UNIT 11 THE USE OF PHYSICAL FORCE: MORAL/ PERSUASION

11.1 INTRODUCTION

The history of man-kind is so full of selfishness, greed, violence and cruelty that the possibility of improvement often seems doubtful. The power of entrenched interests is so immense and the energy of organised aggression is so tremendous that it is very difficult to see how gentle resistance plus love could either effectively sap such power or overcome or divert such energy. The destruction of both ponderables and imponderables by modern military weapons is so terrific that it is hard to believe that the power of slow-

acting, slight or gentle forces can be superior. In nature, the most important forces are silent. Examples are gravitation, sunlight, electro-magnetic forces, bacteria, the growth processes of plants and animals, the effects of environment. A considerable portion of material forces, such as gravitation, magnetism, heat, electric waves and sub-molecular forces, are invisible even under the microscope.

The use of physical force — even its retaliatory use — cannot be left to the discretion of individual citizens. Peaceful coexistence is impossible if a man has to live under the constant threat of force to be unleashed against him by any of his neighbours at any moment. Whether his neighbors' intentions are good or bad, whether their judgment is rational or irrational, whether they are motivated by a sense of justice or by ignorance or by prejudice or by malice — the use of force against one man cannot be left to the arbitrary decision of another. Visualize, for example, what would happen if a man missed his wallet, concluded that he had been robbed, broke into every house in the neighbourhood to search it, and shot the first man who gave him a dirty look, taking the look to be a proof of guilt.

The retaliatory use of force requires objective rules of evidence to establish that a crime has been committed and to prove who committed it, as well as objective rules to define punishments and enforcement procedures. Men who attempt to prosecute crimes, without such rules, are a lynch mob. If a society left the retaliatory use of force in the hands of individual citizens, it would degenerate into mob rule, lynch law and an endless series of bloody private feuds or vendettas.

If physical force is to be barred from social relationships, men need an institution charged with the task of protecting their rights under an objective code of rules. This is the task of a government — of a proper government—its basic task, its only moral justification and the reason why men do need a government. A government is the means of placing the retaliatory use of physical force under objective control—i.e., under objectively defined laws (Leonard Peikoff, 1982).

Aims and Objectives

After reading this unit, you would be able to understand:

● the reasons for the use of moral/persuasion;

● categories of persuasion; and

● practical use of moral force.

11.2   REASONS FOR THE USE OF MORAL PERSUASION

"It is easy to train an army of violence; even a year's drill may be good enough for that. But it takes a lot more time to train and prepare men to attain enough maturity and strength for a non-violent struggle" (Gurudev Tagore).

In recent years, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of people around the world who have taken part in nonviolent political action. It is clear, however, that there is considerable debate about the precise meaning of nonviolence. For some, nonviolent action is an expedient technique for dealing with conflict or bringing about social change; for others, non-violence is a moral imperative or even a way of life.

At first glance, violence may appear to be a superior technique for resolving conflicts or achieving desired ends because it has obvious and tangible strategies and weapons. Non-violent techniques are often more difficult to visualize and there is no shortage of moral and practical dilemmas that sceptics are able to raise as impediments to taking non-violence seriously.

Yet many reasons can be offered for the employment of non-violence: It is a 'weapon' available to all, it is least likely to alienate opponents and third parties, and it breaks the cycle of violence and counter-violence. It leaves open the possibility of conversion; it ensures that the media focus on the issue at hand rather than some tangential act of violence and it is the surest way of achieving public sympathy. Further, it is more likely to produce a constructive rather than a destructive outcome, it is a method of conflict resolution that may aim to arrive at the truth of a given situation (rather than mere victory for one side) and it is the only method of struggle that is consistent with the teachings of the major religions.

In addition, there are reasons for the employment of non-violence that go beyond the conviction that is a useful, or even the only 'correct' method of conflict resolution. Non-violence can also be the basis for a way of life: it is consistent with a belief in the underlying unity of humankind and it is the only method of action, interpersonal or political, that does not block that path to what has often been called 'self-realisation'.

Non-violent action is a technique by which people who reject passivity and submission, and who see struggle as essential, can wage their conflict without violence. Non-violent action is not an attempt to avoid or ignore conflict. It is one response to the problem of how to act effectively in politics, especially how to wield powers effectively (Sharp, 1973, p. 64).

