



The
Albert
Einstein
Institution

*The First Five Years — 1983-1988
and Plans for the Future*

The President's Report

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underlying much of the work of the Einstein Institution.

The growing practice and policy consideration of nonviolent struggle means that scholarly and policy studies about this technique are therefore becoming more important. Members of the public, participants in conflicts, and leaders and officials will increasingly need to know how nonviolent struggle works, what makes it succeed and fail, what its strategic principles are, and what may be its limitations and potentialities. As more people involved in acute conflicts gain knowledge about nonviolent struggle, they may with greater frequency consciously choose this alternative over violence. The result may be both broadened practice and enhanced effectiveness. In turn, new successes will encourage still more groups to consider this option over violent ones.

On the other hand, confusion among both practitioners and their opponents about the essential qualities and characteristics of nonviolent struggle, and its requirements and effects, might contribute to undesirable consequences for all concerned. This can occur in at least two ways.

First, oversimplified and exaggerated claims for easy or rapid success by this technique presented by ill-informed advocates may either trigger instant repudiation of nonviolent options or, worse, quick adoption of nonviolent action without careful strategic planning and preparations, leading to rapid defeat and preparing the way for self-destructive violence. Second, when challenged by this technique ill-informed governments may become even more inflexible and brutal in their repression — not knowing that their rigidity and brutalities not only will bring greater suffering but might even help the resisters to win. On occasion, however, such extreme repression may push both sides in the conflict toward escalations of increasing violence, disastrous for both sides. Greater knowledge of the characteristics and requirements of nonviolent sanctions might reduce irresponsible and counterproductive actions by both sides.

Several kinds of studies are required to give us greater knowledge about nonviolent means of conducting conflicts. The three categories are:

❖ **basic research:** investigating the characteristics, qualities, dynamics, and history of nonviolent struggle;

❖ **problem-solving research:** examining whether, and if so how, difficulties encountered in the practice of nonviolent sanctions (as the need to withstand severe repression or to increase effectiveness in special situations) can be overcome; and

❖ **policy studies:** analyzing whether, and if so how, nonviolent sanctions can be adapted and prepared for use by a society to meet anticipated needs (as to defeat coups d'état or to defend against attacks on civil liberties).

Many topics and problems require attention within each of these. For example, not only will strategic analyses be required, but also historical accounts of past conflicts. Descriptive histories and analyses of past nonviolent struggles can reveal to today's scholars, policy makers, and practitioners the strategic and tactical wisdom or mistakes demonstrated in past conflicts. This knowledge may stimulate new thinkers and leaders to develop more effective plans for future conflicts.

The growth of knowledge about nonviolent struggle may also have repercussions in educational institutions and the scholarly community. For example, new research on neglected historical cases may lead to revision of textbooks. Many new questions are likely to arise which may offer challenges and problems for scholars in several disciplines. For many people, however, the most important consequences of new knowledge about nonviolent struggle will be the practical ones — its capacity to increase the effectiveness of nonviolent struggle, expand its relevance to major crises, and

The most important consequences of new knowledge about nonviolent struggle will be the practical ones — its capacity to increase the effectiveness of nonviolent struggle, expand its relevance to major crises, and extend available options.

extend available options.

It is clear that a great need and a valuable opportunity now exist to increase our knowledge of this neglected field and to disseminate this widely. Scholarly research, innovative policy development, and improved education about nonviolent alternatives are now imperative.

History of Research on Nonviolent Sanctions: From Individual Efforts to Organized Research

Research on the nature and potential of nonviolent struggle is not new; serious studies on these subjects began several decades ago. In the 1920s and 1930s, a few individual researchers in several countries conducted scholarly work on the characteristics and practice of nonviolent struggle. They drew primarily on the Western experiences (especially strikes, boycotts, and national resistance movements) and the campaigns in India led or inspired by Mohandas K. Gandhi. (Only rarely was a scholar's work based on experiences worldwide.) These researchers included Clarence Marsh Case, Barthélemy de Ligt, Wilfrid Crook, Richard Gregg, Karl Erlich, Nils Lindberg, Gammelgaard Jacobsen, Harry Laidler, John Steuben, and Krishnalal Shridharani. Mohandas K. Gandhi was not a scholar of the technique, but rather a brilliant strategist. In practice and theory he contributed to the development of strategy in its operation. It was left to others to systematize his insights.

The continued development of such studies seems to have been interrupted by a series of historical events. The Second World War, the Holocaust, and the totalitarianism of the Nazi and Stalinist systems seem to have hindered the growth of research on nonviolent resistance, but not its practice. Nonviolent struggle was often waged to oppose Nazism and to save Jews, more widely and with greater power than is generally recognized. At the same time, many people grappled with the practical and ethical dilemmas confronted in wrestling with how to combat Nazism. Although many of these people hated

war, they often had little confidence in the effectiveness of anything else, and so joined the war effort.

Outside of Europe, European colonialism and racism still produced oppression and conflict. From the 1920s through the 1950s diverse liberation movements, especially in India and parts of Africa, consciously chose and applied nonviolent resistance. Nonviolent struggle was used to gain colonial freedom, to fight against racial discrimination and segregation, and to resolve other problems.

After the war, as early as 1953, nonviolent resistance and uprisings became significant in Communist Eastern Europe, apparently without the benefit of the writings of strategists or scholars. Those movements gradually developed greater sophistication, based on experiences with both violent and nonviolent resistance in Eastern European countries. (Only recently have books on nonviolent struggle been published underground in Poland.)

During the 1940s and 1950s, a few individual scholars conducted their personal studies on nonviolent resistance. These included Theodor Paullin, Mulford Sibley, Nirmal Kumar Bose, Gopinath Dhawan, and Ranganath Diwakar. These few researchers, like their precursors, still worked in an unrecognized and undeveloped field. It often lacked even the basic conceptual tools and foundation studies which could establish the framework for scholarship and policy consideration. In general, these scholars were also working with only limited knowledge of studies of social conflict and of historical case studies of nonviolent action, because very little of such basic work had yet been done. They also had to work very much alone, with little or no financial or institutional support, and usually without colleagues. Their accomplishments were significant but could not meet the challenges posed by the world-wide applications of violence to politics and international relations.

The absence of financial resources, an intellectual foundation for the field, and an organized scholarly

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effort inevitably set limits to the work of these individual researchers. Regarding future policies using nonviolent struggle, these researchers could do little more than point in general directions and set up a few guideposts.

In the 1950s and 1960s a few more scholars joined the efforts. Their work was still difficult. While some support for these studies had begun to appear, it was still highly uncertain and limited. Nevertheless, some important scholarly work and exploratory policy studies were conducted in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Among these authors are Joan V. Bondurant, Arne Næss, Gene Sharp, Johan Galtung, Theodor Ebert, and Adam Roberts. (Sharp's *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* is often said by others to have rectified the absence of an intellectual foundation for the field.) All this work helped to pave the way for an expansion of studies in the field. In the 1970s and 1980s additional persons joined the field, sometimes by preparing doctoral dissertations and sometimes by writing significant scholarly and policy studies. These include Peter Ackerman, Lennart Bergfeldt, Douglas Bond, Anders Boserup, Christina Clamp, Walter Conser, Joep Crayghton, Souad Dajani, J. Fun, Gustaaf Geeraerts, Jenny de Graaf, Gustav Heckman, Vladimir Horsky, Steven Huxley, Egbert Jahn, Robert Irwin, Gernot Jochheim, Gene Keyes, Anton Klumper, Koen Koch, Christopher Kruegler, Alberto L'Abate, Andrew Mack, Andreas Maislinger, Ronald McCarthy, Christian Mellon, Lutz Mez, Popko van der Molen, Jean-Marie Muller, Barbara Müller, Theodor Olson, Patricia Parkman, Ulrich Poch, Jack Salmon, Chaiwat Satha-Anand, Alex Schmid, Jacques Semelin, M. Clelia Spleafica, Carolyn Stephenson, Wolfgang Sternstein, Judith Hicks Stiehm, Patrick Stouthuysen, Peter Wallenstein, Heinz Vetschera, Johan de Vree, H. beg der Weg, Paul Wehr, Alberto Zangheri, Jan Zielonka, Luuk Zonnenveld, and others.

Today's scholars, even when working in universities and institutions with broader interests, enjoy more encouragement and greater acceptance of their work in

this field than did past scholars. Furthermore, the long-standing isolation of individual scholars trying to conduct research on nonviolent struggle is now disappearing. This is due to the development since the 1960s of informal contacts, several international conferences, and the establishment of the Albert Einstein Institution and the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions. These are the first institutions established with the declared purposes of promoting and conducting serious investigations of nonviolent struggle. □

We are committed to the defense of democratic freedoms and institutions and the reduction of political violence through the use of nonviolent sanctions; to examining how freedom, justice, and peace can be achieved without sacrificing one to the other.

The Launching of Organized Scholarship and Education on Nonviolent Sanctions

In 1983 the Albert Einstein Institution and the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Harvard University's Center for International Affairs were formed to expand the investigation of nonviolent forms of struggle in a scholarly manner. The two organizations were deliberately established only two months apart because at that time it was recognized that both were needed to undertake distinct, yet complimentary, tasks. An institution was required to secure financial resources for both, to conduct work itself, to provide financial assistance to others, and also to operate beyond the boundaries of a university research program. At the same time, a university-based research program was needed to conduct scholarly research and related activities within the academic community. These two research organizations, therefore, have related purposes but different roles. Both are working in the same area and share a critical research-oriented approach to the subject, yet they are far from identical.

The Albert Einstein Institution

The Albert Einstein Institution was incorporated in July 1983 (as its articles of incorporation stated) "to promote research, policy studies, and education concerning the nature and potential of nonviolent sanctions, in comparison to violent ones, for solving the problems of aggression, dictatorship, genocide, and oppression. The Institution may both conduct such activities itself and fund their conduct by others." It is an independent nonprofit 501(c)(3) publicly supported organization (future status pending), a grant-making and grant-seeking organization.

