

The Albert Einstein Institution

BIENNIAL REPORT 1988–1990

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The Albert Einstein Institution Statement of Mission

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The 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.

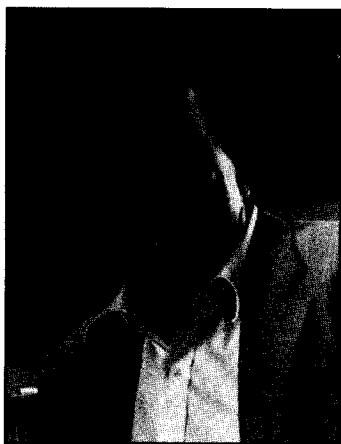
In furtherance of its mission, the Institution plans to become the center of an international network of researchers, leaders, policy analysts, and citizens interested in alternatives to violence. It intends to fund and conduct definitive scholarship on how nonviolent resistance movements succeed and 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

(l. to r.) Gene Sharp, president of the Albert Einstein Institution; Patrick Lekota, publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, South Africa; and Roger Powers, coordinator of publications and special projects at the Einstein Institution, speak to the press during the first National Conference on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense, February 8-11, 1990.



Message from the President



Gene Sharp

The momentous events in Eastern Europe and elsewhere over the last year have begun to force international recognition of the power of nonviolent struggle. People who once might have confused nonviolent action with passivity are learning that it is neither passive nor weak. On the contrary, they are realizing that nonviolent action can be an effective technique of struggle, offering people an alternative to violence on the one hand and submission on the other.

Indeed, in the past several years the world has witnessed a dramatic increase in the use of nonviolent struggle: in South Africa, Argentina, Brazil, the Philippines, Chile, Mexico, Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, the Soviet Union, Burma, Yugoslavia, China, the Middle East, Pakistan, South Korea, the United States, and Tibet.

In these and other lands nonviolent struggle has been used to resist dictatorships and oppression and to bring liberation, without resort to violence and war. Not all of these cases were successes, but in every instance significant power was mobilized and the political agenda altered. At times—as in Eastern Europe—the political map was changed.

Today nonviolent struggle is being developed through research, policy studies, public education, and occasionally government action. In 1986, for example, Sweden added a nonviolent resistance component to its total defense policy. Increasingly, nonviolent struggle is seen as a serious option for people, movements, and sometimes even governments facing acute conflicts. It appears that we are in the midst of a major worldwide explosion of interest in nonviolent struggle and of its self-conscious practice.

However, as events in 1990 demonstrate—the Middle East crisis, the civil war in Liberia, and other conflicts—most governments, people, and movements for change still place their strongest confidence in violence. The potential for oppression, destruction, and mass casualties in domestic and international conflicts remains grave.

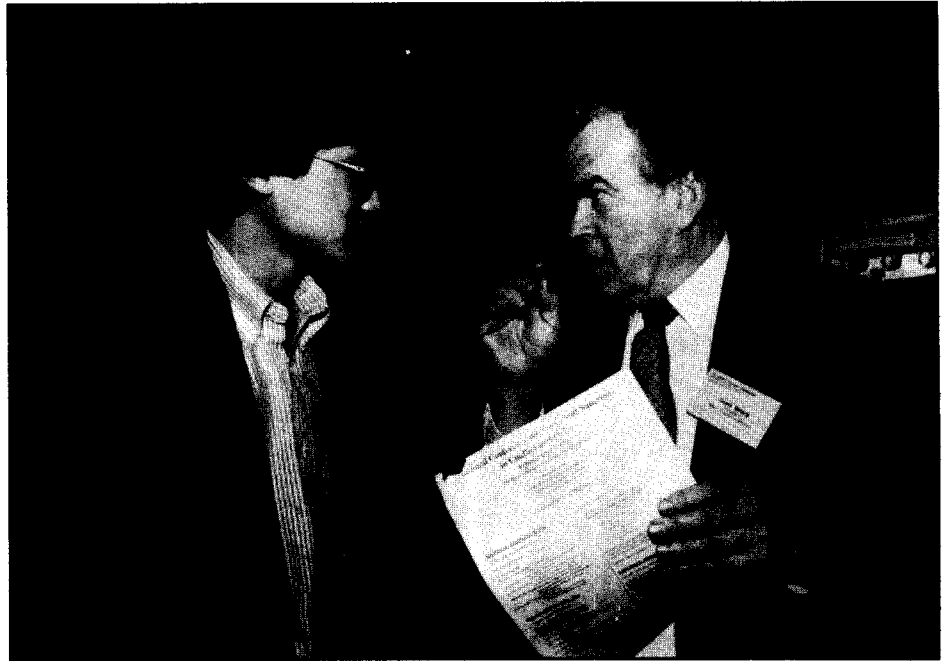
A need therefore exists for greater knowledge about nonviolent options so that they become more likely to be used in place of violence and to be effective.

Since its founding in 1983, the Albert Einstein Institution has grown significantly in its capacity to increase our knowledge and understanding of nonviolent sanctions, to explore their practical policy potential, and to disseminate the information and understanding already gained.

A report of the work and accomplishments of the early years was issued in 1988: *The First Five Years—1983-1988 and Plans for the Future*. That report also offered a discussion of the rationale for our focus on nonviolent struggle and outlined the purposes of the Institution. Copies are available from our office.

This is a supplementary report on the sixth and seventh years. Together, the two reports reveal how far we have come and how much has already been accomplished.

Gene Sharp speaks with Li Lu, deputy commander of the Chinese student pro-democracy movement in Tiananmen Square in the spring of 1989.



Yet, because of the great potential of this approach of substituting nonviolent struggle for violence, and because of the great dangers of political violence, we still have a long way to go. Our work of conducting and supporting basic and problem-solving research, policy studies, public education, and consulting about the nature, problems, and potential of nonviolent options is now more important than ever.

We have made significant progress in our work over the last two years. This has been made possible in part by the expansion of our professional staff. I would like to thank all of them, and our Board of Directors who have guided us through more than seven years of change and opportunity. Our progress at the Albert Einstein Institution also owes a great deal to the generous ongoing commitments of our institutional and individual contributors, and we are grateful for their sustained support.

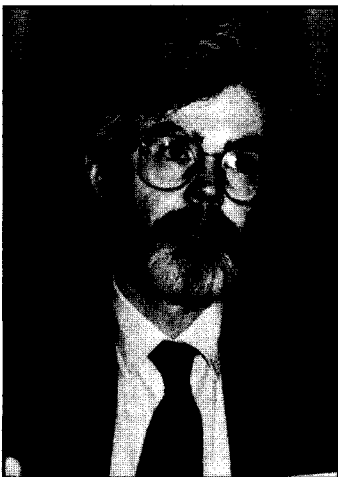
The opportunities before us are exceptionally large and the responsibilities great. The Albert Einstein Institution is, however, in an excellent position to continue and expand this work.

We face the future with confidence, rooted in past accomplishments and insights. We invite you and others to join with us in this task.

Gene Sharp

Research

Nonviolent struggles have often been neglected by policy analysts, historians, and social scientists. Future nonviolent movements can profit from increased study of the strategic and tactical wisdom or mistakes demonstrated in past conflicts. This knowledge may stimulate new thinkers, broaden practice, and enhance the effectiveness of nonviolent techniques. Nonviolent sanctions must be subjected to an examination and consideration at least as thorough as that devoted to the canon of violent conflict. The Einstein Institution promotes and encourages this kind of research, writing, and systematic reflection on nonviolent sanctions through three programs: the scholarship of the Institution's staff and affiliates, the Einstein Fellows Program, and the Institution's funding of the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions at Harvard University.



