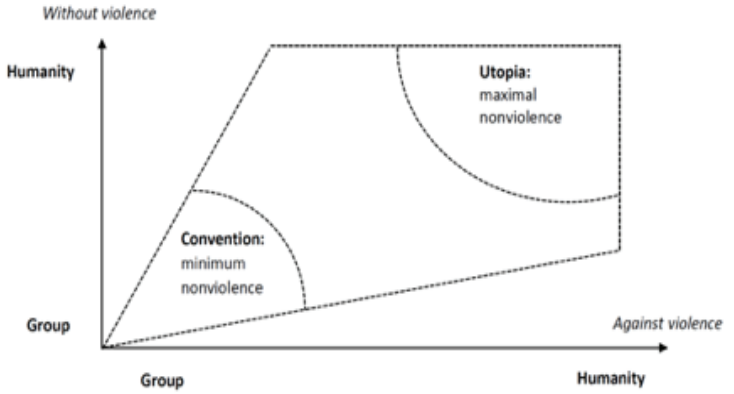
The first chapter "nonviolent action studies" is a commented review of literature on the topic, where Vinthagen summarizes and criticises the rival approaches of Gandhi and Sharp completed by some illustrative historical examples. He tries to ground Ghandi's "theology of liberation" on sociological theoretical grounds rather than on religious and moral motives and criticizes Sharp's approach to nonviolence as "problematically reductionist" theory of power (44). However, he relies his theory on Sharp's strategic approach and develops it further by including critiques of the cultural turn. In doing so, Vinthagen returns to the sources of Ghandi and establishes as synthesis a third position where he describes nonviolence as social pragmatism "beyond moral high priests of nonviolence and anti-moral strategy generals" (8). This very ambitious claim aims to bridge the decades-old chasm between strategic on the on hand and principled nonviolence on the other hand or, in other words, between 'Gandhians' and 'Sharpians'. This third position advanced here is based on the assumption that every social group has a

[5] Not sure if the can be called a valid indicator but the book has since 2015 only ten citations on google scholar. I also found only one review (by David M Craig) on it as well.

normative structure (10) so that, consequently, even the purest form of pragmatism is driven by norms, in this case, the norm of goal rationality. In turn, principled nonviolence follows the goal of norm conformity and norm rationality. In this sense, pragmatism and principled motivations can be understood as expressions of different forms of rationality and not as antagonism. After this reasoning, Vinthagen comes to a definition of the term nonviolence. Contrary to most one-dimensional definitions that focus only on the means and neglect the goal, Vinthagen here follows Gandhi and propagates the unity of ends and means and brings nonviolence to the formula of "without violence + against violence". According to Vinthagen, nonviolent action furthermore displays the following characteristics: Norm violation, vulnerability and normalisation (20). This means in short, that nonviolent action breaches norms in order to normalise a new behaviour and to establish new norms, even at the risk of exposing oneself to violence. Furthermore, Vinthagen introduces the idea of truth seeking, suffering, and a constructive program, an element that can also be found in the philosophy of Gandhi, and which will play a crucial role in his own approach.

The second chapter departs from the definition of nonviolence as "without violence + against violence" and elaborates the concept of nonviolence as an antidote to violence. According to Vinthagen, two aspects have to be considered here: the fact that there are different definitions of violence ranging from physical to structural and cultural violence, and the question to whom nonviolence applies (the own in-group, the own nation, all human beings etc.). Vinthagen understands nonviolence as universal, meaning that both the group of people concerned and the definition of violence have to be broadly understood. As, in reality, groups tend to set their group-boundaries and their definition of violence differently, these boundaries and definitions have to be widened constantly (see below).

Thereby, constant nonviolent 'work' is essential meaning that "the construction of social structures, institutions and practices, that replace those being fought against" (73) become a core concern for nonviolent movements.



In theory-laden chapter three, Vinthagen introduces the idea of nonviolence as a multi-rational action in conflicts. Vinthagen emanates from Habermas' idea that human action follows four different kinds of rationalities: Goal rationality (if a certain action is undertaken because it works), dramaturgical (if it is undertaken to expresses something aesthetic or a symbolic meaning that goes beyond the action), communicative (if it is oriented towards an understanding or towards an agreement) and norm regulated rationality (if guided by group's norms, institutions or morals). In contrast to Sharp, who perceives nonviolent action only as a strategic, goal-rational action, Vinthagen perceives it as multi-rational action following different rationalities at the same time. Thereby, each type of action has its own potential to contribute to social change – or, in other words, to make nonviolence work: Following a communicative logic, nonviolent action can facilitate dialogue with the "enemy" (see chapter four). In its goal rational dimension nonviolent action has the potential to break given power structures (see chapter five). In its dramaturgical logic, it can "enact" utopian visions (chapter six). Last but not least, in its norm regulated dimension it has the power to contest norms and to claim and uphold new ones (chapter seven).

The following chapters each describe in detail one of the dimensions of nonviolence and its underlying rationality.

