

Advancing the study and use of strategic nonviolent action in conflicts throughout the world.

REPORT ON ACTIVITIES 1993-1999

# Mission Statement

The mission of the Albert Einstein Institution is to advance the worldwide study and strategic use of nonviolent action in conflict. The Institution is committed to

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

This mission is pursued in three ways by

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

The Albert Einstein Institution would like to thank the following organizations for their generous financial support during the period from 1993 to 1999:

The Arca Foundation

Burma Project of the Open Society Institute

**Compton Foundation** 

C.S. Fund

Ford Foundation

Friedrich Naumann Stiftung

**Greenville Foundation** 

International Republican Institute

Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust

Joyce Mertz-Gilmore Foundation

National Endowment for Democracy

New York Friends Group

Olof Palme International Centre

Ploughshares Fund

**United States Institute for Peace** 

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For more information, please visit our website at:

www.aeinstein.org

or contact us at:

The Albert Einstein Institution 427 Newbury Street Boston, MA 02115 USA

voice: 617.247.4882 fax: 617.247.4035

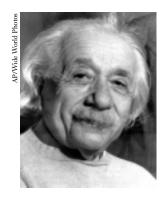
e-mail: einstein@igc.org

Cover photo: Pro-democracy protesters rally in Bankok against military-controlled government, May 1992.

Credit: Impact Visuals

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"On the whole, I believe that Gandhi held the most enlightened views.... We should strive to do things in his spirit: not to use violence in fighting for our cause...."

—Albert Einstein when asked what message he would like to share with the world by United Nations Radio, 1950.

# Message from the Executive Director

olonel Kyaw Thein was clearly unhappy with our workshop on nonviolent struggle held along the Thai-Burma border. At a September 1996 press briefing in Rangoon, the spokesman for the military dictatorship charged that "aliens and mercenaries" were trying to "disrupt the peace and tranquillity" in Burma—as if widespread torture, forced labor, and other human rights atrocities constitute "tranquillity." The military official was incensed by an ever-increasing global phenomenon: direct transnational assistance and cooperation between non-governmental organizations and pro-democracy groups around the world, in this case of course, in Burma. The Albert Einstein Institution's groundbreaking outreach on strategic nonviolent struggle is but one example of this growing trend that moves beyond traditional humanitarian and human rights efforts.

For many groups across the globe, a central component of their struggles for rights, justice, and democracy is nonviolent action. Since 1983, the Albert Einstein Institution has strived to unlock key insights on strategic nonviolent struggle and to share them with policymakers, academics, and pro-democracy leaders and activists. Through dedicated research, publications, translations, and on-site consultations, the Albert Einstein Institution has not only been expanding the "knowledge horizon" of nonviolent struggle, but has also been advancing its careful consideration by groups facing acute conflict.

By focusing attention on the widespread use of protests, mass strikes, boycotts, civil disobedience, and other forms of noncooperation—the types of methods used to help foster the dramatic political changes in Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and South Africa, among many other places—we challenge the general assumption that violence is the only, or even the most powerful, "means of last resort." While millions of dollars are spent each year studying violent conflict and war, only the Albert Einstein Institution provides the informational resources, groundbreaking research, and strategic insights necessary to understand and promote pragmatic and effective nonviolent struggle in conflicts.

We have achieved a great deal over the past years, as is apparent in this report covering our activities from 1993 through 1999. It is gratifying to report that concepts of nonviolent resistance have been incorporated into the defense plans of three Baltic states, that Thailand has adopted a constitutional provision that recognizes "the right to resist peacefully" unlawful seizures of power, that the Burmese pro-democracy movement has created a nonviolent "political defiance" infrastructure, that senior Tibetan leaders are examining strategic nonviolent struggle, and much more. The Albert Einstein Institution is proud to have assisted, in varying degrees, these important developments.



The new documentary film A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict will air on PBS stations in fall 2000 (see p. 40).

When we look across the globe, however, it is all too clear that enormous challenges still confront those seeking greater justice. A recent survey of political rights and civil liberties asserts that over 33% of the world's population live under highly repressive conditions, with a further 26% enduring somewhat milder though still pernicious restrictions.\* Torture and political violence remain common. Corruption and the maldistribution of resources condemn millions to lives of poverty. Internal battles for power and privilege, often orchestrated along the fault lines of ethnicity, subject vast populations to terror and displacement. At the onset of a new millennium, the conditions that give rise to large-scale conflict are ever present.

With the seeds of conflict so rife, we cannot underscore enough the importance of learning from the past and the power of sharing insights on strategic nonviolent struggle. As you will learn in this report, we have devoted substantial resources to these ends—from our distinctive research and publication efforts to our support for an incisive new public television documentary A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict. Moreover, we have not shied away from real-time conflicts. Despite the barriers established by regimes fearful of popular empowerment through nonviolent struggle, we have conducted extensive direct outreach to share our ideas with the pro-democracy leaders and activists who need them most.

Your support is crucial as we look to the future. Together we can deepen our understanding of realistic nonviolent alternatives to war and violence, and offer crucial support to people striving for their democratic rights and freedoms.

Bruce Jenkins

**Executive Director** 



Executive Director Bruce Jenkins.

<sup>\*</sup>Freedom in the World: The Annual Survey of Political Rights and Civil Liberties 1998–1999. New York: Freedom House, 1999.

# Policy and Outreach Program

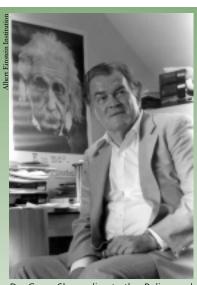
oo often groups struggling for democracy and human rights do not have access to practical information about strategic nonviolent struggle. Leaders at times reject—or do not even consider—nonviolent means of waging conflict, due to a lack of salient materials on nonviolent strategies and tactics. The Policy and Outreach Program of the Albert Einstein Institution endeavors to provide the best resources to date on strategic nonviolent action to groups fighting for democratic freedoms. Our aim is to help increase the skill, competency, and effectiveness of democratic nonviolent movements to help them achieve liberation from dictatorships and civil, political, or economic oppression. Whether the goal is undermining a dictatorship, preventing a coup d'état, defending against an invasion, or demanding social change, the Albert Einstein Institution is helping people around the world to consider nonviolent struggle as a means to wage "war" without violence.

In recent years, direct requests for our assistance have escalated. Gene Sharp, founder of the Albert Einstein Institution and now our senior scholar, has directed the work of the Policy and

Outreach Program to meet these requests, from Burmese jungle camps to barricaded parliament buildings in the Baltic states to the headquarters of the exiled Tibetan leadership.

The Policy and Outreach Program provides assistance primarily through workshops and courses on strategic nonviolent struggle, consultations with political leaders, and translations of Albert Einstein Institution publications. The Policy and Outreach Program only engages with groups that are committed to democratic outcomes and that have specifically requested our assistance. At the outset, program staff devote substantial time and effort to conferring with a group's leadership before engaging with the "rank and file." This approach allows us to assess needs and to adapt our outreach to a group's circumstances, and generally helps create conditions that are more favorable to the long-term adoption of nonviolent strategies.

Following are key points of interest from our Policy and Outreach Program from 1993 to 1999. Staff members Stephen Coady and Christopher Miller greatly assisted in completing these projects.



Dr. Gene Sharp directs the Policy and Outreach Program.





Aung San Suu Kyi speaks from the gate of her compound in Rangoon during her weekly talk to supporters, June 1996.

"There is an expression much bandied about these days which, in its Burmanized form, sounds very much like "jeans shirt." This has nothing to do with the denim mania that has come to Burma ....

The expression actually refers to 'Gene Sharp,' the author of some works on 'political defiance."

Nobel Peace Prize winner Daw Aung San Suu Kyi,
 "Letter from Burma" series, September 16, 1996

# Burma

"We've chosen non-violence because it is the best way to protect the people, and in the long term assure the future stability of democracy," states Burmese opposition leader and Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi. "We have chosen the way of non-violence simply because we think it is politically better for the country in the long run to establish that you can bring about change without the use of arms."

The Burmese opposition's nonviolent campaign, as described by Aung San Suu Kyi, is particularly striking in light of Burma's dire political circumstances. The Burmese pro-democracy movement is struggling against one of the most ruthless regimes in existence, one consistently charged with massive human rights violations, the denial of political and civil rights, corruption, and involvement in the drug trade. The current military regime, which seized power in a 1988 coup and by fiat later changed the country's name to Myanmar, lost nation-wide elections in 1990, yet still clings to power, rejecting offers of dialogue from pro-democracy leaders. The regime has doubled the size of the military and has launched scorched earth campaigns against ethnic military forces. Against this background many Burmese have turned to nonviolent struggle and have requested the assistance of the Albert Einstein Institution.

Since holding preliminary discussions with leaders of the Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Burma in early 1988, the Albert Einstein Institution has been asked repeatedly to provide critical resources on strategic nonviolent struggle to various Burmese opposition groups. By conducting private briefings with senior lead-

ers, leading workshops in jungle camps and elsewhere, and translating and publishing simplified print materials in multiple languages, we have sought to impart a systematic framework to facilitate the understanding and implementation of strategic nonviolent struggle.

The impetus for our intensive workshops on nonviolent struggle for Burmese groups came in November 1991, when Robert Helvey, a retired U.S. Army colonel and former U.S. military attaché in Burma, requested that we assist in reviewing lesson plans for an introductory course in nonviolent struggle. Mr. Helvey designed the course for Burmese

opposition groups in part by relying on Gene Sharp's *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*. The May 1992 course, conducted inside Burma at the opposition headquarters at Manerplaw, was extremely well received. In fact, when leading Burmese opposition groups formed the umbrella organization National Council of the Union of Burma in August 1992, they also established a "Political Defiance Committee" to educate activists and to organize strategic nonviolent struggle inside Burma ("political defiance" is the term adopted in Burma to connote nonviolent struggle). Senior pro-democracy leaders requested additional workshops from Robert Helvey and the Albert Einstein Institution.

Since the first workshop in Manerplaw, the Albert Einstein Institution has worked extensively with Mr. Helvey to develop curricula for both introductory and more advanced strategy workshops. With Mr. Helvey, we have directly sponsored and conducted numerous workshops in the field—at camps along the Thai-Burma border, sessions in Bangkok and Delhi, and courses for the Oslo-based staff members of the Burmese prodemocracy short-wave radio station, the Demo-

cratic Voice of Burma. In all, more than 700 Burmese leaders and activists have received direct information and educational support from the Albert Einstein Institution.

Using materials and knowledge from our consultations, seminars, and publications, Burmese democrats are now able to organize their own workshops and study groups. Burmese activists have conducted their own political defiance courses inside Burma: in the northern Kachin state, in Rangoon, in Shan territory, and in the Tavoy area in the south.

In addition, Albert Einstein Institution writings have been directly incorporated into the Burmese's own educational materials.

The Albert Einstein Institution helped print more than 23,000 copies of the Burmese edition of Gene Sharp's *From Dictatorship to Democracy* in a small, inconspicuous format, which are now circulating

# Sample Curriculum: Introductory Workshop on Strategic Nonviolent Struggle Administrative Instructions ..... Adult Education Techniques ...... Introduction to Nonviolent Struggle ..... Introduction to Strategy ..... Nonviolent Struggle in the American Revolution ..... Introduction to Strategic Nonviolent Struggle Theory ....... 1 hr. Gandhi as a Strategist ..... Theories of Political Power ..... Creation of Pillars of Support from Sources of Power in Society ...... 3 hrs. Mechanisms for Changing Power Relationships ......2 hrs. Nonviolent Protest, Noncooperation and Intervention ....... 3hrs. Dilemma Actions Grand Strategy and Supporting Plans ..... Communications Fundamentals ..... Public Participation in Political Defiance ..... Course Summary .....

# Robert Helvey Profile

From Newsday, December 26, 1999:



The suspicion of softness overtook Col. Robert Helvey the moment he learned of the seminar on nonviolent struggle.

Nearing the end of a long infantry career in the late 1980s, Helvey was a senior Army fellow at Harvard University's Center for International Affairs. A tough warrior with a short haircut, he imagined the event as the work of 1960s-style hippies. "I didn't have anything to do that afternoon," Helvey recalled. "I just thought I'd go in

and see who these long-haired bastards were."

But the presentation by Gene Sharp, leader of the center's Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and founder of the Albert Einstein Institution, surprised him—by making clear that nonviolent struggle had nothing to do with pacifism. "It is all about seizing political power or denying it to others, " said Helvey, who soon became a believer. "By God, I was convinced that, properly planned, you could overcome a tyrant without resorting to violence." Within three years, he found himself on the border of Thailand and Burma, teaching nonviolent struggle to leaders of the Burmese resistance.



Some 1,000 students demonstrate Monday afternoon, December 2, 1996, in front of Rangoon University in the largest such protest in Burma in years.

"The crook Gene Sharp is a so-called scholar of the Albert Einstein University [sic] .... He gave training to the destructionists including expatriate Sein Win [Prime Minister in exile] and also wrote manuals which were translated into Burmese and illegally distributed in the country. It can be called a correspondence course for local destructionists."

— New Light of Myanmar, September 29, 1996

inside Burma. We also supervised the translation of *From Dictatorship* into languages of some of the major ethnic groups in Burma, namely Karen, Mon, Jinghpaw, and Chin.

Which Way to Freedom?, a concise, elementary text that highlights key concepts of nonviolent struggle to achieve liberation, which the Albert Einstein Institution helped produce with the Political Defiance Committee, has also been translated into Burmese and up to 15,000 copies are circulating inside the country.

One telling repercussion of the Albert Einstein Institution's work in Burma—in addition to the spread of the core ideas of nonviolent struggle—has been the aggressive retaliation by the junta-controlled media. Since early 1995 regime-controlled radio and newspapers have launched a series of denunciations against "political defiance" (equating it with terrorism) and specifically against Albert Einstein Institution representatives Gene Sharp, Robert Helvey, and Bruce Jenkins. Photographs, biographical information, personal addresses, and phone numbers have appeared in the junta-controlled newspaper *New Light of Myanmar* and on its Web site. While these denunciations reveal the risky nature of the Albert Einstein Institution's work, they are clear indicators that the regime is aware of the revolutionary potential of nonviolent struggle against tyranny.



