

# The Albert Einstein Institution

## NEWSLETTER Spring 2006

### Waging Nonviolent Action Around The World

#### The Middle East

*The Albert Einstein Institution Bethlehem and Jerusalem Trip*

From December 24 to December 31 Gene Sharp and Jamila Raqib were in Bethlehem, participating in an international conference on “Celebrating Nonviolent Resistance”, and in Jerusalem meeting with a variety of Israelis. The conference was sponsored by Nonviolence International, founded in 1989 with offices in Washington, DC and elsewhere, and the Holy Land Trust, located in Bethlehem, and founded in 1998. Israelis with whom we met included academics, activists and leaders of NGOs, a Gaza settler leader, and police and military officials.

The trip was initiated with an invitation from Mubarak Awad to Gene Sharp to speak at the conference. Dr. Awad, a Palestinian-American, founded the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence in 1983 in Jerusalem, and was jailed and deported in 1989. The Israeli activities originated with contacts by Dr. Nahi Alon concerning academic work on nonviolent resistance. During the 1980s Gene Sharp made several trips to the region and several of his publications were published in both Arabic and Hebrew. Prior to the December trip he has not had recent involvement in the region.

The conference was held in Bethlehem December 27-30. The aim of the conference was to allow Palestinian activists the opportunity to interact with each other and with international activists, to build on their past accomplishments, and make future efforts more effective. The conference also served as a forum for activists, scholars, and experts in the field of nonviolence and nonviolent struggle to meet, exchange ideas and experiences, and plan for the future.

The conference program included two pages of text written by Gene Sharp in 1989 during the first Palestinian Intifadah. The paper, “The Intifadah and Nonviolent Struggle” presented the characteristics, operation, and requirements of this technique and will shortly be available for download from our website ([www.aeinstein.org](http://www.aeinstein.org)).

During the four-day conference, there were 69 speakers and presenters, 59 workshops, 177 ex-patriots, 250 local Palestinians and 25 Israelis present. The conference was assisted by 30 volunteers and 30 staff members. We observed that the range of Palestinians taking

*(Continued on page 6)*

### We've Moved

Greetings friends and supporters! Since our last newsletter, we've moved to a new office located conveniently in East Boston, just a stone's throw away from Boston's Logan Airport. The new location has several advantages. Now, Senior Scholar Gene Sharp has a short walk to work, shaving two hours each day off his commute. And, our monthly operating costs are significantly reduced – enabling us to shift a big portion of our expenditures away from office rent to other, more important tasks.

Our new mailing address is:

The Albert Einstein Institution  
P.O. Box 455  
East Boston, MA 02128

Our phone number, fax, email address, and website information remain the same. They are:

Phone: (617) 247-4882  
Fax: (617) 247-4035  
Email: [einstein@igc.org](mailto:einstein@igc.org)  
Website: [www.aeinstein.org](http://www.aeinstein.org)

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# Note from the Chair of the Board of Directors

Our entire board met on April 13, 2006 at our new office in East Boston to assess the growing impact of the Albert Einstein Institution's mission. The political effectiveness of pragmatic nonviolent action is spreading to increasingly diverse struggles as this newsletter reflects. Strategic planning, informed by rigorous scholarship in historical case studies, has proven its potency in Serbia, Georgia, Ukraine. The critical need for practical alternatives to violence is evidenced by the growing interest in nonviolent struggle from diverse groups and expanding media attention on these techniques.

Recognizing the expanding demand for this knowledge and efforts to sustain this work, the board voted to continue our mission and abandon the contingency plans towards dissolution. We are indeed

grateful to supporters including the Fellowship of Reconciliation through this critical time.

Furthermore, the board is pleased to announce our new Executive Director. Our board voted unanimously to raise Jamila Raqib's title to Executive Director for her exemplary service contributing to the work and survival of the institution. Working closely with our Senior Scholar, her strategic thinking played a pivotal role in the Institution's survival through its most recent trials.

Over the past four years, amongst her other competencies are included editor, translations coordinator, international inquiries, special knowledge of central Asia and the Middle East, budgetary oversight, and assisting Gene Sharp on his December consultation and speaking trip to Bethle-

hem and Jerusalem.

We look forward to working with her in this new role.

Positive events around the globe affirm our renewed commitment to our mission this spring as this newsletter illustrates. The board invites your support in our commitment toward building a responsible future.

—Cornelia Sargent

## Comings and Goings

At our East Boston headquarters, Gene Sharp works closely with his long-time associate Jamila Raqib. Two of our staff members have moved on to new challenges, including Hardy Merriman, Dr. Sharp's research assistant, and Emilie Amstutz, AEI's development officer. We wish both Hardy and Emilie the very best in their new endeavors.

As well, last June AEI's president Bob Helvey resigned, while his book, *On Strategic Nonviolent Conflict*, published by the Einstein Institution continues to arouse international interest and requests for translations.

Longtime AEI supporter Arthur Edelstein is now playing an active role maintaining the AEI website, and Barry Zellen – who first worked with Gene Sharp as his research assistant in 1984 – has returned after a two-decade absence working with indigenous people in the Arctic. He is now assisting Dr. Sharp and Jamila Raqib with various editorial projects. Both are part-time volunteers.

### AEI Mission Statement

As always, our mission at AEI is to advance the worldwide study and strategic use of nonviolent action in conflict. The Institution is committed to:

- defending democratic freedoms and institutions
- opposing oppression, dictatorship, and genocide, and
- reducing reliance on violence as an instrument of policy.

This mission is pursued in three ways, by:

- encouraging research and policy studies on the methods of nonviolent action and their past use in diverse conflicts
- sharing the results of this research with the public through publications, conferences, and the media, and
- consulting with groups in conflict about the strategic potential of nonviolent action.

# The Senior Scholar Reflects on the Future of the AEI

The violence that at times seems to envelop us at several levels can lead us to believe that these events are inevitable, beyond our control and influence. That is a grave error, and is not based on the full reality.

True, the violence seems to be everywhere. But it is not. Something else very important has also been happening.

