

A GUIDE TO TRANSLATING TEXTS

ON NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE¹

The need for translations

Although nonviolent struggle has been widely practiced in improvised forms, and has produced significant successes, it has remained little known. Knowledge of how to wield it effectively has been highly limited and solid literature about its operation has been unavailable in most languages.

We know from experience that improved understanding of nonviolent struggle gained from published studies can be very helpful to groups that are considering using this technique or are preparing to apply it in a future conflict.

Knowledge of the nature and use of nonviolent struggle is power potential. Knowledge of how to act, how to organize, and how skillfully to transform their power potential into effective power can enable even previously weak people to participate in the determination of their own lives and society.

Without knowledge of nonviolent struggle, however, it is unlikely that this technique will be chosen instead of violence. If it is applied without much knowledge, the chances of it being successful are greatly reduced.

Various important studies on nonviolent struggle have been published in recent years. Sometimes individuals with English language skills whose people face severe conflicts have found that the insights in this newer literature in English can be very helpful. Some of these people have therefore recommended that certain publications be translated into their own language.

The quality and clarity of those translations will often determine whether the concepts and phenomena discussed in an English language text are accurately conveyed and understood by readers of the translated text. Accurate and understandable translations enable readers to understand correctly the information, conceptions, and analyses conveyed by the original writer. On the other hand, inaccurate translations can have disastrous consequences. This is especially true in this field because it has been so inadequately known and often confused with other phenomena. Therefore, it is important to offer some guidelines to assist the preparation and conduct of future translations of writings about nonviolent struggle.

The following tasks and steps in these translations will be explained in more detail shortly.

¹ This guide to preparing translations of English language texts on nonviolent struggle is issued by the Albert Einstein Institution, 427 Newbury Street, Boston, Massachusetts, 02115-4882. Tel. (617) 247-4882. Fax. (617) 247 4035. e-mail: einstein@igc.org Web: www.aeinstein.org This guide also appears in Gene Sharp, *Waging Nonviolent Struggle*, Boston, Massachusetts, Porter Sargent, 2004.

This guide draws heavily on the experience and insights of Bruce Jenkins, Jamila Raqib, and Hardy Merriman of the Albert Einstein Institution.

Steps in preparing for a translation

1. Select a suitable text for translation, keeping in mind the situation for which it is needed and the available resources for making and disseminating the translation.
2. Determine whether permission is required to make and distribute a translation, and if so secure such permission. Whenever possible, notify the author before beginning the translation.
3. Anticipate how to publish and disseminate the final translation.
4. Ensure that no alterations to the text are made during the translation.
5. Consider issues with terminology. Make sure that the terminology used in the translation conveys the original meaning of the text.
6. Assemble the translation team. Select competent persons to be the project manager, translator, and evaluator.
7. Prepare contracts, if desired.
8. Be prepared for problems in the work and be determined to overcome them.
9. Proceed with the translation, evaluations, and revisions.
10. Publish and disseminate the translation.

Step 1: Select a suitable text for translation, keeping in mind the situation for which it is needed and the available resources for making and disseminating the translation

The choice of which publication to translate and publish should be done after careful evaluation. Serious errors in this choice can be made if one is not careful.

Sometimes in the past, the initial selection of the text to be translated has been made simply on the basis that an English language publication has been well known. However, the selected book may have a broad focus, be extremely long and difficult to translate, and/or not be especially relevant to the specific situation. The translation and publication of an excessively long book might require so much time to translate that it is never finished or is completed and published only long after the political crisis that aroused the interest in nonviolent struggle has ended. However, translation of an extremely lengthy book that is a classic in the field can be fully justified if there is no time urgency and if sufficient resources and institutional sponsorship are available.

The possibility of translating a much shorter and simpler publication that is focused on the type of problem that is being faced should always be seriously considered. The translation can be more rapid, less expensive to make, cheaper to print, easier to distribute, and more likely to be read.

Step 2: Determine whether permission is required, and if so secure such permission. Notify the author whenever possible.

Individuals and groups wishing to translate specific literature on nonviolent struggle are advised to contact the original author, or publisher, before starting the translation. In order to prevent alterations of the text, the publication may already be copyrighted, and therefore translation and publication rights may require permission of the author or publisher. Also, in some cases, advance checking will avoid duplication of efforts. Perhaps the text has already been translated or a translation is already in an advanced stage of preparation.

