

# The Albert Einstein Institution

## BIENNIAL REPORT 1990–1992

### CONTENTS

Mission Statement .....	2
Message from the President .....	3
Civilian-Based Defense Policy Studies .....	5
South Africa Program .....	10
Educational Outreach and Consulting .....	12
Fellows Program .....	17
Program on Nonviolent Sanctions .....	20
Publications .....	23
Grants .....	25
Board of Directors .....	26
Board of Advisors .....	28
Staff .....	28
Financial Statement .....	29

# The Albert Einstein Institution Mission Statement

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**T**he mission of the Albert Einstein Institution is to expand the understanding and use of nonviolent sanctions to advance group interests in conflicts worldwide. Nonviolent sanctions are nonviolent forms of struggle that aim to undermine the opponents' social, economic, political, and military power by withholding or withdrawing the opponents' sources of support.

Over the next five years this mission will be pursued in three ways: first, by encouraging scholarship on nonviolent sanctions, information collection, and analysis by qualified researchers; second, by disseminating the results of this research in books, monographs, articles, and other public media and forums; and third, by interacting with protagonists of existing conflicts in order to share with them practical insights about the applicability of nonviolent sanctions to their specific situations. Such consultation could include both sides in a conflict, or only the side considered more likely to prevent violence and support freedom, justice, and peace.

While other organizations focus on conflict resolution or peace studies, the Institution is at the forefront of the strategic study of nonviolent sanctions as a tool of conflict. This approach is free from religious, ideological, and ethical imperatives. That is what makes the Institution unique and necessary in today's world. The remarkable political and economic gains achieved by nonviolent means in recent years have created a singular opportunity for the Institution to increase further the frequency and scope of nonviolent sanctions in future conflicts.

In furtherance of its mission, the Institution plans to become the center of an international network of researchers, leaders, policy analysts, and citizens interested in alternatives to violence. It intends to fund and conduct definitive scholarship on how nonviolent resistance movements succeed and on how more effective forms might provide realistic policy options in place of violence and war. The Institution will also strive to educate the world about this technique, in order that it may be more effectively deployed in the most difficult conflict situations.

— May 1990

In August 1991, street blockades, massive demonstrations, and noncooperation in the military were dominant factors in defeating an attempted coup in the Soviet Union. Here, a crowd of about 100,000 people march through Red Square in celebration of the coup's defeat.



AP/Wide World Photos

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# Message from the President

*“Our goal is to keep strategic nonviolent conflict at the top of the international agenda.”*

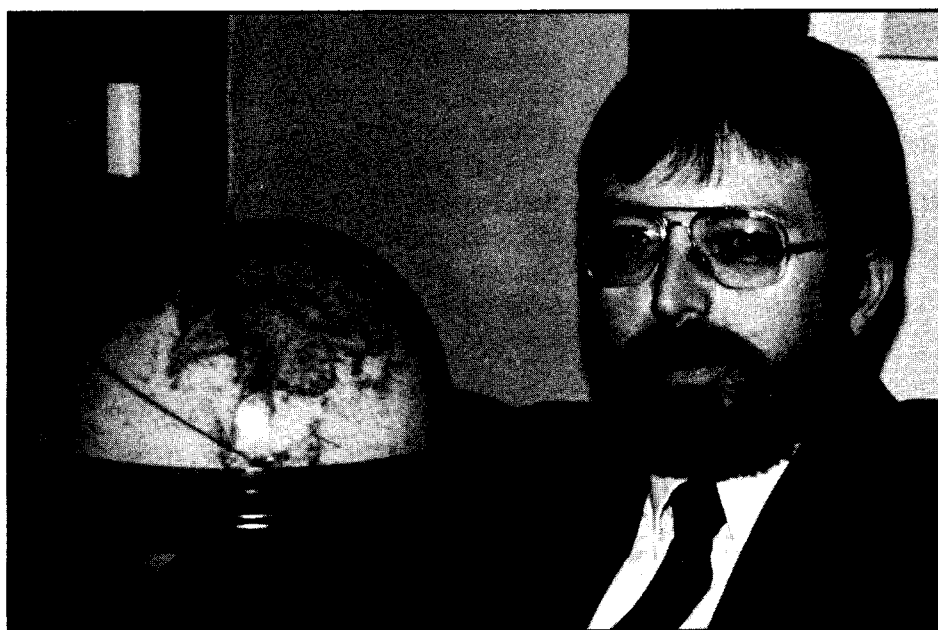
When I left the Harvard Program on Nonviolent Sanctions to become president of the Albert Einstein Institution in March 1991, my colleagues at Harvard gave me a beautiful globe. It stands in my office now as an eloquent reminder of how much the world has changed in some areas, and yet how little it has changed in others.

It shows a Germany still divided and a Soviet Union and a Yugoslavia still intact. It depicts some thirty fewer democracies than our most optimistic observers can now count. And on it Burma is still named Burma, not Myanmar, as the present dictatorship calls it. On the other hand, my globe shows a South Africa marred by so-called homelands, which continue in existence today. The swatch of color separating the Occupied Territories from Israel, not surprisingly, is unidentified. And the borders of the Baltic states appear far more certain than their citizens and leaders know them to be.

What has changed, for certain, is that the Cold War and bipolarism no longer dominate our perspective. Consequently, we live in a time when the need for creative work to redefine our condition and address the most pressing human concerns is at an absolute premium.

One grim reality that has not changed, however, is that the real and present danger of political violence, with all its attendant horrors, persists throughout our world. A fifth of humanity still lives under a brutal communist autocracy, however short-lived it may turn out to be. Efforts to relieve starvation, disease, and disaster are impeded by continuing political and military conflicts. The “new world order,” after the tug-of-war over its content and meaning is through, may or may not provide humanity with a new bulwark against violent oppression. It may turn out to be a long way from the decline of authoritarian

Christopher Kruegler  
President



Roger S. Powers

The revival of nonviolent mass action in South Africa in the 1980s led to significant gains by the anti-apartheid movement. Here, a group of women in downtown Johannesburg rejoice upon hearing President F.W. de Klerk's February 1990 announcement that he had unbanned the African National Congress and would release Nelson Mandela from prison.



***“‘People power’ is now literally a household word. No important conflict in the world can be approached or explained without some attention to the role of nonviolent action.”***

communism to the advent of a global system of capitalism with a human face.

Here at the Albert Einstein Institution, another dramatic change is that we no longer find it necessary to make a case for the relevance of nonviolent methods in conflict. “People power” is now literally a household word. No important conflict in the world can be approached or explained without some attention to the role of nonviolent action.

A harder challenge remains, however. We must learn to speak with far greater clarity and precision than we have until now about the likely power of nonviolent alternatives in ongoing situations of chronic and acute violence. Where victories for democracy and human rights have been achieved, we need, without hesitation, to deepen, safeguard, and institutionalize those gains. Where nonviolent means have been used to restore civil society, those means must be understood, preserved, and entrenched in ways that will empower society to renew, defend, and extend itself.

To participate in this work is both daunting and thrilling. Our programs over the past two years have involved us in national defense debates in the Baltics; exploration of the revival of nonviolent mass action in South Africa; and research, education, and consulting activities in a number of other conflict areas around the world.

Our goal is to keep strategic nonviolent conflict at the top of the international agenda. With your interest and support, I’m confident that we will achieve that goal. As our friend, mentor, and colleague Gene Sharp said in a 1977 lecture that brought many of us into the field, “this is the new realism, rooted in history, building on human potential, charting a course for the reconstruction of human society.”

*Christopher Krueger*

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# Civilian-Based Defense Policy Studies

Over the past two years, the Albert Einstein Institution has received a growing number of requests for assistance from defense policy makers interested in civilian-based defense, the use of prepared nonviolent resistance as a means of national defense. Interest has been especially high in the newly independent Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, where civilian-based defense is receiving serious consideration as a way of meeting both internal and external security threats. To meet the requests of defense planners in these and other countries, the Einstein Institution has concentrated much of its consulting and educational outreach efforts in this area.

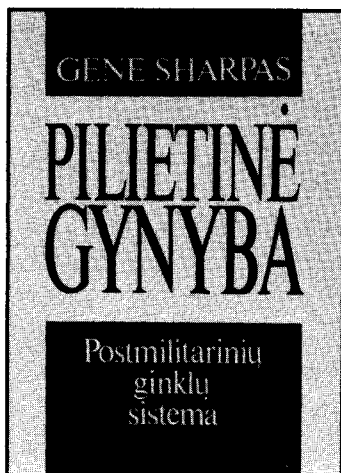
## Sweden (October 1990)

In Stockholm, Sweden an invitation-only conference entitled "Nonmilitary Resistance: Part of a War-Detering Defense?" was jointly sponsored by the Commission on Nonmilitary Resistance of the Swedish Ministry of Defense, the Swedish Institute of International Affairs, and the Royal Military Science Academy. Principal speakers were Roine Carlsson, then minister of defense of Sweden; Gene Sharp, then president of the Albert Einstein Institution; and Raymundas Rayatskas, vice-president of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences. Dr. Sharp presented a paper entitled "A Civilian-Based Resistance Component: A Contribution to both Deterrence and Defense."