Over many centuries, and especially in recent decades, another type of struggle has not only been applied. It has often been succeeding even though it usually has been improvised by people who knew little of its nature and requirements and who faced powerful violent regimes with few redeeming humanitarian qualities and qualms.

These brave people usually had no guides as to how to wage their struggles. They had no understanding that careful strategic planning is required in order to know how to act, how to initiate their conflicts, how to respond to repression, and how to build their mobilized power so that it would grow into irrepressible victories for greater freedom and justice.

They sometimes still won.

We are beginning to learn how these achievements have been possible, sometimes despite the political blindness of officials and the cruelty of governments that often have seemed unable to see the reality and capacity of this kind of power that employs psychological, social, economic and political weapons. Many of these officials and regimes retain their irrational faith in the omnipotence of violence and therefore drag their societies and people into disasters.

We now know these disasters are not inevitable. Case after case of successful struggles in difficult cases, well beyond Gandhi and King, show both that nonviolent struggles are realistic and that they can win in a violent world.

We also are learning that many people in various parts of the world, of several religions, and despite arrogant rulers, can recognize their need to learn more about this people power, and then can apply it with greater skill and effectiveness.

This growing capacity of nonviolent struggle never produces miracles, but it can bring more successes. These successes need to be handled wisely, so that the hard-won gains are not later stolen or forgot after the immediate crisis has passed.

Dangers remain. Repressive governments are now often well aware of the threat to their domination that is posed by people who want to be free and to use these means to gain their freedom. Governments should, therefore, be more careful in their responses, but fear rarely produces wisdom. Instead, rulers can become more desperate and brutal. Sometimes autocratic rulers admit their fear of this spread of knowledge and how people are becoming empowered, self-confident, and determined.

The Mission of the Albert Einstein Institution (elsewhere in this newsletter) when implemented speaks to this condition.

This condition is at times one of confusion and dangers, but also of growing empowerment, freedom and justice, and reduced violence. A future of domination, the rule of violence, and popular helplessness, need not be inevitable.

We know from observation and experience that the work of this Institution can help to bring positive changes.

Financially, this Institution is at the lowest point since its very first years. (It is now 23 years old.) However, in terms of the impact of our work in the “real world”—measured in terms of political impact in various countries, geographical expansion, eagerness of people and groups to learn more about nonviolent struggle, and the demand for translations to spread the knowledge—the influence of the Albert Einstein Institution has never been larger. It can grow greatly.

We are now aware that with good judgment, humility, commitment to the Institution’s Mission, and merited support, our greatest impact lies ahead. We thank all who have helped, and welcome your continued and new support to help build a future of responsible hope.

— Gene Sharp

## Letter of Support from Coretta Scott King

Several advocates of nonviolent action have left us during the past year, including the recent passing of Coretta Scott King on January 31, 2006. Less than a year ago, she wrote a letter of support to the Einstein Institution:

August 11, 2005

Dear Gene,

*I write to commend you for your leadership in promoting nonviolence as a force for human liberation, social justice and peace.*

*As a scholar and a writer, you have made indelible contributions to the study of nonviolence through your many articles, lectures and books,*

*and you have generously shared your knowledge and expertise with human rights movements and freedom struggles throughout the world. I also want to thank you for the many times that you have made vital contributions to The King Center’s Annual Summer Workshop on Non-violence.*

*I enclose my contribution to support the important work of the Albert Einstein Institution in building nonviolent communities in our world.*

*I wish you the greatest success in your continuing endeavors.*

Sincerely,

Coretta Scott King

# Letter from the Executive Director

As we approach the twenty-third year since the founding of the Albert Einstein Institution there are indications that there is a breakthrough in increased recognition and support for its work. Recently I entered a convenience store near my home. As I set my Einstein Institution folder on the counter in front of the cashier, I noticed the man's eyes light up with recognition as he read the writing on the folder. "We are using the books in Eritrea", he told me. Astonished, I asked him to explain. Eventually I was able to learn that he was in touch with an Eritrean exile group that was studying the material that is available on the Einstein Institution website, and examining its relevance to the deteriorating human rights situation and growing government repression in Eritrea. The incident, though quite accidental, highlights several important trends: the spread of knowledge and increase in access to information about nonviolent struggle, the wide applicability and relevance of our work among often extremely diverse groups, and the growing awareness among many people of the need to examine this powerful means of struggle. As focus on strategic nonviolent struggle increases, it will be clear that there is one institution that is best positioned to continue important work in this field into the future. That is the Albert Einstein Institution.

I continue to be amazed at the number of letters and messages we receive from individuals and groups from locations as diverse as the Congo and Canada and places as remote as the Maldives. The greatest evidence of the importance of our work comes from these very personal communications. These letters are at times filled with great discontent, but also incredible appreciation for our work and a hope for improvement in their own situations. Often, the people who write to us have only recently been exposed to our work and their letters contain questions and requests for assistance. It is a great frustration that we are not always able to respond

positively and that we often do not have the capacity to do more than refer individuals to the considerable amount of material available on our website, as well as offer other kinds of general information.

This work merits the availability of funding. Improved funding is crucial for strengthening our website, enabling new researchers and potential leaders of movements to conduct and report their studies or experiences with nonviolent action, and for conducting research on new trends in the field. Analysis is also needed of how nonviolent struggle may relate to the problems of terrorism and other uses of violence for political objectives and for the development of strategies to make nonviolent struggle more effective. These studies will be referenced and consulted by leaders of struggle movements and future conflicts. With increased funding, we also hope to resume prior overseas consultations, as well as increase our capacity to respond to requests from individuals and groups. If the Institution is developed in these ways, it will make important contributions in the kind of world that we and future generations will experience.

Electronic and printed copies of translations of our work in other languages are a powerful and effective means of dissemination of the ideas. An Einstein Institution contact once reported that he had written

an article that mentioned the work of the Institution that was printed in an opposition paper in a capital city. Very soon afterwards some resourceful individuals had made numerous photocopies that were very widely distributed. What made the story even more remarkable was that following the original printing, copies of the article were seen on a university campus in a rural town many miles away. Soon after, we noticed a disproportionate increase in the number of inquiries and hits on our website from that country.