The Institution is committed to the defense of democratic freedoms and institutions and the reduction of political violence through the use of nonviolent

sanctions. It is dedicated to examining how freedom, justice, and peace can be achieved without sacrificing one to the other. Just as the study of military strategy has yielded a more refined understanding of warfare, the strategic study of nonviolent sanctions can potentially yield a more refined understanding of their capacity and requirements for success.

In addition to supporting and conducting research and policy studies, the Institution prepares educational resources and conducts educational work on these problems and options. For example, the Einstein Institution encourages and prepares translations and popularizations of scholarly works, study materials, and other educational resources. The Institution is also able to consult with both people in policy-making positions and groups in conflict situations about the nature and potential of these alternatives to violence.

The immediate goals of the Einstein Institution are to understand the dynamics of nonviolent sanctions in conflicts, to explore their policy potential, and to communicate this through books, pamphlets, monographs, translations, conferences, and other forms of public communication and education.

The long-range goal of the Einstein Institution is to develop nonviolent sanctions and expand their capacity to make them effective alternatives in conflict and defense.

The Albert Einstein Institution is able to conduct or support these types of work in any part of the world, subject of course to availability of resources and judgments as to priorities. The Institution thus encompasses various types of work, has a wide geographical reach, a significant potential for expansion, and independence of operation.

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

The Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense is a research division of the Center for International Affairs of Harvard University. The Program operates within the framework and policies of the Center, of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, and of the University as a whole. Dr. Christopher Kruegler is the Associate Program Director. He handles the administration of the activities, while as Program Director Gene Sharp consults with Dr. Kruegler on policy and personnel decisions.

The Program was established in May of 1983 to conduct research on the nature and potential of nonviolent sanctions. The goal of the Program is to learn whether, and if so to what degree, nonviolent sanctions may provide effective substitutes for violent ones in resolving the grave problems of dictatorship, war, terrorism, genocide, and oppression.

The Program focuses primarily on: (1) examining the nature of nonviolent sanctions — social, economic, psychological, and political — how and when they work, why they succeed or fail, and (2) exploring the future potential these sanctions might have in refined and developed forms.

Several closely related subjects may receive attention. These include political violence, military means, conflict issues, defense needs, dictatorships, severe repression, genocide, power, deterrence, strategy, and case studies of nonviolent struggles.

The Program on Nonviolent Sanctions is the first university research program with these exact purposes. The Program's role is important in ensuring that scholars can conduct studies on nonviolent sanctions in this academic environment and elsewhere in academia. The Program does not, however, fund research outside of Harvard, or conduct public education or popularizations of scholarly works.

The Program on Nonviolent Sanctions provides a

small number of grants to scholars in residence while they pursue their work in this field. Also, on occasion one or more additional researchers work at the Program, supported by independent funding. As is usual in a university research setting, researchers at the Program are not permanent staff but instead stay for one or two years and then move on to other affiliations, while new scholars take their place. In this way, the Program helps to develop some of the best young scholars for work in this field.

In addition, the Program conducts a seminar program, prepares publications, and has the ability to sponsor conferences. (Illustrations of the seminars which have been offered are listed in Appendix D and publications by the scholars at the Program as well as those associated directly with the Einstein Institution are listed in Appendix B.)

The tasks of funding research elsewhere, undertaking major public education, and preparing and disseminating popularizations of scholarly work are left to the Einstein Institution.

Einstein Institution Funding for the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions

For its first few years the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions sought to raise its own financial resources. As soon as the Einstein Institution was able to do so, it began to make modest grants to support the work of the Program.

From 1983 to 1987, the Einstein Institution provided some financial support to the Program, while the Program sought most of its financial resources from other sources. Often both the Institution and the Program tried to secure financial support from the same sources, often duplicating work and competing with each other, while producing confusion in potential funders.

In January 1987 these organizations made several policy changes. In order to be more efficient and to

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eliminate confusion among funders, development work was consolidated. The Einstein Institution took over full responsibility for securing funding for the Program as well as for itself, and the Program discontinued its development activities. The Einstein Institution made an initial three-year commitment to supply the basic budget of the Program, in addition to stipends for two or three individual researchers. The Einstein Institution looks forward to the time when it will also be able to identify and fund quality research organizations at other major universities with similar purposes to those of the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions.

Today, financial support of the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions is one of the main activities of the Einstein Institution. This change has greatly facilitated the work at the Program, ensuring that its budget will be met without fundraising activities. This funding arrangement has simplified approaches to donors and funders, but adds significantly to the financial needs of the Einstein Institution. As yet the total financial resources available to the two bodies have not increased.

Expanded availability of financial resources has been one of the main factors contributing to the expansion of research, policy studies, and education on nonviolent alternatives in serious conflicts.

We have been impressed by the breadth of individuals, smaller foundations, funding agencies, and trusts which have made contributions and grants to the Einstein Institution and the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in these first five years. The response has exceeded our earlier expectations. They have made our accomplishments possible. Many of these contributors are too modest to want public recognition and so we are respecting their desire for privacy here. Nevertheless, we are extremely grateful for their loyal and generous support and encouragement, and we send them warm thanks and convey our intention to continue this work to the best of our abilities.

In the years prior to the creation of the Einstein

Institution, the reality in the funding world has been that most foundations and trusts have focused their attention on areas of war and peace other than studies on the nature and potential of nonviolent forms of struggle. This has apparently been due, in part, to the fact that scholarly studies on this subject have not been readily available. Organized research on this subject is comparatively new, so that it is not widely recognized as meriting support. Until recently, nonviolent struggle was often dismissed as irrelevant in dealing with extreme dictatorships and grave international conflicts.

The funding world's historic tendency to exclude such research as an area of support was the main reason for the establishment of the Einstein Institution: an organization was needed that could solicit, use, and distribute financial resources for this work. Effective fundraising must therefore remain a key priority in the work of the Einstein Institution if the work is to expand to meet the need for expansion of knowledge in this field.

As long as more and more scholars gravitate to the study of nonviolent forms of struggle, the Einstein Institution anticipates that increased financial resources will become available for this work. There are several reasons for this confidence. Recent scholarly publications have revealed this field to be rich and deserving further significant attention. The steadily increasing practice of nonviolent struggle in diverse parts of the world is demonstrating, even to skeptics, that this phenomenon is playing a major role in modern politics. The Einstein Institution and the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions are actively developing a research agenda for this field for the coming decade which will illustrate a wide range of viable projects which merit investigating. The Einstein Institution has been maintaining and seeking contacts in the funding world, through correspondence and conversations, in order to persuade key persons of the need for and feasibility of this research. The Einstein Institution and the Program are experi-

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enced institutions, and can manage and administer major financial resources effectively to conduct their work, and accomplish project objectives. Present financial resources are sufficient enough to assure potential funders that their gifts and grants will be effectively used.

The Einstein Institution will continue to work with past donors to ensure that they realize the key roles they have played, and to stress the importance of their continued support. In the near future, the Einstein Institution will take further action — writing articles, visiting and corresponding with individuals, and perhaps hosting a special conference — to challenge foundation officers and other funding specialists to consider work in the field of nonviolent sanctions as an area that needs and warrants financial support.

We look forward to changes in insight and policy in the larger and longer-established foundations so that they will join with the pioneers and commit significant resources to work in this field. □

Through the Einstein Institution Fellows Program, the Einstein Institution will support research, writing, and systematic analysis and thought on nonviolent sanctions.

Projects and Activities

During these five years, the Einstein Institution has accomplished much significant work. In addition to the projects and activities conducted directly through the Einstein Institution, this report includes those conducted by the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, because they have been partially or fully funded by the Einstein Institution. We take pride in having helped to make these possible.

Einstein Institution Fellows Program

Since its early years, the Einstein Institution has given the title of "Einstein Institution Fellow" to a few persons conducting promising work on nonviolent forms of struggle. Fellows have usually received modest financial support. For some, this has been an honorary position without a stipend. (Past and present Fellows are listed in Appendix E.)

The projects undertaken by current and past Einstein Institution Fellows include:

- ❖ A study of the Finnish tradition of nonviolent resistance, especially against rule by the Russian Empire, 1861-1918,

- ❖ A study of the 1943 street protest (mostly by women) in Berlin which saved about 1,500 Jewish men from the Holocaust,

- ❖ A strategic analysis of the successful Nestlé boycott, 1977-1985,

- ❖ An analysis of the Danish resistance to Nazi occupation, 1940-1945,

- ❖ Completion of a study of American colonial nonviolent resistance movements,

- ❖ Beginning of a collection of essays on civilian-based defense, and

- ❖ Initial work on an analysis of terrorist strategies and the development of nonviolent counterstrategies.

In early 1988 the Board of Directors of the Albert Einstein Institution moved to regularize the practice of appointing Fellows into an ongoing program. Through the Einstein Institution Fellows Program, the Einstein Institution will support research, writing, and systematic analysis and thought on nonviolent sanctions. Its primary goal is the advancement of knowledge about the strategic uses of nonviolent sanctions in relation to problems of political violence. The Einstein Institution Fellows Program will offer support to scholars conducting research on the history, characteristics, and potential applications of nonviolent sanctions. It also will support practitioners in the preparation of accounts, documentation, and analysis of their experiences in the use of nonviolent struggle.

The Einstein Institution Fellows Program is now under the supervision of Dr. Ronald McCarthy, Research Coordinator of the Institution. The criteria and procedures of the Fellows Program have been revised, and a brochure describing them is now available.

Conference on "Nonviolent Sanctions: The Future"

The Einstein Institution held an important by-invitation conference on nonviolent sanctions on October 18-20, 1987 in Rockport, Massachusetts. Called "Nonviolent Sanctions: The Future," its aim was to evaluate the contemporary practice of nonviolent struggle in the world, the present state of knowledge in the field, and the kinds of new studies and educational resources which are still needed. The conference was attended by twenty-five people from Chile, Mexico, Italy,

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France, Poland, the Netherlands, and Thailand, as well as the United States. An edited account of the discussions is forthcoming.

Among the participants there was consensus that nonviolent struggle is highly relevant in meeting the problems associated with political violence in today's world, and that it appears to be increasing in practice to a significant degree. However, participants also concluded that we know far less about this technique than we should and that substantially expanded research, policy studies, and educational efforts are required. Although there was a stimulating diversity of emphases, opinions, and insights, all participants urged that the Institution's work proceed and grow in creative ways.