Bruce Jenkins (right) of the Albert Einstein Institution greets Bjorn Orward (left) and Styrbjorn Lindow (center) of the Commission on Nonmilitary Resistance, Swedish Ministry of Defense.



Raymundas Rayatskas



Gene Sharp, senior scholar-in-residence of the Albert Einstein Institution, with Audrius Butkevicius, minister of national defense of the Republic of Lithuania.

The conference was attended by nearly 120 representatives of the Swedish Parliament, government departments, social organizations, political parties, research organizations, and the media. Close to one-third of the participants were military officers, including the chief of the Defense Staff. Among the conference participants there appeared to be unanimous support for the further development of nonmilitary resistance as a complement to Sweden's predominantly military defense policy.

### Lithuania (April 1991)

The possibility of a consulting visit to Lithuania first arose in November 1989 when Gene Sharp and his assistant, Bruce Jenkins, met Grazina Miniotaite of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences at a conference in Moscow. Correspondence followed and a number of books on nonviolent action and civilian-based defense were sent to Dr. Miniotaite in Vilnius. In mid-1990, Audrius Butkevicius, director-general of the Department of National Defense, had Gene Sharp's *Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System* translated into Lithuanian for use by government officials. A year and a half later, in December 1991, Defense Minister Butkevicius would credit Dr. Sharp's book as having provided the basis for much of his planning of nonviolent resistance against Soviet troops, first in January 1991 and later in August 1991.



The Einstein Institution's first consulting trip to Lithuania took place from April 24 to May 1, 1991. At the invitation of the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Gene Sharp, Peter Ackerman, and Bruce Jenkins discussed the Institution's research on nonviolent action and civilian-based defense with several audiences: President Vytautas Landsbergis; Defense Minister Butkevicius; representatives of the Lithuanian militia; members of the parliamentary Committee on National Defense and Internal Security; social scientists at the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences; Russian Orthodox Archbishop Khrisostom; and activists of the Lithuanian reform movement *Sajudis*.

Following the visit, at the request of Audrius Butkevicius, the Institution assembled a study guide on civilian-based defense to be used by a team of researchers in the Department of National Defense.

### Russia and the Baltics (November–December 1991)

From November 14 to December 7, 1991, Gene Sharp and Bruce Jenkins visited the capitals of Russia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia to discuss the potential of organized civilian forms of resistance to block attempted coups and foreign invasions. Dr. Sharp's writings on the subject have become well known among certain policy makers in these countries.

In Moscow, the "Living Ring," a citizens' organization born out of the August 1991 anti-coup actions, invited Dr. Sharp to present his findings on civilian forms of anti-coup defense. One of the main goals of the Living Ring was to develop plans to block future coup attempts. In two papers translated into Russian for the visit, Dr. Sharp outlined the basic premise of civilian resistance to coups: through massive noncooperation and the denial of legitimacy, populations can deny coup leaders the social, economic, and political resources needed to consolidate rule.

While in Moscow, Dr. Sharp and Mr. Jenkins also met with three members of the Russian Parliamentary Commission on Investigations of the Circumstances of the Coup d'État, whose mandate was to investigate the attempted August 1991 coup and to make legislative recommendations designed to help prevent future coups.

In Lithuania, the Einstein Institution's consulting team met with Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius, then Deputy Defense Minister Ignas Stankovicius, Vice-President Bronislovas Kuzmickas, and the board of directors of the non-governmental Nonviolent Action Center in Vilnius. Lithuania is likely to adopt a "mix" of military and civilian forms of defense. The republic has established a professional army, but in the event of an attack by a well-armed, clearly superior enemy, Lithuania will probably rely on some form of civilian-based defense.

In Latvia, Dr. Sharp and Mr. Jenkins met with Defense Minister Talavs Jundzis, officials of the Society Security Department, the Supreme Council's Commission of Defense and Home Affairs, and members of the Latvian National Independence Movement. While Latvia has established a two-part military system—a conscription-based "Border Guard" and a volunteer "Home Guard"—Defense Minister Jundzis and other members of the Supreme Council's Commission on Defense and Home Affairs affirmed Latvia's intention to employ organized civilian resistance in the event of a large-scale attack.

In Estonia, Dr. Sharp and Mr. Jenkins met with then Minister of State Raivo Vare (deputy prime minister and acting defense minister), Military Chief of Staff Ants Laaneots, Section Chief of Defense Tomaas Purra, and members of the Defense Commission of the Supreme Council, among others. At that time, Estonians were intensely debating the future role and structure of Estonian military forces. Whereas most officials sought to retain Estonia's system of "Border Guards" and "Home Guards" (National Guard), several defense planners were calling for the establishment of a professional army as well. Estonia is now moving towards establishing a 10,000–13,000 person army. Dr. Sharp and Mr. Jenkins were given strong indications that, in addition to military force, Estonia would employ nonviolent resistance in the event of a large-scale attack.

Following this trip, the Einstein Institution published a new booklet written by Gene Sharp, with the assistance of Bruce Jenkins, entitled *Self-Reliant Defense Without Bankruptcy or War*, which discusses the potential of civilian-based defense for the Baltics, East Central Europe, and members of the Commonwealth of Independent States. In June 1992 the booklet was translated and published in Lithuanian.

## SELF-RELIANT DEFENSE

Without Bankruptcy or War

Considerations for the Baltics, East Central Europe,  
and members of the Commonwealth of Independent States

by Gene Sharp

with the assistance of  
Bruce Jenkins

The Albert Einstein Institution

### **Vilnius Conference on "The Relevance of Civilian-Based Defense for the Baltic States" (June 1992)**

In June 1992, the Albert Einstein Institution and the Ministry of National Defense of the Republic of Lithuania co-sponsored a three-day conference in Vilnius on "The Relevance of Civilian-Based Defense for the Baltic States." It was the first time that defense ministry representatives from four different countries—Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Sweden—came together to consider the potential of civilian-based defense (CBD) for their countries. In all, some fifty political leaders, defense specialists, and scholars of nonviolent action from nine countries participated. Other conference participants came from Australia, England, Poland, Russia, and the United States.

Among the topics discussed during the conference were the recent experiences of the Baltic states with improvised civilian resistance, various strategies of CBD, alternative models of adopting CBD, planning and organization in CBD, and international assistance to countries using CBD.

The conference was organized with the assistance of the Nonviolent Action Center in Vilnius.

A statement adopted at the conclusion of the conference said, in part: "The strategy of civilian-based defense can and should be used successfully to guarantee the security of the Baltic states and, in particular, to have Russia withdraw its troops.

"The success of civilian-based defense in the Baltic states depends to a great extent on the support of international organizations, individual governmental and non-governmental organizations. One step in this direction is the develop-

H.E. Bronislovas Kuzmickas, vice-president of the Supreme Council of Lithuania (standing), opens the Vilnius conference as Jonas Gecas, deputy minister of defense of Lithuania (left), Elizabeth Defeis, AEI board member, and Christopher Kruegler, AEI president (right) listen.



Rimantas Bagdonas



***"It is our intention to make civilian-based defense part of our defense policy."***

— Audrius Butkevicius  
Minister of National Defense  
Republic of Lithuania

ment of a Baltic Civilian-Based Defense Mutual Aid Treaty to state concrete ways in which such international support would be supplied by signatory nations to any attacked member using civilian-based defense measures."

Since the Vilnius conference, Gene Sharp has continued to consult with policy makers in the Baltic states as they develop their countries' defense policies.

### **Lithuanian Defense Minister's Visit (July 1992)**

Audrius Butkevicius, minister of national defense of the Republic of Lithuania, visited Cambridge, Massachusetts in July as a guest of the Albert Einstein Institution. During the course of his visit he spent many hours with Einstein Institution staff, discussing how civilian-based defense might be incorporated into Lithuania's overall defense policy. The defense minister also delivered a lecture at the Harvard Faculty Club on the role of civilian resistance in Lithuania's independence struggle and future security policies. The lecture was sponsored jointly by the Einstein Institution and the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.

Speaking through an interpreter, Mr. Butkevicius said that Lithuanians may employ some of the same nonviolent methods they used in gaining their independence to defend themselves against attack in the future. "It is our intention to make civilian-based defense part of our defense policy," Mr. Butkevicius said.

Audrius Butkevicius' visit to the United States was co-sponsored by the Institute for Defense Analysis, which arranged a lecture and various appointments for him in Washington, DC.

In Washington, the Einstein Institution hosted a dinner for the defense minister and his wife, as well as directors and advisors of the Albert Einstein Institution. The dinner was arranged with the assistance of Admiral Gene La Rocque, an AEI advisor and the director of the Center for Defense Information.

