
SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

Books in English

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| 2005
hardback and
paperback | <i>Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential.</i> 608 pp. Boston, MA: Porter Sargent Publishers |
| 1999
hardback | <i>Gandhi as a Political Strategist, with Essays on Ethics and Politics.</i> Indian edition with a new Introduction by Dr. Federico Mayor. Original Introduction by Coretta Scott King. pp. 357. New Delhi: Gandhi Media Centre. (See 1979 edition below.) |
| 1997
hardback | <i>Nonviolent Action: A Research Guide.</i> Second editor with Ronald McCarthy. pp. 720. New York: Garland Publishers. |
| 1990
hardback | <i>Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System.</i> With the assistance of Bruce Jenkins. 165 pp. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. |
| 1986
hardback | <i>Resistance, Politics, and the American Struggle for Independence, 1765-1775.</i> Co-editor with Walter Conser, Jr., Ronald M. McCarthy, and David J. Toscano. 592 pp. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers. |
| 1985
paperback | <i>Making Europe Unconquerable: The Potential of Civilian-based Deterrence and Defense.</i> 252 pp. London: Taylor & Francis. Second Edition (190pp.) with a Foreword by George F. Kennan. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1986. |
| 1985
paperback | <i>National Security Through Civilian-based Defense.</i> 93 pp. Omaha: Association for Transarmament Studies. |
| 1980
hardback and
paperback | <i>Social Power and Political Freedom.</i> 456 pp. Introduction by Senator Mark O. Hatfield. Boston: Porter Sargent. |

- 1979
hardback and
paperback *Gandhi as a Political Strategist, with Essays on Ethics and Politics.* 356 pp. Introduction by Coretta Scott King. Boston: Porter Sargent.
- 1973
hardback and
paperback *The Politics of Nonviolent Action.* 902 pp. Introduction by Thomas C. Schelling. Prepared under the auspices of Harvard University's Center for International Affairs. Boston: Porter Sargent. 1974 paperback edition in 3 vols.: I, *Power and Struggle.* 114 pp.; II, *The Methods of Nonviolent Action.* 348 pp.; III, *Dynamics of Nonviolent Action.* 466 pp. Boston: Porter Sargent.
- 1970
hardback and
paperback *Exploring Nonviolent Alternatives.* 161 pp. Introduction by David Riesman. Boston: Porter Sargent.
- 1967
hardback *Civilian Defense: An Introduction.* Co-editor with Adam Roberts and T.K. Mahadevan. 265 pp. Introductory statement by President Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, and New Delhi: Gandhi Peace Foundation.
- 1960
hardback and
paperback *Gandhi Wields the Weapon of Moral Power: Three Case Histories.* 316 pp. Foreword by Albert Einstein. Introduction by Bharatan Kumarappa. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House.

Books in translation

- 2002
Russian No transliteration available. (Translation of *Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System*) 233pp. Vilnius: Lithuania.
- 2000
Tibetan *TseWa Spangs Pai 'Thab Rtsod Kyi Nus Shugs Dang Nyamslen.* (translation of *The Power and Practice of Nonviolent Political Struggle*) New Delhi, India: Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre. Publisher's Note by the Venerable Samdhong Rinpoche. Foreword by The Dalai Lama.
- 1995
Tamil No transliteration available. (Translation of *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*) 1035pp. Madurai: Vanguard Press.
- 1995
Korean No transliteration available. (Translation of *Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System*) 255pp. Seoul: Korea University Press.