The developments that you will learn about in this newsletter are even more notable when you consider that they have come at a time when the Institution has faced significant challenges. I am heartened by the global spread of this analysis and the impact that we are seeing evidence of already. With a small budget, we have accomplished a great deal; with a larger budget, we could accomplish so much more. The coming months and years will provide significant opportunities for the growth and expansion of the Albert Einstein Institution in its work to help people struggling for change against authoritarian governments, occupation, and other forms of repression. Together we must face this great need and meet this challenge.

—Jamila Raqib

## Albert Einstein Institution Board of Directors

Cornelia Sargent, Chair  
Elizabeth Defeis  
Curt Goering  
Mary E. King  
Gene Sharp

# Fundraising Update

On September 9, 2005 the Fellowship of Reconciliation sent an appeal letter for the Albert Einstein Institution to its members, and to supporters of the peace movement. It is below:

*If you support nonviolent action to promote freedom and democracy . . .*

*Help Save the Albert Einstein Institution*

**Gene Sharp** is without doubt one of the most influential theorists and strategists in nonviolence since Mahatma Gandhi. Armed with a great intellect, dogged determination, a small staff, prolific pen and modest budget, he has provided millions of people around the world with the knowledge needed to achieve freedom and democracy through nonviolent action.

He is the scholar whose name is synonymous with "the politics of nonviolent action." His monographs, books and booklets, and those of his colleagues at the Albert Einstein Institution, have been translated into 30 languages. His work has contributed enormously to nonviolence movements and non-violent revolutions around the world ~ in The Philippines, Burma, Palestine, Serbia, Georgia, the Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan, among others. Gene and the Albert Einstein Institution have had a profound impact on the teaching of nonviolence, as well as on events in the world's public squares.

Our lives have been touched, enriched and shaped by Gene Sharp and the work of the Albert Einstein Institution. ***But we have just learned that the Institution faces an unsustainable financial shortfall and its board must seriously consider whether to close its doors.***

The Albert Einstein Institution needs an immediate infusion of \$150,000, a sum that seems daunting, absent the imaginative power of nonviolence. Yet this amount can be raised through 3,000 contributions of \$50 from donors around the country, a goal that seems eminently achievable.

It is of vital interest to the Fellowship of Reconciliation that the work of Gene and the Albert Einstein Institution continue.

Please send in a check today. And please circulate this appeal to others by e-mail or the postal service. The timeliness of this appeal cannot be stressed too strongly. As we have learned in our study and practice of nonviolence, we must be prepared and ready for that special moment in history. That moment is today.

***In gratitude to Gene and the Albert Einstein Institution,***

**Mubarak Awad**, President, Nonviolence International

**Elise Boulding**, peace researcher, author, Cultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History

**Carol Bragg**, RI Committee for Nonviolence Initiatives

**Daniel L. Buttry**, Global Service Consultant for Peace and Justice, International Ministries, American Baptist Churches

**Janet Chisholm**, Coordinator of Nonviolence Training, Fellowship of Reconciliation and Chair, Episcopal Peace Fellowship

**Pat Clark**, Executive Director, Fellowship of Reconciliation

**Dorothy F. Cotton**, Director of Education, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, under Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

**Richard Deats**, editor emeritus, Fellowship magazine

**Marjorie Swann Edwin**, activist in nonviolence movement for 68 years

**Diana Francis**, former President, International Fellowship of Reconciliation

**Arun Gandhi**, president M.K. Gandhi Institute for Nonviolence, Memphis, TN

**David Hartsough**, co-founder, Nonviolent Peaceforce

**Robert A. Irwin**, author, Building a Peace System

**Tolekan Ismailova**, Citizens Against Corruption Human Rights Centre, Kyrgyzstan

**Randy Kehler**, former national coordinator, Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign

**Scott Kennedy**, Resource Center for Nonviolence, Santa Cruz, CA

**Bernard LaFayette, Jr.**, Director, Center for Nonviolence and Peace Studies, University of Rhode Island

**George Lakey**, Director, Training for Change

**The Rev. Jim Lawson**, civil rights leader and former director of Non-violence Education at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference

**Michael Nagler**, professor emeritus and founder of Peace and Conflict Studies Program, UC-Berkeley

**Mary Lord**, Assistant General Secretary for Peace and Conflict Resolution, American Friends Service Committee

**David McReynolds**, former Chair, War Resisters International

**Hans Sinn**, founding member, Peace Brigades International

**Michael True**, Executive Committee, International Peace Research Association Foundation

**Rabbi Arthur Waskow**, Director, The Shalom Center

**Howard Zinn**, historian

# Fundraising Update

This past fall, we engaged in a successful fundraising appeal, including an appeal sent out by the Fellowship of Reconciliation – raising \$37,511.90 from 176 supporters, whose donations ranged in size from \$10 to \$5,000 – proof that together, we can make a difference. Also, a Massachusetts foundation has pledged \$50,000.

As our appeal letter stated:

*The Albert Einstein Institution has been operating for 22 years, and during these years we have made major contributions to both the analysis and practice of strategic nonviolent struggle—helping to promote, preserve and empower movements around the world committed to a more free, just, and less violent society.*

*These substantive contributions continue—particularly through our ongoing translation program, making our work available in more than thirty-five languages, with sixteen more in our pipeline.*

*It's now been over a year since we asked you to participate in this work by contributing financial support—but now, we once again need your help.*

If you've not yet had a chance to give, you may easily do so on our website at

<http://www.aeinstein.org/>

or you may send a check to our mailing address. Donations to the Einstein Institution are tax-deductible, and will enable us to continue our important work – including completion of Gene Sharp's dictionary of nonviolent action and related fields.

## Waging Nonviolent Action Around The World

(Continued from page 1)

part in the conference was representative of the Palestinian population and included female participants and individuals from various factions, and with diverse views and backgrounds.

Some persons from other countries who attempted to attend were unable to do so because either Israeli visas were denied, or

they were detained and deported upon arrival to Israel.