### **Italy (September 1992)**

In September 1992, Gene Sharp went to Italy to present his ideas about civilian-based defense in two forums. In Florence on September 19, 1992, he spoke at a conference on "Popular Participation of Conscientious Objectors in Nonviolent Defense" sponsored by the Scuola per Formatori di Obiettori di Coscienza alla Difesa Popolare Nonviolenta. His paper was entitled "Constructive Roles of Conscientious Objectors and Peace Workers in the Development of Civilian-Based Defense." In Bergamo on September 21, he spoke at the Centro Eirene on "New Steps Toward Civilian-Based Defense."

### **Civilian-Based Defense Association**

The Einstein Institution was highly visible at two events organized by the Civilian-Based Defense Association (CBDA). In November 1990, Christopher Kruegler, now president of the Albert Einstein Institution, delivered the keynote address at the Association's first consultation on civilian-based defense, held in Washington, DC. The following year, Gene Sharp, the Einstein Institution's senior scholar-in-residence, traveled to Windsor, Ontario in September to give the opening keynote address at a conference on "Civilian-Based Defense and People Power," organized by the CBDA with assistance from the Stanley Foundation. Sharp spoke to an audience of Canadians and Americans on "The Relevance of Civilian-Based Defense for the 1990s," and later gave a second presentation entitled "Promoting Civilian-Based Defense: Lessons from the History of Development of the Policy."

# South Africa Program



Barbara Harmel  
South Africa Program Director

**T**he Albert Einstein Institution established its first area program in the fall of 1990. Under the direction of Barbara Harmel, the South Africa Program's purpose is to advance knowledge about the strategic uses of nonviolent direct action in South Africa.

The Program's first phase is designed to initiate and encourage research, create data collections for future analysis, and establish forums for public education and exchange between scholars, activists, and experts on the role of nonviolent direct action in South Africa. Its activities are currently focused on three themes:

- the role of nonviolent action in defense of civil society;
- the relationship between strategic nonviolent conflict and conflict resolution; and
- the relationship between democratization and nonviolent direct action.

## Strategy Workshop (May 1991)

In May 1991, the Program held its first workshop, giving a small group of activists and scholars from South Africa a unique opportunity to focus exclusively on issues of strategy in the changing situation in South Africa. How the prodemocracy movement should maximize its options, regain the initiative, even redefine its objectives were among the topics discussed during the intensive two-day workshop.

Sponsored by the Albert Einstein Institution and by Harvard University's Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, the workshop—held at Harvard—drew participants from a wide variety of political and professional backgrounds. Among them was Murphy Morobe, a leader of the United Democratic Front (UDF), and three visiting fellows at Yale University's Southern Africa Research Program. These were Dr. Neville Alexander, a leading political activist and theoretician, author and educator, and also a former Robbin Island prisoner; Professor Mala Singh, chair of the Philosophy Department of the University of Durban-Westville and former president of the Union of Democratic University Staff

The Program's first workshop gave a small group of South African scholars and activists a unique opportunity to focus exclusively on issues of strategy in the changing situation in South Africa. (Left to right) Gillian Hart, Mala Singh, Philip Bonner, Neville Alexander, Gail Gerhart, Mbulelo Mzamane, and Murphy Morobe.



***“The most powerful  
weapon for the  
African National  
Congress is that of  
protest and other  
forms of ‘people  
power.’”***

— Barbara Harmel in an op-ed  
in the *International Herald  
Tribune*, September 5–6,  
1992.

Associations (UDUSA); and Professor Philip Bonner of the University of the Witwatersrand’s History Department and former staffer at the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Mbulelo Mzamani, a professor of African Studies at the University of Vermont and a member of the African National Congress (ANC); Gail Gerhart, author of *Black Power in South Africa*; and Gillian Hart, an economist at MIT, also participated.

A key feature of the workshop was the opportunity it provided for South African activists and scholars to discuss the strategic and tactical implications of the present situation in South Africa with experts on nonviolent direct action. Christopher Kruegler, president of the Albert Einstein Institution and Ronald McCarthy, director of the Institution’s Fellows Program both attended the workshop, providing insights and suggestions from their respective areas of expertise. Dr. Harmel chaired the workshop.

#### **Social Science Research Council Zimbabwe Conference (May 1991)**

Also in May 1991, Dr. Harmel traveled to Zimbabwe to chair a panel on “Current Political Struggles in South Africa” at the Social Science Research Council’s MacArthur Fellows’ conference. The panel included Cheryl Carolus, a member of the ANC’s negotiating team at CODESA and head of the ANC’s Human Resource Department. Following the conference, Dr. Harmel paid a week-long visit to South Africa to meet with senior leaders of the African National Congress and others.

#### **“Laying the Groundwork” Trip (January–May 1992)**

From January to May 1992, Dr. Harmel was in South Africa laying the groundwork for the Program’s future projects. There she renewed and broadened contacts within the mass democratic movement and at a number of universities and research institutions in South Africa. She assessed the current state of knowledge about nonviolent direct action among South African scholars and activists and identified the most appropriate areas for future research and public education projects.

Meeting with scholars at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg and at other South African universities, Dr. Harmel identified those interested in the field of nonviolent sanctions who would be willing to collaborate with the Program’s research projects. She also met with activists from civic organizations, who agreed to participate in various projects, and with leaders from the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front, who will participate in an oral history project.

As a result of this trip, the South Africa Program now plans to embark on three major research projects in cooperation with researchers at the University of Witwatersrand:

- a case study of the role of the black trade union movement in re-establishing the tradition of nonviolent direct action in South Africa during the 1980s;
- a case study of the methods used by civic organizations in political struggle during the 1980s; and
- a project to gather and publish oral testimonies of three hundred key individuals who participated in the forty-year struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

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# Educational Outreach and Consulting

*“In many countries, there is a tremendous need for information about nonviolent action and its application in acute conflicts.”*

In many countries, there is a tremendous need for information about nonviolent action and its application in acute conflicts. The Einstein Institution tries to meet this need through its educational and consulting efforts. In addition to its work with defense planners on civilian-based defense policy, the Einstein Institution also responds to requests for expert advice from those seeking to rely on nonviolent action in current conflicts. The Institution disseminates information about nonviolent action through lectures, conferences, consultations, newspaper and magazine articles, and radio and television interviews. It also prepares translated materials on nonviolent action in a variety of languages, including English, Spanish, Russian, and Chinese.

## **Tibet (October 1990)**

In mid-October Gene Sharp participated in a one-day strategic consultation with Americans and Tibetans working towards Tibetan independence. Organized by the Tibetan U.S. Resettlement Project in Newton, Massachusetts, the purpose of the consultation was to assist those present in learning how to plan strategically for the promotion of their cause in the United States. Attending the consultation was the former foreign minister of the Dalai Lama's government, Lodi Gyaltzen Gyari. Sharp's presentation was on the nature of nonviolent struggle.

## **Canada (October 1990)**

Later in October at the University of Manitoba, Gene Sharp presented his work on civilian-based defense to a seminar on “Ethics of War and Peace” and gave a public lecture on nonviolent struggle entitled “People Power: A Step Toward the Abolition of War.”

## **Russia and Uzbekistan (October–November 1990)**

Roger Powers, coordinator of publications and special projects at the Einstein Institution, was in the USSR from October 25 to November 8, 1990 with a delegation of nonviolence trainers organized by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Soviet Peace Committee. While there he broadened Einstein Institution contacts in Moscow and gathered information on incidents of nonviolent action at a time of tumultuous change in that country.

## **Italy (April 1991)**

In April 1991, Christopher Kruegler and Ronald McCarthy traveled to Verona, Italy to make presentations at an international conference on “Nonviolence as a Strategy for Social Change.” While in Italy, Kruegler also lectured at the University of Padua on the work of the Einstein Institution.

## **The Netherlands (July 1991)**

In July, nonviolence trainers from twenty-five countries gathered in the Netherlands for a week-long series of presentations, workshops, and discussions on

nonviolence training in cross-cultural contexts. Roger Powers attended as an observer to assess the current practice of "nonviolence training" internationally.

### **Russia (April 1992)**

In April 1992, a delegation from the Center for Nonviolent Research and Education in Moscow came to Cambridge for a three-day visit hosted by the Albert Einstein Institution and the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions at Harvard University's Center for International Affairs. In addition to having conversations with AEI and PNS staff, the delegation took a walking tour of historic



ITAR-TASS/VOYFOTO

(Right) In Moscow, during the August 1991 coup attempt, women stand in the rain across the eight lanes of Kutuzovsky Prospect where tanks are expected. Their banner reads: "Soldiers, don't shoot your mothers!" (Below) Sulak Sivaraksa of Thailand.



Robin Washington

Boston, visited Walden Pond and the Thoreau Lyceum in Concord, and were honored guests at a dinner at the Harvard Faculty Club. The Russian delegation's itinerary in the United States was coordinated by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and also included visits to the Peace Studies Program at Manhattan College and the New York State Martin Luther King, Jr. Institute on Nonviolence in Albany.