- 1995
French
La Guerre Civilisée: Defense par Actions Civiles. 192pp. (Translation of *Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System*) Grenoble: Presses Universitaires de Grenoble.
- 1995
Latvian
Sabiedrisk Aizsardziba. 200pp. (Translation of *Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System*) Riga: Junda Publishers.
- 1994
Chinese
(Mandarin)
No transliteration available. 242pp. (Translation of *Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System*) Taipei: Avant Guard Publishing Co.
- 1994
Estonian
Elanikele Toetur Kaitse. 107pp. (Translation of *Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System*) Tallinn: Infomare.
- 1993
Hebrew
paperback
Hagana Leumit Ezrakhit: Tzurat HaLekhima HaAtidit 165 pp. (Translation of *Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System*) Zikhron Ya'Akov: Israeli Institute for Military Studies.
- 1992
Lithuanian
paperback
Pilietine Gynyba: Nekarine Ginklu Sistema. 161 pp. (Translation of *Civilian-based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System*.) Vilnius: Mintis Publishers.
- 1989
Italian
paperback
Verso un'Europa Inconquistabile. (Translation of *Making Europe Unconquerable*.) 190 pp. Introduction by Gianfranco Pasquino. Translated by Silvia Cortesi and Matteo Luccio. Turin: Edizioni Gruppo Abele.
- 1988
Dutch
paperback
Naar een onveroverbaar Europa: De kracht van civiele afschrikking en sociale verdediging. (Translation of *Making Europe Unconquerable*.) 216 pp. Translated by Peter Kruijt, Wim Robben and Mark Hierman. Antwerp: International Vredesinformatiedienst.
- 1986
Thai
paperback
Amnart Lae Yoothavitee Rai Kwarm Roon-raeng [Power and nonviolent strategy]. (Based on the manuscript "Power, Struggle and Defense.") 402 pp. Introduction by Sulak Sivaraksa. Translated by Chaiwat Satha-Anand and Komson Hoota-paet. Bangkok: Krong Karn Nang Sue Sasna Sanivitee, for the Coordinating Group Religion in Society, and the Komong Keemthong Foundation.

- 1985-97
Italian
hardback
Politica dell'azione nonviolenta. (Translation of *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*). 3 vols.: I, *Potere e lotta* [Power and struggle]. 164 pp. Translated by Enrico Benucci, Manuel Vignali and Alberto Zangheri. Turin: Edizione Gruppo Abele, 1985; II, *Le tecniche* [The methods]. 338 pp. Translated by Alberto Zangheri. Turin: Edizione Gruppo Abele, 1986; III, *La Dinamica* [The Dynamics]. pp. 315. Translated by Alberto Zangheri. Turin: Edizione Gruppo Abele, 1997.
- 1985
Arabic
paperback
Almuqawama Bila Ounf [Nonviolent resistance]. (Based on the manuscript "Power, Struggle and Defense.") 377 pp. Introductions by Daniel Amit and Jonathan Kuttub. East Jerusalem: Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence. Reprinted in 1989 and 1991.
- 1985
Hebrew
paperback
Hitnagdut Lo Alima [Nonviolent resistance]. (Based on the manuscript "Power, Struggle and Defense.") 256 pp. Introductions by Daniel Amit and Jonathan Kuttub. Jerusalem: Mifras House.
- 1983
Portuguese
paperback
Poder, luta, e defesa: Teoria e prática ação não-violenta [Power, struggle, and defense: Theory and practice of nonviolent action]. (Based on the manuscript "Power, Struggle and Defense.") 270 pp. Introduction by Paulo Evaristo Cardinal Arns. Translated by Getúlio Bertelli. São Paulo: Edições Paulinas. (Out of print.)
- 1982
Dutch
paperback
Macht en strijd: Theorie en praktijk van geweldloze actie [Power and struggle: Theory and practice of nonviolent action]. (Excerpts from *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*.) 235 pp. Introduction by Professor Peter Kooijmans. Translated by Jenny de Graaf. Utrecht and Antwerp: Het Spectrum.
- 1972
Japanese
hardback and
paperback
Buki naki minshu no teiko: Sono senryakuron-teki apuroch [Mass resistance without weapons: Its military-strategic approach]. (Translation of *Exploring Nonviolent Alternatives*.) 262 pp. Translated by Komatsu Shigeo. Tokyo: Renga Shobo.

Booklets/pamphlets (in English and translations)

- 2005
Russian
From Dictatorship to Democracy, 70 pp. Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution (No print version, available online at www.aeinstein.org)
- 2005
Belarusian
From Dictatorship to Democracy, 67 pp. Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution (No print version, available online at www.aeinstein.org)