The content of the speeches varied considerably. Various speakers strongly emphasized nonviolent struggle including the Mayor of Bethlehem Dr. Victor Batarseh at the opening banquet and the Bethlehem governor, Mr. Salah Ta'mari. On December 28, during the session titled "Palestinian Nonviolent Movement," chaired by Jonathan Kuttub, Palestinian speeches very strongly advocated nonviolent struggle and opposed violent means.

One of the outstanding presentations was by Ms. Hind Khoury, who was then Minister of State for Jerusalem Affairs of the Palestinian Authority. She focused heavily on what Palestinians themselves could do to secure their objectives. She urged that the Palestinian Authority should focus on nonviolent struggle as a strategy and pol-

icy, and as the prerequisite to the end of meeting Palestinian needs.

Dr. Mustapha Barghouti, a candidate for the presidency of the Palestinian Authority in 2005, advocated concentrated efforts to make nonviolent struggle effective and charged that Israel had pushed the Palestinians to become militarized as that would benefit the Israelis.

The morning of the third day Gene Sharp gave a strong presentation on the nature and potential of nonviolent struggle that was received with a standing ovation. The text and video of that talk will soon be available on the Einstein Institution website. Other sessions of the conference focused on other aspects of peace-making, nonviolent action, and Muslim and Christian views on conflict and nonviolent means, as well as the views of Hinduism, Judaism, Buddhism, and Tibetan Buddhism.

Mohammad Abu-Nimer, a professor in the International Peace and Conflict Resolution Program at American University gave a presentation on Islam and nonviolent action. The talk addressed themes including the historical development of an Is-

(Continued on page 7)



A poster featuring the Arabic translation of 198 Methods of Nonviolent Action appended to *From Dictatorship to Democracy* was observed in several locations in Bethlehem. The poster was produced by Middle East Nonviolence and Democracy ([www.mend-pal.org](http://www.mend-pal.org)), located in Jerusalem.

# Waging Nonviolent Action Around The World

(Continued from page 6)

Islamic “just war” theory and argued that the conditions under which it is permissible for Muslims to wage violent conflict are so narrow that it is impossible to find justification for suicide bombings or other forms of excessive use of violence in Islamic teachings. He also stressed the compatibility of nonviolent resistance and Islam and stated that in fact the qualities of discipline and patience were central to both Islam and nonviolent resistance.

A “Gene Sharp award” was presented to Luis Botero of Colombia for his work for peaceful means and to “Martyrs of Nonviolent Resistance



*Professor, AEI Board member, and former AEI Fellow Dr. Mary King reviews Gene Sharp's contribution to the field.*

mittee member responsible for preparing a report based on the committee's findings and assisted the administrators of the conference. Dr. Peter Bourne, Dr. Bishara Awad, and Jamila Raqib presented a summary of the report to participants before the conference adjournment.

The Holy Land Trust is preparing for sale a DVD of the full conference proceedings (except the workshops). Enquiries should be directed to Nonviolence International ([www.nonviolenceinternational.net](http://www.nonviolenceinternational.net)) and the Holy Land Trust ([www.holylandtrust.org](http://www.holylandtrust.org)).



*Gene Sharp speaks on the nature and potential of nonviolent struggle. Photo credit: D. Lynch*

Against the Wall.” Prior to that presentation, Einstein Institution Board member Dr. Mary King provided the audience with an overview of many of Gene Sharp's achievements in the field.

A planning committee of participants in the conference met several times to evaluate the conference and to make recommendations for a possible future conference. Jamila Raqib was the com-



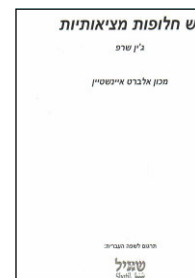
*Jamila Raqib and Dr. Peter Bourne present the report of the planning committee. Photo credit: D. Lynch*

## Meeting with Israeli Organizations and Civil Society Groups

On December 26, 2005, Gene Sharp and Jamila Raqib met with staff from the Israeli organization Shatil and participated in the concluding session of the Shatil-organized seminar *Strategies for Non-Violent Struggle*. The primary goal of the conference was to bring together organizations who are working toward finding a fair and just agreement between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. Eighteen organizations were represented including *Machsom Watch* (Check-point Watch), *Physicians for Human Rights*, *Bnai Avram* (Sons of Abraham) which provides tours to Hebron

for Israelis to bring to life the struggles of its residents, and *The Fifth Mother*, a peace organization trying to illustrate the consequences of the current positioning of the controversial separation wall.

Participant feedback was overwhelmingly positive, and the group plans to meet every few weeks to examine case studies and techniques for nonviolent social change, thereby enriching the activities of participating organizations and sharing in goals and plans for activities.



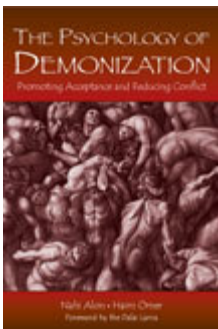
The Hebrew translation of *There Are Realistic Alternatives* was prepared by Shatil.



# Jerusalem Meetings

## Meetings with key individuals involved with Gaza withdrawal

The series of meetings that the Albert Einstein Institution participated in were organized and coordinated by Dr. Nahi Alon and staff from the Israeli organization Shatil. Shatil, part of the New Israel Fund, is committed to strengthening civil society within Israel, among Israel's Arab citizens, and in regards to the Palestinian Territories. As part of this mission, Shatil counsels other social change organizations.



Dr. Alon, a clinical psychologist and his colleague Dr. Haim Omer, professor of psychology at Tel Aviv University, are experts in “conflict management” and are the authors of a recently published book titled *The Psy-*

*chology of Demonization: Promoting Acceptance and Reducing Conflict* (Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2006). The book discusses the concept of “demonization”, the projection of negative and destructive qualities onto others, and its detrimental psychological impact on relationships, and personal and family conflicts.