Ronald McCarthy

Einstein Institution Fellows Program

In the fall of 1988, the Board of Directors of the Einstein Institution regularized and expanded the selection of Fellows into a continuing program and placed it under the supervision of Dr. Ronald McCarthy. The Einstein Institution Fellows Program is now an international, competitive program that appoints Fellows annually. It supports scholars conducting research on the history, characteristics, and potential application of nonviolent sanctions, as well as practitioners preparing accounts, documentation, and analyses of their experiences in the use of nonviolent struggle. All enquiries about the Fellows Program should be directed to Dr. McCarthy at the Einstein Institution.

1988–89 Fellows whose research extended into the fall of 1989 included:

- **Lennart Bergfelt.** University of Uppsala, Sweden. *"Experiences of Civilian Resistance: The Case of Denmark."* Through his Einstein fellowship, Bergfelt was able to continue his in-depth study of the Danish civilian resistance movement during the Nazi occupation, 1940–45. In so doing, he also attempted to evaluate the ways in which historical case studies of nonviolent resistance can contribute to theoretical generalizations about the strategic requirements of nonviolent action.

- **Steven Huxley.** *"An Examination of the Relevance of Civilian-Based Defense to Finland's Strategic Conditions."* Huxley's project expanded his research undertaken as a master's candidate at the University of Helsinki, exploring civilian resistance in Finland to the threat of "Russification" at the turn of the century. Through his Einstein fellowship, Huxley was able to analyze and critique the Finns' nonviolent efforts relative to other similar efforts elsewhere.

- **Douglas A. Johnson.** Associate Fellow, Institute of Policy Studies. *"Strategic Analysis of the Infant Formula Campaign."* Johnson, former National Chairperson of INFAC and co-founder of the Nestlé Boycott, developed a strategic analysis of the infant formula campaign's ten-year history, leading to

victory in the Nestlé Boycott. His goals were threefold: 1) to document the difficulties encountered by the activist leadership at each phase of the campaign, 2) to make analyses of the conflict and the internal organization more widely available, and 3) to explore ways in which strategic concepts can be expressed such that a broader public can effectively apply those concepts to their work for social change.

1989–90 fellowships were awarded to the following individuals, some of whom will continue to pursue their research through December of 1990:

- **John T. Crist.** Program on the Analysis and Resolution of Conflicts, Syracuse University. *"The Comparative Effectiveness of Organizations Using Violent, Nonviolent, and Principled Nonviolent Sanctions during the Indian Nationalist Movement."* Crist is studying collective action during the Indian Independence Movement in the context of current thinking on social movements, especially those factors related to the success of social movement action. Crist's basic research task has been to assess the relative effects of violence, nonviolent action based upon principle, and nonviolent action per se.

- **David Kitterman.** Northern Arizona University. *"Those Who Said 'No!': Germans Who Refused to Execute Jews and Other Civilians during World War II: Successful Nonviolent Sanctions against a Totalitarian State at War."* Underlying this project is a challenge to the historical assumption that no individual in a position of responsibility could safely refuse orders to take part in genocidal activities under the Nazi regime. Kitterman has located and analyzed a portion of the approximately ninety known cases of military, militarized police, SD, and SS members who refused such orders. In addition to studying their methods of refusal and evasion, Kitterman has established that none of these persons was subject to execution, and few were severely punished.

- **Richard L. Leaver.** Research Fellow, Peace Centre, Australian National University. *"The Theory and Practice of Economic Sanctions in Southern Africa."* South Africa has been both the object of sanctions and a provider of anti-sanctions aid to Rhodesia. Leaver will describe and assess the regional economy of Southern Africa, which has developed so as to allow South Africa to displace the costs of sanctions onto frontline states. Leaver is also assessing policy issues for Australia in this conflict.

- **Gerald M. Platt.** University of Massachusetts. *"The Rank and File in the Civil Rights Movement, 1955–1968."* This project addresses the variations in meaning of the Civil Rights Movement for the rank and file from 1955–68, by examining the following issues: 1) rank and file concepts of the movement's goals and strategies, 2) reasons for joining, 3) beliefs and perceptions of Martin Luther King, Jr., and 4) understanding of nonviolent action.

1990–91 fellowships were awarded to three scholars conducting promising research on nonviolent forms of struggle; their stipends will go into effect in September of 1990:

- **Edy Kaufman.** Executive Director, 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 proposes to study limited violence as a component of Palestinian strategy in the *intifadah* and to examine its effects on Israeli views, through interviews with elites, the analysis of selected newspapers, and a public opinion poll. He intends to survey the practice of limited violence, to evaluate

the impact of limited violence, and to establish to what extent simultaneous limited violence and nonviolent sanctions are viewed as "predominantly non-violent."

- **Nils R. Muiznieks.** University of California, Berkeley. "*The Baltic Awakening: Democratization, Nationalism, and the Emergence of a New European Order.*" Baltic political movements have adopted nonviolent sanctions as the most effective means of displacing the Communist Party, reducing ethnic tension, and generating support for independence. Muiznieks proposes to relate his study of nonviolent sanctions 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 proposes to examine the use of nonviolent sanctions 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 will be contrasted with the Partido de Acción Nacional (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 will document the current uses of nonviolent action by the FDN in particular and, by extension, will show the potential of nonviolent sanctions to help transform an authoritarian system which rules by arbitrary decree into one which is bound by law.



Christopher Kruegler
Program Director

The Program on Nonviolent Sanctions Center for International Affairs, Harvard University

The Program on Nonviolent Sanctions (PNS) is the first university program to focus exclusively on the nature and potential of nonviolent sanctions as effective substitutes for violent ones in resolving the grave problems of dictatorship, war, terrorism, genocide, and oppression. Securing financial support for advanced academic research at the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions is one of the main activities of the Einstein Institution. In addition to providing basic operating support for the Harvard Program, the Einstein Institution provides stipends for some of the Program's visiting researchers.

These scholars are in residence and participate in bi-weekly seminars during the academic year. The seminars provide opportunities to share new research and thinking with those in the Harvard community, as well as with visiting scholars, practitioners from diverse conflict situations, military officers, and government officials. Scholars affiliated with the Program from 1988 through 1990 have included:

- **Douglas Bond:** Assistant Professor of Political Science/Research Associate, Kyungnam University, Seoul, Korea. *Specializations:* Development of a systematic framework for data collection on nonviolent activities; Korean affairs; concepts of justice in different societies. (1988–continuing)

- **Ximena Bunster:** Research Consultant, Facultad Latino Americana de Science Sociales, Chile. *Specializations:* Opposition groups in Chile, in particular the Sebastian Acevedo Movement Against Torture and Women for Life. (1988–89)



Barbara Harmel



Nathan Stoltzfus

- **Javier Elguea:** Associate Professor of Sociology, El Colegio de Mexico. *Specializations:* International security and national development; theories of societal development in Latin America. (1989–90)

- **Helen Fein:** Executive Director, Institute for the Study of Genocide, John Jay College of Criminal Justice. *Specializations:* Genocide; anti-semitism. (1989–continuing)

- **Dru C. Gladney:** Department of Social Anthropology, University of Washington. *Specializations:* Ethnicity, identity, and public policy of Muslim minority peoples in Inner Asia (China, U.S.S.R., and Turkey). (1989)

- **Barbara Harmel:** Former Associate Director, Southern Africa Project, Aspen Institute. *Specializations:* Nonviolent sanctions within the context of political power and struggles, with special reference to the defiance campaigns of South Africa's anti-apartheid movement in the 1950s. (1988–continuing)

- **Bradley Klein:** Special Assistant to the President, University of Hartford. *Specializations:* Conceptual reconstruction of the major approaches available for the study and practice of contemporary peace and security; the relationship between social theory and strategic studies. (1988–continuing)