### **Thailand (April–May 1992)**

On April 24 and again on May 7, 1992, Gene Sharp met with Sulak Sivaraksa, a leading social critic and advocate of nonviolent social change in Thailand, who is currently in exile. Dr. Sharp and Mr. Sivaraksa discussed the then ongoing mass nonviolent demonstrations in Bangkok against the unelected prime minister, General Suchinda Kraprayoon, who had come to power in the February 1991 coup.

### **Thailand (August 1992)**

On August 4, 1992, Gene Sharp and Sulak Sivaraksa spent a day with a small group of scholars and practitioners of Buddhism from Thailand, Japan, Canada, and the United States to discuss "The Relationships Between Buddhist Nonviolence and Strategic Nonviolent Struggle."

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### **Russia (June 1992)**

On June 11, 1992, at the invitation of the Center for Nonviolent Research and Education in Moscow, Christopher Kruegler delivered two lectures entitled "Gandhi, Clausewitz, and the 'New World Order'" and "The Strategic Dimension of Nonviolent Conflict" at the Philosophy Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences. He also met with graduate students at the Institute and with members of the Center for Nonviolent Research and Education.

### **United States**

Ronald McCarthy, director of the Einstein Institution Fellows Program, delivered a paper entitled "The Research Agenda for Nonviolent Action: Issues of Theory and Research" at the 1990 International Studies Association meeting.

In October 1990, Gene Sharp lectured on civilian-based defense to three groups at the University of Michigan: an arms control seminar of the Program for International Peace Security Research, the Military History Study Group, and the Wesley Foundation.

At the Lentz Peace Research Laboratory in St. Louis, in November 1990, Gene Sharp was awarded the Ninth Lentz International Peace Research Award. His acceptance speech was entitled "Grounds for Hope and Peace in a World of Conflict." Also in November, Dr. Sharp spoke on the significance of the spread of nonviolent struggle at the Woodrow Wilson School of Princeton University and at the Princeton Adult School.

At the end of December 1990, Dr. Sharp joined Sissela Bok in a dialogue on "Pragmatic vs. Principled Nonviolence" at the annual Eastern Division meeting in Boston of the American Philosophical Association. It was a joint session of the Gandhi-King Society and the Concerned Philosophers for Peace.

In March 1991, Gene Sharp presented a lecture entitled "Defense Without War" at the Seventh Annual Quad City Conference on Peace and Security held in Davenport, Iowa. Also in March, Dr. Sharp gave the keynote address, entitled "Self-Defense Without Bankruptcy or War," at a conference on "'New Thinking' About European Security: Restructuring Defense Strategies for the 1990s," held at the University of Missouri at Columbia.

At the end of May 1991, Christopher Kruegler participated in a workshop at the University of Southern California on "Security Studies and the Social Sciences," which considered research strategies and methods in light of recent changes in the international system.

During the spring of 1992, Dr. Kruegler also spoke at the University of Colorado at Boulder, Yale Law School, the University of Connecticut at Storrs, and the International Studies Association meeting in Atlanta.

### **Media Coverage**

In September 1990, the Albert Einstein Institution received national attention when PBS television broadcast "People Power," the first documentary film to examine nonviolent struggle as an effective means of achieving political change. Produced and directed by Ilan Ziv, the film features an interview with Gene Sharp.

In February 1991, Dr. Sharp was interviewed on San Francisco radio station KPFA and on Northern Ontario Radio in Canada, resulting in several information requests from interested listeners. On May 25, 1992, Dr. Sharp also gave an interview about civilian-based defense on Wisconsin Public Radio.

In addition to television and radio, Gene Sharp's ideas received coverage in

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a variety of newspapers. In March 1991, Lithuania's *Lietuvos Aidas* published a Lithuanian translation of a paper Dr. Sharp had presented in Sweden the previous fall entitled "A Civilian-Based Resistance Component: A Contribution to Both Deterrence and Defense." Berlin's *Tagesspiegel* published a feature article about him and his work on civilian-based defense in August 1991. Dr. Sharp's keynote address at the Civilian-Based Defense Association's September conference in Windsor, Ontario was covered in the *Windsor Star*, the *Michigan Christian Advocate*, the *National Catholic Register*, and the *Ann Arbor News*. And later that fall, Dr. Sharp's visit to Latvia generated stories in four Latvian papers—*Rigas Balss* (Voice of Riga), *Diena* (The Day), *Neatkarība* (Independence), and *Atmoda* (Awakening).

Others at the Einstein Institution were successful in placing op-ed articles in the mainstream press. Former Einstein Fellow David Kitterman of Northern Arizona University published an op-ed in the April 7, 1991 issue of the *Boston Globe* entitled "The Heroes of the Holocaust," about the "courageous individuals who saved lives by refusing to participate in Hitler's genocide." AEI Board Member Peter Ackerman published an op-ed in the May 31, 1991 issue of the *International Herald Tribune* entitled "Nonviolence Would Be Lithuania's Best Weapon," which was subsequently reprinted in the Latvian weekly *Atmoda* (Awakening). And AEI South Africa Program Director Barbara Harmel published an op-ed in the September 5-6, 1992 issue of the *International Herald Tribune* entitled "Let 'People Power' Finish the Job in South Africa," which was later picked up by the *Manchester Guardian*.

*Newsweek* and the *Christian Science Monitor* each published two letters to the editor by Roger Powers, coordinator of publications and special projects at the Einstein Institution. The letters responded to stories on the intifada, the failed coup in Moscow, the American Revolution, and the collapse of communism in eastern Europe and the USSR. Regarding the failed coup in Moscow, *Time* magazine quoted Bruce Jenkins, special assistant to Gene Sharp, in its September 21, 1991 issue as saying: "Power flows not from the barrel of a gun but from the courageous actions of the people."

### **Translation & Popularization Projects**

**Burmese:** The Foundation for Democracy in Burma was given a \$3,000 grant for the second printing of the Burmese translation of *The Role of Power in Nonviolent Struggle*, by Gene Sharp.

**Chinese:** *The Role of Power in Nonviolent Struggle* has been translated into Chinese and circulated in manuscript form both among student prodemocracy activists from the People's Republic of China and among prodemocracy activists in Taiwan. It has not yet been published. *Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System*, by Gene Sharp, also has been translated into Chinese and arrangements are being made for its publication in Hong Kong.

**Estonian:** An Estonian translation of *Self-Reliant Defense Without Bankruptcy or War*, by Gene Sharp, has been completed and publication is expected in late 1992.

**French:** In 1991, *Making the Abolition of War a Realistic Goal*, by Gene Sharp, was published in French by Le Centre de Ressources sur la non-violence in Montreal, Canada.

**Hebrew:** A Hebrew translation of *Civilian-Based Defense* has been completed by the Israeli Institute of Military Studies and terms are being negotiated with a publisher.

Gene Sharpas

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**Latvian:** A Latvian translation of *Self-Reliant Defense* was published in 1992 by the Ministry of Defense in Latvia.

**Lithuanian:** Both *Civilian-Based Defense* and *Self-Reliant Defense* have been published in Lithuanian. The longer anti-coup paper has been published in the Lithuanian military journal by the Ministry of Defense.

**Polish:** A Polish translation of *Civilian-Based Defense* has been completed and publication is expected in 1993.

**Russian:** Following the August 1991 coup attempt in Moscow, Gene Sharp wrote two papers outlining steps civilians could take to defeat future coups d'état: "Against the Coup: Fundamentals of an Effective Defense" and "Basic Anti-Coup Action." These papers were translated into Russian in November 1991 and more than six hundred copies were distributed to defense officials and political activists in Moscow, the Russian Far East, and the three Baltic states. Excerpts from one of these papers were published in "Ways of Security," the bulletin of the Institute of Peace of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Also, the educational organization *Golubka* will include one of the papers in the next edition of its "Nonviolence Anthology." Sharp's paper "Nonviolent Struggle: A better means of resolving acute political and ethical conflicts?" was published in the 1991 edition of the Russian scientific journal *Eticheskaya Misl* (Ethical Thought). Russian translations of *Civilian-Based Defense* and *Self-Reliant Defense* have been completed and publication is expected in 1993.

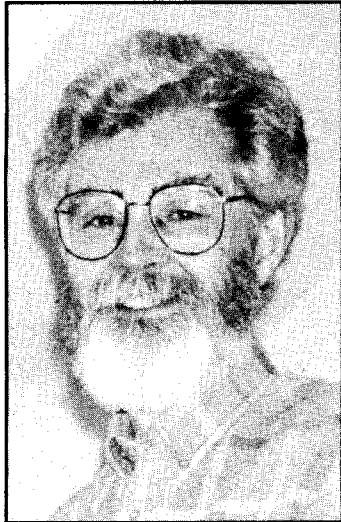
**Spanish:** One of Sharp's anti-coup papers was published in Spanish in two parts in the Panamanian newspaper *La Prensa*. After the Fujimori executive usurpation of power in Peru, the Instituto Andino de Desarrollo Psicologico y Sociocultural printed and distributed two hundred copies of the *La Prensa* articles.

**Tamil:** A Tamil translation of *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* has been completed and is expected to be published in late 1992.