Robert Helvey leading a workshop for pro-democracy groups near the Thai-Burma border, August 1996.

"If the State Law and Order Restoration Council was a weak and stupid government, it would not be able to withstand the attacks of political defiance."

— junta-controlled newspapers *New Light of Myanmar* and *The Mirror*, July 5, 1995

# Burma-Related Consultations, Workshops, Publications, and Speaking Engagements: 1993-1999

#### 1-12 JANUARY 1993

Gene Sharp and Robert Helvey visit Manerplaw, Burma for consultations with the Political Defiance Committee and other senior Burmese pro-democracy leaders.

#### 31 MAY-2 JUNE 1993

Consultations are held with Karen National Union President Bo Mya and Foreign Affairs Advisor Dr. Em Marta at our offices.

#### 11 JUNE-8 JULY 1993

Robert Helvey, assisted by Gene Sharp, conducts a "strategist course" in Manerplaw.

#### 13-14 NOVEMBER 1993

Gene Sharp serves on the Advisory Committee for the International Burmese Congress held in New York City on November 13 and 14, 1993. Dr. Sharp's presentation is rebroadast by the U.S. short-wave radio station Voice of America.

## **APRIL** 1994

Two thousand copies of the English language booklet *From Dictatorship to Democracy* are printed in Bangkok by the Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Burma with a grant from the Einstein Institution.

#### 22-24 APRIL 1994

The Albert Einstein Institution hosts a twoday consultation on political defiance for cabinet members of the exiled National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma. Prime Minister Sein Win attends.

#### FEBRUARY TO NOVEMBER 1994

From Dictatorship to Democracy is serialized in English and later in Burmese in the opposition newspaper Khit Pyjang (New Era).

### 9-11 DECEMBER 1994

The Albert Einstein Institution conducts a workshop titled "Political Defiance for Burma Donors" at its offices at the request of the Burma Donors Secretariat.

## JANUARY 1995

Eight thousand copies of the Burmese language booklet edition of *From Dictatorship* to *Democracy* are printed and distributed, most inside Burma.

#### 19 MAY-16 JUNE 1995

The Albert Einstein Institution sponsors a three and a half-week course for the staff of the Democratic Voice of Burma shortwave radio station, based in Oslo. Conducted by Robert Helvey, with Gene Sharp's assistance.

#### 6-7 AUGUST 1995

At the request of the Democratic Burmese Student Organization (USA), Gene Sharp conducts a two-day educational workshop in Washington, D.C., on strategic nonviolent struggle for a group of Burmese pro-democracy activists residing in the U.S.

## 3-4 OCTOBER 1995

Two leaders of the All Burma Students' Democratic Front, Moe Thee Zun and Aung Naing Oo, visit the Albert Einstein Institution for consultations. They request assistance with an advanced course on strategy in nonviolent struggle, consultations with Albert Einstein Institution personnel, and preparation of a short statement on nonviolent struggle for potential use among the general Burmese population.

### 15-20 DECEMBER 1995

Dr. Sharp and Mr. Helvey return to Oslo to conduct a follow-up evaluation of the previous course for staff of the Democratic Voice of Burma.

## 15 FEBRUARY-16 MARCH 1996

Robert Helvey and Gene Sharp travel to the Thai-Burma border to conduct an intensive two-week advanced political defiance workshop for various prodemocracy and ethnic rights organizations. Following the course, Gene Sharp and Robert Helvey conduct a one-week special seminar on strategy and nonviolent struggle for the Moe Thee Zun faction of the All Burma Students' Democratic Front.

### 24-28 MAY 1996

Robert Helvey and Gene Sharp conduct another consultation with the staff of the Democratic Voice of Burma short-wave radio station in Oslo, Norway. They are accompanied by Harn Yawnghwe, Executive Director of the Burma Donors Group.

#### 19-24 AUGUST 1996

Robert Helvey and Bruce Jenkins offer a special seminar titled "Political Defiance Strategic Estimates and Options" in Burma near the Thai border at the request of the Political Defiance Committee. The consultation is held at the then-headquarters of the Karen National Union, which is later captured by the Burma Army.

## 30 OCTOBER 1996

In New Delhi, India, Robert Helvey and Gene Sharp meet with Dr. Tint Swe, a Burmese exiled member of parliament to review the situation of the Burmese pro-democracy movement. On November 20 in New Delhi, Dr. Sharp and Mr. Helvey meet with other Burmese, including members of the Committee for Nonviolent Action in Burma.

### DECEMBER 1996

Twelve thousand copies of the Burmese language booklet *From Dictatorship to Democracy* are reprinted in Bangkok and 3,000 are reprinted in India and are distributed inside Burma from both the western and eastern border areas.

### JANUARY 1997

Dr. Naing Aung, Chairman, and Aung Naing Oo, Foreign Affairs Secretary, of the All Burma Students' Democratic Front, visit the Boston area for consultations with Albert Einstein Institution representatives.

#### 1 FEBRUARY 1997

Gene Sharp presents a keynote address on political defiance at the Free Burma Coalition Conference in Washington, D.C. The presentation focuses on political defiance as a tool that can undermine the Burmese dictatorship. The Free Burma Coalition Conference comprises 150 student Burma action groups on U.S. campuses. Aung Naing Oo and Gene Sharp also

conduct two workshops on political defiance during the conference.

## 25 MAY-9 JUNE 1997

Robert Helvey travels to Thailand to conduct a staff management course sponsored by the Albert Einstein Institution with the National Council of the Union of Burma's Political Defiance Committee. The day after the course ends, local Thai authorities raid the training site.

#### AUGUST 1997

Fifteen thousand copies of the Burmese language pamphlet Which Way to Freedom? are printed and distributed inside Burma. The pamphlet is developed jointly by the Political Defiance Committee and the Einstein Institution.

#### 16-22 NOVEMBER 1997

Bruce Jenkins travels to Thailand to conduct follow-up consultations with the Political Defiance Committee and other Burmese prodemocracy leaders.

### 10-16 MARCH 1998

Robert Helvey and Bruce Jenkins visit Thailand for another series of consultations with the staff of the Political Defiance Committee of the National Council of the Union of Burma. Political defiance publications and lesson plans are made available to both the All Burma Students' Democratic Front and the Democratic Party for a New Society, and are subsequently used in Burmese-led courses held in the Kachin state in the north, in Rangoon, and in the Tavoy area in the south.

#### 27-29 APRIL 1998

Robert Helvey hosts a visiting National Council of the Union of Burma delegation for a workshop at his home in West Virginia to discuss the NCUB's "Strategic Program Plan." The delegation also holds meetings in Washington to seek support for their nonviolent opposition plans.

### 19-25 JULY 1998

Gene Sharp and Robert Helvey present another seminar to the staff of the Democratic Voice of Burma (DVB) radio station in Oslo, Norway.

#### 3-11 NOVEMBER 1998

Robert Helvey conducts follow-up consultations with the Political Defiance Committee in Chiangmai and Mae Hong Son, Thailand.

#### 1999

The Institution coordinates the translation of From Dictatorship to Democracy into ethnic languages spoken in Burma: Karen, Mon, Chin, and Jinghpaw. Three-thousand copies of the Karen edition are published; others to be printed in early 2000. The Institution also provides ongoing consultations and communications to Burmese groups in Thailand via internet.

# BALTICS

"If I had to choose between the atom bomb and Dr. Sharp's book, I would choose this book," declared the Director General of the Lithuanian Department of National Defense during a meeting

of defense officials in the still-barricaded Lithuanian parliament building in April 1991. Director General Audrius Butkevicius, who directed his country's "people power" defense against an attempted Soviet coup in January 1991, was holding up a copy of Gene Sharp's *Civilian-Based Defense*.



Dr. Butkevicius made this statement at a time when the Lithuanian government had declared that the "principles of disobedience, nonviolent resistance, and political and social noncooperation [were] the primary means of struggle for independence." Lithuania—together with Latvia and Estonia—had taken the lead to-

ward independence among the Soviet republics in the 1980s and 1990s (the three Baltic states had been annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940). Through multiple forms of concerted nonviolent action, the small Baltic states had been able to undermine the legitimacy of Soviet rule and to establish their own forms of governance. Indeed, in March 1990 Lithuanians declared their independence, a full eighteen months prior to the breakup of the Soviet Union. Materials and input from the Albert Einstein Institution assisted Baltic leaders in their historic struggle.

The inception of the Albert Einstein Institution's work with the Baltic states can be traced to November 1989, when a Lithuanian scholar—Grazina Miniotaite—expressed strong interest in the work of the Institution during a conference we attended in Moscow. Dr. Miniotaite returned to Vilnius with a suitcase full of our materials. Later, we sent Dr. Miniotaite still more materials, including the page



proofs of *Civilian-Based Defense*. Dr. Miniotaite prepared a ten-page summary and forwarded the items to Dr. Butkevicius, who in turn had the entire manuscript quickly translated (unauthorized) and circulated to fellow independence leaders.

In April 1991 Director General Butkevicius hosted Gene Sharp, Einstein Board member Peter Ackerman, and Bruce Jenkins in Vilnius for consultations with defense planners and independence leaders, including then-president Vytautus Landsbergis. Dr. Butkevicius informed us that our writings on civilian-based defense had directly contributed to his "people power" defense in the January 1991 attack. (Soviet troops attempted a putsch, killing fourteen people who had peacefully surrounded the main

television transmission tower in preparation for the attack. Thousands of Lithuanians then formed a human "protective shield" around the parliament building to ward off Soviet troops.)

Dr. Butkevicius also told us that he had photocopied the Civilian-Based Defense manuscript and had sent fifty copies to various leaders and activists throughout the Soviet Union, in-

cluding colleagues in neighboring Latvia and Estonia. Latvian and Estonian ministers in charge of defense later confirmed that they had used *Civilian-Based Defense* in their planning of civilian resistance during the January 1991 crisis (Soviet troops had also mobilized in Riga, Latvia, killing five people) and during a hard-line coup attempt in August 1991 in Moscow, the Baltics, and other parts of the USSR.

In September 1991, with the final collapse of the Soviet Union, the three Baltic states achieved international recognition as independent states. Baltic leaders then turned their attentions to defending Baltic democratic gains and institutions. The Einstein Institution was asked to assist with the exploration of potential Baltic civilian-based defense policies—strategically planned and prepared policies of nonviolent resistance. We agreed to provide further assistance, believing that cogent articulation and gradual adoption of civilian-based defense policies in this region would contribute to the development of less lethal, less militarized, and more stabilizing security arrangements.



Lithuanians publicly renounce Soviet medals, insignia, and identification booklets, April 1991.

Our "post-independence" efforts in the Baltic states have concentrated on three areas of activity: direct high-level consultations in support of the development of policies of civilian-based defense, translation and publication of materials on the subject, and research and development of an international "civilian-based defense mutual aid treaty."

In November 1992 the Latvian parliament adopted the "Law on National Defense" that states, in part, that one task of Latvia's defense program is to instruct the people of the Republic of Latvia "on how to conduct nonviolent national defense," and, in cases in which violent actions

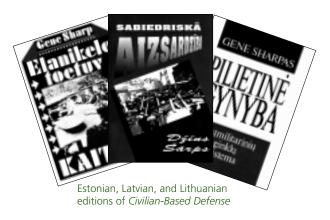
are directed against the national constitutional order, "to organize civil disobedience against the illegal power." With this measure, Latvia joined a small number of states that have determined, at one time or another, that forms of nonviolent resistance would strengthen the country's defense capacity. Other states include Switzerland, Sweden, Austria, Lithuania, and Estonia (see below).

In January 1993 Gene Sharp and Bruce Jenkins traveled to Latvia to confer with Minister of Defense Talavs Jundzis and other Latvian officials on the development and implementation of this element of Latvian defense policy. Dr. Sharp and Mr. Jenkins also visited Lithuania



to confer with now Minister of Defense Butkevicius and to make presentations on civilian-based defense to various branches of the Defense Ministry. Dr. Sharp continued on to Estonia for discussions with Defense Minister Hain Rebas, Minister of Internal Affairs Lagle Parek, and other high-level policymakers.

In April 1994 Bruce Jenkins traveled to the three Baltic states for further discussions with Baltic defense officials. In meetings with the newly elected Lithuanian Defense Minister Linas Linkevicius,



the Latvian Defense Minister Valdis Pavlovskis, Estonian defense official Mr. Enn Tuup, and parliamentarian Mr. Jüri Põld, Mr. Jenkins confirmed that the Baltic leaders planned to develop civilian-based defense components as part of each country's defense program.

To promote broader understanding and debate on civilian-based defense, the Einstein Institution was requested to support the translation and publication of relevant materials. The Institution directed and funded the translation and printing of *Civilian-Based Defense* into Lithuanian (1992), Estonian (1994), and Latvian (1995). The Lithuanian and Latvian editions were co-sponsored by their respective defense ministries; all three editions carry forewords by then-

current or former defense ministers. The institution also sponsored the translation and printing of our booklet *Self-Reliant Defense* in Lithuanian (1992), Latvian (1992), and Estonian (1993).

An important conference in Vilnius in June 1992 (see our *Biennial Report 1990-1992*), whose participants included representatives of the Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, and Swedish defense ministries in addition to leading scholars on nonviolent resistance, concluded with a resolution that called for "the development 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." The Albert Einstein Institution was asked to take the lead in drafting such an agreement.

To this end, Bruce Jenkins collected and analyzed relevant international agreements. After soliciting input from experts, we prepared a first draft. In the fall of 1994, the Institution hosted former Lithuanian Minister of Defense Audrius Butkevicius, who had resigned from his post in October 1993 after the last Russian troops withdrew from Lithuania, as a scholar-in-residence. The purpose of Dr. Butkevicius's residency was to rework the draft treaty to ensure that it would be in line with Baltic political realities as well as to develop a structural framework of cooperation between the three states. During his stay, Dr. Butkevicius also studied intensively the literature on civilian-based defense and developed a concept paper on the combination of civilian-based and military defense policies for small states. He then presented his paper to a NATO seminar in Vilnius, Lithuania in October 1994.