- **Christopher Kruegler:** Program Director. *Specializations:* Comparative historical analyses of nonviolent resistance movements; strategic theory, as it pertains to the use of nonviolent sanctions. (1983–continuing)

- **Ronald McCarthy:** Associate Professor of Sociology, Merrimack College. *Specializations:* The research agenda for nonviolent sanctions; comparative-historical research on nonviolent sanctions. (1983–continuing)

- **Gene Sharp:** President, Albert Einstein Institution. *Specializations:* Civilian-based defense; consulting and outreach; terminology; *coups d'état*. (1983–continuing)

- **Richard Stevens:** Chair, Biblical Studies Department, University of the Western Cape, South Africa. *Specializations:* Ways and means to exercise the nonviolent option in settling the problems of South Africa. (1988–89)

- **William Voge:** Visiting Assistant Professor of Government, Clark University. *Specializations:* U.S.-Soviet nuclear arms control negotiations. (1989–continuing)

Other Research Projects of the Institution

Scholars-in-Residence

After receiving several supplementary stipends, longtime Einstein Fellow Nathan Stoltzfus plans to complete his Harvard doctoral dissertation entitled "*Social Limitations on the Nazi Dictatorship: Jewish/ 'Aryan' Intermarriages in Germany 1935–45*" during the 1990–91 academic year. His research formed the basis of a short documentary film currently in production for German television; Stoltzfus was the primary author of the film's screenplay. A narrative treatment of his dissertation (based on oral histories) will be published in German by Carl Hanser Publishers in the summer of 1991, and Stoltzfus' agent has begun circulating an English version of this manuscript to publishers in the U.S. as well. While teaching at Harvard University during the 1990–91 academic year, Mr. Stoltzfus will remain a Scholar-in-Residence at the Institution.

Souad Rashid Dajani, from the University of Jordan, has been invited to resume her research begun at the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in 1987. An



Souad Dajani

effort to identify a nonviolent strategy for achieving Palestinian independence in the West Bank, her project addresses such problems as advancing Palestinian unity, raising Israeli occupation costs, developing the capacity for nonviolent discipline, and influencing other parties. Dr. Dajani will be an Associate at the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and a Scholar-in-Residence at the Einstein Institution during the 1990–91 academic year.

Mexico Documentation Project

In 1989, the Einstein Institution initiated a data-gathering project in Mexico, established to develop a comprehensive record of key components in the practice and dissemination of the ideas of nonviolent action there. Data of interest in this project include media clippings, names of individuals and organizations involved in nonviolent actions, and a brief historical survey of cases for use in further research efforts. Laura O'Dogherty Madrazo coordinated this project over its first year, and has accepted our offer to continue in that role through 1990–91. Her work in 1989–90 concentrated primarily on the defense of the vote and the integrity of the electoral process, through data gathered in interviews with principals in the conflict such as the Partido de Accion Nacional (PAN), the Women's Civic Association, the Association for Integrated Human Development, and the City Action Association. Mexicans' nonviolent response to the allegedly fraudulent 1986 Chihuahua elections has served as an initial point of departure in these interviews, followed by an investigation of the late presidential candidate Manuel Clouthier's role in civil disobedience activities during the 1988 federal elections. Ms. O'Dogherty Madrazo has made a fully indexed file of the interviews, press reports, and documents gathered during this process, which will be available at the Einstein Institution in the fall of 1990.

Research Agenda and Anthology Projects

Dr. Ronald McCarthy is editing an anthology of essays on important new thinking and knowledge about the nature, practice, and potential policy applications of nonviolent forms of struggle. These essays are based on seminars given at the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions at Harvard from 1983 to 1988. Also in progress is a research agenda for the development of priorities for research on nonviolent struggle over the next decade. This project is also being conducted by Dr. McCarthy and Dr. Christopher Kruegler of the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions. Both the research agenda and the anthology project have been partially underwritten by the U.S. Institute for Peace.

Educational Outreach

Consulting, Data-Gathering & Major Lectures

Over the last two years, Gene Sharp and his assistant, Bruce Jenkins, have met with a number of internationally recognized political leaders, discussing the relevance of nonviolent sanctions to conflict situations in their home countries. In some cases, the leaders' need for information was urgent and elementary, while others sought a deepening of their understanding of the options nonviolent sanctions could provide in conflict situations. Still other groups, armed with a mature understanding of the power and potential of civilian-based defense, requested advice on its application in formulating their country's defense policy.

The process of education is a mutual one, as such travels enhance our effectiveness as an institution committed to public outreach. Feedback from this kind of travel helps ground us in the realities of nonviolent action, giving us critical perspectives which in turn affect the content and distribution of the resource materials we generate. Consulting experiences have been critical in our identifying researchers to participate in our Fellows program, in our designing seminars, in our drafting new manuscripts and translations of work on nonviolent struggle, and in attracting press attention to the activities of the Einstein Institution.

We have also stepped up our mailings of Einstein publications to new contacts, sending books and articles out to a broad spectrum of people, including the Dalai Lama's Minister of Education, Slovenian democrats, the Maryknoll Mission in Peru, and a political advisor to the Commander in Chief of the U.S. Air Force/Europe. Additionally, in a major outreach effort, we have arranged to mail fifty copies of Einstein publications to schools, libraries, and organizations in South Africa which are interested in learning more about the theory and practice of nonviolent struggle.

The last two years have seen dramatically increased support of these programs, support which continues to improve the quality of our consulting and data-gathering ventures. We are especially grateful to the C.S. Fund and the J. Roderick MacArthur Foundation for their generous grants toward these projects.

Areas of interest have included:

Burma (January 1989)

In January, U Tin Muang Win, Chairman of the Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Burma and General Secretary of the Democratic Alliance of Burma, visited our Cambridge offices to discuss potential uses of nonviolent struggle in the face of his government's harshly repressive policies. A year earlier, sparked by severe economic decline, students and monks led massive demonstrations against Burma's twenty-six years of military autocracy. These demonstrations resulted in the fall of three successive heads of state in just two



U Tin Muang Win

months, though the last to seize power crushed the nonviolent protests in a wave of repression leaving at least 1000 dead. Despite these repressive measures, Mr. Win testified, the movement for freedom and democracy in Burma is showing signs of resurgence.

Taiwan (February 1989)

Taiwanese opposition leader Huang Hua visited the Einstein Institution in February to discuss political developments in his country. Mr. Hua was in the United States to lobby for U.S. pressure on the Taiwanese government to grant greater political freedoms and for U.S. support of a democratic Taiwan, independent of China. A vocal advocate of nonviolent action as a means toward political reform, Mr. Huang has spent nearly half of his fifty years in prison for political "crimes." He is currently the Organizing Director of the Democratic Progressive Party, Taiwan's largest opposition party. In November and December of 1988, Mr. Huang spearheaded the "new nation" movement, a series of forty-six massive public rallies throughout Taiwan. In his visit to the Einstein offices, Mr. Huang emphasized the significant history of nonviolent struggle in Taiwan and called on scholars to study the development of the nonviolent movement in his country. Since this visit, limited contacts with the Taiwanese opposition have continued.

Norway (March 1989)

Dr. Sharp was one of two featured speakers on complementary forms of defense at a conference held in Oslo. He shared the platform with Johan Jørgen Holst, then Norway's Defense Minister, who demonstrated a keen understanding of the tenets and viability of civilian-based defense as a component within an overall defense policy. The conference was sponsored by the Norwegian Atlantic Committee, a private organization with close ties to Norway's major political parties, trade unions, and parliament.