11.3 UNDERSTANDING MORAL PERSUASION

Moral persuasion is an appeal to morality in order to influence or change behaviour. Moral persuasion has been applied in many different fields. In early educational thought, it was often paired against corporal punishment as a means of achieving school discipline (Miller, Randall M., 2009). In politics, moral persuasion has frequently been employed by movements for social change, but its effectiveness has varied widely (Greven, Philip J., 2010).

11.4 MODES OF PERSUASION

The modes of persuasion, often referred to as ethical strategies or rhetorical appeals, are devices in rhetoric that classify the speaker's appeal to the audience. They are: ethos, pathos and logos.

Aristotle's Rhetoric describes the modes of persuasion thus:

● Persuasion is clearly a sort of demonstration, since we are most fully persuaded when we consider a thing to have been demonstrated.

● Of the modes of persuasion furnished by the spoken word there are three kinds. [...] Persuasion is achieved by the speaker's personal character when the speech was so spoken as to make us think him credible. [...] Secondly, persuasion may come

through the hearers, when the speech stirs their emotions. [...] Thirdly, persuasion is effected through the speech itself when we have proved a truth or an apparent truth by means of the persuasive arguments suitable to the case in question.

11.4.1   Ethos (plural: ethe)

It is an appeal to the authority or credibility of the presenter. It is how well the presenter convinces the audience that he or she is qualified to present (speak) on the particular subject. It can be done in many ways:

- By being a notable figure in the field in question, such as a college professor or an executive of a company whose business is related to the presenter's topic.

- By demonstrating mastery of the argot of the field.

- By being introduced by, or producing bonafides from, other established authorities.

11.4.2   Pathos (plural: pathea)

Pathos (plural: pathea) is an appeal to the audience's emotions, and the terms *sympathy*, *pathetic*, and *empathy* are derived from it. It can be in the form of metaphor, simile, a passionate delivery, or even a simple claim that a matter is unjust. Pathos can be particularly powerful if used well, but most speeches do not solely rely on pathos. Pathos is most effective when the author or speaker demonstrates agreement with an underlying value of the reader or listener.

In addition, the speaker may use pathos to appeal to fear, in order to sway the audience. Pathos may also include appeals to audience imagination and hopes; done when the speaker paints a scenario of positive future results of following the course of action proposed. In some cases, downplaying the *ethos* can be done while emphasizing *pathos*, for example as William Jennings Bryan did in his Cross of God speech:

"I would be presumptuous, indeed, to present myself against the distinguished gentlemen to whom you have listened if this were but a measuring of ability; but this is not a contest among persons. The humblest citizen in all the land when clad in the armour of a righteous cause is stronger than all the whole hosts of error that they can bring. I come to speak to you in defense of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty—the cause of humanity." (Bryan, William, July 9, 1896).

11.4.3   Logos (plural: logoi)

Logos (plural: logoi) is logical appeal or the simulation of it, and the term *logic* is derived from it. It is normally used to describe facts and figures that support the speaker's claims or thesis. Having a *logos* appeal also enhances *ethos* because information makes the speaker look knowledgeable and prepared to his or her audience. However, the data can be confusing and thus confuse the audience. Logos can also be misleading or inaccurate, however meaningful it may seem to the subject at hand. In some cases, inaccurate, falsified, or mis-contextualized data can even be used to enact a pathos effect. Such is the case with casualty numbers, which, while not necessarily falsified, may include minor casualties (injuries) that are equated with deaths in the mind of an audience and therefore can evoke the same effect as a death toll.

11.5 CATEGORIES OF PERSUASION

11.5.1 Persuasive Techniques

We use persuasive language to convince others to agree with our facts, share our values, accept our argument and conclusions, and adopt our way of thinking. There are many different ways to persuade people. Here are some of the common ones:

1) **Appeals:** One persuasive technique is appealing to the audience's:

   • Emotions

   • Fears

   • Desire to seem intelligent

   • Need to protect their family

   • Desire to fit in, to be accepted, to be loved

   • Desire to be an individual

   • Desire to follow a tradition

   • Desire to be wealthy or save money

   • Desire to be healthy

   • Desire to look good

   • Desire to protect animals and the environment

   • Pride in our country

Often other persuasive techniques can also involve an appeal.

2) **Evidence:** Using evidence is very persuasive as it makes the reader see the author as knowledgeable and the argument as more logical or reliable. Statistics, expert opinions, research findings and anecdotal evidence.

3) **Attacks:** Attacks on opposing views, or the people who hold them can persuade the audience by portraying views and beliefs which are contrary to the author's contention as foolish, dangerous, uncaring or deceitful. Using humor to make fun of these views can be particularly persuasive.