We produced a revised draft of the treaty in January 1995. We had both the draft agreement and Dr. Butkevicius's paper translated into Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian, which we then circulated among senior Baltic defense officials in April 1995.

In May 1995, after participating in a conference in Vilnius titled "From Nonviolent Liberation to Tolerance: The Development of Civil Society in Eastern Central Europe," Einstein Institution Board Chair Elizabeth Defeis, Gene Sharp, and Bruce Jenkins visited Vilnius, Riga, and

Tallinn to consult with senior Baltic government officials and to gauge reactions to the draft Civilian-Based Defense Mutual Assistance Treaty.\* Most officials reacted favorably to the treaty draft and Dr. Butkevicius's concept paper, noting that they would support civilian-based defense as a supplementary component in the burgeoning Baltic "total defense" postures.

A successive change in Baltic governments as well as a primary focus on developing small military forces that would be compatible with NATO standards led to a pause in further development of the treaty. At the same time, consideration of civilian-based defense policies, primarily in Lithuania and Estonia, continued.

In May 1996 the Estonian Parliament adopted its "Guidelines of the National Defence Policy of Estonia." With military structures forming the primary line of defense, the guidelines list "informing the society of the methods of resistance without violence" as one of the tasks of the country's volunteer Defence League. In July 1997 Gene Sharp met with Estonian Defense Minister Andrus Öövel in Tallinn who indicated that Estonia remained interested in incorporating elements of civilian-based defense in its defense posture.

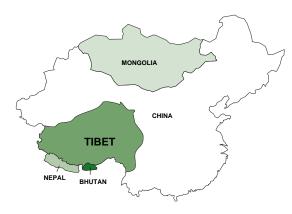
In December 1996 the Lithuanian parliament adopted "The Basics of National Security of Lithuania" which includes a number of provisions related to organized civilian resistance, including the following:

In the event of assault or attempt to violate Lithuania's territorial integrity or its constitutional order, the citizens and their self-activated structures shall undertake actions of civil-defense—non-violent resistance, disobedience and non-collaboration with the unlawful administration, as well as armed resistance.

The law also formalized a "State Civil Resistance Training Centre." Since 1992 the Lithuanian Department of Civil Defense had been conducting its own training courses on civil resistance that included modules and materials based on the work of the Einstein Institution.

To date, the Baltic states have demonstrated novel approaches to incorporating their experiences with nonviolent struggle into plans for defending their hard-won rights and freedoms. One must not overestimate the potential role of civilian resistance in Baltic defense policies, as all three Baltic states have sought integration into the NATO alliance and all are developing small military force structures for defense purposes and for participation in international peacekeeping operations. Yet independence leaders in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia have demonstrated to the world the power of careful but assertive nonviolent struggle, not only for purposes of expressing ethnic identity, but also for securing and protecting political rights and freedoms.

<sup>\*</sup>During this visit, Albert Einstein Institution representatives met with the Honorable Linas Linkevicius, Minister of National Defense of Lithuania; Mr. Vytautus Petkevicius, Chairman of the Lithuanian parliament's National Security Committee; Mr. Gundars Zalkalns, National Security Advisor to the President of Latvia; Mr. Karlis Druva, National Defense Advisor to the Prime Minister of Latvia; Mr. Andrejs Pantelejevs, Chairman of the Latvian parliament's National Security Committee; the Honorable Andrus Öövel, Minister of Defense of Estonia; and Mr. Peeter Lorents, Chairman of the Estonian parliament's Defense Committee.



# TIBET

The Tibetan people have been subjected to ruthless repression and denied basic civil and political rights since the invasion and occupation by the People's Republic of China in 1950-51. Armed resistance has been met with disaster. Courageous nonviolent protests continue, though on an episodic basis.

In 1995 and 1996 the chairman of the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies (parliament-in-exile), the Venerable Samdhong Rinpoche, undertook a review of various approaches to nonviolent action with the intent to strengthen the decades-long struggle for Tibetan rights. In early 1996 Ven. Rinpoche requested that the Albert Einstein Institution prepare and conduct an intensive workshop for Tibetan leaders and activists. Close friends

> time and had encouraged him to review our work.

"I congratulate and commend the publication of this book about nonviolent struggle written by Dr. Gene Sharp for the Tibetans .... I expect that the publication of this work on nonviolent action in the Tibetan language will become an instrument that will widely open the door of knowledge of the Tibetan people on the subject."

- His Holiness the Dalai Lama, foreword to the Tibetan edition of Gene Sharp's The Power and Practice of Nonviolent Struggle

At Ven. Rinpoche's request, the Einstein Institution conducted a tenday course titled "Theory and Applications of Strategic Nonviolent Struggle for Tibetans" from 4-16

of the Einstein Institution Mary and Everett Gendler\* had also met

with Ven. Rinpoche around this

November 1996, in Dharamsala, India. The course, led by Robert Helvey with Gene Sharp's assistance, was sponsored by the Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre (TPPRC), of which Ven. Rinpoche is the chairman, and was attended by an invited group of leaders and activists from various Tibetan exile organizations.

This initial workshop resulted in further requests for our assistance. From 3-14 November 1997, Gene Sharp and Bruce Jenkins conducted a second ten-day course in New Delhi for Tibetan students, monks, and other activists. Also organized by the TPPRC, the course focused on such elements as nonviolent methods, strategic planning, and the dynamics of nonviolent conflict that should be taken into account when considering nonviolent campaigns.

From 10-14 September 1998, Gene Sharp, with his assistant Chris Miller, conducted an intensive five-day workshop at Norbulinka, a







A Chinese policeman patrols in the background as vendors do business in front of wall scrawled with the words "Free Tibet" in Lhasa on August 6, 1995. The wall was quickly repainted within a week.

<sup>\*</sup> Everett is a member of the Albert Einstein Institution's Advisors Council.

Tibetan cultural center in north India about a half-hour drive from Dharamsala. The intent of this workshop was to provide senior Tibetan leaders with an introductory understanding of nonviolent struggle. The workshop was attended by members of parliament, as well as by the Chief Kalon (Minister), and several departmental secretaries and directors. Other participants included venerable monks and Tibetans who had previously engaged in armed struggle with the People's Republic of China as well as in nonviolent protests.

The workshop in September 1998 resulted in a request for an advanced ten-day course that would be attended principally by Tibetans with experience in direct resistance. From 9-20 November 1998, Gene Sharp, again assisted by Chris Miller, conducted a course titled "An Introductory Workshop on Strategic Nonviolent Struggle" in Kosi, India, about a two-hour drive south of New Delhi. This ten-day workshop was similar in content to the ten-day workshops in November 1996 and November 1997, but focused greater attention on steps involved in developing strategies for nonviolent struggle. Participants in this workshop were specifically selected on the basis of the likelihood that they would return to Tibet. Of the 24 participants, 22 were recent arrivals from Tibet; eighteen were ex-political prisoners; seven were nuns, one of whom had been imprisoned three times; and one participant had spent 22 years in Chinese prisons.

After attending Einstein Institution workshops, Tibetan leaders and activists became interested in obtaining translations of our materials on nonviolent struggle in the Tibetan language. Between 1997 and 1999, we coordinated the translation of Gene Sharp's manuscript *The Power and Practice of Nonviolent Struggle* into Tibetan. The manuscript includes a condensed version of the core analysis contained in Dr. Sharp's three-volume work *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, and it is augmented by a series of accounts of more recent nonviolent struggles as well as by additional chapters on political applications and strategic planning for nonviolent struggle. The Tibetan edition was published by the TPPRC in early 2000.

Our Tibetan friends are developing additional programs to promote more widespread understanding of the strategic approach to nonviolent struggle. We anticipate further Einstein Institution projects in support of this process.



Tibetan women wear gags to symbolize suppression of free speech under Chinese rule in Tibet, as they demonstrate in Huairou, north of Bejing, September 1, 1995, during the United Nations World Conference on Women.

"I write this letter to first of all sincerely thank the Albert Einstein Institution, especially Dr. Gene Sharp and you, for your participation and active involvement in the preparation of the workshop on non-violent strategic planning. Your enthusiasm, earnestness and sincerity towards imparting your knowledge and information to the Tibetans is indeed commendable."

 letter to Bruce Jenkins from Venerable Samdhong Rinpoche, Chairman of the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies



Venerable Samdhong Rinpoche and Gene Sharp, Kosi, India, November 1998.

# THAILAND

Since 1932 Thailand has undergone eighteen military coups—an experience that has generated much public and governmental discussion in Thailand about constitutional and political means

for blocking future coup attempts, including the use of nonviolent civilian resistance. The Albert Einstein Institution is proud to have contributed to the consideration of nonviolent anti-coup measures in Thailand.



In 1987 Professor Chaiwat Satha-Anand, a faculty member in political science at Thammasat University, submitted a proposal he prepared with Gene Sharp's assistance to the Parliamentary Affairs Committee of the Thai Parliament titled "Project for the Preservation of Parliamentary Democracy." Though there was no action taken on the proposal, it helped spark a discussion about organized nonviolent resistance as a preventative measure against future coups.

In February 1991 a military clique overthrew the elected Thai government. When one of its leaders, Army Commander-in-Chief General

Suchinda Kraprayoon, was named Prime Minister in April 1992, opposition leaders engaged in hunger strikes, and opposition parties, civic, labor, student, and other groups organized mass demonstrations. Major portions of Gene Sharp's essay "Basic Anti-Coup Actions" were translated into Thai and incorporated into a pamphlet titled "A Manual for Peacefully Resisting a Coup." The Students' Federation of Thailand distributed approximately 100,000 copies of the pamphlet. Sharp's catalogue of 198 methods of nonviolent action was reprinted



Pro-democracy protesters rally in Bankok against military-controlled government, May 1992.

in leaflet form and referred to in Thai as "198 Ways to Fight the Demons." A brutal military crackdown in mid-May sparked a period of violent confrontations in which fifty-two people were reported killed. When the protests continued and the King of Thailand intervened, the military crackdown was halted, General Suchinda resigned as Prime Minister, and a new constitution was adopted that required the Prime Minister to be an elected official.

On the heels of the successful, predominantly nonviolent demonstrations, scholars and parliamentary officials turned their attentions to legislation that would empower nonviolent resistance to future coup attempts. Professor Chaiwat

Satha-Anand invited Gene Sharp to Bangkok for a series of meetings in November 1992. Dr. Sharp presented a lecture at Thammasat University titled "Anti-Coup Defense: Prerequisite for a Lasting Democracy." (Dr. Sharp's abbreviated article "Basic Anti-Coup Actions," containing many of the themes of the lecture, was published in Thai in the *Political Science Journal* of Thammasat University, and was subsequently reprinted in the major

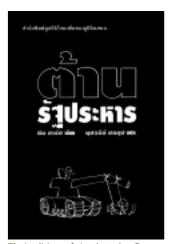
Thai newspaper *Poodchakarn*.) Dr. Sharp also met with officers and faculty of the Command and General Staff College of the Royal Thai Army to discuss the methods and dynamics of nonviolent resistance.

Significantly, during the same trip, Dr. Sharp was also invited to present oral and written recommendations on anti-coup legislation to the chairman of the Parliamentary Affairs Committee of the Thai Parliament, Dr. Charoen Kanthawongs. Dr. Charoen announced during the meeting, and subsequently to the press, his intention to convene a subcommittee to study anti-coup legislation.



Thai students distribute "Manual for Peacefully Resisting a Coup" in Bankok, June 1992.

In 1993 Gene Sharp's anti-coup booklet "Against the Coup: Fundamentals of an Effective De-



Thai edition of Against the Coup

fense" was published in Bangkok by the Komong Keemthong Foundation and was sold in Bangkok bookstores. In March 1996 Gene Sharp returned to Bangkok and presented a lecture at Thammasat University titled "From Theory to Practice: Reflections on the Development of Nonviolent Struggle in the Late Twentieth Century" for students, faculty, and two members of the National Security Council.

In October 1997, after much debate and discussion by Thai politicians, scholars, and pro-democracy activists, Thailand adopted a new constitution, of which Section 65 states, "A person shall have the right to resist peacefully any act committed for the acquisition of power to rule the country by a means which is not in accordance with the modes provided in this Constitution."

"A person shall have the right to resist peacefully any act committed for the acquisition of power to rule the country by a means which is not in accordance with the modes provided in this Constitution."

 Section 65 of Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand

# OTHER CONSULTATIONS AND ACTIVITIES

In addition to the intensive work with pro-democracy leaders in the Baltic states, Burma, Tibet, and Thailand, the Policy and Outreach Program engaged in numerous other consultations and activities from 1993 to 1999. Listed below are highlights.

# MUSGROVE SEMINAR

In May 1999, the Albert Einstein Institution brought together leaders of past and on-going pro-democracy movements to explore chronic problem areas faced by nonviolent struggle



groups. Together with scholars and engaged persons, leaders and activists from Burma, Tibet, Nigeria, South Africa, the West Bank, East Timor, Chile, the People's Republic of China, and a specialist on Kosovo shared their insights on struggling nonviolently for democracy and justice against repressive opponents. Organized around four major themes—strategic thinking and planning, contending with severe repression, getting the message out, and maintaining momentum—the seminar proved to be a unique environment for "cross-conflict skill sharing." The seminar further highlighted the need for more comparative case studies of nonviolent struggles to get at the "how to" side of planning and conducting nonviolent struggle against ruthless adversaries. Participants also

emphasized the need for better educational "tools" on nonviolent struggle.

The seminar was held at Musgrove, the lovely home of Smith Bagley and Elizabeth Frawley Bagley on St. Simons Island, Georgia, and was supported by a generous grant from the Arca Foundation.