Chapter four: Truth seeking and dialogue facilitation

In this chapter Vinthagen introduces what he calls the communicative rationality of nonviolence and its dimension of dialogue facilitation. Therefore, he brings together Gandhi's philosophy of Satyagraha and Habermas' theory of communicative action. He argues that both share the belief in the existence of a mutual truth. While Gandhi's truth is absolute, Habermas follows the idea that one can find a commonplace through deliberation. In both concepts, the "opponent" is the essential element to come closer to the absolute truth or to reach a higher level of communicative rationality. Furthermore, both approaches claim that violence such as the killing of a person makes a dialogue impossible and thus prevents from gaining a deeper understanding of the 'truth'. Importantly, Vinthagen understands the 'ideal speech situation' as utopian ideal, which is nevertheless meaningful to constantly widen the real sphere of dialogue facilitation. In this sense, Vinthagen states that "Habermas' 'ideal speech situation' presupposes Gandhi's 'nonviolent resistance' in order to be meaningful in a world characterized by power and violence" (160), which leads us to the next chapter "power breaking".

Chapter five: power breaking

In chapter five Vinthagen introduces the goal-rationality and the power breaking dimension of nonviolence. Since this is the most studied dimension of nonviolence, the chapter mainly reviews and criticises Sharp's strategic approach and its consent theory of power. As Vinthagen rightly states, Sharp's approach to power ignores nearly all theoretical innovations that have been brought in by the cultural turn. Following Foucault, he argues that power affects the individual in softer and more structural forms (e.g. via culture, structures of knowledge and by habitus) than Sharp's simple relation of command and obedience. Accordingly, Vinthagen states that „[n]ot even the will, body and mind of the resistance fighter is free from power" (197). While highlighting this important structural dimension of power, Vinthagen points as well to the aspect of agency in stating that "even if power is everywhere, it is not everything" and it is "not total" (167). In this sense, he states that resistance or "obedience (like all human acts) implies choice" (172). Nonviolent resistance, as a goal-rational action, has proven to being able

to break power relations and bring even more powerful enemies to the negotiation table.

Chapter six: utopian enactment

In this chapter Vinthagen develops the innovative dimension of what he calls "utopian enactment". Once again Vinthagen keeps his straight sociological perspective and draws from Mead's and Goffman's symbolic interactionism to explain the self-expressive and dramaturgical rationality of nonviolence. According to Vinthagen "[u]topian enactment is focused on an individual's relationship to the other, the opponent, and it attempts to counter prevailing images, emotional predispositions and attitudes towards the activist" (213). This means that refrain from violence and dialogue facilitation open up and uphold channels of communication to start a discourse. Furthermore, and that is the utopian aspect, nonviolence can be an "as if" action (237) in the sense that it can embody an attractive possibility of living together in respect and mutuality (213). The idea is that the action of the resistors already mirrors the goals. Thereby the dual aspect of nonviolence – refraining from violence and "self-suffering" – plays a key role since it helps to make this utopian vision mutually attractive and at the same time expresses authenticity and commitment of the activists.

Chapter seven: normative regulation

Departing from the observation that we live in a world where violence is hegemonic, Vinthagen introduces normative regulation as a concept to overcome this hegemony of violence. Similar to Gandhi, who argues that we do not build the new society out of the ashes of the old but have to develop a "constructive program" to establish alternative institutions, norms, and practices in parallel to acts of resistance, Vinthagen argues that we have to "normalise" nonviolence. In his conception nonviolent training becomes a cornerstone to internalise nonviolence until it becomes a part of one's routine practices or one's own habitus. However, Vinthagen has to admit that normative regulation also includes sanctions so that "[e]ven if a nonviolent community tries to apply less violent sanctions […] [it] might still feel violent to those affected" (273).

The book's eighth chapter brings together the previous paragraphs and merges the different theoretical aspects into "A theory of nonviolent action". For readers who are in a hurry or for readers who are familiar with current debates of nonviolence and the sociological concepts described, this chapter can be read separately from the others.

After having sketched out the contents, I want to critically discuss the book in pointing particularly at three problems that I see in Vinthagen's theory on nonviolence:

The problem of widening and upholding the consensus of nonviolence

The question how to transform in time and space fragmented nonviolent movements into more persistent and global units and phases of nonviolence is a pressing one. As a reader, I therefore cannot thank the author enough for daring to take up this mostly unexplored field. However, that does not mean that the topic is not controversial:

Although it is not empirically self-evident, we can easily imagine a relatively small social entity like a family following a very maximalist definition of nonviolence. Furthermore, we can imagine that most cultures on earth share the same basic normative consensus that killing others is not the preferred way of living together. However, widening the group of people concerned and the definition of violence at the same time poses some fundamental problems: We have to prioritize in one way or another. Furthermore, what can we do to "defend" the achieved level of nonviolence and to advance it further? Which level of violence is acceptable to prevent people from deviating from the nonviolent consensus?

The current system of national states could be seen as one form of compromise. According to social contract philosophers like Rousseau the national state promises the pacification of the people living within its borders by the establishment of the monopoly of violence and the rule of law. The group of people concerned is the nation; the definition of violence is more or less physical violence. State organs like the police enforce the monopoly of violence and the rule of law by using limited violence. The people accept these measures as a smaller evil to avoid the danger of

physical violence via the imagined social contract. Theoretically, however, the problem is that new members of the community have never signed this contract and have to submit themselves under the existing rules. Furthermore, a given state of nonviolence will probably set in motion a logic to defend it: The more valuable an asset, the more are people ready to accept all necessary means including violence to defend it. This furthermore makes it difficult to widen the group of people concerned as newcomers can be perceived as potential threat to the existing order. The current attempts to limit migration to Europe and the US somehow reflect this problem.