Step 3: Anticipate how to publish and disseminate the final translation

Quality translations require a great deal of time, knowledge, and skill. The time that the preparation of a translation requires depends on the original text, its length, the density and difficulty of the writing, the time available for the work by the translator and evaluator, and their working habits and ability to concentrate on the work, despite pressures and distractions. Skilled supervision can shorten the time required for a completed translation.

Early in the work, planning is required for publication and dissemination of the translation. This may be possible within the given country with little or no difficulties. Options for publishing include pamphlets, books, cassettes, radio broadcasts, or placement on web sites. Dissemination may be possible even under repressive conditions, just as illegal publications were possible in the

Netherlands and Norway during the Second World War and in the Soviet Union while repression was severe.

In some of the most severe cases it may be necessary to print the publication in another country, or to put it on a foreign web site. At times it may be possible to find creative ways to get the publication printed externally and then transported and distributed inside the country for which it is intended. All these efforts may require additional financial support. Under severe repression, the resistance groups will often lack sufficient funds to pay the costs of printing when that is possible, and external financial assistance may be helpful.

Early anticipation of the usefulness of a specific translation and prompt action to make it available can help to avoid experiences like the one a mid-level leader of the Tiananmen Square protest had. Years later, after reading a new publication in English on nonviolent struggle against dictatorships, he said, "Why didn't we know this in 1989?"

Sometimes preparation of translations can be conducted by exiles and external allies. Dissidents and resisters inside the country are often preoccupied with their immediate situations. Translations, whether prepared inside the country or externally, may then be made available to people living in the extreme situation.

We know from much experience that even after a good translation has been prepared, for which there is great practical need, sometimes it may be impossible to get it printed without financial assistance to the publisher. Publications on nonviolent struggle are often needed in countries with economic problems, as well as political and social ones, and willing publishers can lack cash reserves to take the financial risk. Well in advance of completion of the translation, someone should have given attention to how the final text is to be printed or otherwise distributed. Often, of course, without a completed translation to offer, both solid financial assistance for printing and firm publication arrangements are impossible to make.

It must be remembered, however, that in the past in very difficult circumstances, resisters have found ways to publish and distribute resistance news and even newspapers without external financial assistance, as in several Nazi-occupied countries.

Step 4: Ensure that no alterations to the text are made

Accuracy in translations requires that no changes be made in the text, neither additions nor deletions. Also, great care must be taken to preserve the exact original meaning of the text.²

Step 5: Consider issues with terminology

² Rarely, however, certain statistics in the original text that have become outdated by the time of the translation of the work may be corrected, provided that permission is secured from the original author or publisher. In no case should wider changes be made to the text, nor should the original text be rearranged.

Quality translations of new literature on nonviolent struggle are very important as the carriers of concepts, knowledge, and insights that have not been previously familiar or easily shared. Careful translations may therefore facilitate consideration of what type of action the group will undertake and also assist in its planning for such action.

No matter the conditions in which translation work is conducted, the translation itself is likely to be difficult. A primary reason for this is because the general phenomenon of waging conflict by means other than violence has rarely been the focus of in-depth study and analysis. That type of exploration requires development of a specialized vocabulary for the field. Careful consideration must be given to how appropriate and important terms and concepts from English literature are to be translated into the new language so that their meanings will be understood accurately by new readers.

The terminology for the important concepts, ideas, and types of action of this technique is rarely, if ever, well-developed in the target language. Prior to the 1950s this was also true in English, in which there have been significant terminological improvements in recent decades.³ Even now, significant room still exists in English for improving the terminology and clarifying the concepts for this field.

Some of the English terms in this field do not translate readily into other languages. Other terms in this technique may be assumed at times to have exact foreign equivalents but those may not actually be accurate. For example, some persons have incorrectly translated the term “nonviolent action” into the target language as the equivalent of “passive resistance” although nonviolent action can be extremely active. Also, “nonviolent action” has often been translated as the equivalent of “nonviolence,” which also is inappropriate because “nonviolence” may be understood to involve ethical, moral, or religious beliefs (when the reality is that nonviolent action has been widely practiced by nonbelievers for pragmatic reasons). The widespread confusion between nonviolent action (or nonviolent struggle) and “nonviolence” is potentially very serious. Those beliefs in “nonviolence” may have their merits, but they are a different phenomenon than pragmatic nonviolent struggle. When the term for nonviolent action is mistranslated in this way, this technique may be summarily rejected by persons and groups that regard themselves as realists. All persons working on translations need to understand these differences very well.