The Oslo conference illustrates a growing international interest in the ways a nonviolent component can strengthen a nation's defense policy. In neighboring Sweden, for example, the Swedish parliament decided in 1986 to add nonviolent resistance to its existing defense policy. The defense postures of Switzerland, Austria, and Yugoslavia already incorporate important elements of nonviolent resistance, and three other European governments have in past years undertaken studies of these strategies: the Netherlands, Finland, and France.

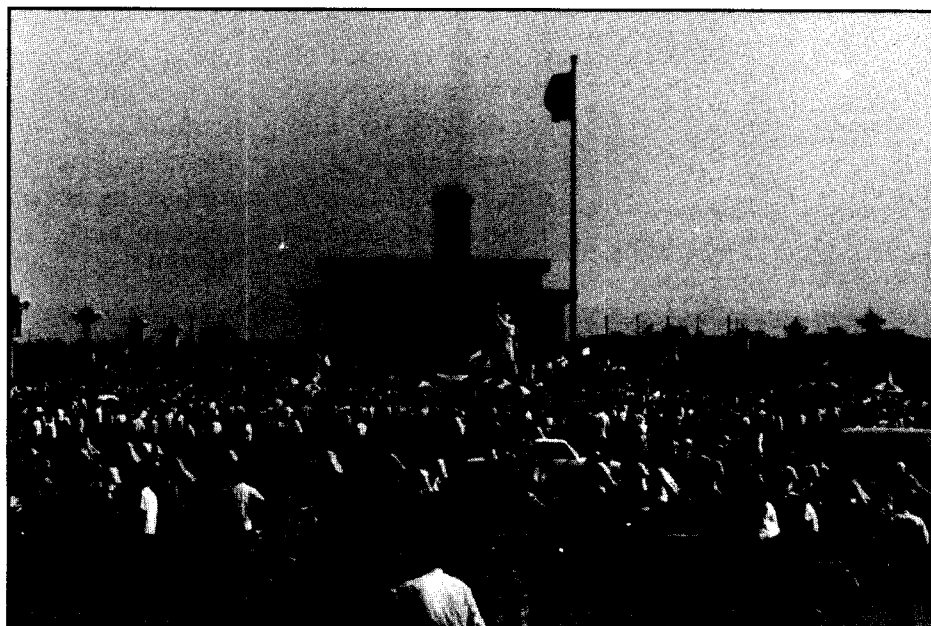
Tunisia (March 1989)

In March, Gene Sharp and Bruce Jenkins traveled with a delegation from the United States to Tunis, responding to an invitation to discuss the nature and practice of nonviolent resistance with top officials of the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

The people engaged in the *intifadah* since December 1987 have used predominantly nonviolent forms of struggle (estimated at 80% to 90% of the total resistance effort), in combination with certain types of "limited violence" such as petrol bombs and stone throwing. Their nonviolent methods have taken such forms as commercial shutdowns, economic boycotts, hoisting of the Palestinian flag, and many types of political noncooperation. The development of self-reliant educational, social, economic, and political institutions has also been critical in Palestinians' use of nonviolent action in the Israeli-occupied territories.

In the series of meetings with Palestinian officials, Sharp and Jenkins emphasized that nonviolent methods of struggle have their own requirements for effectiveness which differ from those of violence, and suggested that the "limited violence" was therefore counterproductive. Following their talks with the Palestinians, the U.S. delegation also had the opportunity to meet with Ambassador Pelletreau, then the only U.S. government representative authorized to meet and speak with the P.L.O. After a productive meeting with Pelletreau, Dr. Sharp was invited to give a seminar on nonviolent struggle at the American Embassy for the staff; the Ambassador was present throughout the afternoon's discussions.

Tiananmen Square, the week before the June 4, 1989 massacre, as seen from the Forbidden City. At center: the Monument of the People's Heroes and the Goddess of Democracy statue. Beyond: the Mau mausoleum.



China (June 1989)

In response to increasing nonviolent protests in China, Dr. Sharp and his assistant, Bruce Jenkins, flew with a translator to Beijing in late May. Over the course of about a week in Beijing, they were able to gather significant information from various persons involved in the pro-democracy movement. Daily observations of the occupation of Tiananmen Square, as well as personal interviews with involved students and others, yielded an improved understanding of the movement's objectives, why the movement had adopted nonviolent means, and how much was understood about nonviolent action. The violent crackdown by the Chinese government interrupted Sharp's and Jenkins' attempts to extend these interviews to others who were not directly involved in (or necessarily supportive of) the pro-democracy movement. After the killings, interviews of all types became impossible.

Sharp and Jenkins did succeed in bringing out of China twelve two-hour tapes of interviews with student leaders and members of the student dialogue committee, discussing their knowledge and understanding of nonviolent struggle. The actions of the pro-democracy demonstrators in China revealed a high degree of tactical sophistication: the extensive use of marshalls for crowd control and for maintaining nonviolent discipline, sit-ins, hunger strikes, appeals to police and troops, the establishment of student newspapers and a

broadcasting system, massive street blockades of troops, and more. In speaking with the students, however, strategic thinking seemed almost nonexistent, and early manifestations of nonviolent resistance were described as largely spontaneous.

Mexico (June 1989)

Dr. Sharp flew directly from Beijing to Mexico City, where he was a participant in the Third Annual Conference of Social Science Research Council/MacArthur Foundation Fellows in International Peace and Security in Cocoyoc, Morelos. He presented the plenary session address at the gathering, during which he analyzed the historical role of nonviolent action in struggles for freedom and democracy, the role of power in those struggles, and folded in his reflections on the remarkable gains and tragic losses of the nonviolent movement in China.

Canada (June 1989)

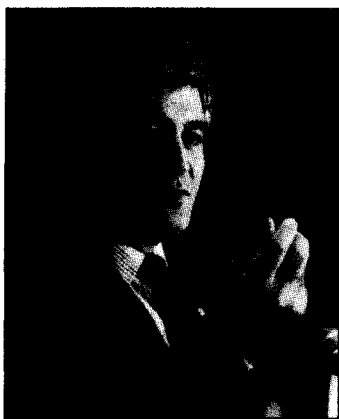
Dr. Sharp gave a major public lecture on the history of, and possible future directions for, nonviolent action at a conference titled "Nonviolence in Violent Contexts," sponsored by the Committee on Peace Studies at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario. The conference focussed on two major geographical areas in which conflict is being waged through both violent and nonviolent means: Central America and the Middle East. Dr. Sharp's presentation, along with selected others from the conference, will be published in the fall of 1990 by the University.

Israel (July 1989)

As a complement to his prior meetings in Tunis, Dr. Sharp spent a week in Israel and the occupied territories, where he reiterated his position that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was balanced at a very dangerous and critical stage of development. Suggesting that the present manifestation of the *intifadah* was swiftly becoming untenable, Dr. Sharp outlined several options for future Israeli initiatives during a conference at the Israeli Institute for Military Studies. Dr. Sharp also spoke at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University, met privately with researchers at Hebrew University, and spoke with a group of Israeli peace activists. While his papers and consultations were not optimistic, they were respectfully and seriously received, and his relationships with influential Israeli military and intelligence representatives were both strengthened and expanded. Dr. Sharp subsequently spent several days with Palestinian representatives in Jerusalem, and recommended a major shift in their own strategy and methods. (see "translations" p. 20)

Soviet Union (November 1989)

Dr. Sharp participated in a conference on twentieth century historical trends, hosted by the Institute of General History of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, where he presented a paper entitled "The Historical Significance of the Growth of Nonviolent Struggle in the Late 20th Century." At the invitation of the Department of Ethics of the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences, he also participated in an international symposium on "Ethics and Nonviolence." While in Moscow, Dr. Sharp and Bruce Jenkins also discovered a fledgling organization called The Center for Ethics of Nonviolence.