The problem of normative regulation

Normative regulation is Vinthagen's response to the above mentioned problem of upholding nonviolent consensus, especially under the premise of constant widening.

Normative regulation can maybe best be compared with a police force. While the latter is legitimized to use physical force to enforce the laws and ultimately to prevent more violence, the first uses nonviolent sanctions and, as last resort, exclusion from the movement to uphold the "consensus". The comparison between both, the police and normative regulation in movements, discloses that normative regulation works on a lower level of violence, but mostly within a smaller group of people concerned. Normative regulation, however, also includes violence at least in a wider sense. If nonviolence means "without violence and against violence" and the normative goal of nonviolence is to widen the group of persons concerned (from family members and close friends to a whole society of the world population) as well as the definition of violence (from direct physical to structural and cultural violence), sanctioning deviant behaviour seems contradictory. In a purely nonviolent thinking, the group can only be widened by convincing people to submit themselves voluntarily under the rules they choose to obey. This is not about demanding anarchy (without authority) but autonomia (in the sense of self-legislation). If there is nothing but the free submission under self-given rules and, at the same time, the group of people concerned is widened, the potential risk of non-conform behaviour rises. Every step to control the norms and to create institutions to defend them against non-

conformists, however, would be a step in the direction of the established state system. Vinthagen states that the hegemony of violence must be replaced by a hegemony of nonviolence. Therefore, nonviolence needs to be incorporated into the habitus of the people. However, neither hegemony nor habitus are concepts build on agency or the free choice of the people, but belong to more structuralist theories that emphasize limited choices and persistence of power. It therefore seems contradictory that the key to a reduction of submission should lie in a renewed submission. In other words: If the hegemony of power is replaced by a hegemony of nonviolence, it still is a hegemony. If nonviolence becomes incorporated in our habitus, it isn't longer a free choice. If it isn't a free and conscious choice, it is unconscious submission.

Clear-cut sociological perspective at the cost of interdisciplinarity

Vinthagen originally intended to name the book "sociology of nonviolence", which would have been, in my eyes, the more fitting title since it is a straight sociological take on the phenomenon of nonviolence. Furthermore, the original title would have been a call for interdisciplinary complementation. In this sense, the actual title is a little bit misleading as it does not include additional perspectives on nonviolence, all foremost a psychological one. Proposing a sociology of nonviolence, Vinthagen criticises Sharp for his focus on agency and his neglect of structural (cultural) constraints of the free will. He nevertheless follows the assumption that nonviolence is a choice of the actor, however limited. Thus, he assumes that we have to change existing normative standards and establish a culture of nonviolence across the globe. In following a uniquely sociologist approach, Vinthagen is taken in by a general weakness of the sociological literature on nonviolent resistance, namely its neglect of other explanations of violent behaviour as, for example, aggression. If violent behaviour is not only a matter of choice and outcome of established normative orders and practical training, but influenced by psychological factors, how then do we tackle aggressive behaviour? To advance the field further, a stronger interdisciplinary collaboration with other fields like psychology is very urgent. Sadly, however, up to now

psychological studies on nonviolence only played a marginal role (Gregg, Pelton and Moyton are the rare exceptions).

Stellan Vinthagen's "Theory of Nonviolent Action" is definitively the most important theoretical contribution to the field of nonviolent action and resistance studies since Gene Sharp laid the theoretical groundworks in 1973. In my eyes the conceptualization of nonviolent action as a multi-rational action in conflict is convincing and well-grounded in sociological theory. Furthermore, the framework has indeed the potential to reach the ambitious goal of reconciling the two camps of Gandhians and Sharpians. Last but not least, the dimensions of dialogue facilitation, utopian enactment and normative regulation open up new barely covered fields for research and, at the same time, offer some important theoretical guidance for it.

As the criticism mentioned above shows, the book cannot answer all questions, but it provides an excellent, theoretically rich starting point to deepen the theoretical debate on nonviolence or to expand theorizing to related fields and disciplines. I would recommend the book for every student and scholar who is familiar with the actual debates within nonviolent resistance studies. Due to its demanding theory, it is, however, not very suitable for those who want a short and easy introduction.

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Dustin Ells Howes: Freedom Without Violence: Resisting the Western Political Tradition

New York: Oxford University Press, 2016

The soldiers are off to war—to defend freedom. This is a common theme in popular explanations of war. For example, the usual script is that the Allies had to fight World War II to oppose fascist oppression. After invading Iraq in 2003, the US government claimed it was necessary to liberate Iraqis from Saddam Hussein's dictatorship. On the other side

of the ideological divide, numerous liberation movements have justified armed struggle as necessary to free oppressed people from colonialism.

Advocates of civil resistance argue that nonviolent methods are more suited than armed struggle for creating lasting freedom. This has been argued on grounds of plausibility: armed struggle involves a military command system that, even when it succeeds, creates a tendency for autocratic rule. In civil resistance struggles, a much broader cross-section of the population is directly involved. This is an empowering experience that builds capacity that can be used to resist future oppression. From the perspective of Gandhian nonviolence, a key principle is that ends should be incorporated in the means: a militarised revolution is likely to lead to a militarised society whereas a nonviolent revolution is more likely to lead to a nonviolent society. Then there is the empirical research showing that civil resistance is more effective than armed struggle in overthrowing repressive regimes and leading to a society with civil liberties in the following years. Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan's book *Why Civil Resistance Works* is widely cited.