# CONSULTATIONS WITH THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

In January 1994 Gene Sharp spent five days in Italy at the invitation of the Justice and Peace Commission of the Unions of Superiors General of the Catholic Church. His main presentation, "Nonviolent Struggle: A Means Toward Justice, Freedom, and Peace," was given during an all-

day mass on "Public Education Day," 18 January 1994. Dr. Sharp argued in his presentation that nonviolent struggle is a distinct approach from "just war" and pacifist positions, but potentially acceptable to adherents of both views. More than 150 major superiors, general councilors, and persons responsible for the promotion of peace and justice in their congregations and societies attended. Dr. Sharp also held discussions with the president of the Pontifical

"Nations should promote research, education, and training in nonviolent means of resisting evil.... Nonviolent strategies need greater attention in international affairs."

 US Catholic Bishops, "The Harvest of Justice is Sown in Peace," 1993 Council on Justice and Peace and with the secretary of the International Franciscan Conference. He was also interviewed for Vatican Radio.

In the United States, Gene Sharp was asked to write an advisory paper for consideration by the Committee of the U.S. Catholic Bishops, which was preparing a new pastoral letter on war and peace. "Nations should promote research, education, and training in nonviolent means of resisting evil," the pastoral says. "Nonviolent strategies need greater attention in international affairs."

# CUBA

The Albert Einstein Institution has been asked to consult with nonviolent democratic Cuban groups since early 1996. Some Cuban groups have expressed a growing interest in the potential of nonviolent resistance toward establishing a democratic system in Cuba. In May 1996 Robert Helvey and Gene Sharp conducted a basic seminar in Miami on strategic nonviolent struggle for a Cuban-American group named Brothers to the Rescue (Hermanos al Rescate). Brothers to the Rescue was founded to spot by air escaping Cuban rafters and to assist in rescuing them at sea. The organization is now one of the three prominent groups of Cuban-Americans who are advocating nonviolent struggle for the democratization of the island's political system, independent of U.S. government policy and in opposition to the strong proviolence stance of some other Cuban-American organizations.

From 14-15 June 1996, Bruce Jenkins and Gene Sharp participated in a weekend conference sponsored by Brothers to the Rescue at Florida International University. Gene Sharp was interviewed live in Spanish on a Cuban radio station based in Miami and heard in Cuba.

On 12 July 1997, Gene Sharp spoke during a workshop on "Civic Struggle" in Miami. The workshop was organized by the Democratic Cuban Revolutionary Directorate (*Directorio Revolucionario Democratico Cubano*).

In December 1998 Gene Sharp, Bruce Jenkins, and consultant Robert Helvey conducted a three-day workshop on nonviolent struggle for members of the Directorio at our offices.

Contacts with Brothers to the Rescue and the Democratic Cuban Revolutionary Directorate have continued. Both groups have been involved in translations of Albert Einstein Institution literature into Spanish for circulation in the island and among the exile community (see "Publications").

## HUMAN RIGHTS MEETING

On 29 April 1994, the Albert Einstein Institution hosted a small gathering of human rights specialists to discuss what Gene Sharp has called "a structural approach to human rights." Since dictatorships are the worst human rights abusers, a structural approach would develop programs

to help populations prevent the rise of new dictatorships and disintegrate existing ones, thereby reducing the overall number of human rights violators. Participants included Curt Goering (Amnesty International USA), Charles Norchi (International League for Human Rights), Stephen Marks (then at Princeton University), Elizabeth Defeis (international law professor at Seton Hall University and Einstein Institution Board member), Xiao Qiang (Human Rights in China), then Albert Einstein Institution President Christopher Kruegler, and Gene Sharp.

# INDIA

Gene Sharp held a number of meetings in New Delhi with prominent Gandhians in November 1996. Meetings were organized by Dr. N. Radhakrishnan, Director of the Gandhi Smriti and Darshan Samiti in New Delhi. Dr. Sharp discussed Gandhi's contributions to the development

of nonviolent struggle. He was also interviewed at length on All India Radio by Dr. Rajmohan Gandhi, M.K. Gandhi's grandson.

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Gene Sharp presenting a paper at Gandhi Smiriti and Darshan Samiti, New Delhi, India, 1998.

In November 1997 Gene Sharp was invited to present a paper on "The Relevance of Gandhi in the Modern World" at a seminar held in Calcutta on "Gandhi and India," organized to observe the fiftieth anniversary of India's independence from Britain and of Gandhi's death. Several prominent academics and Gandhi specialists were in attendance. Dr. Sharp also presented a separate lecture in Calcutta which was organized by the United States Information Service.

The Gandhi Smriti and Darshan Samiti invited Gene Sharp to conduct a two-day workshop in September 1998 called "The Political Development of Nonviolent Struggle: Past and Future" for a number of Gandhians and scholars. In November of that year Dr. Sharp was invited to speak to New Delhi area university students on Gandhi's early publication *Hind Swaraj* (*Indian Home Rule*).

## IRAN

Iranian democrats have expressed interest in receiving assistance from the Albert Einstein Institution for work in strategic nonviolent struggle. In February 1997 Gene Sharp met with members of the Foundation for Democracy in Iran and other Iranian pro-democracy leaders to assess the situation in Iran and the difficulty of past pro-democracy efforts. Iranian leaders were impressed with the work of the Institution and encouraged us to consider working with them in the future.

# KOSOVO

Mr. Bujar Dugolli and Mr. Albin Kurti, the president and vice-president of the Students Union of the (Albanian) University of Pristina, respectively, traveled to our offices to meet with representa-

tives of the Albert Einstein Institution on 4 December 1997. Mr. Dugolli and Mr. Kurti had organized and led large-scale demonstrations in Pristina and other parts of Kosovo in defiance of Serbian domination of the education system and facilities in Kosovo. (All Kosovo Albanian instructors had been fired and Kosovo Albanian students were denied access to university facilities, among other forms of discrimination.) Einstein Institution representatives discussed methods of nonviolent struggle and the need for strategy in implementing them. Mr. Kurti informed us that some of Gene Sharp's writings had been used in planning for the demonstrations.



Macedonian edition of *Self-Reliant Defense* 

# MACEDONIA

From 10-16 December 1995, Gene Sharp presented lectures on civilian-based defense in Skopje, Macedonia. He was invited to do so by Professor Olga Murdzeva-Skaric, Director of the Balkan Peace Studies Center, and Professor Trajan Gocevski, Dean of Faculty of the Philosophy Department, Professor at the Institute of Civil Defense at the University, and former Minister of Defense. A Macedonian edition of *Self-Reliant Defense* had been launched earlier this year.

# NIGERIA

Beginning in September 1996, the Albert Einstein Institution held a number of meetings, visits, and exchanges with several Nigerian

human rights and democracy advocates to analyze the Abacha dictatorship in Nigeria and to discuss the potential of nonviolent resistance to achieve democracy. Consultations were held on several occasions with Dr. Dapo Olorunyomi, an exiled pro-democracy Nigerian journalist and editor; Hafsat Abiola, the daughter of elected presidential candidate Moshood Abiola who died in prison in 1998 and Kudirat Abiola, a human rights and democracy advocate who was assassinated in Nigeria in 1996; and Dr. Sagun Gbadegesin, professor of philosophy at Howard University.

# TAIWAN

During the last half of December 1994, Gene Sharp traveled to Taiwan to conduct a series of lectures on nonviolent struggle and civilian-based defense. The trip was sponsored by the Taiwanese Professors' Association, the Presbyterian Church, the congressional offices of eight members of the Taiwanese legislature, the independent Taiwan Congressional Office, an Urban/Rural Mission associated with the World Council of Churches, and approximately fifteen additional organizations. Dr. Sharp also presented a paper titled "Mobilizing New Power Sources for Deterrence and Defense" at the War College of the National Defense University in Taipei and made an unofficial presentation at a public hearing in the Legislative Yuan (legislative body), which was attended by members of the legislature, two generals from the Minstry of Defense, as well as mem-



Mandarin edition of *Civilian-Based* 

bers of the public and media. The Chinese (Mandarin) language edition of *Civilian-Based Defense* was published in Taipei a few weeks prior to his visit.

# OTHER ACTIVITIES

From 1993 to 1999, Gene Sharp undertook a number of other activities, including the following:

- Conducted a one-day workshop on nonviolent struggle for the Task Force on Violence of the American Baptist Churches (May 1995).
- Spoke on civilian-based defense at the New York Bar Association's International Law Committee and International Security Affairs Committee (January 1996).
- Participated in the panel titled "Nonviolent Strategies" at the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organizations' conference "Nonviolence and Conflict: Conditions for Effective Peaceful Change" in Tallinn, Estonia. Comments from the panel discussion were collected and titled "Making Nonviolent Action More Effective" (July 1997).
- ▶ Took part in two panel discussions: "A New Agenda for Peace Activism" in Toronto's City Hall and "Leading Edge Topics in Peace Research," sponsored by the Section on Peace and War of the American Sociological Association (August 1997).
- ▶ Presented the keynote address titled "Gandhi's Challenge for the Twenty-First Century" at the annual Mahatma Gandhi Commemorative Banquet in Edmonton, Alberta, which was sponsored by the Mahatma Gandhi Canadian Foundation for World Peace (October 1997).
- ▶ Offered a lecture titled "Gandhi's Lessons for the Twenty-First Century" at the annual Mahatma Gandhi Lecture on Non-Violence at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario (October 1997).
- ▶ Spoke at the International Center for Ethics, Justice, and Public Life of Brandeis University on the historical influence of nonviolent struggle (November 1998).
- Presented the keynote address "Developing a Realistic Alternative to War and Other Violence" at the 11th Annual Peace Studies Association and 28th Annual Consortium on Peace Research, Education, and Development Conferences held jointly at Siena College, New York (April, 1999).
- Participated in the symposium "Civil Society in Cuba: Problems and Prospects," and submitted a paper on "Blocking and Undermining Dictatorships: Two Key Elements" that will be published on behalf of the University of Miami and the Institute for Cuban & Cuban-American Studies (October, 1999).

# FELLOWS PROGRAM

or scholars and activists seeking support for research and writing on nonviolent action, there is only one funding source devoted solely to this field: the Albert Einstein Institution's Fellows Program. Through its Fellows Program, the Albert Einstein Institution encourages promising scholars in the field of nonviolent struggle and nurtures the development of an academic literature on nonviolent sanctions.

The Fellows Program is an annual, competitive grant program. Einstein Institution Fellows submit proposals for conducting research on a range of topics pertaining to nonviolent action, including its history, characteristics, and potential applications. Practitioners of nonviolent action are also encouraged to apply to record and analyze their experiences. On the basis of Program Director Ronald McCarthy's evaluation, the Institution's Board of Directors issues the annual Fellows awards.

# 1992-93 Fellows

Glenn T. Eskew (University of Georgia): But for Birmingham: The Local and National Movements in the Civil Rights Struggle. Dr. Eskew's fellowship was renewed from the previous year to enable him to revise his dissertation for publication. Dr. Eskew analyzed the effectiveness of nonviolent sanctions in transforming race relations through a study of Birmingham, Alabama from 1940 to 1990. Dr. Eskew was the recipient of the Robert C. Anderson Memorial Award in 1994, which was sponsored by the University of Georgia Research Foundation. The award was given in recognition of his outstanding research accomplishments as reflected in his doctoral dissertation and subsequent academic work.



The Program is directed by Ronald McCarthy, Einstein Institution staff member and associate professor of sociology at Merrimack College in Andover, Massachusetts.

Li Fang (Chinese Academy of Social Science): Nonviolent Struggle in China.

A visiting lecturer at the Department of Political Science in the City College of New York, Dr. Li Fang conducted a historical and analytical study of nonviolent action in China from ancient times to the present.

**Margaret E. Scranton** (University of Arkansas at Little Rock): *Nonviolent Opposition in Panama*. Dr. Scranton studied the National Civic Crusade of Panama and its role in the opposition to the Noriega government, including its sponsorship of various forms of nonviolent struggle. Her project assessed the factors that contributed to the limited achievement of the National

Civic Crusade and generalized beyond the case to draw some conclusions about nonviolent action against dictatorships.

# 1993-94 Fellows

**Patrick G. Coy** (Syracuse University): *Nonviolent Protective Accompaniment: The Case of the Peace Brigades International.* A doctoral student in the Program on the Analysis and Resolution of Conflicts at Syracuse University, Mr. Coy conducted a participant-observation study of Peace Brigades International's program in Sri Lanka, which offers protective accompaniment services to prominent activists targeted for repression.

**Brian S. Mandell** (Norman Patterson School, Carleton University): An Inquiry into Comparative Conflict Theory: Implications for the Effectiveness and Potential of Nonviolent Sanctions in Responding to Social Conflict. A visiting scholar at the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University, Dr. Mandell engaged in a systematic comparison of the "nonviolent sanctions paradigm" with other theories of conflict responses, including strategic studies, conflict resolution, and peace studies.

**Sam Marullo** (Georgetown University): *Peace Actions of the 1980s and Their Effects*. Dr. Marullo examined the rise and decline of 1980s peace activism in the United States.

# 1994-95 Fellows

**Holly A. Ackerman** (University of Miami): *The Application of Strategic Nonviolent Action Analysis to Protest Migration: The Case of Cuba*. Ms. Ackerman, a doctoral student at the Graduate School of International Studies at the University of Miami, analyzed protest migration from Cuba as a method of strategic nonviolent action. Her study assessed the extent to which Cuban emigration is protest-based, the motivations and calculations that exist in protest migration, and its effects on the Cuban government.

**Patrick G. Coy's** fellowship was renewed for a second year to enable him to complete his dissertation on Peace Brigades International.

**Anthony Pereira** (New School for Social Research): *Nonviolent Action and State Repression in Brazil*, 1964-79. Mr. Pereira, a member of the graduate faculty in the political science department at the New School for Social Research in New York City, examined how legal repression in Brazil affected the level of nonviolent action in comparison with violent action and the persistence of political opposition in Brazil.