Dr. Omer also authored an earlier book called *Non-violent Resistance: Coaching for Parents of Violent and Self-destructive Children* (Cambridge University Press, 2004) that presents an adaptation of the strategies of nonviolent action (especially as systematized by Gene Sharp) to the family situation. His additional work includes research on the use of non-violent resistance in the treatment of battered women and in countering school violence.

In their new book, originally published in Hebrew and which includes a forward by the Dalai Lama, both Dr. Omer and Dr. Alon back the approach presented by Gene Sharp as applied to the family con-

text. Through the systematic research presented in the book, they show that the adoption of this approach results in a sharp decrease in both parental and child violence.

In the year prior to the Gaza withdrawal in which 21 settlements and approximately 8,500 settlers were evacuated from the Gaza Strip, Omer and Alon conducted extensive sessions with both the settlers and their supporters, and the Israeli Defense Forces and police with funding from the New Israel Fund and Shatil. A decision was made to isolate talks with each group, and Dr. Alon met primarily with the settler groups and others who opposed the withdrawal, while Dr. Omer focused on members of the military and police, including both high-ranking representatives as well as field officers. In an introductory correspondence with the Albert Einstein Institution, Dr. Omer and Dr. Alon stated the following:

*“Recently, we have become engaged in attempts to form a coalition of non-violent activists to present alternatives to present normative attitudes in Israeli society. Living in a violence stricken region, it is crucial for us to be able to present such alternatives to various sectors of Israeli society. We would like to be in contact with the Albert Einstein Institution, both to draw inspiration and knowledge from your work, and also to share our experience and contributions. In this area, we would like to underline, that our contributions to non-violent action in the intimate family field are probably a new addition to the field.”*

Both the settler groups, and the military and police, aimed to influence the events leading to and execution of the government's withdrawal plan. The settlers and others who opposed the withdrawal worked to build grassroots support for their cause and called for disobedience to the withdrawal by both members of their own communities, as well as the police and military, in order to prevent their evacuation from the settlements in Gaza.

In addition to preventing the Gaza evacuation, the settlers wanted to ensure that there would be no future withdrawals from Israeli occupied territories in the West Bank.

Although the avoidance of the use of violence by the settlers was motivated primarily by a desire to not use violence against fellow Jews, also prevalent was a strong belief that, through government, popular, or divine intervention, the settlements would be preserved and they would eventually be saved before the implementation of the withdrawal. During the talks, the settler leaders showed a clear willingness to explore the potential of nonviolent action in resisting the government's plan, and already had significant knowledge of other nonviolent struggle movements, including the American civil rights movement.

The military and police responsible for the implementation of the evacuation of the settlements sought to prevent an escalation of the conflict that was likely to result from the use of violence by either the settlers, or the military and police. Dr. Alon stated that this was “a major concession by the state authority, which has the power even to be brutal.” The military also regarded the potential of mass refusal to serve by the soldiers and police as dangerous to the success of the mission and wanted to ensure that soldiers and police would obey orders, even if they disagreed with the mission.

Brigadier General Gershon Hacohen, the Israeli Defense Forces general who headed the military component of the Gaza withdrawal and evacuation of 21 settlements and approximately 8,500 settlers, stated that “there was a real danger of a violent rebellion and bloodshed in Gush Katif (a bloc of Israeli settlements in the Gaza Strip). What helped avoid violence was the way we operated with a large force, and the unique method of operation that we developed for this sensitive context. There



# Jerusalem Meetings

was an event here that had the potential for developing into a civil war.”

The motto that the Israeli military coined for the operation, which required careful operational planning and emotional preparation, was “sensitivity and determination”. The thinking among the military was that, as General Hacoheh stated, the settlers were regarded as “not criminals that you confront on a routine mission”. In response to calls by leaders to soldiers to refuse to serve and carry out orders to participate in the evacuation, the army made efforts to counter any mass refusal by soldiers, including identifying units with increased potential for disobedience and allowing them less direct contact with evacuees.

The completely unprecedented planning on the part of the military and police in developing the withdrawal plan was outlined to us by representatives of both groups.

Raffi Lev, Head of the Behavioral Sciences Department of the Israeli Police, and a colleague presented a summary of the activity of the Israeli police force’s Information and Behavior Department concerning the application of its disengagement plan.

The assumptions on which the planning of the police was based as outlined to us were as follows:

- The Israeli Police force will be at the center of a complex conflict and will be responsible for the execution of a sensitive mission.
- The implementation of the withdrawal will be the focus of significant media attention.
- The implementation of the withdrawal requires the deployment of a large military and police forces and close organizational and administrative cooperation between the forces.

- Mental preparation of the Israeli police force for the mission is an integral part of the planning process.
- Special focus on police with varying degrees of experience with missions in the Palestinian territories and who may even so be deployed, increasing the chance of errors.

Mental readiness of the police involved consideration of three areas of psychological preparation:

- Providing of knowledge, information about orders, procedures, etc.
- Consciousness- coping with dilemmas and challenges.
- Shaping of behavior-skills and guidelines for resolving dilemmas.

Effective solutions were prescribed in response to anticipated challenges, including provocation from demonstrators, issues dealing with women and children, demonstrators who physically injure fellow police, escalation, loss of control and riots, police fear for personal safety, and a clash of beliefs and values.

From the perspective of the Israeli Defense Forces and Police, the evacuation was executed successfully. The army’s superb planning and preparation contributed to the efficient and mostly nonviolent (one Palestinian was killed by a West Bank settler who opened fire on a bus) implementation of the withdrawal. Polls indicated overwhelming public approval of the performance of the security forces, even among those who opposed the disengagement.

The question remains: was this situation unique or are there lessons that can be applied in another context. We asked Raffi Lev this question. He replied that the knowledge of public demonstrations was internal, and that he and his colleagues “learned from the problematic response to the October 2000 riots [in which 13 Israeli-Arab citizens were killed by the severe and disproportional response

of Israeli police].” He added, “we have always tried to convince the army that various approaches should be explored.”