However, despite good arguments and considerable evidence, advocates of nonviolent alternatives have had a hard time changing the mindset of governments, militaries, the media and the general public. The idea that violence is valuable, even essential, to defend freedom seems deeply entrenched. Why is that so?

For answers, *Freedom Without Violence* by Dustin Ells Howes is an essential source. Howes, a political scientist, examines ideas about freedom and violence from the ancient Greeks onwards. His study is a fascinating and challenging journey through the history of ideas. One of the surprises is that the strong linkage between violence and freedom is relatively new. However, to establish this involves careful analysis. For example, Howes summarises one distinction, which he examines in detail, this way:

> … for the ancient Athenians, the ability to dominate others in warfare was an *expression* of their capacity for self-rule. However, the idea that a republican or democratic government could use violence to *defend* or protect freedom is a relatively recent development. (p. 43, emphasis in the original)

Freedom Without Violence is highly effective in drawing attention to issues not often addressed in writings about nonviolence. What is freedom exactly? The usual formulations refer to political freedoms, for example of speech and assembly, economic freedom, religious freedom and so forth. But what happens when freedom comes under threat? How is it to be defended?

The problems with using violence to defend freedom soon become apparent. It might seem sensible to fight to defend our freedom and our way of life, but what about the freedom of those on the other side? If enemies are killed, surely their freedom is destroyed, or is meaningless.

Howes tells how the plebs in Rome defended their freedom: they refused military service. This is a dramatically different approach than the usual one today. Howes sets himself the task of explaining how ideas of freedom changed from the ancient world of Greece and Rome to contemporary societies, in particular how they became ever more entangled with violence—and how nonviolence offers an alternative.

Much of *Freedom without Violence* is a detailed history of ideas. Howes scrutinises the views of ancient thinkers including Socrates, Pericles and Aristotle, of later figures including Edmund Burke and Karl Marx, and a number of modern writers including Isaiah Berlin and Hannah Arendt. This analysis is fascinating is showing how ideas of freedom, free will and rule changed over the centuries. This is a history of western thought—and Gandhi.

Howes shows the shortcomings of the usual formulations that involve defending freedom via violence, and the efforts (and intellectual contortions) of thinkers who sought ways around the problem that using violence, against enemies or as a component of ruling, inevitably involves curtailing someone else's freedom, indeed their lives.

The emergence of the modern state involved the idea of sovereignty, which became linked to military means. Liberal thought, which has claimed a particular affinity to concepts of individual freedom, became entwined with assumptions of the necessity of using violence. In the aftermath of the American Revolution, for example, sovereignty in the United States meant the rule of white settlers over African Americans and Native Americans.

The rise of the modern state was soon challenged or accompanied by nationalism, involving a new set of ideologies. Freedom from alien rule seems a worthy cause, but in most cases the means involved violence. Nationalism became especially toxic with the rise of fascism. There was also the parallel development of ideas of socialism, most of which were also tied up with violence.

Howes addresses these developments primarily through the ideas of key thinkers, showing how ancient ideas about freedom were forgotten or transformed into the modern ideas that assume freedom needs to be defended with violence, both inside societies (via police) and outside (via militaries). Howes also pays attention to a contrary tradition: the use of nonviolent action as a means of defending freedom.

Of special interest is the workers' movement, with the strike—withdrawing labour power—as a key tool. Workers through their struggles demonstrated a different way of pursuing freedom. Howes says strikes are fundamentally nonviolent. He examines the ideas of several theorists who addressed the strike and workers' struggles more generally—Walter Benjamin, Georges Sorel, Rosa Luxemburg and Hannah Arendt—some of whom saw strikes as violent and some who didn't.

Howes' special interest is in what he calls "nonviolent freedom." He sees the use of nonviolent action as an alternative route to freedom, avoiding the contradictions and traps involved in pursuing freedom using violent means. The key figure intellectually, as well as practically, is Gandhi.

Along the way, Howes examines what is called free will, addressing how the will is expressed individually and politically, via the ideas of Arendt, connecting them to those of others, including Albert Camus, Buddhists and Gandhi's idea of swaraj (self-rule).

For Howes, swaraj offers an alternative to the usual equation of freedom and violence. Gandhi conceived of freedom as having both an individual and collective dimension. At the individual level, freedom for Gandhi meant not licence, namely absence of constraints, but came with the requirement for having self-control. Individual self-control enables living together with others without the necessity of the application of violence for policing. At the collective level, Gandhi envisaged a system

of local village direct democracies linked to others in ever larger networks on the basis of equality rather than hierarchy. Gandhi's vision thus overcomes the usual contradictions in the western political model that derive from exercising violence to defend one's own freedom but at the expense of others'.

Gandhi's model of village democracy is all very well, but are there any signs of how it can operate in practice? Howes points to two options. One is community justice systems based on shame and reintegration. Rather than punishment being imposed by the state, with imprisonment for serious crimes, community justice procedures put the offender face-to-face with victims and community members in a cooperative process to reach an agreed resolution, with the offender making amends. In practice, imprisonment may be involved in some cases.