There are additional issues with terminology as well. Direct equivalents for “nonviolent action” and related terms may not already be in standard usage or even exist in the target language. New terms may need to be coined and introduced in some translations. For example, in Burma the term “political defiance” was coined because anything called “nonviolent” had connotations of passivity and naïveté.⁴

³ This development of an improved vocabulary has begun in certain other languages in recent decades, such as in German and French.

⁴ The term was coined by Robert Helvey in Burma in the Karen resistance headquarters at Manerplaw.

In particular, experience has demonstrated that some confusion is especially likely to arise during the translation of the English terms for specific methods of nonviolent action, such as fasts and forms of noncooperation. The confusion arises from efforts to translate the words literally that have been used in English to identify each of the 198 specific methods. (Of course, many additional methods beyond the 198 exist.)

Some of the names of specific methods have been incorporated from earlier literature, such as studies of labor strikes or economic boycotts that identify particular types of these classes of methods. Comparable names for exactly those same specific forms of action may already exist in the target language, and if so they should be used in translations.

However, the names of some other methods in the English text may have been newly coined and make no sense in literal translations. Examples are “lightning strike,” “mill-in,” and “Lysistratic nonaction.” The form of action may have been earlier practiced but an attempt to produce a literal translation of the English term may be fruitless. The translation should then be made from the definition of the form of action (or in other cases from the concept), not from the literal English name.⁵

Step 6: Assemble the translation team

Many people assume that translations of texts on nonviolent struggle from English into whatever language are simply a matter of handing the task to a bilingual person (preferably with translation experience) and accepting the translation provided. That is not true in this case.

Experience also shows that a given text should never be divided up among more than one translator and one evaluator. That can appear to save time but it can easily result in a translation of poor quality, containing different vocabularies, and different writing styles. Costly translations have had to be discarded in the past because of those problems.

The project manager

Quality translations require a great deal of time, knowledge, and skill. Not everyone can prepare a quality translation in this field without considerable orientation and supervision. This means that direction and supervision by a competent project manager are needed. For such a person, not only considerable understanding of nonviolent struggle is required but also previous experience in managing translations, or at least in translating, is highly recommended. Knowledge of at least one additional language other than English and the target language is a great plus, but is not essential, for the

⁵ These problems illustrate that translations of names of methods should never be made from simple lists of methods. Instead, the translator should always consult the definition and description of the specific method that are included in Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action, Part Two, The Methods of Nonviolent Action*, Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973 and later editions.

project manager. The project manager need not be competent in the target language.

The right project manager can greatly assist the successful completion of the translation by helping to select the translator and the evaluator.

The project manager also oversees the exchanges of draft translations and evaluation comments and helps to keep the translation process moving ahead at a reasonable speed.

The translator

Of course, translators (even experienced ones) are not all equally skilled in doing translations for this particular field. Therefore, candidates for the positions of translator and evaluator, who have not worked successfully on translations about nonviolent struggle previously, will need to be tested and evaluated prior to selection. Experience in translating writings on moral or religious nonviolence is definitely not a plus. This is because the focus in those writings has been on beliefs, while the focus on literature on nonviolent struggle is on forms of action in conflicts. The concepts and terminology of the two are different. Failure to reflect this in the translation can lead to confusion and serious problems.

With extremely few exceptions, the translator should always translate into his or her native language. For example, a native-English speaker should not translate a text into Arabic even if the person is fluent. Only a native speaker of the language of the translation, with very few exceptions, can really understand the language's idiosyncrasies and subtleties.

Candidates need to be evaluated on their fluency in both English and the language into which the work will be translated. Candidates may also be evaluated on their general knowledge surrounding the subject area and their understanding of the terms and concepts present in the chosen text.