Mubarak Awad

Middle East (February 1990)

With the sponsorship of a private Maryland philanthropist, Mubarak Awad coordinated an informal workshop in February to discuss some of the challenges facing the Palestinian resistance during this so-called "second phase" of the *intifadah*. Gene Sharp and Bruce Jenkins were invited to join a number of Palestinians who flew in from East Jerusalem and the occupied territories, as well as several people from the Palestinian community in the Washington, D.C. area. The weekend's discussions attempted to establish some basic structures for a strategic shift in the struggle, assigning discrete objectives to each level of nonviolent action proposed.

England (April 1990)

The first week of April, Gene Sharp was invited to participate in a conference at Bradford University's School of Peace Studies, organized by War Resisters International and the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, entitled "Social Defence and Nonviolent Struggle—Developing 'People's Power' As A Defence Policy." The conference brought together the experiences of social movements in many countries (including peace, ecology, feminist, human rights, and labor movements) with those of researchers working on developing nonviolent methods into defense policies. Dr. Sharp's presentation on possible transitions from a military-based defense policy to a civilian-based defense policy was based in part on his book *Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System*.

Burma (April 1990)

In late April, Gene Sharp and Bruce Jenkins convened a meeting in Washington, D.C. to discuss the application of nonviolent action to the struggling pro-democracy movement in Burma. The meeting was organized primarily to share various perspectives on the Burmese situation with George Lakey and Michael Beer, who were on their way to Thailand for six weeks. Mr. Lakey and Mr. Beer made their trip under the auspices of a small Thai organization, responding to its request for a training program in nonviolent action for Burmese students in refugee centers in ethnic insurgent areas.

Mr. Lakey, Mr. Beer, Mr. Jenkins, and Dr. Sharp were joined by Robert Helvey, who has been familiar with the Democratic Alliance of Burma, and by an exiled Burmese woman involved in the pro-democracy movement, now a student in the D.C. area. Mubarak Awad also participated in the discussions, sharing his insights on nonviolent movements from his experience with the *intifadah*. On their trip, Mr. Lakey and Mr. Beer distributed copies of Gene Sharp's *The Role of Power in Nonviolent Struggle* essay, recently translated into Burmese with financial support from the Einstein Institution. An evaluation session on their trip was held in September, a meeting which also explored what other kinds of educational assistance could be most helpful in such situations.

Tibet (May 1990)

In early May, the Einstein Institution hosted a meeting with two Tibetans struggling against the Chinese occupation of their homeland. This consultation was coordinated by Ed Bednar of the Walker Center in Newton, Massachusetts, a local information hub for exiled Chinese and Tibetans involved in their respective struggles for democratic reform or independence. Mr. Bednar

brought Lhasong Tsering, the head of the Tibetan Youth Congress and Jamyang Norbu, an author and former guerrilla in Mustang, Tibet, to meet with Dr. Sharp and Mr. Jenkins. Both Tibetans are reluctant supporters of violence who, admitting that they had been put off by the Dalai Lama's principled approach to nonviolence, expressed new interest in considering nonviolent action as a strategic tool.

South Africa (May-June 1990)

In the fall of 1990, the Einstein Institution plans to initiate an adjunct program of research and outreach which will investigate the use of nonviolent sanctions in South Africa. Barbara Harmel, who has been an Associate at the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions over the last year, is scheduled to direct this program.

A South African exile, Dr. Harmel returned to her homeland in May 1990 for the first time in over twenty-five years. Funded by a travel grant from the Einstein Institution, her trip had several objectives, among which were to gain a clearer understanding of current events in South Africa, to make an assessment of possible areas for future research, and to establish contacts among political decision makers, activists and academics for the Institution's new South Africa Program.



Right: Einstein Institution board member Joanne Leedom-Ackerman opens the National Conference on Nonviolent Sanctions. Above: Johan Jørgen Holst, director of the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, delivers the keynote address.

National Conference on Nonviolent Sanctions

In February of 1990, the Albert Einstein Institution produced its first National Conference on Nonviolent Sanctions in Cambridge. We received generous grants from the Ruth Mott Fund and the Ploughshares Fund, as well as significant contributions from individual donors in support of this event. The project, culminating several years' planning, brought together 185 people from twenty-seven states and sixteen countries. The proceedings included two keynote addresses (given by former Norwegian Defense Minister Johan Jørgen Holst and *New York Times* columnist Tom Wicker) and a combination of plenary panels and smaller group sessions. Other panelists included U Tin



(l. to r.) Stephen Crawford, executive director of the Albert Einstein Institution, greets Johan Jørgen Holst, director of the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, and Adam Roberts, professor of international affairs at Balliol College, Oxford.



Muang Win of the Democratic Alliance of Burma; Reuven Gal from the Israeli Institute for Military Studies; Colonel Robert Helvey, Dean of the School of Military Attaché Training; Patrick Lekota, Publicity Secretary of the United Democratic Front in South Africa; and Li Lu, Chinese student activist. The participants addressed such topics as: strategic analyses of nonviolent struggles; media responsibility and nonviolent struggle; the potential of civilian-based defense in policy development; Solidarity and nonviolent struggle in Poland; and the use of nonviolent sanctions by social movements in the U.S.

We largely succeeded in our intention of bringing together a cross-section of individuals with diverse interests in and sophisticated understanding of the strategic potential and practice of nonviolent struggle. Coming at a time of heightened public and governmental interest in the use of nonviolent action to attain political and economic ends, the conference provided a forum to critique and augment the base of knowledge about strategies employed throughout the world.

The potential for developing unusual working relationships among people who, on the surface, might appear to hold opposing views on issues of international security was hinted at within the first hours of the conference. Indeed, the opening address and response were given by Norway's former Minister of Defense and an American colonel, remarks which appropriately reflected the Institution's "transpartisan" approach to nonviolent action.

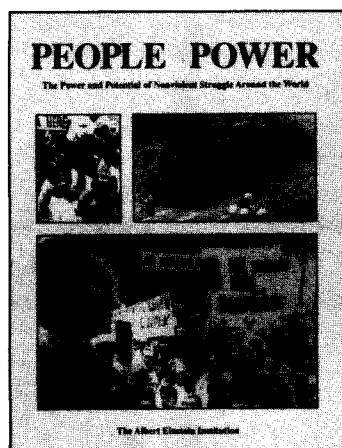
Another panel which drew substantial praise was one which brought together practitioners and strategic leaders from nonviolent struggles currently being waged around the world. Their sitting together on one panel—representing opposition movements in the Israeli-occupied territories, Burma, South Africa, China, and Lithuania—allowed for critical cross-cultural observation on the part of the audience, and gave each practitioner the unusual opportunity to share in the immediate experiences of the others. Each of those movements was explored in greater depth during concurrent regional panels the following afternoon, having been introduced through such invaluable comparative commentary.

Despite our best intentions in creating a forum for this kind of free exchange, however, some constituent groups were inevitably underrepresented.

Several conference participants noted the paucity of women and people of color at the conference. Approximately 30% of the conference participants were women and, at most, 10% were people of color. Of the 52 people who spoke at the conference, 19% were women and 15% were people of color. No women were included on plenary panels. Such questions about constituencies continue to challenge the parameters we have defined for the field, and to demand assessment of our responsibility in nurturing alternative voices.

The fascination with practitioners' accounts was particularly visible during each panel discussion, confirming a need for documentation of those tactics and strategies that often vanish unrecorded. This strong interest in bringing out practitioners' voices, as well as the perspectives of women and people of color largely missing from discussion in the field, urges the Institution to be more intentional in making its research awards. A number of individuals who attended the conference expressed interest in applying to our research programs, interest which we hope will broaden our range of applicants.