Howes' second option is civilian-based defence as a replacement for military systems. This involves an empowered population trained and prepared to use methods of nonviolent action to defend against foreign invaders, and to deter aggression in the first place. Howes draws largely on the work of Gene Sharp in his book *Civilian-Based Defense*. Howes' argument would be considerably stronger if he had tapped into the wider body of research on what is also called social defence, nonviolent defence or defence by civil resistance. Sharp's approach is oriented to national defence, namely defence assuming the very system of sovereignty that Howes finds problematical. Other writers in the area see social defence more broadly as a defence of community or society, and just as concerned about defending against one's own government as against foreign enemies. Writers in this area include Anders Boserup and Andrew Mack, Robert Burrowes, Theodor Ebert, and Johan Niezing. Burrowes in particular takes a Gandhian approach in his book *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense*, which ties into Howes' picture of nonviolent alternatives. Howes seems unaware of community-level initiatives to promote nonviolent defence, though admittedly these were never prominent and have faded away since the 1980s.

Nonviolent activists might be frustrated with Howes' book given its focus on the arguments of high-level theorists about freedom and violence and its lack of obvious application. It is very well written, yet challenging to read due to its careful and complex argumentation. Nevertheless,

Freedom Without Violence serves several important functions. It points to a crucial assumption underlying most of the western political tradition, namely that violence is required to defend freedom, and shows the many shortcomings of this assumption. Nonviolent activists and scholars regularly confront disbelief about alternatives to violence. Howes, through his detailed historical examinations, shows that the connection between freedom and violence is largely a modern creation, and that there is a different way to think about things, namely by looking to nonviolence theory and practice. Howes demonstrates, in great detail, that trying to reconcile freedom and violence inevitably leads to contradictions that have exercised the minds of leading thinkers, without a solution within the standard paradigm of state sovereignty. This can be an inspiration for campaigners to develop better ways of identifying and challenging assumptions about freedom, for example that being prepared to kill and torture others to defend our freedom means denying their freedom, and that this tension cannot be resolved by more violence.

Howes shows most of all that today's ideas about freedom were not held in earlier centuries. According the sociology of knowledge, the prevailing ideas in a society are in part a reflection of systems of power. Howes has shown this in a practical way: ideas about freedom and violence have evolved not according to logic and evidence but in a way that reflects the evolution of social structures. In particular, with the rise of states, militaries and armed police, it is very convenient to justify the use of violence by saying it is necessary to defend freedom. For promoting nonviolent alternatives, Howes points the way to recognising both a different way of defending freedom and the need to think of freedom in a different way.

Brian Martin, University of Wollongong

M.S. Wallace: Security Without Weapons: Rethinking Violence, Nonviolent Action, and Civilian Protection

Routledge 2016

In *Security Without Weapons*: *Rethinking Violence, Nonviolent Action, and Civilian Protection*, M.S. Wallace conducts a thorough and intriguing examination of how nonviolent intervention can disrupt or prevent violent conflict. The book places particular empirical focus on the role discourse and moral frameworks play in the perpetration of violent conflict, compelling readers to rethink constructed categories of evil villains waging violence against innocent perpetrators. The book provides a theoretical exploration of the legitimisation and efficacy of violence, as well as the power of nonviolent intervention to coerce or transform an opponent away from perpetrating violence. It then presents empirical data which examines discourse and media representations of violence conducted by both sides of the Sri Lankan civil war between the Government of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam, or Tamil Tigers. Having unpacked many ways in which individuals make sense of their own participation in violence, Wallace then uses the final chapter to explore an example of nonviolent intervention, or unarmed civilian peacekeeping (UCP), with the Nonviolent Peaceforce Sri Lanka (NPSL), the subject of her ethnographic fieldwork in 2008.

One of the stark take-aways of *Security Without Weapons* was Wallace's presentation of a psycho-discursive theory of civilian protection, in which challenging discourses that rationalise or justify violence is a central and indispensable component of other approaches to civilian protection. As Wallace writes, deterrence is an important mechanism for nonviolent intervention, "but it is only necessary when perpetrators are still able to justify their actions to themselves." She argues that,

> "the most effective and sustainable tools for protecting civilians (and for preventing violence more generally) are going to be those that most radically challenge the stability of the discourse within which perpetrators are interpreting their actions and/or that weaken - in an effort to create cognitive dissonance - the particular psychological mechanisms that are doing most of the work to enable their violence (and particularly their violence against civilians)."

This argument opens space for a more nuanced view of how violent conflict can be addressed through nonviolent intervention based on a deeper understanding of how those engaged in violent conflict understand the conflict and their role within it.

Although many aspects of this book would be useful for academics and practitioners of nonviolent intervention, peacebuilding, conflict resolution or security studies to examine in depth, in this review I will give a brief outline of the book's three sections, offering reflections what I consider the most important contributions as well as critiques. I will then conclude with a brief analysis on the applicability of *Security Without Weapons* to studies on resistance, and how a psycho-discursive approach of nonviolent intervention could contribute to resistance movements and conflict transformation in numerous cases.