4) **Inclusive and Exclusive Language:** Inclusive language such as 'we', 'our', 'us' and exclusive language such as 'them' can persuade by including the reader, or by creating a sense of solidarity or a sense of responsibility.

5) **Rhetorical Questions:** Rhetorical questions are questions that do not require an answer and are asked for effect only. They engage the audience and encourage them to consider the issue and accept the author's answer, or imply that the answer is so obvious that anyone who disagrees is foolish.

6) **Cause and effect:** arguments may claim there is a cause and effect relationship when really there is just a relationship and other factors should be considered.

7) **Connotations:** The connotation is the emotional meaning associated with the word, 'Persuasive'. Authors often choose their words carefully so that the connotation suits their purpose. 'Kill' and 'Slaughter' both mean the same thing, but the word 'slaughter' has a different connotation to 'kill', as it causes the audience to imagine that the act was particularly horrific.

8) **Analogy:** Analogy is a form of reasoning which compares one thing with another in order to make a particular point.

9) **Generalisations:** Make sweeping statements about a whole group, based on only one or two members of that group. These can be persuasive if the audience believes the generalization is appropriate, but can undermine argument if they do not.

10) **Humor:** Humor, such as puns, irony, sarcasm, satire and jokes can be persuasive by dismissing opposing views, providing a more engaging and friendly tone, and sway an audience by having them enter into the joke.

11) **Jargon:** By using specialised terms, the author can persuade the audience that they are an expert. When announcing a recession whilst trying to save face a politician may call it *'period of economic adjustment'* or *'interruption of economic expansion'*.

12) **Formal Language:** Formal language can make the author sound knowledgeable while removing emotion from the issue. This can make the argument sound reasonable and rational, and the contention seem balanced.

13) **Colloquial language:** Colloquial language is informal, every day, conversational language that includes down to earth views and is seductive because it appears friendly, and can make the audience feel that the author is on the same wave length as them.

14) **Repetition:** By repeating letters, words and phrases, the author can reinforce an argument and ensure that the point of view being made stays in an audience's mind.

15) **Hyperbole:** The use of hyperbole emphasizes points by exaggerating. It can be used to mock opposing opinions, as a shock tactics technique, or an appeal to fears.

16) **Alliteration and Assonance:** The repetition of initial consonant sounds (alliteration) or vowel sounds (assonance) adds emphasis to major points and makes them more memorable.

17) **Imagery and Figurative Language:** Use of figurative language, metaphor and simile can paint a word picture for audience, making the point visually and by comparison, or appeal to emotions. They can also make the author appear sophisticated or well spoken.

18) **Images:** Images can also be used to persuade the reader, either independently or used with an article.

11.5.2   Rhetoric Technique

In rhetoric, a rhetorical device or resource of language is a technique that an author or speaker uses to convey to the listener or reader a meaning with the goal of persuading him or her towards considering a topic from a different perspective, using sentences

designed to encourage or provoke a rational argument from an emotional display of a given perspective or action. Note that although rhetorical devices may be used to evoke an emotional response in the audience, this is not their primary purpose.

11.5.2.1 Irony and Metaphor

Two common rhetorical devices are irony and metaphor.

The use of irony in rhetoric is primarily to convey to the audience an incongruity that is often used as a tool of humor in order to deprecate or ridicule an idea or course of action. The use of metaphor in rhetoric is primarily to convey to the audience a new idea or meaning by linking it to an existing idea or meaning with which the audience is already familiar. By making the new concept appears to be linked to — or a type of — the old and familiar concept, the person using the metaphor hopes to help the audience understand the new concept.

11.5.2.2 Sonic Devices

Sonic devices depend on sound.

1) Alliteration is the use of a stream of words with the same first phoneme, only interrupted by grammatically required words (e.g. a(n), the, to, for, by, etc.). It is used for emphasis, suggesting a humorous or even threatening tone.

2) Assonance is the repetition of a similar set of vowel sounds. It is used to emphasize intensity, mood, and imagery, among others.

3) Cacophony is the use of words with harsh consonants, usually at the beginning of a word.

4) Onomatopoeia is the use of words that attempt to emulate a sound. When used colloquially, it is often accompanied by multiple exclamation marks and in all caps. It is common in comic strips and some cartoons.

11.5.3 Altered Signification Devices

Devices of altered signification shift the meaning of words.

1) Metaphor comparison of two objects or ideas that does not use "like or "as."