One way that testing and evaluating of possible translators and evaluators can be done is by having two or three qualified candidates translate into the new language a few relevant pages of the intended text and also about 25-40 key terms as a trial. These key terms should convey concepts in nonviolent action and should also be present in the work to be translated. These test translations are then evaluated and compared by someone who is very competent but unavailable for making the translation itself. This initial sample translation arrangement is additional work for the project director and the candidates but it saves problems later.⁶

The evaluator

An evaluator can be selected by a similar process as the translator that tests the prospective evaluator's skill, both in translating and evaluating a draft

⁶ For a list of potential key terms for translations, see Attachment One of this guide. Some key terms will vary, depending on which text is translated. However, the core concepts of nonviolent action, noncooperation, and various other elements will be relevant to all translations.

translation prepared by another person. The evaluator should be a person who is capable of producing a good translation and who might well have been selected as the initial translator under different circumstances.

The evaluator's primary responsibility is to review thoroughly the draft translation and to provide feedback and criticism for the translator. In addition to general comments, the evaluator may offer identification of specific problems and make recommendations for the translator for changes. The evaluation should be in writing, and this may be supplemented in conversations with the project manager.

Experience indicates that there are advantages to keeping the identities of the translator and evaluator unknown to each other. The translation and the evaluations should be passed through the project manager. At a bare minimum, the translator and the evaluator should not be collaborating directly. The reason for having an evaluator is that that person is independent of the translator, and therefore able to evaluate more objectively the drafts of the proposed translation.

Step 7: Prepare contracts, if desired

In some cases the translation process can be facilitated by formal contracts between the sponsoring body and the translator and the evaluator that cover the preparation and completion of a quality translation of a specified text. The contract provisions should be clear and relevant for the specific task. Contracts may include projected completion dates for parts of the planned translation and evaluation of the draft translation, the responsibility of the translator to consider the evaluator's recommendations, the need to cooperate with the project manager, mention of conditions under which the translator or the evaluator can be terminated, and the intended financial arrangement.

Contracts for translators and evaluators should have clauses that provide financial incentives to encourage both quality and speed of the translation. If the draft translation turns out to be of poor quality or is unduly delayed, financial penalties are appropriate and the contract can be cancelled.

Sometimes, a high quality translator and an evaluator may volunteer to work without financial compensation. Volunteers to prepare the translation and to evaluate drafts of it can be extremely helpful provided that the volunteers are skilled, firmly committed to the project, and able to act without undue delays.

Experience has shown that the financial cost of securing a good translation of the same text differs widely by language, the situation, and the individuals concerned.

Step 8: Be prepared for problems in the work and determined to overcome them

Step 9: Proceed with the translation, evaluations, and revisions

Once the translator and evaluator are selected, the translation begins. This work is under the general supervision of the project manager.

The translator starts with an initial major section or a chapter of the text.

This draft translation is submitted to the project manager who passes it to the evaluator.

The evaluator reviews this initial translation and presents feedback to the project manager to be passed on to the translator. The project manager then consults with the translator concerning the evaluation. The translator then carefully reviews the evaluation. The translator should seriously consider the evaluator's suggestions and incorporate those proposed changes that are accepted as valid, and discuss the evaluation with the project manager.

If major problems exist between the translator's initial translation and the evaluator's report, and these cannot be resolved with the aid of the project manager, then either the translator or the evaluator may be replaced, depending upon the judgment of the project manager. If this was to be a paid translation, the terminated translator or evaluator may be given a fair and modest payment for the past effort. A new person will then be sought for the task. If minor problems exist, the translator proceeds with the full translation of the text, keeping in mind the comments of the evaluator. In the case of such minor disagreements the translator's determination will stand.

If available, the author of the English text may at times provide needed clarification and/or suggestions during the translation project.

Once the entire text is translated, the evaluator reviews the full text in the new language and gives additional feedback for the translator to the project manager.

Once the translator has considered this feedback and made any necessary changes, the final version of the text is complete and the translated article or book is considered to be final and ready to be printed or otherwise distributed.

Step 10: Publish and disseminate the translation

After the translation has been put into the final form, it is ready for publication in any of the various forms that were mentioned in Step 3. Dissemination is the next step.

Congratulations

High quality translations can be very important in contributing to effective practice of nonviolent struggles. They merit our attention and assistance. The preparation of a quality translation makes this possible.