For those interested in reviewing specific panel topics in greater depth, the Institution has made videotapes of each session available for purchase. These tapes may ultimately be edited so that they may be of greater use to practitioners, training groups, and teachers. Although the conference format was effective in its insistence on frequent informal discussion breaks, a number of participants noted their interest in more structured opportunities for dialogue. We are considering sponsoring mini-seminars, for more in-depth examination of some of the issues raised during the proceedings. The need for strategic training programs, for example, was repeatedly raised by a number of conference participants. Many training programs exist which advocate nonviolence as a way of life; many others focus on teaching nonviolent tactics to achieve limited objectives. As far as we are aware, however, none exist which incorporate the level of strategic analysis offered by the Einstein Institution.



Public Relations

Media Education Packet

In the fall of 1989, we began to distribute an educational packet to nearly 1,000 journalists, a project implemented by Roger Powers to encourage more careful and thorough coverage of nonviolent struggle by the print and broadcast media. This packet includes general information on the Einstein Institution as well as a brief glossary of terms relevant to nonviolent struggle, contemporary and historical examples of nonviolent resistance, a list of 198 methods of nonviolent action, a discussion of common misconceptions about their use and of their applicability in national defense postures, and a recommended reading list. This project was made possible through the generosity of the Ploughshares Fund.

Recent Press Coverage

In August 1989, the U.K. and international editions of *The Guardian* carried an op-ed by Gene Sharp written upon his return from Tiananmen Square and Jerusalem, "The Growing Force of Nonviolence." Earlier that summer, Dr. Sharp was invited to submit a similar op-ed on the power and potential of nonviolent struggle to *The Christian Science Monitor*. In June 1989, *The New York Times* printed a letter-to-the-editor by Christopher Krueger, Director of

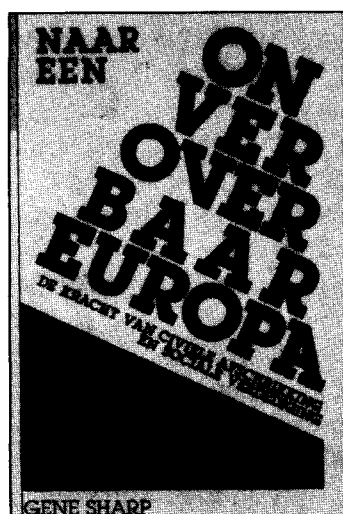
the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, written in response to the Tiananmen Square tragedy. Later that summer, the *Times* also printed a letter by Einstein Research Coordinator Ron McCarthy, pointing out American colonialists' reluctance to use violence during their struggle for independence from Great Britain.

Over the last two years, Dr. Sharp and his assistant have written several other major articles on the advances of nonviolent movements in China and elsewhere, published in the Australian journal *Social Alternatives* and the United States Institute of Peace *Journal*, among other publications. Additionally, the Einstein Institution has been prominently mentioned or profiled in articles in *Fellowship* magazine, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, *The Washington Post*, *The National Catholic Reporter*, *The Harvard University Gazette*, *Pravda*, and *Peace Magazine*.

The February 1990 conference on nonviolent sanctions attracted significant press coverage from (among others): *The National Catholic Reporter*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *The Boston Globe*, *The Boston Herald*, *Reuters*, *Associated Press*, *Dialogue* (Bangladesh), *WorldPaper*, *F.O.R. U.C.C.* newsletter, *Voice of America*, WCVB-TV Ch.5, WNEV-TV Ch.7, WEEI News Radio, and Cambridge Cable TV.

The activities of Dr. Sharp and the Einstein Institution have been featured on the radio and television over the last two years as well. Interviews with Dr. Sharp provided the basis for a television program on "people power," broadcast on the U.K.'s Channel Four in July 1989. American public television subsequently picked up that program, and it was scheduled for broadcast nationally on September 11 by most PBS affiliates as part of their "Point of View" series. Dr. Sharp has also been interviewed extensively by the Christian Science Monitor television network, interviews seen in 1989 on "World Monitor" and "Today's Monitor," and in August 1990 on "One Norway Street." With Chinese activist Li Lu and exiled Palestinian leader Mubarak Awad, Dr. Sharp was interviewed for a two-part radio series ("Common Ground") produced by the Stanley Foundation, programs which were broadcast across the U.S. and Canada by more than one hundred affiliated stations in the late summer of 1990. In July of 1990, Dr. Sharp discussed some of the strategic requirements of successful nonviolent action for KPFA public radio in San Francisco, an interview which was then incorporated into a call-in program with Earth First's Judith Barrie and Brian Wilson at the time of the massive "Save the Redwoods" campaign. As a guest scholar, Dr. Sharp was also interviewed for a series of educational tapes, titled "Dilemmas of War and Peace," produced by The Annenberg/CPB Project for public broadcast and use at the University of Wisconsin.

Publications



Translation and Popularization Projects

During its first seven years, the Einstein Institution has received an increasing number of requests for information about nonviolent sanctions, and much of our work has been translated to meet the diverse needs of people engaged in nonviolent conflict. Our Einstein publications shelf currently includes five books in English, four books in Italian, two in Dutch, and one each in Arabic, Hebrew, Portuguese and Thai. Additionally, chapters, monographs, articles, and pamphlets have been published in Burmese, Dutch, Polish, French, Spanish, Norwegian, German, Arabic, Hebrew, and Italian.

The Institution is committed to working on its publications in partnership with those out in the field, and to bringing in consultants in cases where independent specialists may better advise us on questions of audience, format, and accessibility. In some instances, for example, we have been told that pamphlets and “how-to” handbooks in the languages of specific groups engaged in conflict would be valuable in making the many methods of nonviolent action more likely to be considered and used in place of violence. Some of our colleagues from other countries have been intrigued by Einstein’s ongoing dictionary project, which is intended to offer a consistent vocabulary of nonviolent struggle.

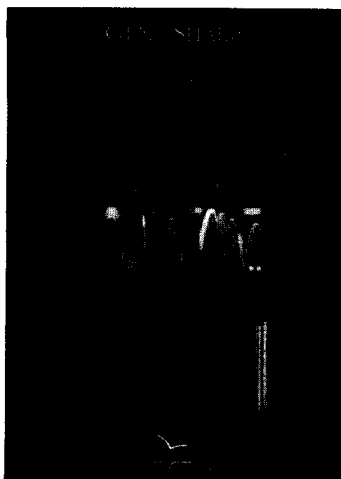
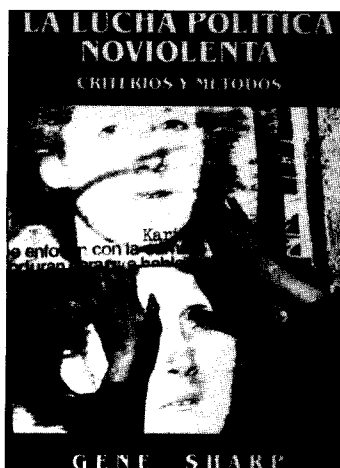
Through these kinds of collaborative efforts, we seek to stimulate those engaged in nonviolent conflict to begin to produce their own printed materials. In our era of mass media and high technology, the establishment of independent presses and information networks has become a critical step in challenging dominant institutions.

Frequently, our project partners do not hold the political and economic status which would enable them to contribute financially to these publications. With partial support from the J. Roderick MacArthur Foundation, we have now established a publications outreach fund from which we can draw support for these projects as needed.