The book begins with a theoretical exploration of several key factors pertaining to violence and nonviolence. First examined are the distinctions drawn between "legitimate" and "illegitimate" violence through existing moral frameworks, of which it takes just war theory and the concept of *jihad* in Islam as examples. Analysing these two moral frameworks through which violence can be justified both by the state and by a religious doctrine, Wallace shows how two opposing sides in a conflict can believe their actions are legitimate within their own given tradition, perceiving their opponent as having violated basic tenets of justice. I find the choice of *jihad* a problematic example here, as it has become a loaded term that often misattributes the actions of terrorist groups to a deep adherence to the Islamic faith. Yet for Wallace's purpose, the juxtaposition of two examples demonstrates that two sides in a conflict may believe they are engaging in a just, moral, or defensive war, and thus opens room for more understanding of how nonviolent intervention

can transform the actors in a violent conflict. Adding to this, Wallace examines the moral uncertainty involved in the perpetration of violence to illustrate the merits of nonviolent intervention, citing the example of Gandhi's principle of *satyagraha*, in which the irreversibility of violence is condemned because human beings can never fully grasp truth and thus even seemingly-justified reasons for killing another person may be based on false information. Within the constraints of divergent conceptions of legitimacy and uncertainty, then, Wallace argues that it is the means and not the ends from which legitimacy must be derived in cases of violent conflict.

The book then examines the efficacy of violence itself, showing several examples of how nonviolent intervention is a more effective tool for coercion because it holds the potential to transform the will of the perpetrators of violence to execute violence, thereby making the violence itself untenable. Nonviolent coercion is more likely to shift opponents and regime sympathisers into allies. The theoretical presentation of these arguments is convincing and draws heavily on the works of Gene Sharp, although it would have been strengthened by more use of the Sri Lankan context in to illustrate these points, rather than drawing on cases like *OTPOR* in Serbia and the anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa.

In the second section, Wallace examines the official discourses and legitimation of violence in the Sri Lankan civil war and counterinsurgency. The chapter draws on empirical examples of discourse, examining three ways in which the conflict is portrayed by different actors: how prominent leaders of the Government of Sri Lanka and the Tamil Tigers portrayed themselves, their cause and their opponent in public speeches; media portrayals of violent events; and a video archive and transcriptions of interviews with Sri Lankan women detailing their experiences in combat and describing the conflict from their perspective. For the first group, the author analyses the discourses employed by the Government leader President Rajapaksa and the Tamil Tigers leader Prabhakaran. Notably, this demonstrates the way Rajapaksa seeks to portray the government's position as representative of all Sri Lankan people and vilifying the Tamil Tigers as terrorists, tying the government's struggle into a wider global discourse surrounding the "War on Terror." Prabhakaran, on the other hand, seeks to justify the need for liberation from a terrorist state,

characterised as a colonial power, and also employing a discourse of legitimacy as a "people's movement." Both seek to justify their own use of violence using international norms advocating the humanitarian crisis or need to act in self-defence. Illustrating what was theoretically explored in the first section, therefore, Wallace finds that both sides highlight the necessity and legitimacy of their violence and escalate that violence in response to the violence of their opponents, exacerbating a cyclical pattern of retribution.

Adding to these characterisations by prominent figures on each side of the conflict, Wallace goes on to examine how and whether stories of violence are reported in the media by sources representing each side's perspective, noting the way language can seek to evoke more sympathy for one side's cause by portraying a victim as a "family man" or, in portraying violence perpetrated by one's own side, to leave the attribution of responsibility ambiguous rather than openly naming the perpetrators' affiliation, as often done by the news portal TamilNet. Finally, the second section concludes by analysing the discourses of ten female combatants on both sides of the conflict, examining how they make sense of their own acts of violence and their relationships with members of the opposing forces. A notable finding was the difference between soldiers in the Sri Lankan Army, who gave vague or personal reasons for joining the forces, and those fighting for the Tamil Tigers who cited political motivations for fighting. Examining the discourse of divergent actors adds empirical weight to Wallace's theoretical backing of how different actors within a violent conflict perceive their own involvement and the situation itself from different moral vantage points, thus finding ways to legitimise and justify their own violence while condemning that of their opponent.

Lastly, the book concludes by presenting a psycho-discursive theory of civilian protection and violence prevention, examining ways in which the moral justifications for violence can begin to crack and crumble when challenged. Much of this final section looks at hypothetical scenarios, asking what could have happened if a refusal-to-fight campaign had been mobilised in the Sri Lankan civil war rather than an escalation of violent military confrontation. Surprisingly, it is not until the final chapter that the author elaborates the case of the Nonviolent Peaceforce Sri Lanka (NPSL). As the reader, I had expected this section to come much

earlier in the book as it provides important context for the relevance and applicability of the book itself. At the outset of the chapter, Wallace recalls an anecdote of her field experience in Sri Lanka, one which would have been an excellent opening paragraph for the book as a whole rather than waiting until the very end to present such important and engaging content to the reader.

The chapter goes on to detail the direct and indirect ways the NPSL contributed to protection of citizens and organizations, by accompanying young men through security checkpoints for example, or giving people a sense of empowerment to challenge soldiers. It also played a role in preventing violence between communities as well as between the security forces themselves. The NPSL played a role in both coercive and transformative change, which Wallace analyses both through rationalist and psycho-discursive perspectives; she articulates the role the NPSL played in direct deterrence and discourse shifting, as well as the grey area between the two. In one example, Wallace illustrates the importance of discourse by describing how "NPSL staff members often used the positive aspects of armed actors' discourse to draw out inconsistencies between their self-representations (…) and their actual practices on the ground," casting them in a positive moral frame to allow the perpetrator to save face while shifting away from violent behaviours. This is an important point and a key takeaway for enacting resistance to violence by understanding how to use a perpetrator's self-image to shift their behaviour and beliefs away from violent conduct.