Attachment One

POTENTIAL KEY TERMS FOR TRANSLATIONS⁷

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|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Accommodation | 22. Nonviolent protest and persuasion |
| 2. Authority | 23. Nonviolent struggle |
| 3. Boycott | 24. Nonviolent weapons |
| 4. Civil disobedience | 25. Obedience |
| 5. Civilian struggle | 26. Opponents |
| 6. Coup d'état | 27. Pillars of support |
| 7. Dictatorship | 28. Political defiance |
| 8. Dynamics (of nonviolent action) | 29. Political ju-jitsu |
| 9. Disintegration | 30. Political noncooperation |
| 10. Failure | 31. Political power |
| 11. Fast | 32. Resistance movement |
| 12. Freedom (political) | 33. Sanctions |
| 13. Grand strategy | 34. Self-reliance |
| 14. Legitimacy | 35. Sources of power |
| 15. Mechanisms of change | 36. Strategic nonviolent struggle |
| 16. Methods | 37. Strategic plan |
| 17. Noncooperation | 38. Strategy |
| 18. Nonviolent action | 39. Strike |
| 19. Nonviolent coercion | 40. Success |
| 20. Nonviolence (religious, etc.) | 41. Tactic |
| 21. Nonviolent intervention | 42. Violence |

⁷ For definitions of these key terms, see Attachment Two: Glossary of Important Terms in Nonviolent Struggle.

Attachment Two

GLOSSARY OF IMPORTANT TERMS IN NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE by Gene Sharp

ACCOMMODATION: A mechanism of change in nonviolent action in which the opponents resolve, while they still have a choice, to agree to a compromise and grant certain demands of the nonviolent resisters. Accommodation occurs when the opponents have neither changed their views nor been nonviolently coerced, but have concluded that a compromise settlement is desirable.

The accommodation may result from influences which, if continued, might have led to the conversion, nonviolent coercion, or disintegration of the opponents' system or regime.

AUTHORITY: The quality which leads the judgments, decisions, recommendations, and orders of certain individuals and institutions to be accepted voluntarily as right and therefore to be implemented by others through obedience or cooperation. Authority is a main source of political power, but is not identical with it.

BOYCOTT: Noncooperation, either socially, economically, or politically.

CIVIC ABSTENTION: A synonym for acts of political noncooperation.

CIVIC ACTION: A synonym for nonviolent action conducted for political purposes.

CIVIC DEFIANCE: Assertive acts of nonviolent protest, resistance or intervention conducted for political purposes.

CIVIC RESISTANCE: A synonym for nonviolent resistance with a political objective.

CIVIC STRIKE: An economic shut-down conducted for political reasons. Not only workers may go on strike, but importantly students, professionals, shopkeepers, white-collar workers (including government employees), and members of upper classes usually participated.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE: A deliberate peaceful violation of particular laws, decrees, regulations, ordinances, military or police orders, and the like.

These are usually laws which are regarded as inherently immoral, unjust, or tyrannical. Sometimes, however, laws of a largely regulatory or morally neutral

character may be disobeyed as a symbol of opposition to wider policies of the government.

CONVERSION: A change of viewpoint by the opponents against whom nonviolent action has been waged, such that they come to believe it is right to accept the objectives of the nonviolent group. This is one of four mechanisms of change in nonviolent action.

DISINTEGRATION: The fourth mechanism of change in nonviolent action, in which the opponents are not simply coerced, but their system or government is disintegrated and falls apart as a result of massive noncooperation and defiance. The sources of power are restricted or severed by the noncooperation to such an extreme degree that the opponents' system or government simply dissolves.

ECONOMIC SHUT-DOWN: A suspension of the economic activities of a city, area, or country on a sufficient scale to produce economic paralysis. The motives are usually political.

This may be achieved with a general strike by workers while management, business, commercial institutions, and small shopkeepers close their establishments and halt their economic activities.

FREEDOM (POLITICAL): A political condition which permits freedom of choice and action for individuals and also for individuals and groups to participate in the decisions and operation of the society and the political system.

GRAND STRATEGY: The broadest conception of how an objective is to be attained in a conflict by a chosen course of action. The grand strategy serves to coordinate and direct all appropriate and available resources (human, political, economic, moral, etc.) of the group to attain its objectives in a conflict.