United States Institute of Peace Supported Projects

In May 1987, the United States Institute of Peace (funded by appropriations voted by Congress and overseen by a Board of Directors nominated by the President) made a one-year grant of \$50,000 to the Einstein Institution which made three projects possible:

❖ Completion at the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions of *Nonviolent Action: An Annotated Bibliography* (see Appendix B).

❖ Preparation of a book, being edited by Ronald McCarthy, on important new thinking and knowledge about the nature, practice, and potential policy applications of nonviolent forms of struggle. The chapters are based on over thirty selected seminars given at the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions from 1983 to 1988. McCarthy has been assisted on this project by Brad Bennett, a doctoral student from Syracuse University, and Jeffrey Welch. Although this two-year project continues, it still requires additional funding for the second year's work.

❖ A research agenda for the next decade on nonvio-

lent sanctions and related areas, prepared by Ronald McCarthy and Christopher Kruegler. Some of the recommendations in the agenda were suggested by participants of the Rockport Conference.

Researchers at the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions

During the first five years of its existence, in addition to Gene Sharp, researchers at the Program, with varying terms of appointment, have included:

Dr. Michael Bernhard, an Exchange Scholar from Columbia University, was at the Program for two years. While at the Program he completed his dissertation in political science entitled: *The Rebirth of Public Politics in Poland: Workers and Intellectuals in the Democratic Opposition, 1976-1980*. He successfully defended it in May 1988. His work was supported in part by grants from the Joint Council on Eastern Europe of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. As of September 1988, he is an Assistant Professor at Pennsylvania State University.

Dr. Souad Dajani began her study on the feasibility of civilian resistance by the Palestinians of the West Bank before the Palestinian Uprising began in December 1987. In January and February 1988 she spent a month in the Israeli-occupied territories discussing with Palestinians their views on resistance, strategy, and the roles of their particular institutions. She is continuing her analysis of the potential of nonviolent struggle for the Palestinians as a strategic alternative to "armed struggle," and of the on-going Palestinian Uprising.

Dr. Christopher Kruegler has been working with Dr. Peter Ackerman on a co-authored study of strategic principles of nonviolent struggle, as they are evidenced in six historical cases (see Appendix B). He has also been cooperating with Dr. Ronald McCarthy on the

A research agenda for the next decade on nonviolent sanctions and related areas is being prepared.

preparation of the research agenda project.

Dr. Ronald McCarthy supervised production of *Resistance, Politics, and the American Struggle for Independence, 1765-1775* (see Appendix B). He also completed a study, which will appear in the Ackerman-Kruegler book, on the 1923 German nonviolent resistance movement in the Ruhr against the Franco-Belgian occupation. His major work at the Program has been on *Nonviolent Action: An Annotated Bibliography*. Assisted by Brad Bennett and others, McCarthy has been completing the long-term project of an annotated classified bibliography. He has also been working on the research agenda project and has begun editing a book on recent scholarly studies on nonviolent sanctions. (See Appendix B.)

Dr. Patricia Parkman wrote a book on the 1944 nonviolent insurrection which ousted dictator Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez in El Salvador and also completed an analysis of cases of nonviolent resistance against presidents in Latin America, 1931-1961 (see Appendix B). In addition, she headed an attempt to launch a major project on the history and potential of nonviolent resistance against institutionalized terror in Latin America, which finally had to be abandoned due to lack of funding.

Dr. Jacques Semelin spent two years at the Program. He completed a manuscript (in French) analyzing forty cases of large-scale anti-Nazi nonviolent resistance, titled: *Without Arms Against Hitler: Civilian Resistance, 1939-1943*. The manuscript is being considered by French publishers, and has been translated into English with the assistance of the Program. He has also been interested in the offensive use of civilian resistance methods in Eastern Europe, with particular reference to emerging communications technologies. Before returning to Paris (where he continues his work in the field),

he began work on how such technologies might affect the prospects for peace and democratization in Eastern Europe and Western relations with the Soviet Union. Semelin worked under grants from the United States Institute of Peace, the French Foreign Ministry, and the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions.

Some other affiliates of the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions simultaneously held other research or teaching appointments. They included:

Dr. Christina Clamp, while teaching at New Hampshire College, was for several years affiliated as an Associate, and hopes to be able to resume her work on the successful 1944 civil uprising in Guatemala against the dictator Jorge Ubico. She conducted major archival searches and interviews in Guatemala in earlier years.

Roman Laba worked for several years on the origins of Solidarity in Poland. Before assuming his faculty position at the University of California at Santa Cruz in September 1987, Roman Laba was affiliated at Harvard with the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, the Russian Research Center, and the Center for European Studies.

Dr. Jeremiah Schneiderman continued his study of the paralyzing nonviolent general strikes in the Russian Empire which occurred in major cities of the Ukraine and the Caucasus in the summer of 1903. He was also associated with the Russian Research Center.

Dr. Carolyn Stephenson while at Harvard worked on a book on alternative security and defense policies. Before taking up her faculty position at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, she was also a Fellow of the Bunting Institute of Radcliffe College, Harvard University.

Nathan Stoltzfus, a Harvard doctoral student in history and an Einstein Institution Fellow (see Appendix E), has

One of the main activities of the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions has been its seminar program ... During its five years, the Program has held 60 seminars.

also continued as a Graduate Student Affiliate of the Program.

Researchers at the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions who stayed less than an academic year have included **Alex Schmid** of the State University of Leiden (Netherlands) who continued his work on terrorism, **Ralph Summy** of the University of Queensland (Australia) who worked on a political strategy to introduce civilian-based defense into Australia, and **Alberto L'Abate** of the University of Ferrara (Italy) who critically examined functional substitute analyses of war.

The Program, through a grant from the Chace Fund Committee, funded a project on nonviolent resistance to political terror. The completed study is called "La Resistencia No Violenta Ante los Regímenes Salvadoreños Que Han Utilizado el Terror Institucionalizado en el Periodo 1972-1987" ("Nonviolent Resistance to the Salvadoran Regimes Which Have Used Institutionalized Terror in the Period 1972-1987"). It was conducted by a research team headed by Dr. Segundo Montes Mozo at the Catholic Universidad Centroamericana José Simón Cañas, San Salvador, in the Department of Sociology and Political Science, Institute for Human Rights. The group published a limited edition of the study (see Appendix B).

Seminars on Nonviolent Sanctions

One of the main activities of the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions has been its seminar program. These are usually held bi-weekly during the academic year, primarily for members of the Harvard community. This is a very important part of the Program's work, providing the opportunity for sharing new research and thinking among our own scholars and staff and also among members of the Center for International Affairs and the wider Harvard community.

During its five years, the Program has held 60

seminars. The selective list in Appendix D illustrates something of the range and type of seminars which have been offered since 1983. Some of the presentations have been made by researchers at the Program but many have been made by scholars in other American universities, practitioners in diverse conflict situations, military officers, government officials, and scholars from various parts of the world. About half of these are being edited by Ronald McCarthy for publication in the book on new thinking and knowledge about nonviolent struggle (see Appendix B).

Special Symposia

The Program on Nonviolent Sanctions jointly sponsored (with the Center for European Studies and the Russian Research Center at Harvard University and the *Partisan Review*) a full-day symposium in February 1985 on "KOR: Intellectuals in Democratic Movements — The Polish Experience," with Lawrence Goodwyn, Wojciech Ostrowski, Hanna Buczynska-Garewicz, Michael Bernhard, Roman Laba, and Stanislaw Baranczak.

In early 1988 the Program sponsored an exceptional discussion by five leading scholars of Polish studies on "The Sources of the Nonviolent Nature of Contemporary Polish Political Struggle." The symposium was organized by Michael Bernhard, and its transcript is being edited by Ronald McCarthy for inclusion in the book based on Program seminars. The speakers were Jack Bielasiak, Stanislaus A. Blejwas, Jane Curry, Krzysztof Jasiewicz, and M. K. Dziewanowski.

Lectures and Formal Papers

One of the major means of outreach for the scholars of the Einstein Institution and the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions has been public lectures at conferences, special occasions, and colleges and universities, and the presentation of formal papers at professional meetings, as in political science, sociology, international relations, history, and other groups. Almost without exception, the

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audience responses are favorable. Such occasions usually require heavy investments of time and energy, and it has been impossible for any of the scholars to accept all of the invitations they receive. Nevertheless, over the five years, Einstein Institution and Program scholars have made a large number of public presentations, lectures, and speeches. Some of the more recent presentations are the following.

Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler lectured at Colgate University in October 1986 and the University of California at Los Angeles in November 1986 on strategic principles and problems in nonviolent struggle.

In April 1987, Ronald McCarthy and Christopher Kruegler attended the 28th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association in Washington, D.C. They were members of a panel on "Alternative Defense Concepts." McCarthy gave a paper on "The 1923 Ruhrkampf: A Case Study of Nonviolent Resistance to Foreign Military Force." Kruegler's presentation was titled "Implications of Prototypical Nonviolent Resistance for the Conduct of Civilian-based Defense."

In late May 1987 McCarthy participated in an international conference in Honolulu, Hawaii on "Peace-making in Buddhist Contexts." His paper was on "The Technique of Nonviolent Action: Some Principles of Its Nature, Use, and Effects."

Jacques Semelin spoke about nonviolent sanctions and his research at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and at the United States Institute of Peace.

Souad Dajani made various public presentations after her return from the Middle East in February 1988. She spoke about the Palestinian Uprising to the Fellows of Harvard's Center for International Affairs, the Lebanese Club of Boston University, the Annual Conference of the Arab-American University Graduates, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in Boston.

During these past five years Gene Sharp has given many talks and lectures (as many as thirty in one year) in

the United States on nonviolent alternatives, especially at colleges and universities. These have included the University of North Dakota, the Air Force Academy, and the Catholic Theological Union in Chicago. He was also a visiting Dubach Distinguished Professor at Oregon State University in early February 1987.