2) Simile is a gentler form of metaphor that always uses "as" or "like" to compare something to something else. For example, "his beard was like a lion's mane."

11.6 BASES OF AHIMSA AND MORAL PERSUASION

It consists of acts of non-violent protest and persuasion, non-cooperation, non-violent intervention and non-violent action, designed to undermine the sources of power of the opponent in order to bring about change.

11.6.1 Non-violent Protest and Persuasion

Non-violent protest and persuasion is a class of methods which are 'mainly symbolic acts of peaceful opposition or of attempted persuasion, extending beyond verbal expressions'. These methods include marches, vigils, pickets, and the use of posters, street theatre, painting and protest meetings.

11.6.2   Non-co-operation

Non-co-operation - the most common form of non-violent action – involves the deliberate withdrawal of cooperation with the person, activity, institution or regime with which the activists are engaged in conflict. These methods include the provision of sanctuary (social); strikes, boycotts and war tax resistance (economic) and boycotts of legislative bodies and elections (political). Political non-co-operation also includes acts of civil disobedience - the 'deliberate, open and peaceful violation of particular laws, decrees, regulations ... and the like which are believed to be illegitimate for some reason'.

11.6.3   Non-violent Intervention

Non-violent intervention is a class of methods involving the disruption or destruction of established behaviour patterns, policies, relationships or institutions which are considered objectionable, or the creation of new behaviour patterns, policies, relationships or institutions which are preferred. The *disruption* class of methods includes nonviolent occupations or blockades, fasting, seeking imprisonment and overloading facilities (such as courts and prisons). The *creation* class of methods includes establishing alternative political, economic and social institutions such as non-hierarchical cooperatives, markets, ethical investment groups, alternative schools, energy exchange cooperatives as well as parallel media, communications and transport networks. This last class of methods is what the Gandhian literature refers to as the Constructive Programme (Sharp, 1973).

11.6.4   Non-violent Action

'Non-violent resistance is a civilian-based method used to wage conflict through social, psychological, economic, and political means without the threat or use of violence' (Stephan and Chenoweth 2008:7).

11.6.4.1 Features of Nonviolent Action (Schock 2005):

1)   Does not involve physical violence or the threat of physical violence against human beings;

2)   Involves activity in the collective pursuit of social or political objectives;

3)   Is non-institutional and indeterminate.

11.6.4.2 Types of Non-violence

Following table 11.1 depicts the types of non-violence

Table 11.1: Types of Non-violence

Non-resistance	Non-resistant's rejected all physical violence on principle and concentrate on maintaining their own integrity, e.g. the attitude of the Amish and Mennonite sects of Christians.
Active Reconciliation	A Faith-based rejection of coercion and a belief in active goodwill and reconciliation, for example as practiced by Quakers and other religious activist groups.
Moral Resistance	Moral resisters actively resist evil with peaceful and moral means such as education and persuasion. This has been the basis of much of Western pacifism.
Selective Nonviolence	The refusal to participate in particular wars or kinds of war, e.g. nuclear war.
Passive Resistance	Non-violent tactics are employed because the means for an effective violent campaign are lacking or are not likely to succeed; e.g. most strikes, boycotts and national non-cooperation movements belong to this category.
Peaceful Resistance	Peaceful resisters believe that nonviolent methods are more effective; e.g. some of Gandhi's campaigns fall into this category because many of his followers did not fully internalize what he taught.
Non-violent Direct Action	Practitioners may view non-violence as a moral principle or practical method. The object is victory rather than conversion. An example is provided by the Greenham Common actions.
Gandhian Non-violence (Satyagraha)	Satyagraha aims to attain the truth through love and right action; it demands the elimination of violence from the self and from the social, political and economic environment. Gandhi's Salt Satyagraha is a classic example.
Non-violent Revolution	Revolutionaries believe in the need for basic individual and social change and regard the major problems of existing society as structural, e.g. the campaigns of Jayaprakash Narayan and Vinoba Bhave in India.

(Sharp, 1971, pp. 29-54)

11.6.4.3 Categories of Non-violent Action (Sharp 1973)

Methods of protest and persuasion

It is largely symbolic, intended to persuade the opponent or to produce awareness of injustices and the extent of dissent (e.g. protests, marches, mock funerals).

Methods of Non-cooperation

It intended to undermine the power, resources and legitimacy of the government (e.g. strikes, economic boycotts, acts of civil disobedience).