**Thai:** During the uprising against the unelected prime minister in Thailand in April and May 1992, Thai student groups used ideas from Gene Sharp's paper "Basic Anti-Coup Actions" in a Thai pamphlet on "Nonviolent Anti-Coup Actions." One hundred thousand copies were distributed. Sharp's paper "Against the Coup: Fundamentals of an Effective Defense" was translated into Thai and published in the Thai *Journal of Political Science*. In addition, the list of 198 methods of nonviolent action was distributed in Thai as "198 Ways to Fight the Demons," referring to dictatorial military officers.



# Fellows Program



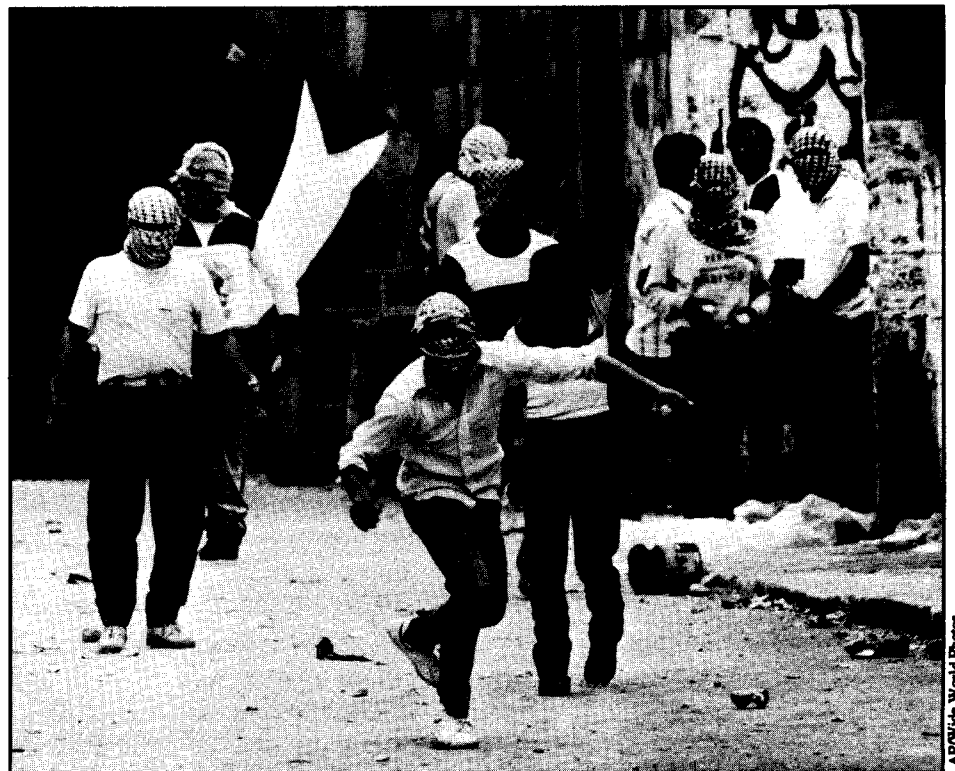
Barbara Hermal

(Above) Ronald M. McCarthy, Fellows Program Director. (Right) Einstein Fellow Edy Kaufman studied "limited violence" as a component of Palestinian strategy in the *intifadah* and examined its effects on Israeli attitudes. Here, Palestinians with faces concealed throw stones in the direction of Israeli soldiers and wave the outlawed Palestinian flag during a demonstration in the center of Nablus, Occupied West Bank.

The Fellows Program is the principle means by which the Einstein Institution encourages scholarship in the field of strategic nonviolent action. By making grants to individuals at different stages in their academic careers, based strictly on the quality of their proposals, the Institution tries to ensure that it is supporting the best research in the field. The Einstein Institution Fellows Program offers support to scholars conducting research on the history, characteristics, and potential applications of nonviolent action. It also supports practitioners in the preparation of accounts, documentation, and analysis of their experiences in the use of nonviolent struggle.

## 1990-91 Fellows

- Edy Kaufman, Harry S. Truman Research Institute, Hebrew University. *"Limited Violence and the Intifadah: An Assessment of the Impact of 'Limited Violence' on Israeli Attitudes Toward Compromise with the Palestinians."* Kaufman studied limited violence as a component of Palestinian strategy in the



AP/Wide World Photos

*intifadah* and examined its effects on Israeli views, through interviews with elites, the analysis of selected newspapers, and a public opinion poll. He surveyed the practice of limited violence to evaluate its impact and to establish to what extent simultaneous limited violence and nonviolent action are viewed as "predominantly nonviolent."

• Nils R. Muiznieks, University of California at Berkeley. *"The Baltic Awakening: Democratization, Nationalism, and the Emergence of a New European Order."* Muiznieks studied the Baltic political movements that adopted nonviolent action as an effective means of displacing the Communist Party, reducing ethnic tension, and generating support for independence. He related his study of nonviolent action to studies of democratization, nationalism in Soviet politics, literature on secession movements and nationalism as a political factor.

• Thomas Rojas, Fletcher School, Tufts University. *"The Use of Nonviolent Sanctions by the 'Frente Democratico Nacional' to Protest Alleged Fraud During the Mexican Presidential Elections of 1988."* Rojas examined the use of nonviolent action by the Frente Democratico Nacional (FDN) against electoral abuses committed by the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) in 1988. As a breakaway, more insurgent party, the FDN was contrasted with the Partido de Acción (PAN), the older opposition party which has for several years used nonviolent protests and civil disobedience in addition to standard electoral politics in Mexico. Rojas documented the current uses of nonviolent action by the FDN in particular and, by extension, showed the potential of nonviolent sanctions to help transform an authoritarian system that rules by arbitrary decree into one that is bound by law. He successfully defended his dissertation in November 1992.

#### 1991-92 Fellows

• Glenn T. Eskew, University of Georgia. *"'But for Birmingham': The Local and National Movements in the Civil Rights Struggle."* Eskew is analyzing the effects of nonviolent sanctions in transforming race relations through a study of Birmingham, Alabama from 1940 to 1990. His research examines the specifics of the local civil rights campaign in Birmingham prior to 1963, the challenge mounted by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in 1963 and its relation to the local movement, and the development of the campaign for racial equality and an end to violence against African-Americans.

• Nathalie J. Frensley, University of Texas at Austin. *"Elite Demobilization and Conversion of Mass Constituencies: The Role of Persuasion in Northern Irish Conflict Settlements."* Frensley is testing the theoretical proposition that inter-party conflict settlements must be defended to constituents by elites in each party in order to demobilize and convert their constituents to the settlement. She is doing this by comparing the failure of the 1973 Sunningdale Agreement with the survival, if not success, of the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement. Both were preceded by nonviolent movements: the Northern Irish Civil Rights Association campaign of 1968-69 and the later Peace People Movement.

• Eva-Lotta E. Hedman, Cornell University. *"The Philippines Revolution of 1986."* This study focuses on the interaction of the Marcos regime and various opposition groups over a five-year period, including business elites, religious institutions, reform elements in the military, and the U.S. government. Dissecting the coming of the People Power revolt in this way contributes to identifying conditions under which popular nonviolent action may emerge and topple highly personalistic authoritarian regimes. Her work also examines the mechanisms that distinguish nonviolent action from other forms of insurrection, the role of popular mobilization in transitions from authoritarian rule, and the importance of international influences on popular rebellions and the breakdown of non-democratic states.

• Paul Routledge, Syracuse University. *"Terrains of Resistance: Nonvio-*



Einstein Fellow Glenn T. Eskew is analyzing the effects of nonviolent action in transforming race relations through a study of Birmingham, Alabama from 1940 to 1990. Above, a civil rights demonstrator is attacked by a police dog in Birmingham in 1963.

lent Social Movements and the Contestation of Place in India." Routledge completed revision of his doctoral dissertation into book form for Praeger Publishers. It compares the strategies, settings, and cultural expressions of resistance of two ongoing social movements employing nonviolent sanctions in India: the Chipko movement against ecological destruction and the Baliapal movement to defend community lands against seizure for a missile base.

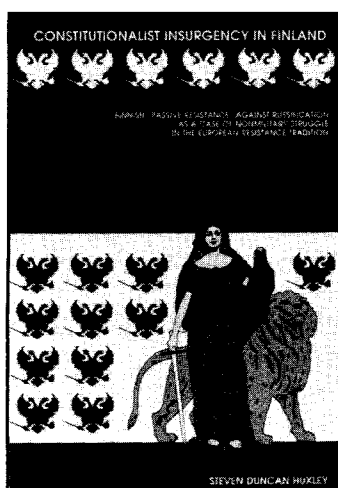
- **Kathleen S. Smith**, University of California at Berkeley. *"Coming to Terms with Previous State Repression: Civic Activism and Regime Response in the USSR."* How do individuals come to terms with the experience and history of state-sponsored violence? How and when does this individual process of coping with a violent totalitarian past translate into civic activism, and how do state institutions respond to this activism? Smith's investigation of the motivations behind civic activism as a response to repression and the capacity of such movements to influence democratization through nonviolent action focuses on the anti-Stalinist organization "Memorial."