In June-August 1984 Sharp lectured in Australia, Thailand, and Japan, traveling in Australia for three weeks as a Visiting Professor under the auspices of the University of Queensland. In Australia he presented talks on civilian-based defense and attended conferences on defense policy. He also met with university faculty, students, peace activists, community leaders, church leaders (especially Catholics), citizen groups, and journalists. Sharp also met with staff of the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre of the Australian National University, the Private Secretary of the Minister for Defence Supply, the Assistant Secretary of Arms Control and Disarmament, the Minister of Aviation (later becoming Minister of Defence), and party officials of the minority Australian Democrats.

The two-week trip to Thailand was at the invitation of the Thai Social Science Council, and co-sponsored by the Coordinating Group for Religion in Society, which defends human rights. In that country, Sharp lectured at the Siam Society, Thammasat University, the Southern Thai Cultural Center, the Songkhla Nakharin University in Songkhla Province, and the University of the Prince of Songkhla at Pattani. He had audiences with the reform Buddhist spiritual leader, the Buddhadasa Pikku, at his forest monastery near Surat Thani. The four-day visit to Tokyo was hosted by Soka Gakkai, a Buddhist organization. At a meeting of their members, Sharp spoke on nonviolent struggle as an alternative to war.

In May 1985 Sharp spoke again in Bonn at a conference on the arms race and nonviolent alternatives organized by Petra Kelly and General Gerd Bastian, both members of the Bundestag, and met privately with officials at the West German Defense Ministry.

Over the five years, Einstein Institution and Program scholars have made a large number of public presentations, lectures, and speeches in the U.S. and other countries.

Sharp presented a paper (to be published) on "Nonviolent Principles and Social Responsibilities" at a conference on Buddhism and nonviolence at the Zen Center, Rochester, New York, May 23-25, 1986.

In May and June, 1987, Sharp also conducted a two-week lecture tour of universities and conferences in northern and central Italy. He was the main speaker at a major public conference on civilian-based defense in Florence, a three-day seminar (primarily for conscientious objectors) near Bologna, a meeting at the University of Ferrara, and a seminar with political theorists in Turin. Three public meetings had the support of the city, provincial, and regional governments, and everywhere attendance was much larger than expected. Valuable contacts were made with students, intellectuals, professors, military officers, political radicals, labor organizations, peace organizations, and peace researchers.

Testimonies

Gene Sharp testified at the Green Party defense hearings held at the Bundestag in Bonn in June 1984. These were designed primarily for internal education and policy consideration of Green Party members of the Bundestag.

At the request of officers of the new United States Institute of Peace, he offered oral and written testimony at the Senate hearings on the renewal of the U.S.I.P. These were published by the U.S. Government Printing Office as *Senate Hearing 100-432* (U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Labor and Human Resources and Committee on Foreign Relations, *Oversight of the U.S. Institute of Peace*, 100th Congress, 1st session, 10 November 1987).

Radio, Television, and Press

Four half-hour audio tapes featuring Sharp's discussions of civilian-based defense have been widely broadcast on radio in the U.S. "A Modern Alternative to War?" was made by the Stanley Foundation and was

broadcast over more than one hundred radio stations in 1983. This was followed by a second Stanley Foundation program "More on Civilian-based Defense — Gene Sharp." This was released in 1984 and re-released in 1985. The Cambridge Forum distributed "Making Europe Unconquerable," a program based on a public meeting at which Sharp spoke in 1985, to over one hundred radio stations. He was also interviewed for the syndicated radio program "Conversations with the *Christian Science Monitor*," broadcast in 1986.

In association with his speaking trips, Sharp was frequently interviewed in the U.S. and Australia for radio broadcasts. He was also interviewed for a Canadian educational television program (a "Telecollege" philosophy course on world peace from Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario, released in 1987) and a program on Swedish radio the same year.

On ABC Television's April 17, 1986 "Nightline" program, hosted by Ted Koppel, Sharp appeared with three others on a program focused on terrorism and options for combating it.

Articles about researchers at the Einstein Institution and the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and interviews with Sharp have appeared in the *New Yorker*, *Commonweal*, *National Catholic Reporter*, *The Tarrytown Letter*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *National Catholic Register*, *Al Fajr* (Jerusalem), *Kol Heir* and *Ma'Areiv* (Israel), *Il Manifesto* (Rome) (which was reprinted in Spanish in Buenos Aires), *The Age* (Melbourne), local U.S. newspapers in connection with lecture visits, and diverse other newspapers and magazines. Other articles based on current political interest in Sharp's writings have appeared in several Mexican magazines, including *Proceso*.

Reviews of *Making Europe Unconquerable* (see Appendix B) appeared in various publications, including *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, *The New York Review of Books*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Times*, *Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift* (Vienna),

In the five years of their existence, the Einstein Institution and the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions have made significant contributions to knowledge in this field.

Sanity (London), *In These Times*, *Commonweal*, *Military Review* (Fort Leavenworth), *Il Manifesto* (Rome), *Aftenposten* (Oslo), and the *Friday Review of Defense Literature* (U.S. Department of Defense).

"Nonviolent Resistance: An Efficient Technique of Political Action" by Afif Safieh was based on his two interviews with Gene Sharp about the nature of nonviolent struggle and its relevance for the Palestinians. The first part was published in *Al Fajr* (Jerusalem) in May 1986. The full expanded text, including the second interview conducted a year later, was published in Jerusalem in autumn 1987 as a pamphlet in Arabic (5,000 copies) and English (2,000 copies) by the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence, headed by Mubarak Awad. A shortened version of this was published in the U.S. by the *Journal of Palestine Studies*, autumn 1987.

Publications by Scholars of the Einstein Institution and the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions

In the five years of their existence, the Einstein Institution and the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions have made significant contributions to knowledge in this field. Publications include five books in English, two books in Italian, and one each in Arabic, Hebrew, and Thai. Books which are nearing completion or are already in production (as of July 1988) include four in English, two in Italian, and one each in Spanish and Dutch. Ten chapters, monographs, articles, or pamphlets have been published in English, four in Arabic, two in Dutch, two in Polish, two in Italian, and one in French and two in Spanish. There have been at least five additional reprints of previously published materials in English. The details of all these are listed in Appendix B. In addition, three complete books have been recorded for the blind. Those details are listed in Appendix C.

This expansion of scholarly publications is but a beginning of the studies which are required if we are to begin to fill the great void in our knowledge which is

due in part to past academic neglect. That work, the translations, and popularizations also have the effect of expanding options in the practical world of political and international conflict.

The interest in such publications is obviously growing. Sometimes, financial support from the Einstein Institution is required to cover the costs of translations and printing, although these are usually handled in those countries.

It is impossible to know the full impact of these and earlier publications. However, the principle that "knowledge is power potential" seems to apply to the gaining of increased knowledge and understanding and also to action in conflict situations. Knowledge of nonviolent alternatives seems clearly to provide an option to the usual resort to violence in acute conflicts, opening the way for peaceful struggle in place of terrorism or warfare.

Already it is clear that *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, or parts of it, has been read and has had some influence in the Middle East, Chile, Poland, and Mexico. This and other publications have had wider influences. Enquiries have been received about the relevance of nonviolent struggle to problems in Thailand, Zaire, South Africa, Malaysia, and Burma. Roman Catholic and Buddhist thinkers have been reconsidering their religious options in political conflict on the basis of these studies. In recent years nonviolent struggle in defense has received some degree of official attention or action in Sweden, New Zealand, and France, and earlier in several other countries. Surprisingly, a growing number of defense analysts are gaining some degree of familiarity with these concepts through reading.

There are now thousands of people throughout the U.S. and other countries for whom this literature and the concepts they contain are important factors in their calculations of the options open to their societies. Sometimes this reading has been done in college courses that partially or fully focused on nonviolent struggle. The

There are now thousands of people ... for whom this literature and the concepts they contain are important factors in their calculations of the options open to their societies.

scattered information about such influences of such scholarly studies we have received and the pieces of information learned in chance conversations are small clues to the potential impact on actual conflicts which could be produced by a greatly expanded program of research, policy studies, education, translations, popularizations, conferences, seminars, and other means.

Support for Civilian-based Defense Newsletter

The Einstein Institution has made a two-year grant (beginning April 1988) to the Civilian Based Defense Association (formerly the Association for Transarmament Studies), with offices in Omaha, Nebraska, to support an enlarged and improved quarterly publication of *Civilian-Based Defense: News and Opinion*. This is the only publication of its kind, and the grant, while modest, provides a significant part of the publication's budget.

Fact-finding Visits and Consultations

From experience, we know that many people in crisis situations have a deep hunger for greater knowledge of these alternatives to violence. It is clear that the growing interest in nonviolent struggle and its increasing practice in place of violence means that the Einstein Institution is likely to receive increasing requests for more information about nonviolent action and, at times, be asked to consult about its relevance to particular conflicts. In some situations of acute conflict the presence or absence of relevant information about nonviolent options may influence the choices that are made about how to act.

Einstein Institution personnel have already made a few visits to conflict situations. Following the November 15-17, 1986 Arab Thought Forum Conference on Nonviolent Political Struggle held in Amman, Jordan, attended by Board member Philip Bogdonoff and Gene Sharp, Sharp spent two weeks in Jerusalem, Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza. He gave seminars for the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence, the Truman

Institute of Hebrew University, and the Israeli Institute for Military Studies. He also held conversations with Palestinians concerning the nature of nonviolent struggle and its advantages over violence, and also with various Israelis (including right-wing and liberal members of the Knesset) about the need for an informed restrained response if a nonviolent Palestinian movement developed.

In October 1987, Christopher Kruegler and Sharp made a four-day trip to Panama. They met with leaders of human rights groups and supporters of the *Cruzada Civilista*. They also observed attempts to hold a large public demonstration amidst heavy military intimidation. After their return to the United States, they met with several Panamanian exiles.

In February 1988, Sharp again spent two weeks in the Middle East at the invitation of the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence, visiting Jerusalem, Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza. He again delivered lectures for the Truman Institute of Hebrew University, the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence, and the Israeli Institute of Military Studies. He also visited and had conversations in Gaza City, Ramalla, the Israeli Knesset (with right-wing members), Jerusalem, Hebron, and Nablus, as well as a Palestinian refugee camp. He visited three hospitals where Palestinian wounded were being treated. Souad Dajani and Sharp visited some of the groups together.