# 1995-96 Fellows

**Holly A. Ackerman's** fellowship was renewed for a second year to enable her to complete her dissertation on protest migration from Cuba. Dr. Ackerman was awarded the University of Miami Graduate School Dean's Award for Research Excellence in 1997. Dr. Ackerman was commended for her research on the political dimensions of Cuban emigration as a method of nonviolent action.

# 1996-97 Fellows

**Uche U. Ewelukwa** (Harvard University School of Law): *The Use of Nonviolent Sanctions in Nigeria: A Study of the 1994 Oil Workers' Strike*. Ms. Ewelukwa examined the origin, strategy, and factors leading to the collapse of the Nigerian oil workers' general strike of 1994.

**Mary E. King** (University of Wales, Aberystwyth): *Something Revolutionary: The Nonviolent Resistance of a People Enthralled by Armed Struggle*. Dr. King's project involved completing further research and converting her doctoral thesis into a book manuscript. Dr. King examined the rise and fall of nonviolent resistance in the Palestinian *intifada*.

**Paul E. Yamauchi** (International Center for Human Rights Research, Guatemala): *Resurrection of the Truth as Nonviolent Struggle Against Political Violence in Guatemala: 1988-1997*. Mr. Yamauchi examined the various uses of information from an electronic database on war-time human rights violations (which he had helped to compile) to break the wall of impunity surrounding the perpetrators.

# 1997-98 Fellows

**Clifford Bob** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology): Forging Global Linkages: Ethnic Groups, Nonviolent Strategies, and International Support. Dr. Bob's project, which involved converting his dissertation research into a book manuscript, explored the question of why some ethnic groups from the developing world have succeeded in attracting intense global attention and international support, while the vast majority of similarly situated groups have not.

**Howard Clark** (independent scholar): *Nonviolent Struggle in Kosovo 1988 Onwards*. Mr. Clark's research examined Kosovo as a unique case study for nonviolent struggle, and particularly the Kosovo Albanians' use of noncooperation in a situation in which the regime does not depend directly on the cooperation of its subjects for a material end.

**Mary E. King's** fellowship was renewed for a second year to enable her to continue work on the rise and fall of nonviolent resistance in the Palestinian *intifada*.

# 1998-99 Fellows

**Kurt Schock** (Rutgers University): *Nonviolent Rebellion in the Third World: A Comparative Study of Nonviolent Challenges to Authority Since 1979*. Dr. Schock's project examines cases of nonviolent rebellions in the third world in order to explain why there has been a global upsurge in such rebellions since 1979. In addition, Dr. Schock is attempting to explain the outcomes of these rebellions in terms of political opportunity structures and the strategic implementation of methods of nonviolent action.

**Henrik Sommer** (University of Colorado, Boulder): The Proof is in the Mix: A Study of the Effectiveness of "Strategic Mixes" of Nonviolent and Violent Sanctions by the Liberation Movements in South Africa 1970–1994. Dr. Sommer's post-doctoral study investigates the effectiveness of various South African liberation movements in meeting their goals when using different "strategic mixes" of violent and nonviolent sanctions.

# 1999-2000 Fellows

**Kurt Schock's** project was extended for a six-month period in order to facilitate completion of his manuscript on nonviolent rebellions in the third world.

**Nerijus Udrenas** (Brandeis University): *Construction of Lithuanian Identity in Imperial Russia: Non-violent Resistance to Russification.* Mr. Udrenas is examining the emergence of Lithuanian identity in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with a focus on the role nonviolent resistance to Russification played in its formation.

# Publications by Albert Einstein Institution Fellows (1993-1999)

Resistance of the Heart: Intermarriage and the Rosenstrasse Protest in Nazi Germany. By Nathan Stoltzfus. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996.

Written by Nathan Stoltzfus—one of the Albert Einstein Institution's first Fellows—*Resistance of the Heart* examines the only successful public protest inside Germany against Hitler's attempt to kill all European Jews. In February 1943 the Gestapo arrested approximately 10,000 Jews remaining in Berlin. While most were quickly deported to Auschwitz, two thousand of those arrested were locked in a temporary collection center on a street called Rosenstrasse in the heart of Berlin because they all had non-Jewish, German husbands and wives. As news of the arrests spread throughout the city, hundreds of Gentile spouses—overwhelmingly women—hurried to the Rosenstrasse in protest. The protest lasted one week, at which time the Gestapo backed down and freed those who were imprisoned.

Using interviews with survivors and thousands of Nazi records, Dr. Stoltzfus examines who those intermarried Germans were, why they chose to suffer the stigmas of intermarriage, what motivated them to risk their lives, and why Hitler and Goebbels gave in to the protesters. *Resistance of the Heart* was awarded the Fraenkel Prize in Contemporary History by the Wiener Library, London.



"Through the judicious use of oral history and a thorough knowledge of the leadership's cautious regard for public opinion in the war effort and the final solution, Nathan Stoltzfus has given depth and scope to the narrative of understanding the anguish of those who, despite their privileged position, lived as Jews in wartime Berlin, the strains on their families, the intimacy of the ties that bind, and the events that shatter that bond .... This important story is told so well, a fine weaving of personal narrative and historic scholarship."

 Michael Berenbaum, director of the United States Holocaust Research Institute

"A faithful, painstaking reconstruction of an amazing event in the bistory of Nazi Germany, a case of successful protest against the Gestapo in the middle of the war in Berlin. This incident has been overlooked by bistorians and Professor Stoltzfus deserves our gratitude for his persistence tracing participants, eye witnesses, and obscure documents for preparation of his account."

 Professor Walter Laqueur, Henry A. Kissinger Chair in National Security Policy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies

## Holly A. Ackerman

- ▶ The Cuban Balseros: Voyage of Uncertainty. With Juan M. Clark. Miami, FL: Policy Center of the Cuban National Council, 1996.
- ▶ "Cuban Migration." Nonviolent Sanctions (fall 1994).
- ▶ "Dialogue on Cuba: Ackerman Responds." *Nonviolent Sanctions* (winter 1994-95).
- ▶ Mass Migration, Nonviolent Social Action, and the Cuban Exodus, 1959-1994: An Analysis of Citizen Motivation and International Politics. Ph.D. diss., University of Miami, 1996.

## Patrick G. Coy

- "'Going Where We Otherwise Would Not Have Gone': Accompaniment and Election Monitoring in Sri Lanka." PARC News (January 1995).
- ▶ "Keeping Watch: Peace Brigades International Provides Nonviolent Accompaniment Services in Sri Lanka." *Nonviolent Sanctions* (winter 1994-95).
- ▶ Protecting Human Rights: The Dynamics of International Nonviolent Accompaniment by Peace Brigades International in Sri Lanka. Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1997.
- "Cooperative Accompaniment and Peace Brigades International in Sri Lanka." In *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State*. Edited by Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield, and Ron Pagnucco. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997.

#### John T. Crist

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## **Glenn T. Eskew**

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12/17/97

Dear Professor Sharp,

Seven years ago I began my association with the Albert Einstein Institution as a Fellow. The funding from the Institution came at a critical moment in my academic year. My two years as an Einstein Fellow enabled me to write a solid dissertation from which this book evolved. I appreciate the help I received from the Institution. Thank you also for the inspiration of your work. I wish you and the Institution continued success in the struggle for a nonviolent world.

Sincerely,

Glenn T. Eskew Assistant Professor, Georgia State University



## **Nathalie J. Frensley**

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## Li Fang

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## **Anthony A. Pereira**

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## **Gerald M. Platt**

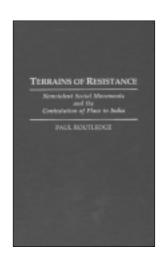
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## **Paul Routledge**

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### **Kurt Schock**

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# **Margaret Scranton**

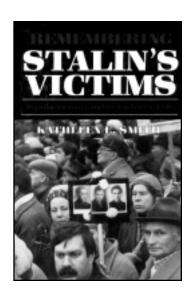
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## **Kathleen E. Smith**

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## **Nathan Stoltzfus**

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# <u>South Africa Program</u>

n January 1993 the Albert Einstein Institution officially launched the South Africa Program at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. Two years of prior research, assessment, and interviews, which included Nelson Mandela and other top South African leaders and scholars, revealed an important finding: While South African activists felt deeply proud of their heritage of and participation in the liberation struggle, they did not view nonviolent direct action as a field for systematic analysis or implementation. Activists had not used their detailed knowledge to assess objectively methods, failures, and successes—assessments the Albert Einstein Institution believed could provide valuable insight to the broader study of nonviolent struggle.

In order to lay the groundwork for the Program at the University of the Witwatersrand, Program Director Barbara Harmel conducted strategy workshops, conferences, and exploratory activities in South Africa to initiate research, collect data for future analysis, and establish forums for public education. During this time, the Einstein Institution was able to evaluate the state of knowledge among South African scholars on the technique of nonviolent action, determine appropriate arenas for public education, identify and select activists for participation in the Program's activities, and identify and select researchers and scholars for the Program.

When the Program was launched at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1993, it was prepared to support three major research projects. Over the next two years, as many as forty-six scholars, graduate students, and activists worked with the Program. By the end of 1995, the South Africa Program had met its main objectives and drew to a close. Below are descriptions of the Program's three major projects.



# Project on Civil Society

The Project on Civil Society, the largest of the three, was designed to examine the role of black township organizations, or "civics," as they are known in South Africa, in the struggle for rights and justice. Throughout several decades, members of these voluntary associations concerned themselves primarily with improving living conditions within black townships. Around 1979, however, civics emerged as distinctive and dynamic elements within the broader ebb and flow of mass-based struggles. By late-1980, civics had mushroomed throughout the country. Adopting a policy of

"making the townships ungovernable," members organized street committees to counter state security measures and mounted campaigns of rent, bus, and consumer boycotts. Relying predominantly on nonviolent direct action, civics were to form one of the strongest weapons against the apartheid state.

The Project commissioned nineteen research papers to examine the experiences of the civics in the recent past through thematic and case studies. In 1993 and 1994, the researchers gathered for seminars in which they presented drafts of their papers for consideration and feedback by the other participants. The papers focused on the strategic thinking, tactical repertoires, and organizational and mobilizing styles of various civics. They also provided invaluable sociological material on the ways in which a number of factors including ethnicity, gender, and competing political interests affected the civics' operations.



Students protest the banning of the United Democratic Front, civic, and other anti-apartheid organizations in 1988. The UDF, a coalition of over 600 organizations, was a leading coordinator of mass rent, labor, and consumer boycotts and mass demonstrations.

Papers have been compiled and are awaiting publication in a book titled From Comrades to Citizens: The South African Civics Movement and the Transition to Democracy. Edited by Glenn Adler and Jonny Steinberg, this book presents the Project on Civil Society's critical research on the roles civics have played in the democratization of South Africa. From Comrades to Citizens is scheduled for publication by St. Martins Press (United States) and Macmillian (United Kingdom and other markets) in early 2000.

# From Comrades to Citizens: The South African Civics Movement and the Transition to Democracy

#### Contents:

- "Survival and Resistance: Township Organisations and Nonviolent Direct Action in Twentieth Century South Africa," by Colin Bundy.
- ► "The Development of Strategic Thought in South Africa's Civic Movements, 1977-90," by Jeremy Seekings.
- ▶ "Hegemony, Democracy and Civil Society: Political Participation in Port Elizabeth, 1980-90, a Case Study of Kwazakele Township," by Janet Cherry.
- "Contesting Public Space for Democracy," by Lisa Klein and Sam Mkhabela.
- "Fenced in by Ideas of Modernity: Land Struggles and Civic Activism in Namaqualand, 1980-93," by Steven Robins.
- "Civic Organisation in Alexandra in the 1990s: An Ethnographic Approach," by Justine Lucas.
- ► "A Place for Civics in a Liberal Democratic Polity? The Fate of Local Institutions of Resistance After Apartheid," by Jonny Steinberg.

# South Africa's Black Trade Unions in Resistance and Transition

In the 1970s and 1980s the powerful black trade union movement established itself as a strategic actor in South Africa with the capacity to mobilize both inside and outside the workplace. Through widespread strikes, slow downs, stay aways, and other forms of nonviolent action, the black trade union movement played a central role in challenging the apartheid system. Many of the myriad resistance-based organizations that sprouted during the 1980s adopted trade union tactics. As a result, the black trade union movement made a powerful impact on the development of independent social forces in South Africa.

After the ban on the African National Congress (ANC) was lifted and the government became majority-elected, black trade unions found themselves in a period of transition. The Congress of South African Trade Unions had formalized an alliance with the ruling ANC and contributed to setting economic policy. At the same time, labor strikes and actions continued in efforts to improve conditions in industries around the country. Demands on unions were often conflicting, as they were striving toward economic growth, frequently in alliance with the government, while remaining committed to the problems of a poorly paid and unproductive labor force.

The Black Trade Union Project of the South Africa Program examined the emergence of the black trade unions in South Africa as a democratizing force historically, and examined how unions strategized and conducted themselves during the country's transition to democratic rule. Research within this project also explored the role of South Africa's history of nonviolent direct action in shaping the attitudes and methods being employed by the unions.

Papers commissioned by the Program have been compiled in a book titled *Trade Unions and Democratization in South Africa*, 1985–1997. Edited by Glenn Adler and Eddie Webster, this book offers nine analyses pertaining to the relationship between South Africa's labor unions and the shift to democracy. The collection will be published by St. Martin's Press (United States) and Macmillian (United Kingdom and other markets) in early 2000.

# Trade Unions and Democratization in South Africa, 1985–1997 *Contents:*

- ▶ "Consolidating Democracy in a Liberalising World: Trade Unions and Transition in South Africa," by Eddie Webster and Glenn Adler.
- ► "From the Politics of Resistance to the Politics of Reconstruction? The Union and 'Ungovernability' in the Workplace," by Karl von Holdt.
- "Growth, Structure, and Power in the South African Union Movement," by Ian Macun.
- "Labour in South Africa's Transition to Democracy: Concertation in a Third World Setting," by Jeremy Baskin.