### 1992-93 Fellowships

- **Glenn T. Eskew**, University of Georgia. *"'But for Birmingham': The Local and National Movements in the Civil Rights Struggle."* Eskew's fellowship was renewed for a year to enable him to revise his dissertation for publication.

- **Li Fang**, City College of New York. *"Nonviolent Struggle in China."* Fang proposes to write a historical and analytical study of nonviolent action in China from ancient times to the present that will be helpful to scholars of nonviolent action as well as to prodemocracy activists in China.

- **Margaret E. Scranton**, University of Arkansas at Little Rock. *"Nonviolent Opposition in Panama."* Scranton is studying the National Civic Crusade (NCC) of Panama and its role in the opposition to the Noriega government, including its sponsorship of various examples of nonviolent struggle. Her project will assess the factors that contributed to the limited achievement of the NCC and attempt to generalize beyond the case to draw some conclusions about nonviolent action against dictatorships.



### Publications by Former Fellows

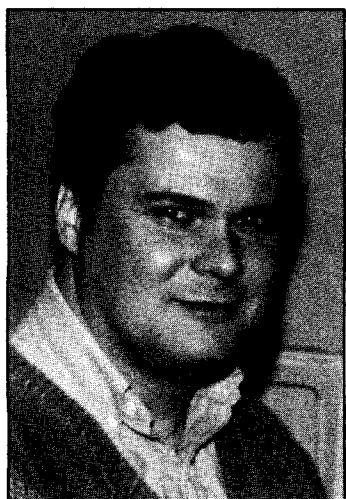
In September 1992, the *Atlantic Monthly* published "Dissent in Nazi Germany," by Nathan Stoltzfus, a former fellow and scholar-in-residence at the Einstein Institution.

Steven Huxley, an Einstein Institution Fellow from 1986 to 1988, published his research in the 1990 book *Constitutionalist Insurgency in Finland: Finnish "Passive Resistance" Against Russification as a Case of Nonmilitary Struggle in the European Resistance Tradition*. Published as part of a series by the Finnish Historical Society, the book traces the history of "passive resistance," examines its development in Finnish political thought and action up through the nineteenth century, and then focuses on the years 1898–1905 when Finns used this form of nonmilitary struggle to fight against Russification.

Another former Einstein Fellow, Lennart Bergfeldt, completed his dissertation, entitled "Experiences of Civilian Resistance: The Case of Denmark, 1940–1945," and received his Ph.D. from the University of Uppsala, Sweden in 1992.

Fellowships are awarded on an annual basis. The deadline for proposals is December 31. All inquiries should be addressed to Dr. Ronald M. McCarthy.

# Program on Nonviolent Sanctions



Douglas Bond  
Program Director

**T**he Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense is one of several research programs on global issues within Harvard University's Center for International Affairs. Funded by the Albert Einstein Institution, the Program explores the degree to which, and how, nonviolent direct action provides an alternative to violence in resolving the problems of totalitarian rule, war, genocide, and oppression.

The Program's research mandate is threefold: to encourage scholarship on nonviolent sanctions, to develop theory and data collection protocols, and to support comparative and case study analyses by qualified researchers.

In October 1991, the director of the Program, Christopher Kruegler, resigned from the position, having become president of the Albert Einstein Institution. Douglas Bond, who has been affiliated with the Program since 1988, succeeded Kruegler as program director. Prior to his tenure at the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, Bond was an assistant professor and a research fellow at the Institute for Far Eastern Studies, Kyungnam University, Seoul, Korea. He holds a B.S. in technical communication from the University of Minnesota, and an M.A. in communication and a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Hawaii at Manoa. His dissertation, "Alternatives to Violence: An Empirical Study of Nonviolent Direct Action," applied the tools of quantitative analysis to the subject of nonviolent sanctions.

## Seminars

During the academic year, the Program conducts a biweekly seminar series that is open to those interested in discussing current research on historical and contemporary cases of nonviolent struggle and theory, social movements, policy applications of nonviolent sanctions, and related issues.

The following seminars were presented during the 1990-91 academic year:

- "Organizing for Political Objectives in South Africa Today: The Role of Black Youth," by Brian Thami Hlongwas and Senti Tabajaini (co-sponsored by the CFIA South Africa Seminar).
- "East-West Dialogue from Below, 1979-1989: Strategic Consequences of Small Group Discourse," by Patricia Chilton.
- "Public Debate on Policy in the Gulf: Are All Relevant Strategic Options on the Table?", a roundtable discussion with Doug Bond, Souad Dajani, Herbert C. Kelman, Tiiu Kera, and Christopher Kruegler.
- "La Boetie and Anti-Politics: Concepts of Power and the Subject of Noncooperation in the Discourse on Voluntary Servitude," by Paul Chilton.

Seminars given during the fall 1991 semester included:

- "Nonviolent Sanctions and the Shifting Domains of Peace and Security Studies," by Christopher Kruegler.
- "Man, the State and War: A Feminist Reformulation," by Ann Tickner.
- "Defensible Space, Sense of Place: Militant Resistance in Baliapal, India," by Paul Routledge.
- "From Armed Struggle to Electoral Mobilization: The IRA and the ETA in

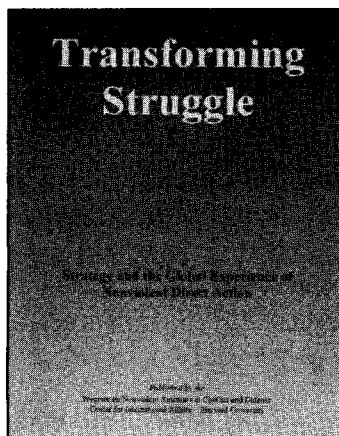
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Comparative Perspective," by Cynthia Irvin.

- "Defense and Nonviolent Deterrence," by William Vogele.
- "Civilian-Based Defense in the Baltic States, Including an Update from Recent Travels," by Gene Sharp and Bruce Jenkins.

Seminars presented during the spring 1992 semester included :

- "The Civic Crusade in Panama: Contributions and Limitations of Nonviolent Action Against a Dictatorship," by Margaret Scranton.
- "Peace Movement Activism: Findings from a 1988 Survey in the USA," by Mary Anna Colwell.
- "Studying Social Movements: A Conceptual Tour of the Field," by Doug McAdam.
- "Behind the Global Movement Toward Democracy: Power, War, Revolution, and Democide," by R. J. Rummel.
- "The Soaring of Social Movements: American Peace Activism, 1981-83," by John Lofland.
- Intra-Korean Conflict Management: Preliminary Findings on Problems and Considerations for the Unification Process," by Myung-Soo Lee.



## Publications

In 1992, the Program began publishing synopses of the seminars presented each semester, beginning with the fall 1991 series. In addition, the Program published *Transforming Struggle: Strategy and the Global Experience of Nonviolent Direct Action*, a comprehensive collection of reports of the more than ninety seminars presented from the time the series began in the fall of 1983 through the spring of 1991.

Other publications by current or former Program affiliates include:

- Bernhard, Michael. *The Origins of Democratization in Poland: Workers, Intellectuals, and Oppositional Politics, 1976-1980*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.
- Bleiker, Roland, Doug Bond, and Myung-Soo Lee. "Unification from Below? German Unity and Its Implications for Korean Unification Dynamics." *The Center for International Affairs Working Paper Series*. Paper No. 92-4, 1992.
- Bond, Doug. "An Empirical Test of Rawls' Theory of Justice: A Second Approach, in Korea and the USA." *Simulation and Gaming* (December 1991).
- Routledge, Paul. *Terrains of Resistance: Nonviolent Social Movements and the Contestation of Place in India*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1993.
- Semelin, Jacques. *Without Arms Against Hitler*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1993.
- Vogele, William. "Learning and Nonviolent Struggle in the Intifadah." *Peace and Change* (July 1992).
- Vogele, William. "Deterrence by Civilian Defense," *Peace and Change* (January 1993).

## Affiliated Scholars

Each year the Program has in residence several full- and part-time researchers, visiting scholars, postdoctoral fellows, and others, whose research may focus on a particular region or pertain to more generalized issues in the field, both theoretical and empirical. The Program also works with a number of associates based at other institutions.

The following scholars were affiliated with the Program from fall 1990 through spring 1992:

- Roland Bleiker, pre-doctoral fellow from 1991 to 1992. His research

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looks at international and critical theory, and Korean and German politics, especially unification and nonviolent direct action.

- **Douglas Bond**, program director of the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions. He is leading the development of a systematic framework to assess the strategic utility and dynamics of nonviolent direct action.

- **Souad Dajani**, center associate from 1990 to 1991. Her research interests include formulating a strategy of nonviolent civilian resistance against the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

- **Helen Fein**, visiting scholar from 1989 to 1991 and executive director of the Institute for the Study of Genocide at John Jay College in New York. Her research interests include genocide and collective violence; linkages to war and ethnic conflict; and the sociology of human rights and rights violations. In 1991, Dr. Fein won the first international award given by Amsterdam's PIOOM Foundation for her work on the root causes of genocide.