Recent Translation Projects

- **The Politics of Nonviolent Action** condensation project: The major work providing the intellectual foundation of the Einstein Institution, the trio of books which comprise Dr. Sharp’s *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, will be radically condensed and partially revised before being made available for translation. This study of the power, dynamics, and methods of nonviolent struggle was first published in 1973. It continues to be a critical resource for groups and individuals interested in waging conflict nonviolently. The newly condensed version of *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* will serve as one of the keystones in our expanded translations program.

- **Spanish:** An extreme condensation in Spanish of Gene Sharp’s *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* was prepared in Mexico by Jaime Gonzalez Bernal



and edited by Caridad Inda and Gene Sharp under the title *La Lucha Politica Noviolenta: Criterios y Metodos*. It was first published in Mexico in March 1988, and in Chile in 1989 by Ediciones ChileAmerica CESOC.

In a January 1989 conference of over 200 attendees, activists and scholars gathered in Santiago to celebrate and discuss the publication of Dr. Sharp's work in Chile. Participants included theologians, opposition journalists, members of *Mujeres Por La Vida* (Women For Life), sociologists, and those active on behalf of "the disappeared." The impact of Sharp's works on the strategy and practical implementation of nonviolent sanctions against the junta was amply documented and testified to by members of the panels. At least six thousand copies of this publication have been distributed in Mexico as well, including a special reprint of one thousand copies for use in connection with a new national Mexican program of "Civic Action and Community Development."

- **Burmese:** In the case of Myanmar (formerly Burma), we made a \$3,000 grant in support of the translation and publication of Dr. Sharp's essay *The Role of Power in Nonviolent Struggle* into Burmese, responding to a request for basic information on the more theoretical underpinnings of strategic nonviolent action. That translation has now been distributed in Myanmar and among Burmese in Thailand by the Foundation for Democracy in Burma.

- **Italian:** In the fall of 1989, we received copies of *Verso Un'Europa Inconquistabile*, the Italian version of Dr. Sharp's earlier work on civilian-based defense, *Making Europe Unconquerable*. The three volumes of Dr. Sharp's *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* are also now available in Italian.

- **Hebrew and Arabic:** During the spring of 1990, the Institution was able to take further steps in disseminating our work in the Middle East. We made a small grant to support a Hebrew translation of the paper on Israeli options in facing the *intifadah* that Dr. Sharp delivered to the Israeli Institute of Military Studies in July of 1989. That text was published in May 1990 in *State, Government, and International Relations*, the journal of the Davis Institute of Hebrew University. The Israeli Institute of Military Studies is publishing a second version of that text, again in Hebrew, in a book on the impact of the *intifadah* on Israeli society. The Einstein Institution has also made a \$4000 grant to the Institute in support of the Hebrew translation of Sharp's new book *Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System*.

Most recently, the Institution awarded \$5000 to Nonviolence International, headed by Mubarak Awad, to support a revised reprint of *Power, Struggle and Defense* in Arabic for circulation throughout the occupied territories. This grant also supports a revised reprint of Dr. Sharp's *The Role of Power in Nonviolent Struggle* essay in Arabic, and the translation and publication of Sharp's *Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System* in Arabic as well. One thousand copies of an Arabic translation of Dr. Sharp's *Journal of Palestine Studies* essay on the *intifadah* and nonviolent struggle have also been printed in pamphlet form in Jerusalem by the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence.

Translation Projects in Progress

- **Chinese:** The Institution has commissioned a Chinese translation of Gene Sharp's essay *The Role of Power in Nonviolent Struggle*, and initial contacts have been made for its publication.

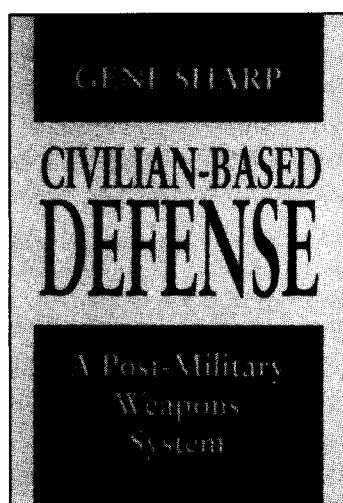
- **German:** The Einstein Institution has begun exploratory discussions concerning the translation of *Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons*

System into German in Austria, where there is interest in the policy in the Ministry of Defense.

- **Russian:** On his trip to Moscow in November 1989, Dr. Sharp presented papers at conferences hosted by two institutes of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. These were titled: "Pragmatic Nonviolent Struggles: A Better Solution To Acute Political and Ethical Conflicts?" and "The Historical Significance of the Growth of Nonviolent Struggle in the Late Twentieth Century." Academics expressed serious interest in publishing these essays in Russian, as well as Sharp's *The Role of Power in Nonviolent Struggle* essay and his new book, *Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System*.

- **Spanish:** At the Institution's request, Caridad Inda has produced a Spanish translation of an earlier version of *Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System*, titled *Defensa por el Poder de la Sociedad*, for which we are currently seeking a publisher.

Additional negotiations are currently underway for the translation of Sharp's *Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System* into Polish, Hungarian, Slovenian and Norwegian.



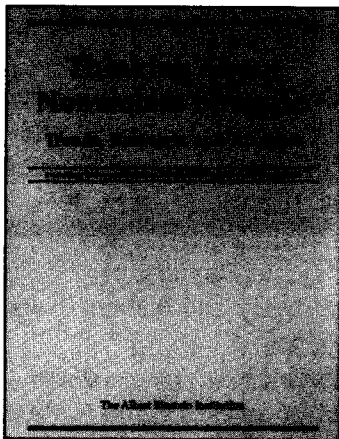
Publications of the President

Gene Sharp's *Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System*, written with the assistance of Bruce Jenkins, was published in August of 1990 by Princeton University Press. Dr. Sharp's paper, "A Civilian-Based Defense Component Within A Total Defense Policy?", presented at a conference hosted in March 1989 by the Norwegian Atlantic Committee, has been published in Oslo under the title *Kompletterende Forsvarsformer: En Konferanserapport* (46 pp.), together with the presentation of former Defense Minister Johan Jørgen Holst and those of three other conference participants.

Dr. Sharp wrote an introduction to *Bart de Ligt: Peace Activist and Peace Researcher*, made available in 1990 in both Dutch and English. The introduction, titled "Bart de Ligt (1883–1938): An Appreciation and Assessment of his 'The Conquest of Violence: An Essay on War and Revolution'," has also been published in Dutch in the separate publication *Bart de Ligt: De Overwinning Ophet Geweld* by Gernot Jackheim. Both editions of this essay were published by the Bart de Ligt Fund and the Foundation for Information on Active Nonviolence.

Dr. Sharp's chapter "Nonviolent Struggle: An Effective Alternative," will be included in the forthcoming book *Inner Peace, World Peace: Essays on Buddhism and Nonviolence*. The United States Institute of Peace commissioned Dr. Sharp to submit an essay on "People Power" to their journal; with Bruce Jenkins' assistance, the article was published in the journal's March 1990 issue. Additionally, several articles published in English-language journals have reappeared in translation elsewhere around the world, most notably Dr. Sharp's op-ed article in *The Guardian* (U.K.).





Other Publication Projects

With our increased staff support, we are now able to address a number of other publication projects which have been incubating for several years. Roger Powers, Coordinator of Publications and Special Projects, edited a transcript of proceedings from the October 1987 conference "Nonviolent Sanctions: The Future," held in Rockport, Massachusetts. This documentation of the two-day conference, sponsored by the Einstein Institution, was distributed to its twenty-three participants, as well as to other friends of the Institution.