Several more limited strategies may be applied within a grand strategy to achieve particular objectives in subordinate phases of the overall struggle.

GRIEVANCE GROUP: The general population group whose grievances are issues in the conflict, and are being championed by the nonviolent resisters.

HUMAN RESOURCES: A term that is used here to indicate the number of persons and groups who obey "the ruler" (meaning the ruling group in command of the state), cooperate with, or assist the ruling group in implementing their will. This includes the proportion of such persons and groups in the general population, and the extent, forms, and independence of their organizations.

A ruler's power is affected by the availability of these human resources, which constitute one of the sources of political power.

MATERIAL RESOURCES: This is another source of political power. The term refers to property, natural resources, financial resources, the economic system, means of communication, and modes of transportation. The degree to which the ruler controls, or does not control, these helps to determine the extent or limits of the ruler's power.

MECHANISMS OF CHANGE: The processes by which change is achieved in successful cases of nonviolent struggle. The four mechanisms are conversion, accommodation, nonviolent coercion, and disintegration.

METHODS: The specific means of action within the technique of nonviolent action. Nearly two hundred specific methods have thus far been identified. They are classed under three main classes of nonviolent protest and persuasion, noncooperation (social, economic, and political), and nonviolent intervention.

NONCOOPERATION: A large class of methods of nonviolent action that involve deliberate restriction, discontinuance, or withholding of social, economic, or political cooperation (or a combination of these) with a disapproved person, activity, institution, or regime.

The methods of noncooperation are classified in the subcategories of social noncooperation, economic noncooperation (economic boycotts and labor strikes), and political noncooperation.

NONVIOLENCE (RELIGIOUS OR ETHICAL): Beliefs and behavior of several types in which violent acts are prohibited on religious or ethical grounds. In some belief systems, not only physical violence is barred but also hostile thoughts and words. Certain belief systems additionally enjoin positive attitudes and behavior toward opponents, or even a rejection of the concept of opponents.

Such believers often may participate in nonviolent struggles with people practicing nonviolent struggle for pragmatic reasons, or may choose not to do so.

NONVIOLENT ACTION: A general technique of conducting protest, resistance, and intervention without physical violence.

Such action may be conducted by (a) acts of omission — that is, the participants refuse to perform acts which they usually perform, are expected by custom to perform, or are required by law or regulation to perform; or (b) acts of commission — that is, the participants perform acts which they usually do not perform, are not expected by custom to perform, or are forbidden by law or regulation from performing; or (c) a combination of both.

The technique includes a multitude of specific methods which are grouped into three main classes: nonviolent protest and persuasion, noncooperation, and nonviolent intervention.

NONVIOLENT COERCION: A mechanism of change in nonviolent action in which demands are achieved against the will of the opponents because effective control of the situation has been taken away from them by widespread noncooperation and defiance. However, the opponents still remain in their official positions and the system has not yet disintegrated.

NONVIOLENT INSURRECTION: A popular political uprising against an established regime regarded as oppressive by use of massive noncooperation and defiance.

NONVIOLENT INTERVENTION: A large class of methods of nonviolent action which in a conflict situation directly interfere by nonviolent means with the opponents' activities and operation of their system. These methods are distinguished from both symbolic protests and noncooperation. The disruptive intervention is most often physical (as in a sit-in) but may be psychological, social, economic, or political.

NONVIOLENT PROTEST AND PERSUASION: A large class of methods of nonviolent action which are symbolic acts expressing opposition opinions or attempting persuasion (as vigils, marches or picketing). These acts extend beyond verbal expressions of opinion but stop short of noncooperation (as a strike) and nonviolent intervention (as a sit-in).

NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE: The waging of determined conflict by strong forms of nonviolent action, especially against determined and resourceful opponents who may respond with repression.

NONVIOLENT WEAPONS: The specific methods of nonviolent action.

PILLARS OF SUPPORT: The institutions and sections of the society which supply the existing regime with the needed sources of power to maintain and expand its power capacity.

Examples are the police, prisons, and military forces supplying sanctions, moral and religious leaders supplying authority (legitimacy), labor groups and business and investment groups supplying economic resources, and similarly with the other identified sources of political power.