- 2005 Kyrgyz *From Dictatorship to Democracy*, 87 pp. Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution (No print version, available online at www.aeinstein.org)
- 2005 Chinese (Mandarin--Simplified) *From Dictatorship to Democracy*, 52 pp. Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution (No print version, available online at www.aeinstein.org)
- 2005 Chinese (Mandarin--Traditional) *From Dictatorship to Democracy*, 61 pp. Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution (No print version, available online at www.aeinstein.org)
- 2004 Arabic *From Dictatorship to Democracy*, 70 pp. Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution (No print version, available online at www.aeinstein.org)
- 2004 Arabic *There Are Realistic Alternatives*, 64 pp. Jerusalem: Middle East Nonviolence and Democracy
- 2004 Farsi *From Dictatorship to Democracy* (Farsi translation), 47 pp. Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution (No print version, available online at: www.aeinstein.org)
- 2003 Spanish *De la Dictadura a la Democracia* (From Dictatorship to Democracy), 93 pp. Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution
- 2003 *From Dictatorship to Democracy: A Conceptual Framework for Liberation*, 2nd printing, 88pp. Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution
- 2003 *There are Realistic Alternatives*, 54pp. Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution
- 2003 *The Anti-Coup*, 64pp. Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution
- 2002 *From Dictatorship to Democracy: A Conceptual Framework for Liberation*, 78 pp. Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution

2001 Russian	<i>From Dictatorship to Democracy</i> , 68pp. Belarus: ZUBR
2001 Mon (Burma)	translation of <i>From Dictatorship to Democracy: A conceptual framework for liberation</i>
2001 Kachin Jing-paw (Burma)	translation of <i>From Dictatorship to Democracy: A conceptual framework for liberation</i>
2001 Chin (Burma)	<i>Gumshem Magam Lai Kaw Nna Dimokresi Lai De</i> (translation of <i>From Dictatorship to Democracy: A conceptual framework for liberation</i>)
2001 Burmese	translation of <i>From Dictatorship to Democracy: A conceptual framework for liberation</i>
2001 Karen (Burma)	translation of <i>From Dictatorship to Democracy: A conceptual framework for liberation</i>
1999 Serbian	<i>Od Diktature Do Demokratije</i> (translation of <i>From Dictatorship to Democracy: A conceptual framework for liberation</i>) 84 pp. Novi Sad, Yugoslavia: Civic Initiatives
1999 Spanish (Cuba)	"La Relevancia de Gandhi en el Mundo Moderno." (Translation of "The Relevance of Gandhi in the Modern World.") 33 pp. Miami: Cuban Revolutionary Democratic Directorate (<i>Directorio Revolucionario Democratico Cubano</i>) and Centro de Estudios para una Opción Nacional (CEON).
1998 Spanish (Cuba)	"El Rol Del Poder En La Lucha Noviolenta." (Translation of "The Role of Power in Nonviolent Struggle." 19 pp. Monograph Series No. 3, Cambridge, MA: The Albert Einstein Institution.) 16 pp. Miami: Cuban Revolutionary Democratic Directorate (<i>Directorio Revolucionario Democratico Cubano</i>).
1998 Spanish (Cuba)	<i>De La Dictadura A La Democracia</i> (Translation of <i>From Dictatorship to Democracy: A conceptual framework for liberation</i>) 76 pp. Miami: Brothers to the Rescue (Hermanos Al Rescate).

- 1997 & 1998
Spanish
(Cuba) “La Lucha Política Noviolenta: Su Poder y su Práctica.”
[Translation]. Condensation of *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*
Revised and expanded edition and new translation. 85 pp. Miami:
Brothers to the Rescue (Hermanos Al Rescate).
- 1997
Indonesian *Menuju Demokrasi Tanpa Kekerasan (Toward Democracy Without*
Violence, the title of the Indonesian edition of *From Dictatorship to*
Democracy) Introductions by Abdurrahman Wahid and Prof. Dr.
Franz Magnis Suseno, SJ. 108 pp. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan
Publishers.
- 1995
Macedonian No transliteration available 85 pp. (Translation of "Self-Reliant
Defense Without Bankruptcy or War.") Skopje: Union Trade (with
financial support of the Open Society Institute, Skopje)
- 1994 "Defense against Coups d'État", in *Human Rights and Coups D'État*
(with essays "Coups d'État in 1992-1993", by Bruce Jenkins and
"Coups d'État as Threats to Human Rights", by Charles Norchi)
Occasional Paper #2, New York: International League for Human
Rights
- 1994
Burmese No transliteration available. 88pp. (Translation of *From*
Dictatorship to Democracy: A conceptual framework for liberation)
Bangkok: Khit Pyaing (New Era Journal). (Reprinted 1996, 1997)
- 1993
paperback *From Dictatorship to Democracy: A Conceptual Framework for*
Liberation, 79 pp. Bangkok: The Committee for the Restoration of
Democracy in Burma.
- 1993 "Defense Without War: The Status of Civilian-Based Defense in the
World Today" 14 pp. Occasional Paper No. 6. Honolulu,
Matsunaga Institute for Peace, University of Hawai'i.
- 1993
Estonian "Soltumatu Kaitsepoliitika: ilma pankroti ja sõjata" 108 pp.
(Translation of "Self-reliant Defense Without Bankruptcy or War")
Tallinn: Informare.
- 1993
Thai “No transliteration available.” [Against the Coup: Fundamentals of
an Effective Defense,] 48 pp. Bangkok, Komong Keemthong
Foundation.