After the withdrawal, in a 16 September 2005 interview with Haaretz, the Israeli daily, General Hacoheh was asked whether a similar operation could be repeated in future withdrawals from West Bank settlements. He replied: “in political logic, yes. In systematic logic, no. An understanding of the nature of the campaign says that everything is unique to the context at hand. A different context will demand a different construct. Therefore anyone who moves this operation to another place will fail.”

When asked whether there was a wider relevance to the thinking that was applied to the Gaza withdrawal in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Dr. Omer stated that the initiative must be a Palestinian one, and that Israelis could not advise Palestinians on an approach, nor could Israelis take up a struggle on their behalf. However, he added, “our aspiration is that lessons on non-violence will ultimately be disseminated in wider circles. It’s like a farmer who plants seeds. If the IDF (Israeli Defense Forces) starts to think in terms of non-violent struggles, the same idea could work in dealings with the Palestinians.”

Dr. Omer and Dr. Alon also recently reported that they will shortly develop a university graduate course on ‘constructive fighting’ and have reached an agreement with the Yitzhak Rabin Center to establish another educational program for senior officials and commanders in the Israeli Defense Forces.

# The Albert Einstein Institution Meets With Rabbi Pinchas Wallerstein

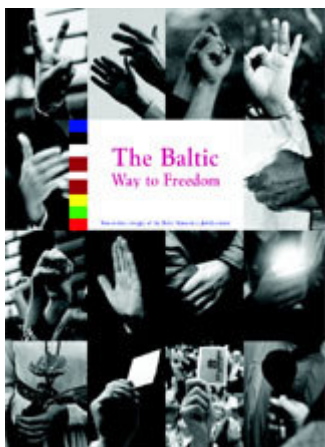
During the Einstein Institution's trip to the Middle East, Gene Sharp and Jamila Raqib met with Rabbi Pinchas Wallerstein, a prominent settler leader, head of Binyamin Regional Council in Samaria, and former leader of the Yesha Settlers' Council, an umbrella group representing residents of settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Wallerstein played a key role in advocating nonviolent action against Israel and its army to oppose the Israeli withdrawal from Gaza, as well as possible future evacuations of settlers from the occupied territories.

Gene Sharp asked Rabbi Wallerstein why the settlers decided to use nonviolent action to conduct their struggle. He explained

that the sentiment common among both the settler movement and the Israeli public is that they belong to groups that must co-exist, and would therefore prefer to avoid the use of violence. Also, their involvement in Israeli life and society, including the army, presents a major deterrence to violent confrontation. When asked about the potential use of nonviolent struggle to protest or stop future withdrawal from Israeli settlements in the Palestinian territories, Rabi Wallerstein answered that the youth will likely become more extreme than they were during the Gaza disengagement, which may include an increased willingness to use violence

## Latvia Celebrates 15 Years of Freedom

In March 2005, Latvia celebrated its 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary since its independence from Soviet occupation on August 21, 1991. Gene



Sharp was invited to deliver a speech for that occasion and participate in the ceremony in Latvia, where his ideas, and in particular his book *Civilian-Based Defense: A Post Military Weapons System* (1990), helped to end the long Soviet dominion over Latvia. He was also asked to write a chapter in a book *The Baltic Way to Freedom*, that examines the Baltic republics' path to freedom from 1988-1991. The English edition of the book was released

*The Baltic Way to Freedom* is the translation of *Baltijas brīvības ceļš*, which was published in May 2005 in Latvian, by the publishing house Zelta Grauds. The three-year period covered in the book includes the 1988 formation of the Latvian People's Front (Latvijas Tautas Fronte) as well as the August 1991 events that led to the breakup of the Soviet Union. Copies of the book will be presented to embassies in Latvia as well as to the national libraries of their home countries. A Russian version of the book is to be published next year.

Gene Sharp last visited Latvia in May 1995, with then Einstein Institution Board Chair Elizabeth Defeis and former AEI Executive Director Bruce Jenkins. The purpose of the trip was to participate in a conference titled "From Nonviolent Liberation to Tolerance: The Development of Civil Society in Eastern Central Europe". During the trip, they also met with senior Baltic officials in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

on December 8, 2005.

## Venezuela

In March 2005, the Albert Einstein Institution hosted a strategy workshop for Venezuelan nonviolent activists. The workshop was held in Boston. The sessions included such topics as consensual vision of tomorrow, review of monolithic and pluralistic models of power, sources of power, managing a nonviolent movement and completion of a strategic estimate using a strategic estimate workbook. Assisting in the workshop were two former leaders in the Serbian nonviolent struggle group OTPOR (Resistance), Slobodan Dinovic and Ivan Marovic. Funding for the workshop was provided by the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict.

## Burma

Recently in Burma, several people were sentenced to seven years of imprisonment each by the military dictatorship for the mere possession of the banned translation of *From Dictatorship to Democracy*. The original Burmese edition was published in 1993, and appears to be still circulating.

# Eritrea

The Eritrean Movement for Democracy and Human Rights (EMDHR) is a nonprofit organization founded by Eritrean students and exiles in South Africa. The group promotes nonviolent action among Eritreans, and has been developing a manual on nonviolent struggle that draws heavily on Gene Sharp's writings, and that has been translated into their local language, Tigrigna. The booklet is similar to one produced by Serbian activists who later became OTPOR (Resistance), the group responsible for leading the struggle to overthrow Slobodan Milosevic. It is planned that the booklet will be distributed among Eritreans residing in South Africa and abroad.

EMDHR states on their blog (<http://emdhr.civiblog.org/blog>):

"The manual intends to empower the Eritrean people to overcome their fear and habit of obedience in such a way that they would be able to protest non-violently and effectively against violations of human rights by a government or any group."

The group has also posted a report concerning recent workshops that it conducted in four South African cities on February 4-5, 2006 on its blog. EMDHR plans on acknowledging the role of the Albert Einstein Institution publications in the preface of their manual.

## AEI in the News

### U.S. Press

- *War by Other Means*  
Boston Globe, May 29, 2005.
- *Opposition Exiles Train in "Non-Violent" Tactics*  
The Financial Times, June 16, 2005.
- *Nonviolence: A Powerful Force*  
Laconia Daily Sun article, February 20, 2006.
- *Russia: Radicalized Youth on the Rise*  
Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, April 14, 2005  
<http://www.rferl.org/>
- *The Velvet Revolution*  
Harper's Magazine, May 2005.