Methods of Non-violent Intervention

It intended to directly disrupt operations that support the status quo or to develop preferred alternatives (e.g. sit-ins, sabotage, creating parallel institutions).

11.6.4.4 Principled vs. Pragmatic Non-violence

Principled non-violence 'grounded in religious and ethically based injunctions against violence' (Stephan and Chenoweth 2008: 10); non-violence as a way of life and moral imperative; central aim is the *conversion* of the opponent in order to bring about change (e.g. Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr.);

Pragmatic Non-violence

Pragmatic non-violence: non-violence as most effective method available in the given circumstances; morality or beliefs not central; main aim is defeat of opponent in order to bring about change; strategic rather than principled (*violent protest shifts attention away from what is under protest and towards the violent act*).

Non-violent Action is not the Same as Pacifism

Non-violent action is not the same as *pacifism* (Zunes 1994): pacifism does not necessarily involve political action nor is everyone who uses non-violent strategies for change a pacifist.

Violent and Non-violent Strategies for Change

Violent and non-violent strategies for change can and frequently do co-exist.

'Nonviolent Struggle does not mean the Absence of Violence'

'Nonviolent struggle does not mean the absence of violence' (Schock 2005: 8), governments may respond with violence to non-violent action.

11.7   FAMOUS PRACTITIONER (GANDHI)

The Gandhian strategy is the combination of truth, sacrifice, non-violence, selfless service and cooperation. According to Gandhi, one should be brave and not a coward. He should present his views, suggestions and thoughts without being violent. One should fight a war with the weapons of truth and non-violence. Gandhi said that "There is no God higher than truth." According to Gandhi's thoughts, non- violence is ultimate solution of every kind of problem in the world.

In the present scenario, Satyagraha is more than a political tool of resistance. It is a holistic approach towards life, based on the ideals of truth and moral courage. The similarities of the Satyagraha to some of the greatest philosophical and religious tenets of the world have been observed and much written about. Gandhi's system of Satyagraha was based on nonviolence, non-co-operation, truth and honesty. Gandhi used non-violence in India's freedom struggle as main weapon and India became independent from British rule. In present times, there are some live examples which show the success of non-

violence resistance by using Gandhian strategy. Mahatma Gandhi was against any form of exploitation and injustice. According to him, evils must be opposed at any cost. But he insisted that the weapons must be non-violent and moral ones. The adoption of peaceful method made one superior and put the enemy at a disadvantage but the condition is the opponent must be dealt with mutual respect and love. Gandhi believed that only through love an enemy could be permanently won.

11.8   REASONS TO PREFER NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

- Moral obligation (Sharp 1963), violence 'is in itself an evil' (Zinn 2003);

- Violence is incompatible with civil disobedience as a form of public, political address within limits of *overall* adherence to law (Rawls 1971);

- Non-violence is more desirable than violence as a *means*, since one of the principles guiding advocates of civil disobedience may be the belief in a non-violent world as an *end goal* (Zinn 2003);

- One of the points of civil disobedience is to communicate with and educate others; the use of indiscriminate violence, particularly against people, turns other people against the cause (Zinn 2003);

- Violent conflict is too costly;

- Unarmed methods are more effective.

11.9   SUMMARY

The power of non-violence and love is so similar to and so harmonious with the other subtle creative forces of nature that in the human realm it may be considered one of the higher conserving and growth-producing forces of nature. As such, it is in the long run more powerful than violence.

Since trust is an essential prerequisite to persuasion, and truth creates trust, persistent devotion to truth at all costs is strongly persuasive.

Non-violent resistance with love is able to conquer cruelty, violence, aggression, and other abuses of power because: (1) the power of many repeated gentle stimuli to cause surpassing growth of the potential decencies in the opponent is sure; (2) the user of gentle stimuli has aiding him a wider and more enduring range of forces than does the user of violence; (3) the whole is greater than the sum of its parts and since love expresses the unity and wholeness of the human species, it is a power greater than those that express only individuals or other parts of humanity; (4) intelligent love acts in advance to reduce or prevent frustrations and thereby to reduce violence to a minimum; (5) truth is an important element in nonviolence, and as truth promotes mutual trust, it is highly persuasive; and (6) these powers are effective between groups as well as between individuals.

11.10   TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1)   Discuss the importance of the use of physical force and moral persuasion.

2)   Discuss the modes of persuasion.

3)   Discuss bases of Ahimsa and moral persuasion.

4)   Write briefly on Gandhi's non-violent resistance movement.

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