- 1992 "Self-Reliant Defense Without Bankruptcy or War." With the assistance of Bruce Jenkins. 72 pp. Cambridge, MA: The Albert Einstein Institution. Expanded version of original paper under same title printed by Center for International Studies, University of Missouri-St. Louis, Occasional Paper No. 9203, February 1992.
- 1992 "Patstaviga Aizsardziba - Alternativa Saimnieciskaiam Postam Un Latvian Karam." (Translation of "Self-Reliant Defense Without Bankruptcy or War") Riga: Ministry of Defense.
- 1992 "Savarankiska Gynyba Be Bankroto ir Karo." 80 pp. (Translation of "Self-reliant Defense Without Bankruptcy or War") Vilnius: Lithuanian Mintis Publishers.
- 1991 "Jegos Vaidmuo Nesmurtineje Kovoje" 14 pp. (Translation of "The Lithuanian Role of Power in Nonviolent Struggle") Vilnius: Savanoriska Krasto Apsaugos Tarnyba Savanorio Bibliotekele
- 1991 "L'Abolition de la Guerre un But Réaliste." 35 pp. Translation of French "Making the Abolition of War a Realistic Goal.) Cahiers de la non-violence no. 4, Montreal: Le Centre de Ressources sur la non-violence.
- 1990 "The Role of Power in Nonviolent Struggle." 19pp. Monograph Series No. 3, Cambridge, MA: The Albert Einstein Institution.
- 1990 "Al-Intifada wa al-Nidal Bila 'Anf." (Translation of "The Intifada Arabic and Nonviolent Struggle.") 19 pp. Jerusalem: Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence. Reprinted in 1991.
- 1989 "Arnar Nint Naing-gun-ye Eí Gaw-da" (Translation of "The Role of Burmese Power in Nonviolent Struggle.") 23 pp. Fairfax, VA: Foundation for Democracy in Burma. Reprinted in 1992 and in 1993.
- 1989 "Progressieve politiek en geweldloze politieke techniek." Dutch (Translation of "The Problem of Political Technique in Radical Politics," in *Social Power and Political Freedom*.) 22 pp. Zwolle: Stichting Voorlichting Aktieve Geweldloosheid.
- 1988 "La Lucha Politica: Criterios y Métodos." Condensation of *The Spanish Politics of Nonviolent Action*) 114pp. Santiago: Ediciones ChileAmérica CESOC. (2nd Edition, April, 1988).