Other conversations have been held from time to time with individuals and representatives of organizations interested in the potential of nonviolent resistance for the problems they face in their countries. Requests for such conversations and consultations are likely to increase in the future.

At the Rockport conference in October 1987, the opinion was expressed that nonviolent struggle seems to be spreading in the world. Recent developments seem to confirm this. While writing this report (July 1988), the media was reporting nonviolent resistance by Armeni-

From experience, we know that many people in crisis situations have a deep hunger for greater knowledge of these alternatives to violence.

ans, Latvians, Estonians and Lithuanians in the Soviet Union. Major aspects of the Palestinian Uprising have taken forms of nonviolent resistance. Significant nonviolent protests and struggles lie ahead for Chile, Mexico, and elsewhere in Latin America. Strikes and boycotts constantly recur in South Africa. In the midst of the editing of this report (in August 1988), mass, predominantly nonviolent demonstrations in Burma, with great bravery and many sacrifices, led to the resignations of both the long-standing military dictator and his even harsher successor. More demonstrations for greater democracy may happen in China, Korea, and many other countries. It is impossible to predict with much certainty where nonviolent struggle will next arise or what positive uses of it may be recognized by movements or governments. However, we now expect that the spread of nonviolent struggle will accelerate.

The Institution's policy has been that we are in principle willing to talk to anyone seriously interested in such developments who visits us. Sometimes it is relatively easy to provide helpful information (as by supplying existing publications). Other times, it is more complicated to provide the knowledge and understanding appropriate for the particular situation. Doing so may require considerable time, effort, and expense, especially when translations, special materials, or travel and consultations are involved.

At present, the Einstein Institution does not have adequate appropriate personnel and resources to respond to every request for visits and consultations in the countries involved. We have, however, been attempting to be helpful within the limits of our capacities and in consideration of the other priorities of our work. The Board is continuing discussions on policy guidelines for making these decisions responsibly.

Sometimes the immediate struggles demonstrate the need for research and analyses on topics which have been previously neglected. Usually the need for additional educational resources, popularizations, and

translations about the workings and requirements of nonviolent struggle becomes very clear. Sometimes it is obvious that we must plan further ahead if such resources are to be available at the time such crises are developing.

Despite these limitations, such fact-finding and consulting visits are often seen by the people visited to be of extreme value in helping them to see their options. These visits may contribute to extending and deepening their insights. Such sharing of knowledge and views may strengthen their abilities to make their own future plans, and to decide rationally whether to act by nonviolent means. If they choose that course, this sharing of knowledge may increase their abilities to plan realistic strategies and may improve the prospects for success. Printed scholarly studies and educational resources in their languages as well as in English are invaluable in these situations.

An additional vital element in the eyes of the people who are themselves directly in a conflict seems to be the personal presence of specialists on nonviolent struggle. These visitors can learn firsthand something of the nature of the conflict situation for which nonviolent sanctions may be relevant. The visitors are also then able to answer questions, and to discuss the dynamics and strategic principles of this technique in the light of the specific situation. This often reveals to the local people important elements of this technique which were earlier inadequately appreciated, such as the dangers of incorporating violence into the struggle, the necessity of careful strategic analysis and planning, the necessity of substantive (as distinct from symbolic) nonviolent struggle, the need to consider the opponents' situation and the factors best able to influence them, and the need to plan carefully how to turn a powerful struggle into an acceptable long-term resolution of the conflict. In many situations without such personal contact and opportunities for learning and discussion, the pressures to resort to familiar violence might prove decisive.

The Institution is ready for major expansion and the effective use of significantly greater financial resources.

Plans for Future Work

The Albert Einstein Institution has come a significant distance since its founding. Difficult circumstances and problems have been surmounted and the ground-work in thought, planning, institution-building for major growth, and expansion of work has been laid.

Meanwhile, the practical application of alternative nonviolent forms of struggle continues to grow in several parts of the world. We can expect unprecedented developments in this field during the coming decade. Our work is now well begun, the need for it is now more widely recognized, and the Institution is ready for major expansion and the effective use of significantly greater financial resources.

The Board of Directors and members of the staff have been making major efforts to increase the Institution's capacities. Several highly qualified persons have been added to the staff, and a few additional positions may still be added. In December 1987 we moved into larger offices in Harvard Square, Cambridge. We are also little by little updating our office equipment. These improvements open the way for more efficient work and expanded activities.

There is a great variety of ways we can develop our work and increase its impact. The following are among the prospective activities. Most of these can be implemented in the near-term.

An Expanded Einstein Institution Fellows Program

The Einstein Institution Fellows Program is the only one of its kind dedicated to promoting scholarly work on nonviolent sanctions. The Board of Directors has decided to make plans and raise funding to expand its Fellows Program in a major way. An expanded program will enable us to conduct in efficient ways the studies that can lead to the greater knowledge of the nature and potential of nonviolent struggle which is so much needed, and to bring to this search some of the best

minds available in the present and next generation of scholars and analysts.

We are now considering five possible categories of support: (1) undergraduates writing senior honors theses, (2) graduate students preparing doctoral dissertations, (3) post-doctoral researchers, (4) practitioners of nonviolent action recording or analyzing the conflicts in which they participated, and (5) senior scholars from this or related fields. Topics of research would be ones associated with the nature and application of nonviolent sanctions in relation to the problems of political violence, such as dictatorship, genocide, war, and oppression. The forthcoming research agenda for this field for the next decade, by Ronald McCarthy and Christopher Kruegler, will provide useful guidance for determining appropriate topics of enquiry.

Comparable grant programs for doctoral thesis students and post-doctoral fellows exist in the social sciences and in the field of international security and peace. (The arrangement between the MacArthur Foundation and the Social Science Research Council is one such model.) An expanded and improved Einstein Institution Fellows program would play a major role in preparing a new generation of researchers on nonviolent sanctions, as well as enabling persons of the present generation to make significant contributions to this field.

Such an expanded fellows program will require funding of several million dollars, and careful preparations. Planning has already begun, and is headed by the new Research Coordinator of the Einstein Institution, Dr. Ronald McCarthy.

Conference on Current Use of Nonviolent Sanctions

The Einstein Institution is planning to hold a second conference, this one on the current practice of nonviolent struggle throughout the world. (This may be co-

Topics of research would be ones associated with the nature and application of nonviolent sanctions in relation to the problems of political violence, such as dictatorship, genocide, war, and oppression.

sponsored by the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and be held at Harvard, sometime during 1989-1990.)

Between two and three hundred persons would be invited, including scholars, policy analysts, members of the media, military and defense specialists, people in the fields of business and labor, practitioners in struggles for greater freedom and justice, foundation staff members, and people from research centers and places of struggle around the world as well as from the United States.

Participants from such countries as Korea, the Philippines, South Africa, Mexico, Burma, Chile, Poland, the Middle East, Zaire, Thailand, and Western European countries are likely, and perhaps even from other Eastern European countries, the Soviet Union, and China.

The goals of the conference are to stimulate development of knowledge in the field, explore the policy relevance of these types of action, promote public understanding of them, encourage increased and more accurate media coverage for such alternatives, secure new contacts, and increase public awareness of the Einstein Institution. A videotape and a book are likely products, and will be useful in sharing exciting information and insights with the general public, political thinkers, journalists, funders, high school and college students, and study groups.

Examples of Research, Policy Studies, Publications, and Educational Resources

Several projects and publications have already been initiated or planned by the Albert Einstein Institution or by individuals associated with it and the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions. These are described in previous sections and are listed in Appendix B. Additional projects, such as the following, are under consideration. This list may seem somewhat overwhelming, but with increased financial support from individuals and foundations, and with more scholars joining the work in this field, all of them can be accomplished.

Books

❖ *The Vocabulary of Civilian Struggle*, a dictionary of over 700 terms related to nonviolent sanctions and related subjects. The aim is to provide a recommended vocabulary and definitions to assist clear communication and thought in this field, for use by scholars, writers, journalists, policy makers, students, and practitioners.

❖ Resuming work on the editing of a series of several books on governmental, political, and military consideration of the incorporation of nonviolent resistance into national defense policies in Europe and elsewhere. These country-by-country monographs would include translations of official documents and survey chapters on developments, problems, and prospects of future action. They would be made available to decision-makers in countries considering such options, in addition to policy analysts, and scholars and students examining the problems and options in such policy consideration.

❖ A short book presenting essential elements of current thought and knowledge about nonviolent alternatives and a projection of where the field should go from here. This would be particularly useful to students, planners of new research programs, scholars, graduate students, funders, and others interested in the development of this work.

❖ The preparation of an edited collection (perhaps more than one volume) of descriptive accounts of historical nonviolent campaigns, at lengths, perhaps, of twenty to fifty pages per case. This would be the first edition of its kind, offering together a series of substantive accounts with far more detail than existing "thumb-nail sketches" but still more accessible than book-length studies. It would be especially useful for general readers, study groups, and college and university students, and could be used with diverse other materials.

*There is a great variety of ways we can develop our work
and increase its impact.*

❖ Preparation of a book (provisionally titled *Beyond Just War and Pacifism*) presenting nonviolent resistance and civilian-based defense as a third option in ethics and theology. The aim of this book would be to provoke creative re-thinking of the dilemmas confronted in trying to live by ethical and religious principles in a world with great political wrongs and much violence and oppression.

Pamphlets, Monographs, and Handbooks

❖ Completion and publication of a pamphlet which explains the need to explore and develop nonviolent sanctions to deal with several major contemporary problems. Such a pamphlet would be useful as a short introduction to the significance of nonviolent sanctions in the contemporary world, and would be made available to the general public, high school and college students, study groups, and prospective funders, among others.

❖ Completion and publication of a pamphlet describing and interpreting Albert Einstein's thinking and opinions about peace, war, dictatorship, genocide, and nonviolent resistance during the course of his life. This essay would be of interest to all seeking to understand Einstein's political and international views, and also to those who are curious about the reasons for this institution being named in his memory.