**The article *The Velvet Revolution* in Harper's Magazine lists a number of the methods of nonviolent action and states that the selected methods are "from a list of 198 methods of nonviolent protest appended to *From Dictatorship to Democracy*, a manual by Gene Sharp, a political scientist at the Albert Einstein Institution in Boston. By March 2005, when the government was overthrown, NGOs had distributed 5,000 copies to the citizens of Kyrgyzstan."**

### French Press

- *Dan l'ombre des « Revolutions Spontanees »* [translation from French : *In the Shadow of « Spontaneous Revolutions »*]  
National Monthly Le Monde Diplomatique, January 2005.
- *In the Backstage of "Velvet Revolutions"* [original title unavailable]  
National daily newspaper "Le Monde" October 16-17, 2005.
- *Soft Revolutions* [translation of "Revolutions Douces"]  
National Weekly "L'Express" January 31, 2005.
- *After Belgrade and Tbilissi, Kiev* [translation of *Kiev, après Belgrade et Tbilissi*]  
National Weekly "Le Point", November 2005.
- *Movies and Video Games Against Tyranny* [translation of *Des Films et Des Jeux Contre La Tyrannie*]  
National Weekly *Courrier International* (article translated from *The New Yorker*) août 5, 2005.
- *Moldova: "Orange Revolution" Won't Pass Here* [translation of *Moldavie: la "Révolution Orange" ne Passera Pas Par La*]  
European online student news "Café Babel" April 2005.
- *Azerbaijan Dreams of an Orange Revolution* [translation of *L'Azerbaïdjan Reve de Révolution Orange*]  
National daily newspaper "Libération" November 5, 2005.

# Publications, Research and Translations

International demand for our work continues to grow, with a number of translations completed and released, and several others in the pipeline. By making available knowledge of the nature of nonviolent struggle, its requirements, and its strategic principles, people facing or anticipating acute conflicts can then evaluate this option and make a choice to use these means, to capitulate, or to use violence. If they choose nonviolent struggle, they will be better able to formulate and wield a wise strategy, increasing the chances of their success.

That our publications are deemed relevant to those seeking nonviolent political change in such diverse social environments reflects the quality of our work in research, publications, translations.

## Khmer translation of *From Dictatorship to Democracy*

In late 2005, Ung Bun-Ang, a former Cambodian senator and an official of the opposition Sam Rainsy Party, translated "From Dictatorship to Democracy" to Khmer. A print run of 12,000 copies was initiated in December and the book is being sold for a nominal price in Phnom Penh.

## Farsi Translation of *From Dictatorship to Democracy*

The Farsi translation of *From Dictatorship to Democracy* was released in January 2004 and placed on the Einstein Institution website for download. The translation was also subsequently featured on several Iranian pro-democracy websites and blogs. Since then, this edition of *From Dictatorship to Democracy* remains one of our most popular downloads, and is accessed on average 200-300 times monthly.

An individual whose website features the translated booklet recently reported the following:



to see the effect someday..."

"The authorities decided to censor this book so no one could print it. I've uploaded a PDF copy to our NGO's site and more than 10,000 copies of it [are] being download[ed]. Wish

## Literature for Chinese Activists

In March 2005, the Chinese translation of *From Dictatorship to Democracy* was completed and made available on our website for download.

In the new Chinese edition of *Breaking the Real Axis of Evil*, by Mark Palmer, the author refers to the Chinese translation of *From Dictatorship to Democracy* as a useful tool for Chinese activists and mentions that it is available from the Einstein Institution website.

An AEI contact who closely follows the pro-democracy movement in China reported the following:

"The Chinese democracy forces still lack coordination and leadership in their efforts. Against a ferocious authoritarian regime, they seem weak and fractionalized. These two books (Chinese editions of *From Dictatorship to Democracy* and *Breaking the Real Axis of Evil*) will help the Chinese activists in strengthening their resolve, realizing the importance of having a unified agenda and leadership, and provide valuable experience from others who have gone before them in their struggle for democracy."

## Russian Translation of *From Dictator-*

## *ship to Democracy*

The organization Moscow: Free Choice published *From Dictatorship to Democracy* in Russian in June 2005.

The book's first print run was 1,500 copies – and more will likely be printed in the coming months, and was distributed by the Moscow: Free Choice and OBO-RONA movements, as well as by the publisher (Novoe Izdatelstvo) through book shops.

Governments that are dictatorial do not welcome the availability of literature on nonviolent action. Accordingly, in Moscow during a raid by the FSB (successor to the KGB) on a print shop printing the fifth translation of the banned Russian edition of *From Dictatorship to Democracy*, a FSB agent described the booklet as "a bomb". As reported on Jun 14, 2005:

"While the publication was being printed at one of the state printing houses, an FSB (Federal Security Service, successor of the KGB) officer visited the printing house, examined the book and demanded that the printing should be stopped immediately. 'This is a bomb', he said referring to the book. However, the publisher managed to find another (private) printing house outside Moscow where we faced no problems.

"There has been no official reaction on the book, nor do we know of any pressure on the publisher of the shops that were selling the translation. However, an alarming coincidence took place soon after the presentation of the book on June 14 [2005]. Two book shops, which were the main partners of the publisher and have been selling most of the FDTD [From Dictatorship to Democracy] copies, burned one after another.

"Bilingua, which was both a well-known book shop and a cafe, went on fire on July 9 [2005] night. According to officials, a short circuit caused the fire, which destroyed the shop with all the books.

"Falanster, another book shop selling mostly "unofficial" and opposition litera-

# Publications, Research and Translations

ture, was set on fire by unknown people on July 22 [2005] night. A grenade or a Molotov's cocktail has been thrown into the shop's window causing an explosion and a fire. All of the books that were on the shelves at the moment were damaged. A half-burned copy of FDTD [From Dictatorship to Democracy] from Falanster lies on my book shelf now”.