Security Without Weapons is an interesting and informative read for scholars and practitioners of peace and nonviolence work, providing as it does a more nuanced understanding of the diverse moral frames and discourse employed by opposing groups in a violent conflict. A psycho-discursive understanding of violence, and the role nonviolence can play in countering violence from this perspective, is an important and often-neglected aspect of nonviolent action and intervention. This is a crucial contribution of Wallace's work, and elaborates a perspective which can allow for more nuanced understanding and practices in countering other violent conflicts around the world today, from the Rohingya refugee crisis to the global rise of the far-right, as well as contexts like civilian protection

in the Syrian war and civil resistance in indigenous movements, about which Wallace has written on numerous occasions.

In my view, the book would have been more engaging and widely accessible to a non-academic audience if it had been structured differently, with greater integration between theoretical and empirical findings and a much earlier introduction of the case of the Nonviolent Peaceforce in Sri Lanka, rather than leaving it for the very end. By the time the reader reaches the end of the book, the author has built a strong and well-argued theoretical framework to understand the case study, but the story of NPSL gets somewhat lost in the theory; affording more time and attention to the case itself would give greater practical context to the argument and provides an opportunity for further writing on the subject. Nevertheless, Security Without Weapons bears significance to the broader field of resistance studies because it teaches us not only to understand why people engage in violence, but how nonviolent intervention in armed conflict can play an important role when it engages with perpetrators as complex, reflexive human beings who are often capable of changing and transforming into agents of resistance to violence themselves. The book is therefore a contribution not only for resistance studies to grow in its conception of how to take nonviolent action, but for resistance movements to grow their membership by understanding how opponents and perpetrators can be transformed into resisters of violence themselves.

Sarah Freeman-Woolpert, Journal of Resistance Studies

Sarah Van Gelder: The Revolution Where You Live: Stories from a 12,000-Mile Journey through a New America

Berrett Koehler, 2017

The Revolution Where You Live came out at an important moment in the United States, shortly after Donald Trump was elected President and when police brutality, the Flint water crisis and the movement led

by Standing Rock Water Protectors had brought an increased sense of urgency and publicity to local resistance movements around the country. It offers ideas and inspiration in a time when so much of the context surrounding global resistance movements is undergoing dramatic flux. Most importantly, the book challenges readers to rethink the importance of place in resistance, and the creative and collaborative energies that are uniquely rooted at the community level. In an increasingly globalized world, an understanding of locally-rooted resistance struggles is necessary for building transformative campaigns for social change.

The book itself documents the journey by Sarah Van Gelder, cofounder of YES Magazine, who traveled by van across the United States in a quest to answer three questions:

1. Is anti-racism work best done in communities?

2. Is local activism the way to both stop extraction and transition to a sustainable future?

3. Can we build a new economy, rooted in our communities, that can support us and protect the natural world?

I was skeptical upon reading Van Gelder's questions. They struck me as having been posed rhetorically, seeking to affirm what the author already believed rather than to examine and explore the questions themselves. My initial critique was that beginning any journey with a set of "Yes" or "No" questions, rather than posing open-ended queries such as, "How are community-based approaches uniquely poised to advance anti-racism work?" sets a narrow lens for what you are expecting to find, and limits the audience for your findings to those who would already have agreed with the points you set out to prove.

Aside from the seemingly self-affirming nature of the journey itself, the book provided a diverse and engaging set of stories detailing activist struggles and community endeavors to build local resistance to the structures of capitalism, racism, neocolonialism and environmental destruction that devastate indigenous communities and marginalized populations in the United States today. From Montana to Kentucky, Detroit to Newark, *The Revolution Where You Live* explores how local resistance campaigns have been led by a range of actors, from ranchers to indigenous leadership councils, seeking to combat issues like coal mining,

racial injustice and worker exploitation. The author's reflections on her own journey make the book an enjoyable, easy read, and drawing together such a diverse collection of issues demonstrates the interconnectedness of resistance struggles to systems of exploitation and oppression today.

As it applies to resistance studies, a critical view of *The Revolution Where You Live* would portray the story as a stark example of what Abu Lughod referred to as the "tendency to romanticize resistance" (1990), in which the focus on explaining resistance steals attention from examining the structures of power being resisted. At the risk of romanticizing the projects and initiatives she learned about along her journey, Van Gelder nevertheless offers substantive examples of how small groups of people speak truth to power and challenge systems of oppression by creating alternative systems, thus exposing weaknesses of those in power when they are met with a well-organized, determined community. Contextualized within her journey across the United States, the quote Van Gelder employs by Archimedes - "Give me a place to stand and I can change the world" - offers an important insight for resistance today. Emphasizing local resistance not only has implications for bringing indigenous and community-led struggles to the forefront, but highlights some of the challenges that can be faced in global movements and among activists who lack a strong attachment to a place or community of their own. Although it's important not to discount the role of transnational support for local movements, Van Gelder's journey shows how locally-rooted resistance struggles have a particular role to play in causing ripple effects of lasting systemic change. In educating and inspiring activists to seek local solutions to global problems, *The Revolution Where You Live* has potential to make ripple effects of its own.