❖ A series of popular-style introductory pamphlets on nonviolent sanctions, cases of their use (as in Brazil), and aspects of their application. This series could be used in interesting members of the general public in this approach as well as in courses and study groups.

❖ Preparation of a handbook on how to weaken and disintegrate internal dictatorships, designed specifically

to assist democrats living under dictatorships to think strategically about how to use nonviolent sanctions to bring about an end to those systems.

❖ A series of academic monographs on aspects of nonviolent sanctions and their application (one on Latin America is already in manuscript form). These would be of interest and use not only to specialists in nonviolent struggle and students and teachers involved in such courses, but also for individuals and students who are studying those particular countries and areas of the world.

❖ A short handbook on how to defeat coups d'état, written with a content and style to make it a guide to practical action, and to be appropriate for widespread distribution, translations, and use by governments with democratic practices and freedoms, social institutions, and populations seeking to prevent imposition of a dictatorship by a military elite or minority disciplined party.

Educational Resources and Projects

❖ The preparation of literature and other educational resources on nonviolent sanctions in more simplified and popularized styles, targeted at the general public and primary and secondary educational institutions. (If our funds permitted us to have an Educational Coordinator, it might be possible to develop a pilot program to test the adequacy of such materials.)

❖ Assisting the preparation of translations of publications and special manuscripts into several languages, both by responding to requests received and also by initiating translations and publications in significant languages in which comparable literature on nonviolent action is minimal or absent. These would especially be of interest to students and faculty at universities and

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colleges, practitioners, scholars, policy-makers, and journalists.

❖ Preparation and publication of pamphlet-length guides, with various possible syllabi, book lists, plans, and other curriculum materials, for students and faculty for use in college and university courses and study groups on nonviolent sanctions and civilian-based defense. At present, faculty members in various disciplines who are new to this subject matter are frequently uncertain of the many possible ways to organize courses dealing with these nonviolent alternatives.

❖ Following publication of the annotated bibliography (see Appendix B), the development of a computerized bibliography resource service containing additional subjects, cases, and entries. This resource would be invaluable to undergraduate students writing honors theses, doctoral students researching for dissertations, and advanced scholars.

❖ Undertaking of our journalism project. The aim is to promote and improve media reporting and commentary on nonviolent struggles. We hope to learn from journalists about the problems encountered in reporting and commenting on nonviolent struggles. In turn, we hope to help them enhance their understanding of nonviolent sanctions, and to make available to them standardized terminology, concepts, and definitions for use in describing current resistance movements and commenting on policy proposals related to nonviolent sanctions. A grant has been received to assist this project, and some work has begun in identifying journalists and gathering appropriate materials.

❖ Establishment of endowed lectureships at colleges and universities in the areas of the Einstein Institution interests, especially on the characteristics and potential of nonviolent struggle. (The endowment of one or two

major lectures by visiting scholars or practitioners per year at such institutions requires relatively modest sums.)

❖ Designing and conducting a workshop for preparing teachers and professors to lead undergraduate and graduate courses on nonviolent alternatives. This is in response to a request we have often received for such a workshop.

❖ Holding a conference on nonviolent struggle and civilian-based defense jointly-sponsored with a U.S. military college or academy, to be attended by invited representatives of branches of the U.S. government dealing with foreign policy and defense policy, including officials from the State Department of Defense, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and the like. The aim of the conference would be to extend participants' knowledge of non-military options for U.S. policies and to expand their understanding of events elsewhere in which nonviolent struggle is a major factor.

❖ Sponsorship of several regional conferences in the United States to help educate the general public, students, and policy makers on the nature and potential of nonviolent struggle.

Research Projects

Among the longer-term projects which we hope to initiate are the following:

❖ A major study of coups d'état and resistance to them, with specific discussion of the potential of civilian-based defense for blocking such seizures of power.

❖ One or more studies on means to prevent and defeat attempts at genocide.

❖ A study of the weaknesses of dictatorial systems and

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their relation to resistance movements for democratization and international conflicts with them.

- ❖ Gathering of data on contemporary cases of nonviolent struggle movements for future use by analysts and historians.
- ❖ Research and publication of detailed descriptive accounts of significant historical cases of nonviolent struggle movements, to be sometimes accompanied by a separate analysis of each case.

Seeking Increased Foundation Support

Along with these projects, the Einstein Institution will pursue another task of utmost importance: taking steps to encourage long-established foundations to include research on nonviolent sanctions among the fields selected as meriting their support. Successful progress on such projects as listed above should help to attract attention to nonviolent sanctions and to demonstrate the value of conducting such studies and outreach. We might also take other steps to encourage such policy shifts. We will attempt, for example, to place an article on the need in *Foundation News* and to hold a symposium primarily for foundation officers, trustees, and private philanthropists. A change in the policies of the well-endowed larger foundations would make possible major expansion of the needed research, policy studies, and educational resources about these nonviolent alternatives.

The Next Steps

A need for greater knowledge about alternatives to violence in major crises in the world is widely felt, by people living under dictatorships and occupation who experience violence every day, by people who want world peace but who live in a world of much violence and aggression, by military officers who want to defend their countries but know the destructiveness of modern

war, by people who live under cruel oppression but dread the horrors of terrorism and guerrilla war offered to them as alternatives, by people who want to preserve the best from the past but see all that threatened by massive state power and the immense costs of military technology, and by many others for still more reasons.

Nonviolent means of struggle provide an option to all of them. People increasingly see that rejection of passivity and submission does not have to mean a shift to terrorism or war. By the demonstrated experiences of millions of ordinary people who did extraordinary acts of applying nonviolent sanctions to lift their oppression and oppose new aggression in many countries of the world, we know something of the power of nonviolent struggle. Week after week, that word is being learned and spread anew.

We also know that greater knowledge of the characteristics and requirements of nonviolent struggle can contribute to greater chances of people applying it in place of violence and of such action being successful.

We know that the power potential of this technique is greater than most people have imagined. We also know that our present information and understanding about it is limited. Therefore, it is important that we take those steps which will give us more information and greater insights into this option. That greater knowledge, shared widely in many countries, can help people to be able to reject violence and war in favor of superior, nonviolent, means of struggle with less suffering and death and chances of better results.

We now have an opportunity and a responsibility to increase our knowledge of nonviolent action and to disseminate this knowledge widely. A combination of scholarly research, innovative policy analyses, and educational activities is required.

This combination is essential. What often might appear to be impractical scholarly studies, as a detailed historical case, often have high significance for the future. Historical accounts and analyses, among other

The tasks we have outlined for the future, and even more, can all be accomplished in the coming months and years.

purposes, enable people to understand how nonviolent sanctions have worked, why they may have failed, and what mistakes to avoid. The accounts also provide important data for use in comparative analyses and other studies on dynamics and strategy.

New research tools, as the several described as completed and in-progress in this report, both encourage new scholars to become involved and help to accelerate the gaining of knowledge about nonviolent struggle.

The availability of "how to" handbooks (as how to think strategically, how to defeat coups, how to organize a nonviolent campaign, how to disintegrate a dictatorship, and how to plan certain types of civilian-based defense systems) might help to change the course of a society's political history. Those will not be easy to prepare responsibly, and they will not eliminate the need for initiative, creativity, and critical judgment, but they can offer something better than the void people have faced in the past when seeking the answers to such challenges.

The products of this research and other existing knowledge must not be kept on dusty library shelves. Instead, all knowledge about the characteristics and requirements of nonviolent sanctions as alternatives to violence needs to be more widely disseminated. This may be done through lectures, seminars, conferences, scholarly exchanges, consultations, videotapes, cassette tapes, books, pamphlets, comic books, and discussions. People living under great pressures must no longer be expected to "re-invent the wheel" of how to struggle nonviolently against great odds in every new situation and time. If so, they are more likely to continue to suffer under dictatorships or to burst out in disastrous violence.

This report has surveyed some of the kinds of studies and outreach work which can be done, and has also reviewed what has been accomplished in five years by, and with the support of, the Albert Einstein Institution. The tasks we have outlined for the future, and even

more, can all be accomplished in the coming months and years, given a significantly increased level of financial support, staff and organizational expansion, and an influx of good scholars.

The Albert Einstein Institution has selected a unique focus for its work, facing at the same time some of the grave problems associated with the practice and consequences of violence in politics and the potential of nonviolent sanctions to prevent and counteract those.

Research, policy studies, and preparation of educational resources now need to be expanded. The increasing pace of the use of nonviolent struggle in the world needs to be studied. Resources need to be available well in advance for use by those who would prefer to deal with their crises nonviolently but want to learn more about how to do so. The Albert Einstein Institution can assist such work in significant ways.

While we have not done all we would have liked in these five years, our work and accomplishments to date are evidence of our capacity to conduct this work effectively, economically, and with standards of high quality. We have contributed to the expansion of knowledge about nonviolent struggle, and in limited ways have been able to share this with people interested in nonviolent options in various countries.

We have constantly sought to improve our capacity to conduct our work. We have the people, insights, accomplishments, and institutional structure to continue to do so. In expanding our work, we will help develop and involve scholars from other institutions, encourage related studies and education in other universities and associations, and broaden our outreach to the general public.

There is no instant solution to the world's acute problems associated with political violence, and nonviolent sanctions are not a panacea. However, we are convinced that the shift from violence in politics to nonviolent action in crises can be a major contribution to relieving the suffering that comes from dictatorships,

We have selected a unique focus for our work, facing at the same time some of the grave problems associated with the practice and consequences of violence in politics and the potential of nonviolent sanctions to prevent and counteract those.

oppression, and war. At the least, we need to know more about this option. Knowledge of nonviolent alternatives is power potential and can often help oppressed people in crises situations, with greatly reduced violence, to gain greater freedom, justice, and peace.