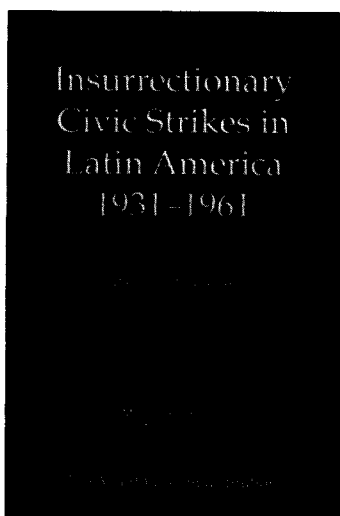
Mr. Powers has also edited, designed, and published the first four issues of our new newsletter, entitled *Nonviolent Sanctions: News From The Albert Einstein Institution*, including a special double issue featuring the Institution's February 1990 conference. Next on Mr. Powers' schedule of publications projects is a monograph series of four works: 1) "Insurrectionary Civic Strikes in Latin America: 1931-1961" (by Patricia Parkman), 2) "Civilian-Based Defense In A New Era" (by Norway's former Minister of Defense Johan Jørgen Holst), 3) "The Role of Power in Nonviolent Struggle," and 4) "Why Einstein?" (both by Gene Sharp). Proposals for future monographs, handbooks, pamphlets, and other publications should be sent with a self-addressed, stamped envelope to Roger Powers at the Einstein Institution.

Research Coordinator Ron McCarthy will complete another important publication project for the Institution in November of 1990, funded in part by a generous grant from the U.S. Institute for Peace. Entitled *Nonviolent Action: A Bibliography*, it is a five hundred page, comprehensive, annotated bibliography of English-language, book-length literature on nonviolent struggle. This bibliography focuses principally on historical cases of nonviolent action, documents the applications of the technique in various types of conflict situations (including national defense), and also includes studies of the methods and dynamics of nonviolent struggle. The forthcoming publication is intended to be of use primarily to researchers, scholars, graduate and undergraduate students and others seeking to learn more about the technique of nonviolent action. Dr. McCarthy took over completion of this massive project in 1985, and has been principally assisted by Brad Bennett.

The Einstein Institution has commissioned Brook Larmer to write a popular book about recent nonviolent struggles around the world, examining regional differences in their objectives, tactics, strategies, and results. Formerly a foreign correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*, Mr. Larmer is the newly appointed Latin America Bureau Chief for *Newsweek*. On a six-month leave before beginning his new position in Argentina, Mr. Larmer travelled to South Africa, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe in the summer and fall of 1990, collecting first person accounts from three different categories of participants in regional conflicts, accounts which weave a narrative that is both dramatic and analytical. Mr. Larmer intends to finish a first draft of this manuscript by January, 1991.

Civilian-Based Defense Association Newsletter

The Einstein Institution has increased its support of the Civilian-Based Defense Association's quarterly newsletter, *Civilian-Based Defense: News and Opinion*, published out of Omaha, Nebraska. The Association received a \$3,000 grant in 1988-89 and a \$6,000 grant in 1989-90 from the Einstein Institution, money which provided partial underwriting of the publication's budget.



Board of Directors

Peter Ackerman is co-author with Christopher Kruegler of the forthcoming *Strategic Nonviolent Conflict*. 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 Satyagraha. He is now a researcher at the International Institute of Strategic Studies in London.

Philip Bogdonoff is an applications analyst at the Cornell National Supercomputer Facility in Ithaca, New York. He is also Chairman of the Board of the Civilian-Based Defense Association and serves on the Advisory Board of the Citizens' Network for Common Security. He received a B.S. in operations research and industrial engineering from Cornell University, and spent 1980 to 1983 as a research aide in Cornell's Department of Ecology and Systematics, examining effects of tropical deforestation. He was Development Officer at the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, from 1983 until 1987.

Chester Haskell is Associate Dean for Degree Programs at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. 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. His research interests include comparative government, public administration, and public finance. 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 on the Board of Directors of the Latin American Scholarship Program of American Universities.

Christopher Kruegler directs the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, Center for International 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 currently working on *Strategic Nonviolent Conflict*, 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 an Executive Associate at the Social Science Research Council in New York City. His responsibilities at the SSRC include the Program in International Peace and Security, Global Aspects of the AIDS Pandemic, and the Committee for Research on Environmental Change. 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. Among other honors, he was named a Distinguished Fellow to the American Economic Association in December, 1987.

Gene Sharp is Founder and 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 Southeastern Massachusetts University, he has also taught at the University of Oslo, the University of Massachusetts at Boston, and various other institutions. His books include *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, *Social Power and Political Freedom*, *Gandhi as a Political Strategist*, and *Making Europe Unconquerable*. An international lecturer, his writings have appeared in 17 languages.

Einstein Institution Staff

Helen Brown	Development Associate
Stephen Crawford	Executive Director (10/88–8/90)
Kristen Engberg	Foundation Relations Associate (1/89–8/90)
Jane Gharibian	Administrative Coordinator
Nell Gharibian	Staff Assistant (8/89–8/90)
Barbara Harmel	South Africa Program Director (9/90–)
Bruce Jenkins	Special Assistant
Jhumpa Lahiri	Research Assistant (8/90–)
Ronald McCarthy	Research Coordinator
Roger Powers	Publications Coordinator
Gene Sharp	President

Financial Statement

Revenues, Expenses, and Fund Balances For the years ended June 30, 1989 and 1990

	FY 1989	FY 1990
OPERATING REVENUES:		
Grants	\$133,488	\$110,687
Contributions	130,381	551,458
Conference	-	21,911
Sublease	10,760	11,850
Miscellaneous	<u>3,316</u>	<u>3,274</u>
Total operating revenues	<u>277,945</u>	<u>699,180</u>
OPERATING EXPENSES:		
Program expenses—		
Research, policy studies and documentation	426,226	475,073
Education and outreach	<u>181,250</u>	<u>301,586</u>
Total program expenses	607,476	776,659
Fundraising	<u>136,179</u>	<u>148,325</u>
Total operating expenses	<u>743,655</u>	<u>924,984</u>
Excess of operating expenses over operating revenues	<u>(465,710)</u>	<u>(225,804)</u>
NON-OPERATING REVENUES:		
Annuity income	30,336	29,690
Interest and dividends	24,429	20,756
Gain on disposal of fixed assets	<u>-</u>	<u>7,827</u>
Total non-operating revenues	<u>54,765</u>	<u>58,273</u>
Excess (deficiency) of revenues over expenses	(410,945)	(167,531)
FUND BALANCES, beginning of year	<u>1,121,872</u>	<u>710,927</u>
FUND BALANCES, end of year	<u>\$710,927</u>	<u>\$543,396</u>

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

Balance Sheets—June 30, 1989 and 1990

	FY 1989	FY 1990
ASSETS:		
Cash and cash equivalents	\$288,606	\$188,751
Grants receivable	24,085	1,250
Interest receivable	811	875
Prepaid expenses, deposits and other assets	4,323	63,346
Annuity	<u>410,433</u>	<u>390,377</u>
	<u>728,258</u>	<u>644,599</u>
Fixed assets, at cost:		
Office equipment and furnishings	44,137	44,188
Less accumulated depreciation	<u>14,722</u>	<u>20,542</u>
Net fixed assets	<u>29,415</u>	<u>23,646</u>
	\$757,673	\$668,245
LIABILITIES:		
Accounts payable	\$3,866	\$10,618
Fellowships payable	-	37,664
Accrued expenses	32,880	48,651
Deferred revenue	<u>10,000</u>	<u>27,916</u>
Total liabilities	46,746	124,849
FUND BALANCES	<u>710,927</u>	<u>543,396</u>
	\$757,673	\$668,245

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

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