- ▶ "Power in Partnership? Trade Unions, Forums and the Transition," by Steven Friedman and Mark Shaw.
- ▶ "Shoot Anything That Flies, Claim Anything That Falls: Labour and the Changing Definition of the Reconstruction and Development Programme," by Graeme A. Götz.
- "Trade Union Organisation and Capacity in the 1990s: Continuities, Changes, and Challenges for PPWAWU," by Sakhela Buhlungu.
- "Trade Unions in Transitions to Democracy in South Africa, Spain and Brazil," by Derek de Villiers and Mark Anstey.
- ► "The Tripartite Alliance on the Eve of a New Millennium: COSATU, the ANC and the SACP," by P.G. Eidelberg.

# Voices from the Liberation Struggle against Apartheid

This project was designed to acquire oral testimony from participants in South Africa's decades of struggle, thereby creating a unique historical record. Focusing on the 1950s, the oral history project explored the ways in which leaders and other activists perceived their uses of nonviolent methods during the classic decade of nonviolent direct action in South Africa, and examined the thinking behind the shift to armed struggle in 1961.

The project was conducted by Dr. Harmel and two South African colleagues, Dr. Philip Bonner and Dr. Peter Delius, both of whom are university faculty in the history department at the University of the Witwatersrand. In addition, two graduate students were hired as research assistants.

Through a series of interviews, Program scholars collected numerous oral testimonies from leaders of the anti-apartheid struggle. The first set of interviews concentrated on the thinking that led to the movement's momentous decision in 1961 to move from nonviolent direct action to armed struggle. Subsequent sets of interviews focused on the re-emergence of nonviolent mass action in the 1970s and 1980s.

Among those interviewed were Nelson Mandela, Joe Slovo, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Ben Turok, Wilton Mkwayi, Billy Nair, Dorothy Nyembe, Henry Fazzi, Rusty Bernstein, Harry Gwala, John Nkadimeng, Thomas Nkobi, Martin Ramokgadi, Elias Motsoaledi.

More than thirty testimonies were transcribed, compiled, and housed at the University of the Witwatersrand, where they are available to scholars and activists.

# Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival

n 1983, the year the Albert Einstein Institution was founded, Gene Sharp established the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions at Harvard University's Center for International Affairs. Directed by Christopher Kruegler from 1989 to 1991 and by Doug Bond from 1991 to 1994, the Program merged in 1995 with the research wing of Cultural Survival, a human rights organization that focuses on the situation of ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples worldwide. David Maybury-Lewis, Professor of Anthropology at Harvard University, now directs the combined Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival. Due to financial considerations, 1995 was the last year the Albert Einstein Institution was able to provide a grant in support of the work of the Program.

The only university-based entity of its kind, the Program has concentrated on encouraging unique scholarship, developing theory and data collection protocols, and supporting comparative and case study analyses on nonviolent sanctions. The Program provides stipends and research facilities to resident scholars and conducts a bimonthly seminar series at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard.

A major focal point of the Program's work over the past years has been the development of the Protocol for the Assessment of Nonviolent Direct Action (PANDA). Established by Doug Bond and his colleagues at the Program, PANDA is a data development tool that helps track and assess the dynamics of collective action and protest politics globally.

PANDA is linked to a system of online data retrieval, the Kansas Event Data System (KEDS), which screens newswire reports for accounts of direct action, both violent and nonviolent, across the world. The protocol and data parsing systems work together and help facilitate the identification, analysis, and interpretation of nonviolent struggle in two ways. First, the protocol offers empirical evidence against which to test competing propositions about the use of nonviolent tactics in conflicts, the actors who employ them, and the contexts in which struggle occurs. Second, PANDA has the potential to create an ongoing, real-time monitoring system to identify and track the emergence of acute conflicts before they erupt into violence.

Dr. Bond and other Program researchers have completed a ten-year data set (1984 to 1994) utilizing PANDA and KEDS, and have made both the protocol and the data set available to other researchers on the World Wide Web at http://data.fas.harvard.edu/cfia/pnscs/panda.htm.

The Program's annual seminar series at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs provides a public forum in which new research in the field of cultural survival and nonviolent sanctions can be presented and critiqued. The seminars also contribute to the development of a community of scholars interested in building a body of research on cultural survival and on strategies and tactics of nonviolent protest. Reports from nine years of "Nonviolent Sanctions Seminars" have been collected, along with essays elaborating strategies and applications of nonviolent struggle across the world, in a volume titled *Transforming Struggle*. This collection, along with other seminar synopses, is available on the Program's website.



Several scholars affiliated with the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions published their works in books and academic journals during the period from 1993 to 1995. Publications by former Program affiliates include *The Origins of Democratization in Poland: Workers, Intellectuals, and Oppositional Politics, 1976-1980* (Columbia University Press, 1993) by Michael Bernhard; *Terrains of Resistance: Nonviolent Social Movements and the Contestation of Place in India* (Praeger, 1993) by Paul Routledge; and *Without Arms Against Hitler* (Praeger, 1993) by Jacques Semelin.

The expanded Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival is designed to study situations involving conflict and to test and illustrate specific mechanisms used by weaker stakeholders to gain political power within culturally heterogeneous or structurally asymmetric societies. The Program also seeks to verify and test "early warning" data gleaned from the PANDA protocol. More information on the expanded Program is available on the above website address.

Below is a list of Program seminars from late 1992 through 1995.

# **FALL** 1992

"Collective Security: What New World Order?" by Jeffrey Laurenti.

"Collusion of Enemies: The Dynamic of Identity in Personal and Social Conflict," by Terrell A. Northrup.

"Exploring Nonviolent Struggle in Thailand and Burma," by Gene Sharp.

"Framing Security Questions in the Post Cold War Era," by J. Bryan Hehir, Daniel Philpott, and Christopher Kruegler.

"Linking the Personal and the Political: The Nature and Process of Inquiry into Stories of Nonviolent Protest," by David T. Abalos.

"Social Movements, Transnational Coalitions, and the Transformation Processes in Eastern Europe," by Patricia Chilton.

"Turning American Politics Inside-Out: Implications of Nonviolent Direct Action for Pluralist States," by Charles C. Euchner.

# **SPRING 1993**

- "Backstreets, Barricades, and Blackouts: Nepal's Urban Terrains of Resistance," by Paul Routledge.
- "Nonviolent Direct Action and Electronic Town Meetings: Convergence of Theory, Strategy, and Content," by Theodore L. Becker.
- "Nonviolent Practices, Professional Class, and Democracy: The May 1992 Bangkok Uprising," by Chaiwat Satha-Anand.
- "People Power: Nonviolent Political Action in Muslim, Buddhist, and Hindu Traditions," by Robert C. Johansen.
- "A Question of Loyalty: Ethnic Minorities, Military Service, and Resistance," by Alon Peled.
- "Some Questions about Gender for Peace Studies and Nonviolent Action Theory, with Reflections on a Recent Sojourn to India," by Linda Rennie Forcey.
- "Toward a More Comparative Perspective on Conflict: Integrating the Nonviolent Sanctions Approach," by Brian Mandell.

# **FALL 1993**

- "Brave New Peacekeeping: Prospects for a UN Multinational Force," by Jarat Chopra.
- "From Practice to Theory: Toward a Feminist Reconstruction of Nonviolence," by Lisa Adler and Lily H.M. Ling.
- "Poor People's Movements: Context and Tactics," by Douglas R. Imig.
- "Strategic Nonviolent Conflict," by Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler.
- "Teaching about Nonviolent Action," by Ronald M. McCarthy.
- "Transforming Struggle: The Panamanian Case," by Margaret E. Scranton.

# SPRING 1994

- "Challenges to Aboriginal Self-Government," by Cynthia Chataway.
- "Community Organization and Low-Income Citizen Participation in the U.S.: Strategies, Organization, and Power Since the 1960s," by Roger Karapin.
- "Eyes without Country: Searching for a Palestinian Strategy of Liberation," by Souad R. Dajani.
- "Measuring Low-Intensity Conflict," by William B. Vogele.
- "Nonviolent Direct Action in the U.S. Peace Movement," by Sam Marullo.
- "Servicio Paz Y Justicia and the Resurrection of Civil Society in Uruguay," by Ron Pagnucco with Fran Teplitz.
- "Some Thoughts on Power and Change," by Kate McGuinness.
- "Struggle and Standing: Standing as Women in a Men's Movement," by Karen Beckwith.

# **FALL** 1994

- "Baltic Security: The Potential Role of Civilian-Based Defense," by Audrius Butkevicius.
- "Bureaucratic Corruption and its Social Effects in North Korea," by Sung Chull Kim.
- "Emerging Threats to Post-Cold War Security: Environment, Refugees, and Conflict," by Shin-wha Lee.
- "Social Movements and Nested Institutions: International Constraints on Political Efficacy," by David S. Meyer.
- "Social Movements and the Strategic Use of Human Rights Norms: A Comparison of East European Cases," by Daniel C. Thomas.

# SPRING 1995

- "Changing Views of Land, Resources, and Self: Indigenous Latin American Social Movements in the 1990s," by Theodore Macdonald.
- "Cultural Survival, Ethics, and Political Expediency: The Anthropology of Group Rights," by David Maybury-Lewis.
- "Ethnicity and the Concept of Culture," by Fredrik Barth.
- "Fishnets, Internets, and Catnets: Globalization and Social Movements," by Sidney Tarrow.
- "Hispanic Community Empowerment in Texas: A Case Study of San Antonio's Job Training Initiative—Project QUEST," by Mark R. Warren.
- "Indigenous Peoples and Ethnic Politics in Latin America," Round Table Discussion with David Maybury-Lewis, Jorge I. Dominguez, and Deborah J. Yashar.
- "The Shackled Monster: State Violence and Legal Repression in Brazil, 1964 to the Present, "by Anthony W. Pereira.
- "The Utility and Limitations of Monitoring Global Ethnic Conflict Using the Protocol for the Assessment of Nonviolent Direct Action (PANDA)," by Joseph Bond.

# Publications/Media

core mission of the Einstein Institution is to sponsor scholarly publications and popularized editions on nonviolent struggle, and to facilitate translations of these works. No other organization has set itself the goal of nurturing such a broad literature on the subject.

From 1993 to 1999 the Albert Einstein Institution sponsored and assisted with the publication of numerous written materials on nonviolent struggle, as noted above (here we have listed all previously noted works together with others to facilitate easy reference). Some projects involved translations and condensations of earlier works, produced for people engaged in nonviolent struggle or preparing for acute conflict. Other publications evolved from original research of Albert Einstein Institution staff and affiliates, published primarily for an audience of academics and researchers.

# Documentary Film

### A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict.

Written, Produced and Directed by Steve York; Narrated by Ben Kingsley; Series Editor and Principal Content Advisor–Peter Ackerman; Executive Producers–Dalton Delan and Jack DuVall; Managing Producer–Miriam Zimmerman.

Since 1997, the Einstein Institution has been involved in an exciting project: materially and financially supporting a stunning

four-hour documentary film series that examines many of this century's most powerful non-violent campaigns for rights and freedom. A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict is directed by prize-winning documentary filmmaker Steve York and will be aired

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The new documentary film *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict* will air on PBS stations in fall 2000.

on public television stations in the United States in the fall of 2000. WETA, the flagship public broadcaster in Washington, DC, is co-producing the series.

Filmmaker Steve York bypasses the clichés that commonly surround nonviolent movements and skillfully portrays the hard-edged planning, strategy, and

"We hope after seeing this movie, that people around the world will come to understand that there is a 'force more powerful' to rectify injustice and reduce the horrors of war."

 Peter Ackerman, Einstein Board member and series editor for A Force More Powerful discipline that often determine success or failure. The film, narrated by Academy Award winning actor Ben Kingsley, also gives voice to several pioneering though lesser known leaders of these powerful nonviolent campaigns.

The idea for the film emerged from many of the themes and case studies that Einstein Institution Board member Peter Ackerman and former Einstein Institution President Christopher Kruegler developed in their book *Strategic Nonviolent Conflict*. Dr. Ackerman is the Series Editor and its Principal Content Advisor, Jack DuVall and Dalton Delan its executive producers, Miriam Zimmerman its Managing Producer. The series is part of a multi-year project that encompasses a feature film-length version, a global education outreach program, and a major new book by Dr. Ackerman and Jack DuVall (to be published by St. Martin's Press in conjunction with the series).

The Einstein Institution is an underwriter for the series. The Institution contributed extensive research materials and comments to the filmmakers during the film's research phase. In 1997 the Institution received a grant from the U.S. Institute of Peace to coordinate preliminary archival film research by the filmmakers. The Institution has also made a grant to the co-producing public television station, WETA, in support of the project.

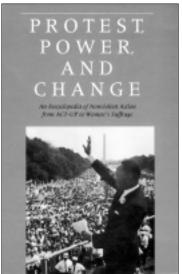
# Books by Einstein Institution Staff and Affiliates

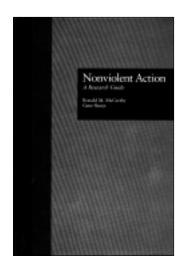
Protest, Power and Change: An Encyclopedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage. Edited by Roger S. Powers and William B. Vogele. New York: Garland Publishers, 1997.

Produced with the support of the Albert Einstein Institution, *Protest*, *Power and Change* represents a major undertaking in the documentation of the power of nonviolent struggle. Containing more than 300 entries, the encyclopedia includes case studies of nonviolent struggle, select methods of nonviolent action, and profiles of people and organizations that have contributed through their arguments or actions—or both—to advancing the knowledge and practice of nonviolent struggle.

"Rigorous, hard-headed, and realistic ... this collection of provocative essays demonstrates clearly that the potential for direct citizen action has barely been tapped .... This encyclopedia provides the essential foundation for understanding and further study and research."

