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² Freedom House, *Freedom in the World: The Annual Survey of Political Rights and Civil Liberties*, 1992-1993 (New York: Freedom House, 1993), p. 66

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³ Freedom House, *Freedom in the World* p. 4

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⁵ Krishnalal Shridharani, *War Without Violence: A Study of Gandhi's Method and Its Accomplishments* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1939, and reprint New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1972), p. 260.

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⁶ Aristotle, *The Politics*, translated by T A Sinclair (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England and Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books 1976 [1962], Book V, Chapter 12, pp. 231 and 232.

⁷ "Rule by Tricks" (1311-1375) :
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⁸ Karl W. Deutsch, "Cracks in Monolith," in Carl J. Friedrich, ed., *Totalitarianism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954), pp. 313-314.

⁹ John Austin, *Lectures of Jurisprudence or the Philosophy of Positive Law* (Fifth Edition, revised and edited by Robert Campbell, 2 vol., London: John Murray, 1911 [1861]), Vol. I, p. 296.

¹⁰ Niccolo Machiavelli, "The Discourse on the First Ten Books of Livy," in *The Discourse of Niccolo Machiavelli* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1950), Vol. I, p. 254.

¹¹ : Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973), p. 75 ومصادر أخرى تاريخية أمثلة عن أخرى.

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¹² Robert Helvey, personal communication, 15 August 1993

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¹³ Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (Boston, MA: Porter Sargent, 1973) and Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler, *Strategic Nonviolent Conflict* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1994). Also see Gene Sharp, *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: Twentieth Century Practice and Twenty-First Century Potential*. Forthcoming.

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¹⁴ Aristotle, *The Politics*, Book V, Chapter 12, p. 233.

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¹⁶ See gene Sharp, *Civilian-Based defense: A Post-Military Weapons System* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990).

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¹⁷ : Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, Part Two and The Methods of Nonviolent Action, Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973 and later editions.

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