Sarah Freeman-Woolpert, Journal of Resistance Studies

S. M. Farid Mirbagheri: War and Peace in Islam; a critique of Islamic/ist Political discourses

Palgrave MacMillan, 2012

War and Peace in Islam is a well written introduction of the complexities and the diverse understandings of the Islamic faith. The author presents multiple arguments on political Islam and its relation to the question of peace and war. For those who seek to know the basic questions of what is Islam and the political discourses, then this book will provide much insight and sheds a light on the development of these discourses.

The critique and arguments the author developed are centred around his understanding of Islamic gnosticism, which is not necessarily where Islamic/ist fundamentalist are coming from. While peace in Islam is tightly linked to the spiritual aspect, political islamic/ist discourses are realist in their approach and (mis)interpretation of Quranic verses. Although the author attempted to discuss the different views of both Islamic and "western" on political discourse in relation to peace and war, I find it lacking in presenting the fundamentalists argument and its impact on understanding of these discourses.

Many parts of the book are compact and filled with information, while the questions of the book are big and require so much, this may dissuade readers from continuing but I encourage you to continue reading as the book leads to the Question of Jihad it will become more interesting. The question of Jihad part explains from various angles what Jihad means in islam and how it is viewed and understood by scholars, but how it is used and misused by fundamentalists. I especially liked the part where the author divides Jihad in outer and inner, where self-struggle connects to the struggle of the community. Jihad/ struggle is written about here in both the violent and non-violent sense and I wish the author would have written more about the non-violent struggle in Islam with modern examples.

In the post script, the author touches briefly on the sweeping changes in the Middle East at the centre of these changes is his claim that is due to political Islam and the dogmatic ideology rather than a complex set of reasons and that the solution starts with the self as in a spiritual awakening. Six years after 2011 I am certain he would have written it differently but it is always interesting for to read what scholars wrote and thought of 2011.

Asma Khalifa, Khalifa-Ihler Institute

Mark Hertsgaard: Bravehearts: Whistle-blowing in the Age of Snowden

New York: Skyhorse, 2016

Edward Snowden is the world's most famous whistleblower. Working for a contractor for the US National Security Agency, he became aware of a massive US spying operation, including collecting information on electronic communications by US citizens. Snowden collected a vast quantity of information about the illicit spying and in 2013 leaked it to journalists. It became headline news around the world.

Snowden's saga has inspired numerous accounts, among them Mark Hertsgaard's book Bravehearts. Hertsgaard, a journalist, undertook numerous interviews with key figures concerning Snowden's disclosures. One of Hertsgaard's important stories is about Thomas Drake, like Snowden an NSA whistleblower. Drake followed the official procedures for reporting his concerns about computer security within the NSA and as a result was arrested and threatened with a lengthy prison sentence. Snowden learned from Drake's experience: reporting problems internally was probably not going to be effective.

Hertsgaard also tells, for the first time, the story of John Crane, who worked for the NSA's inspectorate-general, set up to handle internal disclosures. Crane, whom Hertsgaard calls "the third man," did what he

could on behalf of Drake and, as a result, came under extreme pressure himself.

The Drake and Crane stories are important counterpoints to the account of Snowden as hero. They are also heroes in their own way, but not as well known.

Another part of the story is the role of whistleblower supporters. In Drake's case, the key organisation was the Government Accountability Project or GAP, the most prominent whistleblower advocacy group in the US. Bravehearts provides an insightful account of GAP's operations, drawing especially on the experience of Tom Devine, GAP's central figure for many years.

GAP receives information about numerous whistleblower cases and selects a small number of these to pursue. After carefully checking the facts, GAP mounts legal actions backed by a media campaign. Without support groups like GAP, most whistleblowers would lack the capacity to make any difference at all.

Whistleblowing can be considered a form of resistance to authority, though its relationship with resistance studies is complicated. Most employees who report corruption, abuses or hazards to the public are loyal and conscientious. They do not set out to challenge authority, and many say they are just doing their job. They assume managers will investigate and, if anything is wrong, will address the problem. Many of them are shocked to discover, when they experience reprisals ranging from petty harassment to dismissal, that they are seen as the problem. Thus many employees who are called whistleblowers do not set out to resist authority. Instead, they have an unwarranted trust in the benevolence of bosses, senior management and outside appeal bodies. Their resistance is less often by intention than by speaking truths that turn out, often to their surprise, to be unwelcome.

Snowden is a prominent example of a more conscious and well-informed form of resistance. Snowden, unlike most whistleblowers, realised that using internal reporting channels was a recipe for failure. Instead, he aimed at getting his information and his message to wider audiences. Furthermore, Snowden took careful note of how the mass media dealt with disclosures and decided not to approach the mainstream

US media such as The New York Times. Instead, he approached Glenn Greenwald, who wrote for The Guardian.

Whistleblowers have much to learn from Snowden and much to learn from resistance studies. A key message is to check out what happened to others who spoke out and to check out avenues for getting the message to wider audiences.

Bravehearts is valuable for showing that, in relation to whistleblowing, resistance can occur in different ways. For every Snowden, there are many Thomas Drakes who suffer after following the rules for disclosures. There are probably many John Cranes too, inside supporters of whistleblowers. But few of the John Cranes of the world ever receive recognition. Hertsgaard has done a service in telling one of the stories of courage behind the scenes.

Brian Martin, University of Wollongong