- 1988
Dutch "Een einde maken aan onderdrukking: Strategiese problemen van de verzetsbeweging in Zuid-Afrika." (Translation of "What is Required to Uproot Oppression? Strategic Problems of the South African Resistance," in *Social Power and Political Freedom*.) 31 pp. Zwolle: Stichting Voorlichting Aktieve Geweldloosheid.
- 1988
Arabic "Kitah Al-La'Anf: Waseeleh Taaley Lilamel Al-Syassi." (Translation of "Nonviolent Struggle: An Efficient Technique of Political Action. An Interview with Gene Sharp" by Afif Safieh.) 31 pp. Jerusalem: Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence.
- 1988 "Nonviolent Struggle: An Efficient Technique of Political Action -- An Interview with Gene Sharp." 47 pp. Jerusalem: Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence.
- 1987
Spanish "La Lucha Politica Noviolenta: Criterios y Técnicas." Condensation of *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* by Jaime Gonzalez Bernal. 78 pp. Mexico: private printings.
- 1987
Dutch "Afschaffing van oorlog een realistisch doel." (Translation of "Making the Abolition of War a Realistic Goal.") 55 pp. Zwolle: Stichting Aktieve Geweldloosheid.
- 1985
Dutch "Geweldloosheid: Moreel principe of politieke techniek?." (Translation of "Nonviolence: Moral Principle or Political Technique?.") 55 pp. Zwolle: Stichting Aktieve Geweldloosheid.
- 1985
Dutch "Burgerlijke ongehoorzaamheid in een democratie?." (Translation of "Civil Disobedience in a Democracy.") 43 pp. Zwolle: Stichting Aktieve Geweldloosheid.
- 1984
Polish "Walka Bez Uzycia Przemocy." (Excerpts from Chapter 1 of *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*.) 21 pp. Gdansk: (clandestine Solidarity publisher). Reprinted in 1986, Warsaw: Ad Sum (clandestine publisher). Also printed in the journal "ANEKS", (London), Issue 34, Autumn 1984, pp. 53-71.
- 1982
Dutch "Sociale verdediging: Afschrikking en verdediging door burgers." [Civilian-based defense: deterrence and defense by citizens.] 55 pp. Introduction by Professor J.S. van Hessen. Monographie no. 1, Winter 81/82. 's-Gravenhage: Stichting Maatschappij en Krijgsmacht.

- 1981 "Making the Abolition of War a Realistic Goal." 16 pp. New York: Institute for World Order, 1981. Reissued in 1983 and in 1985 by the World Policy Institute. Reprinted by the Association for Transarmanent (Aotearoa), Dunedin, New Zealand, 1986. Reprinted by The Albert Einstein Institution, Cambridge, MA, in 1992.
- 1980 "Tyranniet Kunne Ikkje Knusa Dei." (Translation of "Tyranny Could Not Quell Them.") 42 pp. FMKs fredspolitiske skriftserie no. 3. Oslo: Folkereisning mot krig.
- 1965 "The Political Equivalent of War -- Civilian Defence." *International Conciliation*. 67 pp. Whole issue, no. 555, November 1965. New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- 1964 "Civilian Defence." Co-editor with Adam Roberts, Jerome Frank, and Arne Næss. 70 pp. Forward by the Honorable Alastair Buchan. London: Peace News.
- 1961 "Gandhi Faces the Storm." 71 pp. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House.
- 1958 "Tyranny Could Not Quell Them." London: Peace News.

Chapters (in English and translations)

- 2002 "The Importance of Strategic Planning in Nonviolent Struggle" in Krishna Mallick and Doris Hunter, eds., *An Anthology of Nonviolence: Historical and Contemporary Voices*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, pp. 225-230.
- 2002 "Gandhi's Lessons for the Twenty-First Century" in M.P. Mathai, M.S. John, and Siby K. Joseph, eds., *Meditations on Gandhi*. New Delhi, India: Concept Publishing Company, pp. 63-75.
- 2001 (English and Latvian versions) "Latvia's Struggle for Independence in a World Context" in *The January Barricades as a Form of National Resistance Against a Totalitarian Regime and Lessons that were Learned*. Riga, Latvia: Foundation for the Support of Participants of the 1991 Barricades, pp. 41-48.