The Albert Einstein Institution needs to continue its work in order to increase that knowledge about nonviolent options, and to share it among those who hunger for ways to act without violence so that they may regain their human dignity and shape their own futures. □

Appendices



Appendix A
Financial Summary

Receipts, Expenses and Balances, Fiscal Years 1984 -1988
(Fiscal Year : July 1 - June 30)

	FY 1984	FY 1985	FY 1986	FY 1987	FY 1988
Receipts					
Grants		21,000	21,000	59,431	142,293
Contributions	59,825	47,290	60,525	182,929	132,675
Gifts, restricted		20,000		*1,467,258	
Interest, Annuity income, book sales, misc.		1,373	1,565	67,740	90,185
Reserves from restricted gifts		**5,484	**13,206	**(1,551)	817,945
Total Receipts (including restricted gifts)	59,825	95,147	96,296	1,775,807	1,183,098
Expenses					
Administrative	341	11,411	21,444	162,968	226,520
Program: Grant to Program on Nonviolent Sanctions	54,000	40,000	39,926	264,250	139,021
Outreach: Research, Publications, Consulting, Translations, Grants, etc.		30,530	30,640	42,277	142,740
Fundraising			5,837	21,109	5,624
Total Expenses	54,341	81,941	97,847	490,604	513,905
BALANCE (including restricted gifts)	\$5,484	\$13,206	(\$1,551)	*\$817,945	\$669,193

* \$467,258 in Annuity and unavailable; \$1,000,000 restricted gift

** Balance carried from previous year

NOTE: Administrative and Program costs, respectively, for FY87 and FY88 reflect the changed relationship between the Institution and the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, which required the Institution to assume Program responsibilities, i.e. 3 staff positions, thereby requiring larger office space, and the purchase of additional equipment and supplies.

Appendix B

Publications

Published Books

Conser, Walter and Ronald McCarthy, David Toscano, and Gene Sharp, editors, *Resistance, Politics, and the American Struggle for Independence, 1765-1775* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1986). This is a 580 page historical study of three American colonial nonviolent resistance campaigns against British rule, before the war, which produced de facto independence for nine colonies by 1775. Based on new archival research of frequently neglected sources, the chapters are written by prominent English and American historians and specialists in nonviolent struggle. Both the Einstein Institution and the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions secured grants which made publication possible.

Parkman, Patricia, *Nonviolent Insurrection in El Salvador: The Fall of Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988). This important book is an account of the brief nonviolent uprising which ousted a dictator whose regime had killed thousands of people.

Schmid, Alex and Albert J. Jongman et al., *Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, and Literature* (revised edition) (Amsterdam, Oxford, New York: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1988 and New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1988).

Sharp, Gene, *Almuqawama Bila Ounf* (Arabic, "Nonviolent Resistance") (Jerusalem: Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence, 1986). Introductions by Daniel Amit and Jonathan Kuttub, 377 pages.

———, *Amnat Lae Yoothavitee Rai Kwarm Roon-raeng* (Thai, "Power and Nonviolent Strategy") (Bangkok: Kled Thai Publishing House, Krong Karn Nang Sue Sasna Lae Sanivitee for the Coordinating Group for Religion in Society and the Komol Keemthong Foundation, 1986). Introduction by Sulak Sivaraksa, 422 pages.

———, *Hitnagdut Lo Alima* (Hebrew, "Nonviolent Resistance") (Jerusalem: Mifras Publishing House, 1985). Introductions by Daniel Amit and Jonathan Kuttub, 256 pages.

———, *Making Europe Unconquerable: The Potential of Civilian-based Deterrence and Defense* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1985). This book explores the potential of civilian-based defense to meet the defense needs of Western Europe. The new American edition (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Ballinger Publishers (Harper & Row), 1986) includes a foreword by George F. Kennan, 190 pages.

———, *National Security Through Civilian-based Defense* (Omaha: Association for Transarmament Studies, 1985). This is an introduction to defense by massive nonviolent noncooperation and defiance against invasions and internal coups, 93 pages.

———, *Politica dell'Azione Nonviolenta* (Italian, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, expanded edition) (Turin: Edizione Gruppo Abele, 1985 and 1987). Introduction by Mateo Soccio. Volume I, *Potere e Lotta (Power and Struggle)*. Volume II, *Le Tecniche (The Methods of Nonviolent Action)*.

Forthcoming Books

Ackerman, Peter and Christopher Kruegler, *Nonviolent Sanctions: Their Strategic Use in Conflict and Defense*. The book will present a comparative analysis of six cases of nonviolent struggle, resulting in a comprehensive strategic model for the use of nonviolent sanctions, and will conclude with a discussion of the policy implications of that model in various theaters of conflict. The book will be a major contribution to the literature and of great use to those considering the viability of the nonviolent technique.

Laba, Roman, *Roots of Solidarity*. This is a social history of the events of the 1970s in Poland with analyses of connections to the Solidarity movement of 1980.

McCarthy, Ronald and Gene Sharp (with assistance of Brad Bennett), *Nonviolent Action: An Annotated Bibliography*. This classified annotated bibliography of English language books on historical cases and other aspects of nonviolent struggle has been many years in preparation. The research was conducted primarily in Harvard's Widener Library and the Library of Congress and the completed volume will be about 500 pages. It

will be a significant contribution to the literature on nonviolent sanctions and a major aid to students and researchers.

Semelin, Jacques, *Without Arms Against Hitler: Civilian Resistance, 1939-1943*. This book, written in French, analyzes forty cases of large-scale anti-Nazi nonviolent resistance. It has been translated into English.

Sharp, Gene, *Defensa por El Poder de la Sociedad* (Spanish, "Defense by Societal Power"). This is a short (130 pages) book, translated by Caridad Inda, and is now awaiting publication in Latin America. It is an introduction to civilian-based defense originally written especially for Central America.

———, *Naar een Onveroverbaar Europa: De Mogelijkheden van een Civiele Afschrikkende en een Sociale Verdediging* (Dutch, *Making Europe Unconquerable*) (Antwerp: International Peace Information Service, 1988).

———, *Politica dell'Azione Nonviolenta*. Volume III, *Le Dinamiche (The Dynamics)* is forthcoming (Turin: Edizione Gruppo Abele). Publication is expected in 1989.

———, *Post-Military Defense or Defense by Societal Power* will be the English language version of *Defensa por el Poder de la Sociedad*. It will be published by Princeton University Press. Publication is expected in 1989.

———, *Verso un'Europa Inconquistabile* (Italian, *Making Europe Unconquerable*). Publication is due in September 1988 in Turin by Edizione Gruppo Abele or a new scholarly publishing house associated with it.

Books in Preparation

Ronald McCarthy is editing a collection of essays presenting new analyses and knowledge about nonviolent sanctions based on seminars of the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions.

Christopher Kruegler and Ronald McCarthy are preparing a research agenda on nonviolent struggle and related areas. (See section "United States Institute of Peace Supported Projects.")

With the help of Bruce Jenkins, an abridgment (200 pages) of Sharp's *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* is being prepared, in part using condensations prepared in Mexico and South Africa. It will survey the essential

points concerning the nature, methods, dynamics, and requirements of nonviolent struggle. It is to be published in English and used for translations. Plans are already underway for an Arabic and Spanish edition of this text.

The translations into Polish and into Tamil (South India) of Sharp's book manuscript *Power, Struggle, and Defense* (not published in English) are both continuing. In Sweden, Bo Wirmark is translating Sharp's essay "Making the Abolition of War a Realistic Goal" and his *Making Europe Unconquerable*.

Chapters, Articles, Monographs and Pamphlets

Bennett, Brad, "Namathej Alamieh Min Harakat Al La 'Onf" (Arabic, "International Case Studies of Nonviolent Movements") in Saad Eddin Ibrahim, editor, *Al-Muqawama Al Hadanieh Fi Al-Nidal Al-Siyyas* ("Civilian Resistance in Political Struggle") (Amman, Jordan: Arab Thought Forum, 1988). This is probably only the fourth book in Arabic on nonviolent struggle to be published. Until 1985, to our knowledge, there were no books on the subject. The book is largely based on papers presented at the Arab Thought Forum's Conference on Nonviolent Political Struggle held in Amman, Jordan, in November 1986. (See also Dajani and Sharp.)

Bernhard, Michael, "The Strikes of June 1976 in Poland" in *East European Politics and Societies*, fall 1987.

Dajani, Souad, "Al-Muqawmeth Al-Madaniyah Fi Al-Dhasa Al-Gharbieh" (Arabic, "Civilian Resistance in the West Bank") in Saad Eddin Ibrahim, editor, *Al-Muqawama Al Hadanieh Fi Al-Nidal Al-Siyyas* ("Civilian Resistance in Political Struggle") (Amman, Jordan: Arab Thought Forum, 1988).

Kruegler, Christopher and Patricia Parkman, "Identifying Alternatives to Political Violence: An Educational Imperative" in *Harvard Educational Review*, volume 55 (Feb. 1985), pages 109-117.

Laba, Roman, "Worker Roots of Solidarity," *Problems of Communism*, volume 35 (July-August 1986), pages 47-67.

Montes Mozo, Segundo et al., "La Resistencia No Violenta Ante los Regímenes Salvadoreños Que Han Utilizado el Terror Institucionalizado en el Periodo 1972-1987" (Spanish, "Nonviolent Resistance to the Salvadoran Regimes Which Have Used Institutionalized Terror in the Period 1972-1987"), 249 pages. (San Salvador: Departamento de Sociología y Ciencias Políticas, Instituto de

Derechos Humanos, Universidad Centroamericana José Simón Cañas, February 1988).

Sharp, Gene, "Burgerlijke Ongehoorzaamheit in een Democratie?" (Dutch, "Civil Disobedience in a Democracy?") (Zwolle, The Netherlands: Stichting Voorlichting Aktieve Geweldloosheid, 1985), pamphlet, 44 pages.

———, "Civilian-based Defense" in *The World Encyclopedia of Peace* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1986).

———, "Civilian-based Defense: A New Deterrence and Defense Policy" in Yoshikazu Sakamoto, editor, *Strategic Doctrines and Their Alternatives* (New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1988).

———, "Conflict Without Violence" in Fallon Evans, editor, *Human Values in the Nuclear Age* (Los Angeles: Immaculate Heart College Center, 1984), pages 97-106.

———, "Deterrence and Defense by Nonviolent Sanctions: Exploring a New Policy" presented at the Alternatives for Defence Strategies for Australia Conference, University of Queensland, July 7-8, 1984, in *Social Alternatives* (Brisbane), volume 6, number 2 (1987).