POLITICAL DEFIANCE: The strategic application of nonviolent struggle in order to disintegrate a dictatorship and to replace it with a democratic system.

This resistance by noncooperation and defiance mobilizes the power of the oppressed population in order to restrict and cut off the sources of the dictatorship's power. Those sources are provided by groups and institutions called "pillars of support."

When political defiance is used successfully, it can make a nation ungovernable by the current or any future dictatorship and therefore able to preserve a democratic system against possible new threats.

POLITICAL JIU-JITSU: A special process that may operate during a nonviolent struggle to change power relationships. In political jiu-jitsu negative reactions to the opponents' violent repression against nonviolent resisters is turned to operate politically against the opponents, weakening their power position and strengthening that of the nonviolent resisters. This can operate only when violent repression is met with continued nonviolent defiance, not violence or surrender. The opponents' repression is then seen in the worst possible light.

Resulting shifts of opinion are likely to occur among third parties, the general grievance group, and even the opponents' usual supporters. Those shifts may produce both withdrawal of support for the opponents and increased support for the nonviolent resisters. The result may be widespread condemnation of the opponents, internal opposition among the opponents, and increased resistance. These changes can at times produce major shifts in power relationships in favor of the nonviolent struggle group.

Political jiu-jitsu does not operate in all cases of nonviolent struggle. When it is absent the shift of power relationships depends highly on the extent of noncooperation.

POLITICAL POWER: The totality of influences and pressures available for use to determine and implement official policies for a society. Political power may be wielded by the institutions of government, or in opposition to the government by dissident groups and organizations. Political power may be directly applied in a conflict, or it may be held as a reserve capacity for possible later use.

SANCTIONS: Punishments or reprisals, violent or nonviolent, imposed either because people have failed to act in the expected or desired manner or imposed because people have acted in an unexpected or prohibited manner.

Nonviolent sanctions are less likely than violent ones to be simple reprisals for disobedience and are more likely to be intended to achieve a given objective. Sanctions are a source of political power.

SELF-RELIANCE: The capacity to manage one's own affairs, make one's own judgments, and provide for oneself, one's group or organization, independence, self-determination, and self-sufficiency.

SKILLS AND KNOWLEDGE: A source of political power. The ruler's power is supported by the skills, knowledge and abilities that are provided by persons and

groups in the society (human resources) and the relation of those available skills, knowledge and abilities to the ruler's needs for them.

SOURCES OF POWER: These are origins of political power. They include: authority, human resources, skills and knowledge, intangible factors, material resources and sanctions. These derive from the society. Each of these sources is closely associated with and dependent upon, the acceptance, cooperation, and obedience of the population and the society's institutions. With strong supply of these sources the ruler will be powerful. As the supply is weakened or severed, the ruler's power will weaken or collapse.

STRATEGIC NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE: Nonviolent struggle that is applied according to a strategic plan that has been prepared on the basis of analysis of the conflict situation, the strengths and weaknesses of the contending groups, the nature, capacities, and requirements of the technique of nonviolent action, and especially strategic principles of that type of struggle. See also: grand strategy, strategy, tactics, and methods.

STRATEGY: A plan for the conduct of a major phase, or campaign, within a grand strategy for the overall conflict. A strategy is the basic idea of how the struggle of a specific campaign shall develop, and how its separate components shall be fitted together to contribute most advantageously to achieve its objectives.

Strategy operates within the scope of the grand strategy. Tactics and specific methods of action are used in smaller scale operations to implement the strategy for a specific campaign.

STRIKE: A deliberate restriction or suspension of work, usually temporarily, to put pressure on employers to achieve an economic objective or sometimes on the government in order to win a political objective.

TACTIC: A limited plan of action based on a conception of how, in a restricted phase of a conflict, to use effectively the available means of action to achieve a specific limited objective. Tactics are intended for use in implementing a wider strategy in a phase of the overall conflict.

VIOLENCE: Physical violence against other human beings which inflicts injury or death, or threatens to inflict such violence, or any act dependent on such infliction or threat.

Some types of religious or ethical nonviolence conceive of violence much more broadly. This narrower definition permits adherents to those beliefs to cooperate with persons and groups that are prepared on pragmatic grounds to practice nonviolent struggle.