—Robert C. Johansen, Director of Graduate Studies, The Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, Notre Dame University





"Ackerman and Kruegler have brought up-to-date the best thinking on strategic nonviolence, together with their impressive menu of case studies." — Thomas C. Schelling, Distinguished University Professor, School of Public

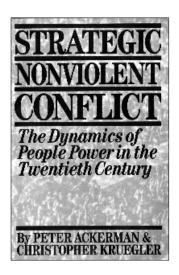
Affairs, University of Maryland

**Nonviolent Action: A Research Guide**. Edited by Ronald McCarthy and Gene Sharp, with the assistance of Brad Bennett. New York: Garland Publishers, 1997.

This Albert Einstein Institution publication is the first research guide dedicated exclusively to nonviolent action. Intended as a tool for researchers of all kinds—students, academics, journalists, and others—*Nonviolent Action* offers a major annotated bibliography (720 pp.) of English language book literature on cases of nonviolent struggle and studies of nonviolent action and related fields.

Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: The Dynamics of People Power in the Twentieth Century. By Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler. Forewords by Gene Sharp and Thomas C. Schelling. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1994.

Written by Einstein Institution Board member Peter Ackerman and former Einstein Institution President Christopher Kruegler, Strategic Nonviolent Conflict analyzes six twentieth-century examples of nonviolent campaigns: the early Russian revolution of 1904-



1906; the German Ruhrkampf of 1923; the Indian independence

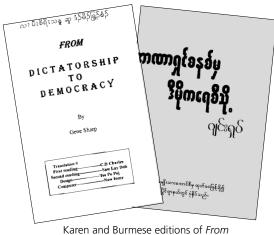
movement from 1929 to 1931; Danish resistance to German occupation from 1940 to 1945; the nonviolent insurrection in El Salvador in 1944; and the Polish Solidarity movement of 1980 and 1981. Using these case studies, Ackerman and Kruegler identify 12 strategic principles that form the foundation of nonviolent campaigns.

# Translation and Popularization Projects

Political leaders and activists struggling for democracy and human rights under oppressive regimes often have limited access to literature on nonviolent struggle. One aim of the Albert Einstein Institution is to provide these people with accessible information that will facilitate their efforts. Groups with less immediate concerns of acute conflict often seek translations and editions of Einstein Institution publications in anticipation of future needs. The Albert Einstein Institution attempts to fulfill requests for publications whenever possible, believing that the more widespread the knowledge of strategic nonviolent struggle, the more efficacious the struggle for rights and justice.

# BURMA

As part of its efforts to support Burmese pro-democracy groups, the Albert Einstein Institution has responded to numerous requests for assistance with preparing popular literature on nonviolent struggle. Several Burmese activists attribute the spread of the concept of "political defiance" to the growing access to literature on nonviolent struggle, due in part to publications sponsored or otherwise supported by the Albert Einstein Institution. Burmese pro-democracy groups continue to distribute political defiance materials throughout their country, introducing growing numbers of people to the core concepts of nonviolent struggle, and increasing the chances for an effective democratic movement within Burma.



Dictatorship to Democracy

In 1993 and 1994, at the request of U Tin Maung Win, editor of the opposition Burmese language weekly Khit Pyiang (New Era) pub-



Burmese edition of Which Way to Freedom?

lished in Bangkok, Gene Sharp wrote a series of articles titled From Dictatorship to Democracy. These articles provided a conceptual framework, written in a popular style, for developing and engaging in nonviolent struggle against a dictatorial regime. Printed in both Burmese and English in the weekly paper, the articles were subsequently reproduced in booklet form in both languages. Later editions of the booklet, printed in Thailand and India, were issued in very small sizes (3.25"x 5") and in simple format to facilitate transport and concealment. Altogether more than 23,000 copies of the Burmese edition of the booklet have been printed and disseminated. Reports from Burmese contacts indicate that leaders of the student demonstration in Rangoon during December 1996 had read the publication. In 1998 and 1999 the Albert Einstein Institu-

tion supervised the translations of the booklet into languages of some of the major ethnic groups in Burma, namely Karen, Mon, Jinghpaw, and Chin. The Karen edition was printed in 1999; the other editions will appear in 2000.

The Einstein Institution also assisted in the development of a simplified and short booklet conveying the principles of "political defiance" to audiences lacking a more formal education. The booklet, titled Which Way to Freedom?, was prepared with the Political Defiance Committee of the National Council of the Union of Burma in 1997. Fifteen thousand copies have been printed in small booklet format and are being distributed inside Burma.

The Einstein Institution prepared additional simplified publications, including the tale "The Wise Monkeys," a story based on a fourteenth-century Chinese parable that illustrates the idea of noncooperation.

Other publication projects for Burma included producing a newly edited version of Gene Sharp's booklet The Role of Power in Nonviolent Struggle, which was issued in Bangkok and carried into Burma for distribution. (The booklet was originally published 1989 and was reprinted in 1992 and 1993).

Burmese edition of The Role of Power in Nonviolent Struggle

### CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE

In conjunction with our work in the Baltics on civilian-based defense, the Einstein Institution assisted with translations of Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Mili-

tary Weapons System into Lithuanian (1992), Latvian (1995), and Estonian (1994). Written by

Hebrew, French, and Korean editions of Civilian-Based Defense

Gene Sharp with assistance from Bruce Jenkins, Civilian-Based Defense was first published by Princeton University Press in 1990. The book outlines for the public and policymakers how massive and selective noncooperation and defiance by a country's population and institutions could potentially deny attackers their objectives, without the dangers of modern war.

The Latvian and Lithuanian editions of Civilian-Based Defense were co-sponsored by their respective defense ministries, and both these editions, as well as the Estonian edition, carry forewords by then-current or former defense ministers of the respective countries.

Civilian-Based Defense was also published in Hebrew (1993), Mandarin Chinese (1994), French (1995), and Korean (1995). Polish and Russian translations have been completed and are awaiting a publisher.

Self-Reliant Defense Without Bankruptcy or War, a 72-page booklet that presents a more concise presentation of civilian-based defense, was also published in Lithuanian (1992), Latvian (1992), and Estonian (1993), all with the co-sponsorship of the respective defense ministries of each country. In February 1995 a Macedonian edition of Self-Reliant Defense was publicly launched at the University of Skopje. Trajan Gocevski, former Minister of Defense and a professor at the Institute for Civil Defense, introduced the booklet during a forty-minute address. He recommended the "very important book" as a resource for research and as a textbook for undergraduate and postgraduate students. The Macedonian edition was distributed to libraries, individual scholars, public figures, and radio, television, and newspaper journalists, and was featured on two radio programs and reviewed in the press.

## OTHER TRANSLATIONS

In the midst of the growing anti-Suharto movement in Jakarta, the Albert Einstein Institution was requested to help sponsor the translation of *From Dictatorship to Democracy* into **Indonesian** (1997). At the request of Indonesian democratic activists in 1996, we coordinated the translation process and the booklet was then published under a new title *Menuju Demokrasi Tanpa Kekerasan* (Toward Democracy Without Violence) by Pushtaka Sinhar Harapan, Pt. in Jakarta, with assistance from the International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development. The Indonesian booklet carries introductions by Professor Franz Magnis Suseno, SJ and the prominent Muslim leader and now President of Indonesia, Abdurrahman Wahid.

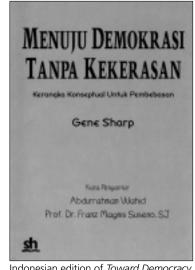
The Cuban activist group Brothers to the Rescue initiated the translation of From

Dictatorship to Democracy into Spanish (1998) and has facilitated its distribution inside Cuba. The Einstein Institution's monograph The Role of Power in Nonviolent

Struggle, written by Gene Sharp, was translated into Spanish (1998) by the Cuban-American

pro-democracy group the Democratic Cuban Revolutionary Directorate and was circulated inside Cuba. The same group, together with the Centro de Etudios para una Opción National, translated, printed, and distributed Gene Sharp's paper on "The Relevance of Gandhi in the Modern World" (1999).

Against the Coup: Fundamentals of an Effective Defense was translated into **Thai** (1993) in Bangkok as a 48-page booklet with cartoons. It was also translated into **French** (1996) for use in Haiti and was published as "L'Opposition a un Coup d'Etat, Principes d'une Defense Efficace" at full length in August 1996 in the newspaper Haiti en Marche. The paper is described as one of the most widely read Haitian weeklies both within Haiti and within the Haitian Diaspora. Against the Coup was also printed in **Spanish** as a two-part series in La Prensa (Panama City, March 1992), as a three-part series in Economía Hoy (Caracas, December 1992), and in nine installments in Diario El Mundo (San Salvador, December 1992).



Indonesian edition of *Toward Democracy*Without Violence

"[W]e must acknowledge that the use of violence to replace a dictatorial government system does not mean the establishment of a democratic government as its replacement. In other words, a democratic government will not be established until it can be established [without] the use of violence."

 Abdurrahman Wahid, in his Foreword to Indonesian booklet "Towards Democracy Without Violence"

The long-awaited full-length **Tamil** edition of Sharp's *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (over 900 pp.) was published in 1995 by the Vanguard Press in Madurai, India. Also long in coming, the third volume of *Politica dell'Azione Nonviolenta* (**Italian** edition of *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*) was published in 1997 in Torino by Edizione Gruppo Abele.

During the past two years Gene Sharp has been working on a new manuscript titled *The Power and Practice of Nonviolent Struggle*. Designed as an introduction to nonviolent struggle, the manuscript combines an abridgement of Sharp's three-volume work *The Politics of Non-*

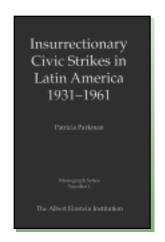
violent Action (1973) with descriptions of more recent examples of nonviolent stuggle, and includes several new chapters. A shorter version of this manuscript has been translated into **Tibetan** for distribution among Tibetan leaders and activists, both inside Tibet and among exiles. It carries a foreword by His Holiness the Dalai Lama and a publisher's note by the Venerable Samdhong Rinpoche, and was published in early 2000.

# EUNGNEO Liptus Liptu

Tamil edition of *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* 

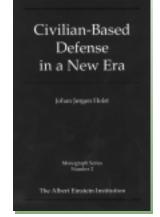
# MONOGRAPH SERIES

Used by researchers and academics across the country, the Albert Einstein Institution's Monograph Series includes some of the best research available on nonviolent sanctions. First launched in 1990, the series today offers seven titles.

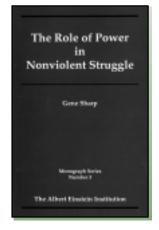


Insurrectionary Civic Strikes in Latin America: 1931-1961, by Patricia Parkman. Monograph No. 1. "From 1931 to 1961 eleven Latin American presidents left office in the wake of civic strikes," writes Parkman. "In addition, at least four ... faced unsuccessful attempts to force them out by the same means." Dr. Parkman compares and contrasts these fifteen cases and includes a chronological summary of each case as well as extensive notes. 55 pp.

Civilian-Based Defense in a New Era, by Johan Jørgen Holst. Monograph No. 2. In the wake of the peaceful revolutions of Eastern Europe in 1989, Johan Holst outlines the key criteria

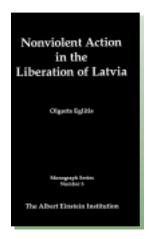


and parameters of a future security order in Europe and explores the potential of nonviolent civilian-based defense as a complement to traditional military forms of defense. Tragically, Mr. Holst passed away in 1994. He had been Norway's Defense Minister (1986–1989) and Foreign Minister (1993–1994) and was also the former director of the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs in Oslo. 22 pp.



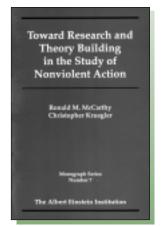
The Role of Power in Nonviolent Struggle, by Gene Sharp. Monograph No. 3. "Nonviolent action ... is capable of wielding great power even against ruthless rulers and military regimes," writes Sharp, "because it attacks the most vulnerable characteristic of all hierarchical institutions and governments: dependence on the governed." Abstracted from Sharp's classic three-volume work *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, this monograph summarizes the core concepts behind the technique of nonviolent struggle. It has been published in Arabic, Spanish, and Burmese. 19 pp.

Civil Resistance in the East European and Soviet Revolutions, by Adam Roberts. Monograph No. 4. Adam Roberts examines the dramatic role played by "people power" in the undermining of Communist regimes in East Central Europe, the achievement of independence by the Baltic states, and the defeat of the August 1991 coup attempt in the Soviet Union. 43 pp.



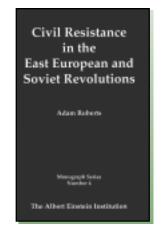
Nonviolent Action in the Liberation of Latvia, by Olgerts Eglitis. Monograph No. 5. This monograph recounts how the people of Latvia used nonviolent action (1987-1991) to throw off Soviet domination and regain independence. The monograph also contains critical translated documents on preparations for civilian resistance. 72 pp.

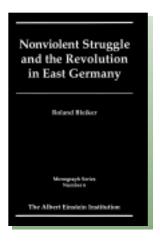
Nonviolent Struggle and the Revolution in East Germany, by Roland Bleiker. Monograph No. 6. Roland Bleiker examines the role that "exit" and "voice" forms of protest played in the collapse of the Communist regime in East Germany. He includes a chronology of the East German Revolution of 1989-90 and extensive notes. 53 pp.



Toward Research and Theory Building in the Study of Nonviolent Action, by Christopher Kruegler and Ronald M. McCarthy. Monograph No. 7. The authors offer their expert opinions about developing theory and conducting research in the emerging field of nonviolent action. 35 pp.

We plan to publish several new monographs in the coming year.





"I am one of the great admirers of the Einstein Institution and the work you and your colleagues produce. I use the Ackerman and Kruegler volume and Adam Roberts booklet as texts, and always test my students to make sure they have command of the Sharp definitions and categories."

 David Cortright, President, Fourth Freedom Forum and Visiting Faculty
 Fellow at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peaces Studies at the University of Notre Dame

# NONVIOLENT SANCTIONS NEWSLETTER

Our newsletter provides a selection of information on the Institution's programs and publications, as well as nonviolent sanctions in the news and theoretical pieces on nonviolent struggle written by prominent scholars in the field. The Einstein Institution produced its newsletter *Nonviolent Sanctions* regularly through 1995 and will recommence publication in 2000.