- **Barbara Harmel**, center associate and director of the South Africa Program at the Albert Einstein Institution. She conducts research on nonviolent sanctions within the context of political power and struggles in South Africa.

- **Christopher Kruegler**, center associate and president of the Albert Einstein Institution. His research interests include the comparative historical analysis of nonviolent resistance movements and strategic theory as it pertains to the use of nonviolent sanctions.

- **Myung-Soo Lee**, pre-doctoral fellow and a Harvard-MacArthur Scholar from 1991 to 1992. Her field of interest is international law and negotiation as it pertains to divided states, international legal analysis, negotiation analysis, and peace.

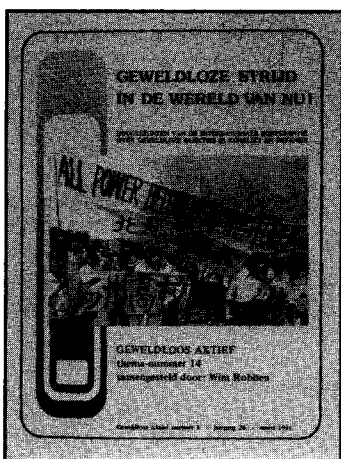
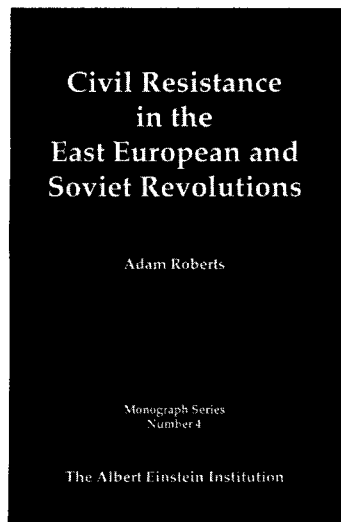
- **Ronald McCarthy**, center associate and associate professor of sociology at Merrimack College. He is developing a research agenda for nonviolent action as well as a historical/comparative case approach to the study of nonviolent action.

- **Paul Routledge**, post-doctoral fellow appointed from 1991 to 1993. He studies social movements in South Asia with special emphasis on India and Nepal.

- **Gene Sharp**, founder of the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, a center associate, and senior scholar-in-residence at the Albert Einstein Institution. His research focuses on civilian-based defense to deter and defeat foreign invasion and internal usurpations; systematic change in dictatorships by popular initiatives and nonviolent struggle.

- **William Vogelee**, center associate and special assistant to the president at the Albert Einstein Institution. His research looks at deterrence theory and alternative defense strategies.

# Publications



Through its books, pamphlets, monographs, newsletter, conference reports, and occasional papers, the Einstein Institution disseminates research and writing on the subject of strategic nonviolent action to a variety of audiences. Einstein Institution publications reach students, teachers, researchers, activists, policy makers, military officials, and journalists around the world. Its publications are being used at highly respected colleges and universities such as Amherst College, Johns Hopkins University, Rutgers University, the University of Colorado at Boulder, and the University of Wisconsin.

## Monograph Series

Launched in September 1990, the Einstein Institution Monograph Series (ISSN 1052-1054) is one vehicle through which the Institution disseminates research on the history, characteristics, and potential applications of nonviolent sanctions. Thus far, four titles have been published: *Insurrectionary Civic Strikes in Latin America: 1931-1961*, by Patricia Parkman; *Civilian-Based Defense in a New Era*, by Johan Jørgen Holst; *The Role of Power in Nonviolent Struggle*, by Gene Sharp; and *Civil Resistance in the East European and Soviet Revolutions*, by Adam Roberts.

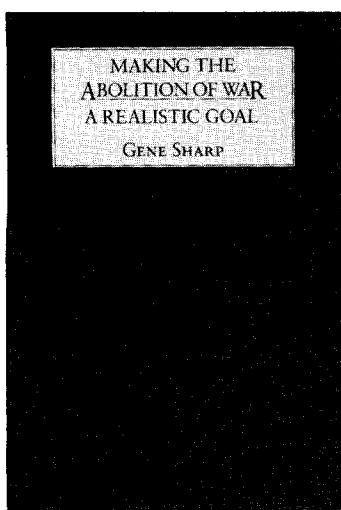
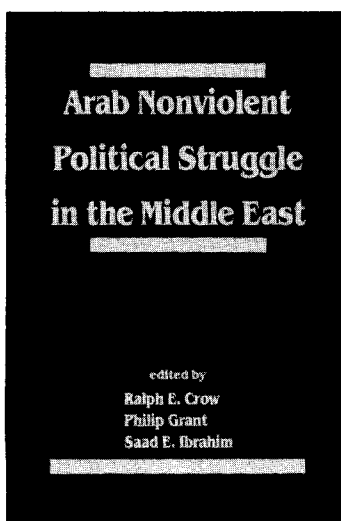
## Nonviolent Sanctions Newsletter

Over the past two years, the Einstein Institution's quarterly newsletter, *Nonviolent Sanctions* (ISSN 1052-0384), has featured articles on the struggle for change in South Africa, tax resistance in the Israeli-occupied territories, civilian-based defense in Sweden and the Baltic states, nonviolent resistance to the Soviet coup, the prodemocracy movement in Cameroon, nonviolent protest in Tibet, the Indian struggle for land in Ecuador, economic sanctions against Iraq, and student protests against the Ukrainian government, among others.

Its articles have been picked up by the Holland-based Peace Media Service, the CBD Association newsletter *Civilian-Based Defense: News and Opinion*, the German publication *Gewaltfreie Aktion*, the Australian magazine *Nonviolence Today*, and the French magazine *Non-Violence Actualité*. The spring/summer 1990 issue of *Nonviolent Sanctions*, which featured highlights from the Einstein Institution's February 1990 Conference on Nonviolent Sanctions, was translated into Dutch and published as a special issue of *Geweldloos Aktief* ("Nonviolent Action") with the title "Geweldloze Strijd in de Wereld van Nu!" ("Nonviolent Struggle in Today's World!"). This special issue of the Dutch publication was dedicated to Gene Sharp.

## Encyclopedia of Nonviolent Action

Work is underway on *An Encyclopedia of Nonviolent Action*, edited by Christopher Kruegler, Roger Powers, Doug Bond, Ronald M. McCarthy, and William Vogelee. This single volume reference work, for students, scholars, and others interested in nonviolent alternatives in conflict, will be published in 1996 by Garland Publishing of New York City.



## Other Publications

- Bennett, Brad. "Arab-Muslim Cases of Nonviolent Struggle." In *Arab Nonviolent Political Struggle in the Middle East*, edited by Ralph Crow, Philip Grant, and Saad Ibrahim. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990.
- McCarthy, Ronald M. "The Techniques of Nonviolent Action: Some Principles of Its Nature, Use, and Effects." In *Arab Nonviolent Political Struggle in the Middle East*, edited by Ralph Crow, Philip Grant, and Saad Ibrahim. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990.
- Sharp, Gene. "The Role of Power in Nonviolent Political Struggle." In *Arab Nonviolent Political Struggle in the Middle East*, edited by Ralph Crow, Philip Grant, and Saad Ibrahim. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990.
- ———. *Making the Abolition of War a Realistic Goal*. 1980. Reprint. Cambridge, MA: The Albert Einstein Institution, 1991.
- ———. "Transitions to Civilian-Based Defense." In *Nonviolent Struggle and Social Defense*, edited by Brian Martin, et al. London: War Resisters' International and the Myrtle Solomon Memorial Fund Subcommittee, 1991. Reprinted in *Church & Society* (March/April 1991).
- ———. "Nonviolent Struggle Today." In *Unarmed Forces: Nonviolent Action in Central America and the Middle East*, edited by Graeme MacQueen. Toronto: Science for Peace/Samuel Stevens, 1992.
- ———. "Nonviolent Struggle: An Effective Alternative." In *Inner Peace, World Peace: Essays on Buddhism and Nonviolence*, edited by Kenneth Kraft. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992.
- ———. "Civil Disobedience" and "Nonviolent Action." Entries in *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World*, edited by Joel Krieger, et al. New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1993.



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# Grants

The Institution occasionally makes small grants to individuals and groups doing related work, when funding is available. The following grants were made from 1990 to 1992.

**Steven Huxley**

For a project called "Baltic Resistance: Between Politics and War" examining the Baltic independence movement. \$2,000.

**Stephen Zunes**

For the presentation of a paper on "Nonviolent Insurrections Against Third World Authoritarian Regimes" to the Association for the Advancement of Policy Research and Development in the Third World. \$870.

**Nonviolent Action Center, Vilnius, Lithuania**

A planning grant to help establish a new research and education center in Lithuania. \$1,000.

**Civilian-Based Defense Association**

For the production and distribution of the Association's newsletter, *Civilian-Based Defense: News and Opinion*. \$3,000.

**Liane Norman, Pittsburgh Peace Institute**

For a popular account of the nonviolent aspects of the American Revolution, written especially for high school students. \$5,000.