- 1999 "What Are the Options for Action for Believers in Principled Nonviolence?" in Jampa Samten and Losang Norbu Shastri, eds., *Professor Samdhong Rinpoche Felicitation Volume*. Varanasi, India: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.
- 1998 "Nonviolent Action in Acute Interethnic Conflicts" in the Abraham Fund's *Handbook of Interethnic Coexistence*. New York: The Abraham Fund & Continuum Publishing Group, pp. 369-381.
- 1995 "The Power Potential of Nonviolent Struggle" with Bruce Jenkins in *Nonviolence and Tolerance in Changing Eastern and Central Europe*. Vilnius, LOGOS. [Reprinted in *Journal of Peace and Gandhian Studies* (July-December, 1996), pp. 19-26, vol. I, no. 4 & vol. 2, no. 1, New Delhi: Gandhi Media Centre.]
- 1993
Russian No transliteration available of chapter, book title, nor publisher name (transliterations forthcoming) [The role of power in nonviolent struggle]. Moscow, 1993
- 1992
Russian "Istoricheskaya Znachimost Narastaniya Nyenasilstvyennoi Barbi u Kontsy XX Vyeka" [The historical significance of the growth of nonviolent struggle in the late 20th century], in *XX Vyek: Osnovnieh Problemi i Tendentsii Mezhdunarodnikh Otnoshenii* [Twentieth century: fundamental problems and tendencies of international relations], papers from an international conference 21-23 November 1989, Moscow, sponsored by the Institute of History, Russian Academy of Sciences.
- 1992 "Nonviolent Struggle: An Effective Alternative," in Kenneth Kraft, ed., *Inner Peace, World Peace: Essays on Buddhism and Nonviolence*. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 111-125.
- 1992 "Nonviolent Struggle Today," in Graeme MacQueen, ed., *Unarmed Forces--Nonviolent Action in Central America and the Middle East*. Toronto: Science for Peace/Samuel Stevens (Canadian Papers in Peace Studies, No. 1), pp. 1-19.
- 1991 "Transitions to Civilian-based Defense," in Brian Martin, *et al*, *Nonviolent Struggle and Social Defence*. London: War Resisters' International and the Myrtle Solomon Memorial Fund Subcommittee, pp. 15-20. Reprinted in *Church & Society* (March/April 1991), pp. 17-23 and in *Civilian-Based Defense: News and Opinion*, vol.7, no. 1, May/July 1990, pp. 6-9.

- 1990
Hebrew "Israel mul Haintifada: Chalufott Mediniyott Vehashlachoteihen" [Israel vs. intifada: policy options and their consequences], in Reuven Gal, ed., *I Hashvieet: Hashpaott Haintifada al Hachevra BeIsrael* [The seventh war: The effects of the intifada on the Israeli society.] Tel-Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House, pp. 38-43.
- 1990
Spanish "En torno a la definición de seguridad nacional" [Toward a Definition of National Security], in Sergio Aguayo Quezada and Bruce Michael Bagely, eds., *En busca de la seguridad perdida: aproximaciones a la seguridad nacional mexicana*. [In search of the lost security: assessments of Mexican national security.] Mexico City: Siglo Vientiuno Editores, pp. 91-96.
- 1990 "The Role of Power in Nonviolent Political Struggle," (Appendix A) in Ralph Crow, Philip Grant and Saad E. Ibrahim, eds., *Arab Nonviolent Political Struggle in the Middle East*. Boulder: Lynne Reinner Publishers, pp. 91-106.
- 1989
Italian "Difendersi senza armi: Le richere del programma di Harvard sulle sanzioni nonviolente," in Alberto L'Abate, ed., *Richerche per la pace: educazione e alternative all difesa armata*. Bologna: Nuova Universale Cappelli, pp. 125-143.
- 1989
Norwegian "En Sivil Komponent i Totalforsvarspolitikken?" [A civil component in a total defense policy?] in *Kompletterende Forsvarsformer: En Konferanserapport* [Complementary forms of defense: a conference report.] Oslo: Den Norske Atlanterhavskomiteé, 1989. pp. 13-25.
- 1988
Arabic "Dowr Al-Quwwa Fi Al-Kifah Al-La Onf," [The role of power in nonviolent struggle] in Saad Eddin Ibrahim, ed., *Al-Muqawama Al Hadanieh Fi Al-Nidal Al-Siyyas*. [Civilian resistance in political struggle.] Amman: Arab Thought Forum, pp. 9-26.
- 1987 "Civilian-based Defense: A New Deterrence and Defense Policy," in Yoshikazu Sakamoto, ed., *Strategic Doctrines and Their Alternatives*. New York, London, etc.: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, pp. 227-262.
- 1987 "Making the Abolition of War a Realistic Goal," in Wesley Cragg, ed., *Contemporary Moral Issues*, 2d edition. Toronto etc.: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd, pp. 539-549.