You may view an electronic copy of the book at [www.msv.org.ru/fdtd.pdf](http://www.msv.org.ru/fdtd.pdf), and the cover image at [www.kozlovsky.ru/sharp-cover-small.gif](http://www.kozlovsky.ru/sharp-cover-small.gif).



*Bilingua burning*

## Additional Translations of Einstein Institution Material

The following addition translations have been completed and released (or will shortly be released).

- Belarusian translation of *From Dictatorship to Democracy*
- Dhivehi (Maldives) translation of *From Dictatorship to Democracy*
- Chinese translation of *From Dictatorship to Democracy*
- French translation of *From Dictatorship to Democracy*
- Hebrew translation of *There Are Realistic Alternatives*
- Kyrgyz translation of *From Dictatorship to Democracy*
- Nepali translation of *From Dictatorship to Democracy*
- Russian translation of *From Dictatorship to Democracy*
- Tibetan translation of *From Dictatorship to Democracy*
- Tigrigna (Eritrea) translation of *From Dictatorship to Democracy*
- Uzbek translation of *From Dictatorship to Democracy*

Nearly all of these translations are available on our website ([www.aeinstein.org](http://www.aeinstein.org)) for free download.

## Recent Book by Former Einstein Fellow Kurt Schock



*Unarmed Insurrections: People Power Movements in Nondemocracies.* By Kurt Schock. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004. Pp. 224. \$59.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

In his 2004 book, Rutgers sociologist and former Albert Einstein Institution Fellow Kurt Schock explores the dynamics of nonviolent struggle and maintains that the struggles of social movements in the global south in recent decades have

shifted from the predominant use of violence to nonviolent methods as a means of resistance to governments.

Schock analyses “people’s power” movements in six countries, South Africa, Philippines, Burma, China, Nepal and Thailand, though he states that there were 31 predominantly nonviolent rebellions in the Second and Third Worlds from 1978 to 2001, starting with the Iranian revolution of 1978-79. In 23 of those revolts, the result was regime change.

Though his research shows that with the exception of very few, these nonviolent struggles have been largely improvised, Schock emphasizes the importance of both structure and strategy in a social change movement. Also important is his assertion that nonviolent struggle is a pragmatic choice, and not defined merely by a principled rejection of violence.



## Other AEI Projects

Also in production are the following book projects:

- *Power, Conflict, and Alternatives: A Technical Dictionary*, in final preparation by Gene Sharp, aims to resolve the terminological problems of nonviolent alternatives and tangential phenomena. It includes terms associated with nonviolent struggle as well as terms from violent conflict, oppression, dictatorship, principled nonviolence, political violence, repression, strategy, and other relevant concepts in political theory and sociological analysis. The current draft contains over 600 terms, and is based on several decades of studies. Completion is expected in October 2006.
- Short booklet: *Power*
- Short booklet: *Principled Nonviolence: Types and Issues*

## AEI Speaking Engagements

### *Harvard Program on Negotiation*

On October 25, 2005, Dr. Sharp participated in an “informal dialogue” at Harvard Law School with negotiation expert Dr. William Ury. The talk was titled “The Intersection of Negotiation and Nonviolent Action: A Conversation with Dr. Gene Sharp and Dr. William Ury,” and was moderated by Dr. Susan Hackley, managing director of the Program on Negotiation.

The forum focused on the strengths and challenges of both approaches to conflict, as well as the contradictions and connections between them. The forum began with introductory remarks by Dr. Sharp and Dr. Ury and included time for a broader discussion with the audience. A webcast of the event can be viewed on the Harvard Program on Negotiation website [www.pon.harvard.edu](http://www.pon.harvard.edu).

### *United Nations Association of Greater Boston*

On December 1, 2005, the United Nations Association of Greater Boston hosted a discussion titled “Should Force be used to Protect Human Rights”. The discussion was part of their *The People Speak forum*, which seeks to promote citizen dialogue about issues of global importance. The panel also included Larry Finklestein, and was moderated by Ambassador Charles Dunbar.

## Reviews of new book by Gene Sharp

### • Harvard International Review

The Summer 2005 edition of the [Harvard International Review](#) presents a review of *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential* by Jeremy Jones. (Summer 2005, vol. XXVII, no. 2)

### • Journal of Military and Strategic Studies (Canada)

The Fall 2005 issue of the journal featured a review of *Waging Nonviolent Struggle*, by James Keeley. (Fall 2005, Vol. 8, Issue 1)

Other reviews have appeared in publications including Midwest Book Review, [Peaceworker](#), Ahimsa Nonviolence, Peace Magazine, The Nonviolent Activist, [ecapc.org](http://ecapc.org) (Every Church a Peace Church), and Peacework Magazine.

Links to the full texts of these reviews can be found on the website for the book, [www.wagingnonviolentstruggle.com](http://www.wagingnonviolentstruggle.com).

## Miscellaneous

Gene Sharp was interviewed for a new short film on Gandhi titled *The Legacy of the Mahatma*.

In November, we were notified by Porter Sargent Publishers that they had just completed the **eighth printing** of *The Methods of Nonviolent Action*, Part Two of Gene Sharp's 1973 three volume *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*. *The Methods of Nonviolent Action* is a detailed examination of 198 specific methods of the technique — illustrated with actual cases — within the broad classes of nonviolent protest and persuasion, non-cooperation (social, economic and political) and nonviolent intervention.

Aketarak, a musical group from New York City recently built a song around a 1983 lecture given by Gene Sharp at Whittier College in Whittier, CA. The song “**After Mathematics**” can be heard on their website at [www.aketarak.com/music](http://www.aketarak.com/music)

## A Word of Thanks

We wish to extend a special thanks to the Board of Directors of the Albert Einstein Institution, and to all of AEI's supporters, the staff and members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, in particular Carol Bragg, Janet Chisholm, and Pat Clark, and to the volunteers who helped produce this newsletter, including Arthur Edelstein, John Thuneby, and Barry Zellen, and to Damon Lynch whose photographs are featured in this newsletter.