**Nonviolent Action Center, Vilnius, Lithuania**

For the purchase of a fax machine and computer to enable the Center to communicate more effectively. \$3,000.

**Military Research Group, South Africa**

For the preparation of a paper on civilian-based defense against coups in post-apartheid South Africa. \$3,000.

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# Board of Directors

**Peter Ackerman** is Managing Director of Rockport Financial Limited. He holds a B.A. from Colgate University, and a Ph.D. in international relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. He wrote his doctoral thesis on strategic principles of nonviolent sanctions based on an analysis of the Russian Revolution of 1905 and the 1930–31 Indian Independence Movement. Recently a Visiting Scholar of the International Institute of Strategic Studies in London, he is co-author with Christopher Kruegler of *Strategic Nonviolent Conflict* (Praeger Publishers, 1993).

**Philip Bogdonoff** is Executive Director of Nonviolence International in Washington, DC. He was formerly a scientific applications analyst and systems programmer at Cornell University's Center for Theory and Simulation in Science and Engineering. He is a past Chair and member of the Board of the Civilian-Based Defense Association, and serves now as a Consulting Editor of its Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion. He received a B.S. in operations research and industrial engineering from Cornell University, and spent 1980 to 1983 in Cornell's Department of Ecology and Systematics, examining the effects of tropical deforestation. He was Development Officer at the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, from 1983 until 1987.

**Elizabeth F. Defeis** is the former Dean of Seton Hall University School of Law and is currently teaching International Law, Human Rights, and United States Constitutional Law at Seton Hall. Professor Defeis has provided technical assistance to the government of Armenia with respect to constitution building and recently concluded a term as Visiting Scholar at Columbia University's Center for the Study of Human Rights. She served as the first chair of the Urban Development Corporation of New Jersey and is an NGO delegate to the United Nations Coalition Against Traffic in Women. Professor Defeis is a member of the New Jersey Supreme Court Task Force on Gender Bias in the Courts. Her most recent publication is "International Covenants: An Alternative to ERA?"

**Chester Haskell** is Associate Dean for Research Programs at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. He has served in various senior administrative positions at Harvard and is a former Executive Director of the Center for International Affairs. He holds an A.B. from Harvard College, an M.A. from the University of Virginia, and an M.P.A. and D.P.A. from the University of Southern California. He has been an administrator and instructor at the University of Southern California's Washington Public Affairs Center and at the University of Vermont, and now serves as Chair of the Board of Trustees of the Latin American Scholarship Program of American Universities.

**Christopher Kruegler** is President of the Albert Einstein Institution and a former Director of the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, Center for Interna-

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tional Affairs, Harvard University. He holds a B.A. and an M.A. in peace studies from Manhattan College and Antioch International and a Ph.D. in social sciences from Syracuse University. His dissertation explored the intellectual history of civilian-based defense, with special reference to the work of Sir Basil Liddell Hart. He formerly directed a peace studies program at the University of Missouri-Columbia. With Peter Ackerman, he is an author of *Strategic Nonviolent Conflict* (Praeger Publishers, 1993), a comparative study of six cases of mass nonviolent struggle, leading to the construction of a comprehensive strategic model .

**Joanne Leedom-Ackerman** is a former reporter for the *Christian Science Monitor* and has won several awards for her nonfiction. Now a novelist and short story writer, she is the author of the short story collection *No Marble Angels* (1985), *The Dark Path to the River* (Saybrook/Norton, 1988), and *In the Shadow of the Land* (forthcoming). She graduated cum laude from Principia College, and holds graduate degrees from Brown University and Johns Hopkins University. She has taught writing at New York University, City University of New York, and Occidental College.

**Richard Rockwell** is Executive Director of the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research; a research scientist at the Center for Political Studies, Institute for Social Research; and Adjunct Professor of Sociology at the University of Michigan. He was formerly an Executive Associate at the Social Science Research Council in New York City. Dr. Rockwell holds a B.A. in zoology and an M.A. and Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Texas at Austin. He has taught at Columbia University and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

**Thomas Schelling** is Professor of Economics and Public Affairs at the University of Maryland, College Park, having retired in 1990 as Lucius N. Littauer Professor of Political Economy in the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Professor of Economics, and Director of the Institute for the Study of Smoking Behavior and Policy at Harvard University. He has been consultant to the Departments of State and Defense, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and the CIA. Between 1951 and 1953, he served in the White House and the Executive Office of the President. He is the Author of *The Strategy of Conflict*, *Strategy and Arms Control* (with Morton Halperin), *Arms and Influence*, and five other books.

**Gene Sharp** is Senior Scholar-in-Residence and former President of the Albert Einstein Institution. He also formerly directed the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University. He holds a B.A. and an M.A. from Ohio State University and a D.Phil. in political theory from Oxford University. Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, he has also taught at the University of Oslo, the University of Massachusetts Boston, and various other institutions. His books include *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, *Social Power and Political Freedom*, *Gandhi as a Political Strategist*, *Making Europe Unconquerable*, and *Civilian-Based Defense*. An international lecturer, his writings have appeared in twenty languages.

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# Board of Advisors

The Institution is actively developing a Board of Advisors. Current members include:

**Edward B. Atkeson**

*Senior Fellow, Institute of Land Warfare, Association of the US Army*

**Hans Binnendijk**

*Director, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy*

**James Farmer**

*Distinguished Visiting Professor of History, Mary Washington College*

**Gene R. La Rocque**

*Director, Center for Defense Information*

**Adam Roberts**

*Montague Burton Professor of International Relations, Oxford University*

**William Spencer**

*Managing Director, Pangaea Group, Inc.*

**David Szanton**

*Executive Director, International and Area Studies, Univ. of Calif. at Berkeley*

**William L. Ury**

*Associate Director, Program on Negotiation, Harvard Law School*

## Einstein Institution Staff—1992

Stephen Coady

Jane Gharibian

Barbara Harmel

Bruce Jenkins

Christopher Kruegler

Ronald McCarthy

Ray Pasciuto

Roger Powers

Gene Sharp

William Voegelé

Research Assistant

Administrative Coordinator

South Africa Program Director

Special Assistant

President

Fellows Program Director

Staff Assistant

Publications Coordinator

Senior Scholar-in-Residence

Special Assistant to the President

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# Financial Statement

## Revenues, Expenses, and Fund Balances For the years ended June 30, 1991 and 1992

	FY 1991	FY 1992
<b>OPERATING REVENUES:</b>		
Grants	\$192,303	\$118,863
Contributions	495,637	826,359
Rent income	3,000	-0-
Miscellaneous	<u>6,041</u>	<u>5,723</u>
Total Operating Revenues	<u>696,981</u>	<u>950,945</u>
<b>OPERATING EXPENSES:</b>		
Program expenses —		
Research, policy studies and documentation	395,134	422,108
Education and outreach	<u>368,769</u>	<u>436,277</u>
Total program expenses	763,903	858,385
Fundraising	<u>62,953</u>	<u>121,268</u>
Total operating expenses	<u>826,856</u>	<u>979,653</u>
Excess of operating revenues over operating expenses	<u>(129,875)</u>	<u>(28,708)</u>
<b>NON-OPERATING REVENUES:</b>		
Annuity income	32,103	31,697
Investment income	<u>12,666</u>	<u>6,126</u>
Total non-operating revenues	<u>44,769</u>	<u>37,823</u>
Excess (deficiency) of revenues over expenses	(85,106)	9,115
<b>FUND BALANCES, beginning of year</b>	<u>543,396</u>	<u>458,290</u>
<b>FUND BALANCES, end of year</b>	<b>\$458,290</b>	<b>\$467,405</b>

Abstracted from audited statements prepared by Alexander, Aronson, Finning & Co., P.C.  
Full audited statements available upon request.

## Balance Sheets—June 30, 1991 and 1992

	FY 1991	FY 1992
<b>ASSETS:</b>		
Cash and cash equivalents	\$139,704	\$174,541
Grants receivable	39,199	-0-
Prepaid expenses, deposits and other assets	26,625	35,621
Annuity	<u>371,442</u>	<u>352,747</u>
	<u>576,970</u>	<u>562,909</u>
 Fixed assets, at cost:		
Office equipment and furnishings	50,139	57,190
Less accumulated depreciation	<u>25,913</u>	<u>35,799</u>
 Net fixed assets	<u>24,226</u>	<u>21,391</u>
 Total assets	<b>\$601,196</b>	<b>\$584,300</b>
 <b>LIABILITIES:</b>		
Accounts payable	\$13,393	\$9,496
Accrued expenses	42,080	38,449
Deferred revenue	80,833	41,250
Deferred compensation	<u>6,600</u>	<u>27,700</u>
 Total liabilities	142,906	116,895
 <b>FUND BALANCES</b>	<u>458,290</u>	<u>467,405</u>
	<b>\$601,196</b>	<b>\$584,300</b>

Abstracted from audited statements prepared by Alexander, Aronson, Finning & Co., P.C.  
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