- 1987
French "Deux formes de dissuasion par défense à base civile," [Two forms of dissuasion by civilian-based defense] in *Les stratégies civiles de défense*. St. Etienne: Alternatives Non Violentes (special issue), pp. 47-66. (Paper presented at Strasbourg conference, November 27-29, 1985)
- 1986 Excerpts from *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, in Duane Friesen, ed., *Christian Peacemaking and International Conflict*. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press.
- 1985 "Civilian-based Defense Policy," in Melvin Small and J. David Singer, eds., *International War: An Anthology*. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, pp. 291-304. (Excerpt from "The Political Equivalent of War -- Civilian Defense.")
- 1984 "Conflict Without Violence," in Fallon Evans, ed., *Human Values in the Nuclear Age*. Los Angeles: Immaculate Heart College, pp. 97-106.
- 1983 "Investigating New Options in Conflict and Defense," in Douglas Sloan, ed., *Education for Peace and Disarmament: Toward a Living World*. New York and London: Teachers College Press, pp. 50-64. (Reprinted from the journal *Teachers College Record*.)
- 1983 "The Need for a Substitute for War," with "81 Cases of Non-violent Action," and "Definition of a Few Key Terms," in Dimitrios Roussopoulos, ed., *Our Generation Against Nuclear War*. Montreal: Black Rose Books, pp. 279-296.
- 1982 "Civilian-based Defense," in *UNESCO Yearbook on Peace and Conflict Studies*. Westport: Greenwood Press, pp. 75-78.
- 1982 "Making the Abolition of War a Realistic Goal," in Carolyn Stephenson, ed., *Alternative Methods for International Security*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, pp. 127-140.
- 1979
Dutch "Sociale verdediging: Optie voor West Europa," [Civilian-based defense: option for Western Europe, reprinted from *Jason-magazine*] and "Het politieke equivalent van oorlog: Sociale verdediging," (From "The Political Equivalent of War --Civilian Defense") in Hylke Tromp, ed., *Sociale Verdediging*. Groningen: Xeno, and Antwerp: Pax Christi, pp. 27-52; 87-110.

- 1979 "The Significance of Domestic Nonviolent Action as a Substitute for International War," in Severyn T. Bruyn and Paula M. Rayman, eds., *Nonviolent Action and Social Change*. New York: Irvington, pp. 233-253.
- 1977 "Methods of Inducing Change: Social Intervention," in Fred M. Cox, John L. Erlich, Jack Rothman, and John E. Tropman, eds., *Tactics and Techniques of Community Practice*. Itasca: F.E. Peacock Publishers, pp. 186-193. Reprinted in 1982.
- 1976 Swedish "Metoder för ickevåldsagerande," in Adam Roberts, *Civilmotståndets teknik*. Stockholm: Centralförbundet Folk och Försvar, pp. 35-39. (Excerpted list of methods from *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*.)
- 1975 "Civil Disobedience in a Democracy," in J.S. Mathur and P.C. Sharma, eds., *Facets of Gandhian Thought*. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, pp. 38-56.
- 1974 "An Examination of the Significance of Domestic Nonviolent Action for Development of a Substitute for International War," in Joseph Ben-Dak, ed., *The Future of Collective Violence: Societal and International Perspectives*. Lund, Sweden: Studentlitteratur, pp. 165-181. (Paper presented to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 1972.)
- 1974 Danish "Ikkevoldskampens teknik," (From "The Technique of Non-violent Action") and "Nationalt forsvar uden våben," (From National Defense Without Armaments") in Jens Throft, ed., *Ikkevold: Strategi i klassekampen*. Copenhagen: Aldrig Mere Krig, pp. 18-35 and 35-55.
- 1973 "National Defense Without Armaments," in Charles R. Beitz and Theodore Herman, eds., *Peace and War*. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman & Co, pp. 349-367. Reprint.
- 1971 "Mechanisms of Change in Nonviolent Action," in Harvey A. Hornstein, Barbara Benedict, Warner Burke, Marian Hornstein, and Roy Lewicki, eds., *Social Intervention: A Behavioral Science Analysis*. New York: Free Press, pp. 546-557.
- 1971 "The Technique of Nonviolent Action," in Joan V. Bondurant, ed., *Conflict: Violence and Nonviolence*. Chicago and New York: Aldine-Atherton Press, pp. 151-171. Reprint.

- 1970 "National Defense Without Armaments," in *War/Peace Report*, vol. 10, no. 4, (April), pp.3-10.
- 1969 "Icke-våldets teknik," in Adam Roberts, ed., *Civilmotståndets Strategi: Historiska exempel och aktuella tillämpningar*. Stockholm: Bokforlaget Aldus/Bonniers, pp. 31-57. (Translation of "The Technique of Nonviolent Action.")
Swedish
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