———, "Deux Formes de Dissuasion par Defense a Base Civile" (French, "Two Forms of Dissuasion by Civilian-based Defense") in *Les Strategies Civiles de Defense: Actes du Colloque International de Strasbourg, novembre 1985* ("The Strategies of Civilian-based Defense: Proceedings of an International Colloquium in Strasbourg, November 1985") (Paris: Institut de Recherche sur la Resolution Non-violente des Conflicts, 1987). The book is based on papers presented at the 1985 conference on civilian-based defense at Strasbourg, France, which was financed by the French government.

———, "Dowr Al-Quwwa Fi Al-Kifah Al-La 'Onf" (Arabic, "The Role of Power in Nonviolent Struggle") in Saad Eddin Ibrahim, editor, *Al-Muqawama Al Hadanieh Fi Al-Nidal Al-Siyyas* ("Civilian Resistance in Political Struggle") (Amman, Jordan: Arab Thought Forum, 1988).

———, "Geweldloosheid: Moreel Principle of Politieke Techniek?" (Dutch, "Nonviolence: Moral Principle or Political Technique?") (Zwolle, The Netherlands: Stichting Voorlichting Aktieve Geweldloosheid, 1985), pamphlet, 56 pages.

———, *La Lucha Politica Nonviolenta* (Spanish, "Non-

violent Political Struggle"). An abstract (78 pages) of important points in the *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, prepared by Jaime Gonzalez Bernal. Private printings of 5,000 copies in Mexico. A new edition is being published in Chile in September 1988.

———, "Le Strategie Civili della Difesa" in *Azione Nonviolenta*, volume 23, numbers 1-3 (Jan.-Mar. 1986).

———, "Making the Abolition of War a Realistic Goal" (pamphlet reprint of World Policy Institute edition) (Dunedin, New Zealand: Association for Transarmament, 1985).

———, "Walka Bez Uzycia Przemocy" (Polish, "Struggle Without the Use of Violence"). Abridged and translated by Jan Zielonka from "The Nature and Control of Political Power" in *The Politics of Nonviolent Action in "Aneks" — Political Quarterly* (London), number 34 (1984), pages 53-71. Also reprinted in miniature pamphlet form in Gdansk in 1984 by a clandestine publisher (31 pages) and in Warsaw by Adsum, also a clandestine publisher (21 pages).

———. A few op-ed articles have appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*, *Boston Globe*, *Philadelphia Enquirer*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Maine Sunday Telegram*, *Des Moines Register*, and the *Buffalo Evening News*. One about the Philippines nonviolent insurrection against Marcos was reprinted from the *Los Angeles Times* as a foreword to *An Eyewitness History: People Power: The Philippines Revolution of 1986*, edited by Monina Allarey Mercado (Manila: James B. Reuter, S.J. Foundation, 1986).

———. Recent reprints of Sharp's publications include: "The Methods of Nonviolent Action" (listed), Appendix A of Lester R. Kurtz, *The Nuclear Cage: A Sociology of the Arms Race* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1988); "Making the Abolition of War a Realistic Goal" in Wesley Cragg, *Contemporary Moral Issues* (second edition) (Toronto, Montreal, New York: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1988), pages 539-549; "Deterrence and Defence by Nonviolent Sanctions: Exploring a New Policy" in *Groundswell* (West End, Queensland, Australia), numbers 28 and 29 (Oct./Nov. 1987, Dec./Jan. 1987-1988) and *Nonviolence Today* (sequel), number 1 (Feb./Mar. 1988); "Disregarded History: The Power of Nonviolent Action" in Duane Sweeney, ed., *The Peace Catalog* (Seattle: Press for Peace, 1984) pages 231-241; "Civilian-based Defense Policy" in Melvin Small and J. David

Singer, eds., *International War: An Anthology and Study Guide* (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1985) pages 291-304; and "Konzeption der sozialen Verteidigung" in Gernot Jochheim, ed., *Soziale*

Verteidigung — Verteidigung mit einem menschlichen Gesicht (Düsseldorf, West Germany: Patmos Verlag, 1988) pages 49-51.

Appendix C

Recordings for the Blind

The following full-length books are available as tape recordings for the blind:

Sharp, Gene, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*. Recording for the Blind, 20 Roszel Road, Princeton, New Jersey 08540.

———, *Making Europe Unconquerable*. Readings for the Blind, 29451 Greenfield Road, Southfield, Michigan 48076.

———, *Social Power and Political Freedom*. Recording for the Blind, 20 Roszel Road, Princeton, New Jersey 08540.

Appendix D

Partial List Of Program Seminars

"The Technique Approach to Nonviolent Struggle," presented by Gene Sharp (Albert Einstein Institution and Program on Nonviolent Sanctions) and Robert Irwin (Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Brandeis University).

"The 1944 Nonviolent Revolution in Guatemala," presented by Christina Clamp (New Hampshire College).

"Nonviolent Defense of Social and Political Institutions: The Case of Massachusetts in 1774," presented by Ronald McCarthy (Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Merrimack College).

"The Use of the General Strike to Remove Heads of State in Latin America," presented by Patricia Parkman (Program on Nonviolent Sanctions).

"Nonviolent Struggle in the Occupied Territories of the West Bank," presented by Mubarak Awad (Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence, Jerusalem).

"Strategy in Nonviolent Struggle," presented by Christopher Kruegler (Program on Nonviolent Sanctions).

"The Concept of Defensive Defense," presented by Andrew Mack (Australian National University).

"Nonviolence and Southern Africa," presented by William Sutherland (Institute of Politics, Kennedy School, Harvard University).

"Nationalities and the Baku General Strike of 1903," presented by Jeremiah Schneiderman (Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Russian Research Center, Harvard University).

"Polish Resistance Since the Declaration of Martial Law," presented by Roman Laba (Russian Research Center, Center for European Studies, and Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, Harvard University).

"The Labor Movement in South Africa," presented by Michael Mcethe (Transport and Allied Union, South Africa).

"The Polish Underground Press," presented by Seweryn Blumsztajn (KOR, Poland and Paris).

"A Critical View of Civilian-Based Defense for Western Europe," presented by Johan Jörgen Holst (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs and later Minister of Defense).

"Civilian-based Defense and the Art of War," presented

by Major General Edward B. Atkeson (Ret.), U.S. Army.

"Strategies for Ending War: A Comparative Analysis," presented by Randall Forsberg (Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies).

"The State of Discussion of Civilian-based Defense and 'Defensive Defense' in Denmark," presented by Jens Thoft (Member, Danish Parliament).

"A Functional Analysis of War," presented by Alberto L'Abate (University of Ferrara, Italy).

"The Strategy of Nonviolent Action in the Ruhr Struggle of 1923," presented by Ronald McCarthy (Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Merrimack College).

"The Strategy of Terrorism: Role of Identification," presented by Alex Schmid (Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and State University of Leiden, The Netherlands).

"Ghost of the Prague Spring: Lessons of Czechoslovakia 1968 for Nonviolent Resistance," presented by Robin Remington (University of Missouri at Columbia).

"Breaking the Fear: Methods of Nonviolent Resistance in Brazil," presented by Maria Helena Moreira Alves (Amherst College).

"From Hunger Strikes of 1981 to the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1985," presented by Pdraig O'Malley (John W. McCormack Institute of Public Affairs, University of Massachusetts at Boston).

"The Campaign for the Return of the Disappeared in Guatemala," presented by Beatriz Manz (Wellesley College) and Patricia Parkman (Program on Nonviolent Sanctions).

"Civilian Deterrence and Nuclear Deterrence: A Substitute or a Complement?" presented by General Georges Fricaud-Chagnaud (Director, Fondation pour les Etudes de Defense Nationale, Paris).

"Why Nonviolent Sanctions Fail: Typical Strategic Blunders and Their Antidotes," presented by Christopher Kuegler (Program on Nonviolent Sanctions).

"The Polish Peoples' Army and the Workers' Strikes in December 1970," presented by Roman Laba (Program on

Nonviolent Sanctions, Russian Research Center and Center for European Studies, Harvard University).

"The Peace Camp in Israel," presented by Edy Kaufman (Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel).

"The Strikes of June 1976 in Poland," presented by Michael Bernhard (Columbia University and Program on Nonviolent Sanctions).

"Civil Dissuasion," presented by Jacques Semelin (Program on Nonviolent Sanctions).

"International Economic Sanctions: Conditions for Success," presented by Peter Wallensteen (Uppsala University, Sweden).

"Nonviolent Action and the Women's Movement in Chile," presented by Ximena Bunster (University of Cincinnati and Santiago, Chile).

"A Strategy of Civilian Resistance in the West Bank," presented by Souad Dajani (Program on Nonviolent Sanctions).

"Political Strategy for Promoting Civilian-based Defense in Australia," presented by Ralph Summy (Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and University of Queensland, Australia).

"Autonomous Protection in Europe," presented by Colonel Wilhelm Nolte (West German Army).

Appendix E
Einstein Institution Fellows

During the first five years of the Albert Einstein Institution, the following persons have held the title of Einstein Institution Fellow for at least one year:

Lennart Bergfeldt, doctoral student in political science at the University of Uppsala, Sweden, writing a dissertation on the Danish resistance to Nazi occupation 1940-1945;

Walter Conser, Assistant Professor of Philosophy and Religion, University of North Carolina at Wilmington, working on American colonial nonviolent resistance movements and beginning an edited reader on civilian-based defense;

Steven Huxley, doctoral student in history at the University of Helsinki, Finland, working on a dissertation on the Finnish tradition of nonviolent resistance, especially against rule by the Russian Empire, 1861-1918;

Douglas A. Johnson, former leader of the Infant Formula Action Coalition, the International Nestlé Boycott Committee, and the International Baby Food Action Network, writing a strategic analysis of the successful Nestlé boycott;

Alex Schmid, Center for the Study of Social Conflicts, State University of Leiden, the Netherlands, and the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, conducting initial work on an analysis of terrorist strategies and the development of nonviolent counterstrategies; and

Nathan Stoltzfus, doctoral student in history at Harvard University, writing a dissertation on the 1943 street protest (mostly by women) in Berlin which saved about 1,500 Jewish men from the Holocaust.