# OTHER PUBLICATIONS

The Einstein Institution provides support for its staff members to write and publish materials on nonviolent struggle. From 1993 to 1999, the Einstein Institution supported the completion of a wide array of publications.



Weiner. New York: The Abraham Fund and the Continuum Publishing Group, 1998.

- ———. "Nonviolent Action" *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict*, edited by Lester Kurtz. San Diego: Academic Press, 1999.
- ———. "What Are the Options for Action for Believers in Principled Nonviolence?" *Professor Samdhong Rinpoche Felicitation Volume*, edited by Jampa Samten and Losang Norbu Shastri. Varanasi, India: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1999.
- Sharp, Gene and Bruce Jenkins. "The Power Potential of Nonviolent Struggle." In Nonviolence and Tolerance in Changing Eastern and Central Europe. Vilnius: LOGOS, 1995. Reprinted in Journal of Peace and Gandhian Studies (New Delhi) vol. I, no. 4 and vol. II, no. 1 (July-December 1996): 19-26.

# Albert Einstein Institution Board of Directors

Peter Ackerman is Series Editor and Principal Content Advisor of the forthcoming PBS four-hour documentary series "A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict" (expected to air in the fall of 2000) and is co-author of *Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: The Dynamics of People Power in the Twentieth Century* (Praeger Publishers, 1994). Now Managing Director of Rockport Financial Limited, Dr. Ackerman has been a Woodrow Wilson Fellow and a visiting scholar at the International Institute of Strategic Studies in London. 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.

Law and currently teaches international law, human rights, and international criminal law at Seton Hall. Professor Defeis has provided technical assistance to the governments of Armenia and Macedonia with respect to building democracy and has lectured extensively throughout the former Soviet Union and in Italy. She was a visiting scholar at Columbia University's Center for the Study of Human Rights and is a recipient of a Fulbright lectureship for scholarship in Armenia and Russia. Professor Defeis served as host and director of a ten-part television series on international law, which is currently in distribution in four languages: English, Chinese, Russian, and Spanish. She was 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. In addition, she is a member of the Third Circuit Task Force on Equality in the Courts.

Chester Haskell is President of the Monterey Institute of International Studies. Former Executive Director of the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies and former dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and Professional Studies at Simmons College, he held a number of senior administrative positions at Harvard University, including Senior Advisor for International Programs at Harvard University's Center for International Affairs, Associate Dean for Research Programs and Associate Dean for Degree Programs at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, and Executive Director of the Center for International Affairs. Dr. Haskell also taught at the Kennedy School, concentrating on nonprofit organizations engaged in policy advocacy. 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.

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, her works include *No Marble Angels* and *The Dark Path to the River*. She graduated cum laude from Principia College and holds graduate degrees from Brown University and Johns Hopkins University. Ms. Leedom-Ackerman has taught writing at New York University, City University of New York and at Occidental College. She is a vice president of International PEN and was formerly chair of International PEN's

Writers in Prison Committee. She serves on the boards of Save the Children, Poets and Writers, the PEN/Faulkner Foundation, Brown University, John Hopkins University, Human Rights Watch, and the International Crisis Group.

Stephen Marks is Professor and Director of the François-Xavier Bagnoud Center for Health and Human Rights at Harvard University's School of Public Health, as well as Senior Lecturer at the School of Public and International Affairs of Columbia University. He has taught at the University of Phnom Penh, The Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law, and Rutgers University, among others. Professor Marks served as head of human rights education, training, and information in the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia and as a senior program specialist in the Division of Human Rights at the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. He has also served as a program officer for human rights at the Ford Foundation. He is president of the International Service for Human Rights-USA and represents that organization at the United Nations. He holds academic degrees from Stanford University, the University of Paris, Besançon and Nice, and the University of Damascus.

Hazel M. McFerson is Associate Professor of Government and Politics at George Mason University. She has also held positions as Associate Director of Academic Affairs at the Massachusetts Board of Regents of Higher Education in Boston and Program Social Science Analyst for the U.S. Agency for International Development in Mogadishu, Somalia (1985–87). Professor McFerson has written on ethnic and race relations, on African-American and African politics, and on conflict analysis and resolution. She holds a B.A. in sociology from the University of Massachusetts at Boston, an M.A. in international politics from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, and a Ph.D. in politics from Brandeis University.

Ihomas C. Schelling is Distinguished University Professor at the University of Maryland, College Park, having retired in 1990 from Harvard University as Lucius N. Littauer Professor of Political Economy at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Professor of Economics, and Director of the Institute for the Study of Smoking Behavior and Policy. He has been a 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.

Program. He formerly directed the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions at the 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*, and *Civilian-Based Defense*. An international lecturer, his writings have appeared in 30 languages.

# ALBERT EINSTEIN INSTITUTION STAFF

### **Bruce Jenkins**

**Executive Director** 

### **Gene Sharp**

Senior Scholar

### Ron McCarthy

Fellows Program Director

### **Stephen Coady**

Administrative Coordinator

### **Chris Miller**

Program Assistant

The Institution would also like to thank past staff members who led and/or contributed to a number of the activities covered by this report: Jane Gharibian, Barbara Harmel, Christopher Kruegler, Simone Masson, Raymond Pascuito, Roger Powers, Kimberly Pyles, and William Vogele.

# ALBERT EINSTEIN INSTITUTION ADVISORS COUNCIL

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Prof. Adam Roberts

William Spencer

Prof. Hisham Sharabi

**David Szanton** 

Peter Szanton

William Langer Ury

# **AWARDS**

Gene Sharp held the honor of being the recipient of the 1996 Distinguished Career Award from the Peace and War Section of the American Sociological Association.

On May 11, 1997, Gene Sharp received an honorary degree, Doctor of Humanitarian Service, at Rivier College in New Hampshire.

In April 1999, Gene Sharp was awarded a Peace Studies Lifetime Achievement Award at the 11th Annual Peace Studies Association held at Siena College, New York.

# Financial Statements

Statement of Financial Position June 30, 1993 through June 30, 1999

	1999	1998	1997	1996	1995	1994	1993
ASSETS							
Total current assets	\$524,615	\$221,669	\$400,012	\$354,333	\$530,871	\$222,771	\$326,043
Annuity	226,273	240,582	259,278	277,974	296,670	315,357	334,051
Pledges receivable, net of current portion	-	-	95,168	246,859	421,760	1,467,366	-
Net property and equipment	15,771	11,733	16,214	5,953	8,015	11,963	13,377
TOTAL ASSETS	\$766,659	\$473,984	\$770,672	\$885,119	\$1,257,316	\$2,017,457	\$673,471
LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS		¢76 504	#120.010	#114 000	#200.0C7	¢207.007	¢247.002
Total current liabilities	\$467,469	\$76,581	\$130,010	\$114,000	\$208,867	\$297,097	\$317,983
Deferred compensation	221,096	194,566	164,649	132,442	102,850	75,700	50,700
TOTAL LIABILITIES	688,565	271,147	294,659	246,442	311,717	372,797	368,683
Unrestricted - Operating net assets	(215,778)	(196,859)	(194,927)	(123,935)	(204,962)	(187,519)	(173,890)
Unrestricted - Property and equipment	15,771	11,733	16,214	5,953	8,015	11,963	13,377
Temporarily restricted - Annuity	226,273	240,582	259,278	277,974	296,670	315,357	334,051
Temporarily restricted - Time restricted	-	100,000	293,569	433,243	791,292	1,467,366	-
Temporarily restricted - Program restricted	51,828	47,381	101,879	45,442	54,584	37,493	131,250
TOTAL NET ASSETS	78,094	202,837	476,013	638,677	945,599	1,644,660	304,788
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS	\$766,659	\$473,984	\$770,672	\$885,119	\$1,257,316	\$2,017,457	\$673,471

From audited annual statements prepared by Alexander, Aronson, Fining & Co., P.C.

# Statement of Activities for the Years Ended June 30, 1993 through June 30, 1999

	Unrestricted	1999 Temporarily Restricted	Total	Unrestricted	1998 Temporarily Restricted	Total	Unrestricted	1997 Temporarily Restricted	Total
SUPPORT AND REVENUES:									
Contributions Satisfaction of Donor restrictions	\$100,000	(\$100,000)	_	\$198,402	(\$198,402)		\$186,384	(\$186,384)	
	,				(\$198,402)	112 200		(\$180,384)	100 442
Other Grants and contracts	278,767	-	278,767	113,390	-	113,390	108,442	-	108,442
Satisfaction of Donor restrictions	481,558	/401 FF0\		120 800	/120 000\		145 200	(145.200)	
		(481,558)	462 522	129,890	(129,890)	46.020	145,369	(145,369)	210 741
Other	23,532	440,000	463,532	16,997	29,833	46,830	21,616	198,125	219,741
Annuity income	-	31,696	31,696	-	31,696	31,696	-	31,695	31,695
Other income	6,398	-	6,398	10,056	-	10,056	15,715	-	15,715
TOTAL SUPPORT AND REVENUES	890,255	(109,862)	780,393	468,735	(266,763)	201,972	477,526	(101,933)	375,593
EXPENSES:									
Program services -									
Policy and Outreach	269,737	-	269,737	248,208	-	248,208	249,475	-	249,475
Fellows	68,615	-	68,615	71,084	-	71,084	107,563	-	107,563
Publications	422,956	-	422,956	15,363	-	15,363	25,062	-	25,062
South Africa	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	
PNSCS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PNS, SAP Fellows and Publications	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Supporting services —									
General and Administrative	126,714	-	126,714	105,041	-	105,041	111,757	-	111,757
Fundraising	16,027	-	16,027	34,177	-	34,177	44,400	-	44,400
TOTAL EXPENSES	904,049	-	904,049	473,873	-	473,873	538,257	-	538,257
Change in net assets from	,		,			,	, ,		,
operations	(13,794)	(109,862)	(123,656)	(5,138)	(266,763)	(271,901)	(60,731)	(101,933)	(162,664)
UNREALIZED LOSS ON INVESTMENT	(1,087)	-	(1,087)	(1,275)	-	(1,275)	-	-	-
Change in net assets	(\$14,881)	(\$109,862)	(\$124,743)	(\$6,413)	(\$266,763)	(\$273,176)	(\$60,731)	(\$101,933)	(\$162,664)

From audited annual statements prepared by Alexander, Aronson, Fining & Co., P.C.

### Notes:

For the year ended June 30, 1993, PNS (Program on Nonviolent Sanctions), SAP (South Africa Program), Fellows and Publications were reported as one program.

In December 1993, a donor generously pledged \$2,000,000 to the Institution to provide support for general operations. The pledge was to be funded over the calendar years 1994 through 1998. The present value of the entire pledge was recorded in 1993 as temporarily restricted and released to unrestricted support as the time restrictions were satisfied.

In the year ended June 30, 1999, the Institution received a generous pledge of \$420,000 to assit with its work in support of a forthcoming public televison documentary series on the use of nonviolent action in twentieth century conflicts. The Institution has committed \$400,000 to a public broadcast station for this purpose.

	1996 Temporarily			1995 Temporarily			1994 Temporarily			1993 Temporarily	
Unrestricted	Restricted	Total	Unrestricted	Restricted	Total	Unrestricted	Restricted	Total	Unrestricted	Restricted	Total
\$400.000	(\$400,000)	-	\$700,000	(\$700,000)	_	_	_	_	_	_	_
98,265	(\$400,000)	98,265	107,076	(\$700,000)	107,076	755,977	1,467,366	2,223,343	908,330	-	908,330
30,203		30,203	107,070		107,070	, 55,511	1,107,500	2,223,313	300,330		300,330
148,364	(148,364)	-	169,384	(169,384)	-	224,647	(224,647)	-	85,392	(85,392)	-
5,319	88,831	94,150	10,000	136,091	146,091	82,500	80,500	163,000	114,223	125,000	239,223
-	31,695	31,695	-	31,697	31,697	-	31,696	31,696	-	31,696	31,696
12,803	41,951	54,754	18,356	23,926	42,282	27,619	-	27,619	17,284	-	17,284
664,751	(385,887)	278,864	1,004,816	(677,670)	327,146	1,090,743	1,354,915	2,445,658	1,125,229	71,304	1,196,533
202,042	-	202,042	255,275	-	255,275	231,116	-	231,116	266,487	-	266,487
108,696	-	108,696	73,838	-	73,838	74,763	-	74,763	-	-	-
41,168	-	41,168	130,717	-	130,717	159,819	-	159,819	-	-	-
66,336	-	66,336	140,222	-	140,222	137,067	-	137,067	-	-	-
35,060	-	35,060	131,260	-	131,260	185,000	-	185,000	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	849,939	-	849,939
96.075		86.075	202.024		202.024	227.760		227.760	171 022		171 022
86,075 46,409	-	46,409	202,924 91,971	-	202,924 91.971	237,768 80,253	-	237,768 80,253	171,822 112,152	-	171,822 112,152
40,409	-	40,409	31,3/1	· -	ו/כ,וכ	00,233	_	00,233	112,132	-	112,132
585,786	-	585,786	1,026,207	-	1,026,207	1,105,786	-	1,105,786	1,400,400	-	1,400,400
78,965	(385,887)	(306,922)	(21,391)	(677,670)	(699,061)	(15,043)	1,354,915	1,339,872	(275,171)	71,304	(203,867)
- \$78,965	- (\$385,887)	- (\$306,922)	(\$21,391)	- (\$677,670)	- (\$699,061)	- (\$15,043)	- \$1,354,915	- \$1,339,872	- (\$275,171)	- \$71,304	- (\$203,867)

# THE ALBERT EINSTEIN INSTITUTION

427 Newbury Street • Boston, MA 02115 USA voice: 617.247.4882 • fax: 617.247.4035 e-mail: einstein@igc.org www.aeinstein.org