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CANVAS CORE CURRICULUM

**A GUIDE TO  
EFFECTIVE  
NONVIOLENT  
STRUGGLE**

STUDENTS BOOK



# **CANVAS CORE CURRICULUM:**

**A GUIDE TO EFFECTIVE NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE**

**STUDENTS BOOK**

**BY CANVAS PRINTED AND PUBLISHED IN SERBIA**

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## CANVAS Curriculum Introduction

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Before you is a wealth of knowledge about the planning, conduct, and evaluation of strategic nonviolent conflict. This curriculum guide will be a valuable companion to new and experienced activists, as well as to others who wish to learn about this subject.

The authors combine classic insights about nonviolent conflict with new ideas based on recent experience. The result is a synthesis that pushes the limits of what we thought nonviolent strategies were capable of achieving.

The material covered includes time-tested analyses of power, different methods of nonviolent action, and ways to create a strategic plan for developing and mobilizing a movement. In addition, the authors include new material about how to:

- chart a movement's history and progress (Chapter 8)
- use marketing, branding, and effective communication techniques in a movement (Chapters 9 and 10)
- address the effects of fear on a movement's members (Chapter 13)
- develop security measures within a movement (Chapter 14)
- manage a movement's material resources, human resources, and time (Advanced Chapters 2-4)

Throughout these topics, the authors emphasize pragmatic learning and draw on their own experience applying these ideas in their own struggles. The result is a versatile resource and an excellent training tool.

Activists using this resource will likely want to study and adapt it in ways that best serve the specific goals, needs, and opportunities of their circumstances. This is entirely appropriate. This impressive text should not be seen as a formula for how to wage nonviolent struggle, but rather a set of ideas that can help people think about and analyze nonviolent conflict. Combining it with other resources on this subject, or adapting parts of it for one's own circumstances, will help to increase people's capacity for engaging in nonviolent resistance even further.

We applaud this curriculum and recommend to all activists that they explore and apply it, as best suits their causes, organizations and campaigns.

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## I. EXPLANATION OF CONTENT

This book is divided into 20 lessons. The content covers three aspects of strategic non-violent conflict:



**I. Theory and its applications:** The goal of these lessons is to provide a concrete framework for people to understand how nonviolent action works. First, all movements start with the desire for change, so we offer a methodology to help groups develop their vision for what they want to achieve (Lesson 1). We then address how nonviolent movements can gain the power to achieve that vision. By emphasizing that political power comes from people's ongoing consent and obedience to their society's political, economic, and social systems, it becomes clear that nonviolent movements can gain power and create change by shifting people's consent and obedience patterns (Lesson 2). In order to do this, nonviolent resisters must understand the roles that key organizations and institutions (which we call "pillars of support") play in their society (Lesson 3), what people's motivations are for consent and obedience (Lesson 4), how nonviolent movements produce change in society (Lesson 5), and the tactics and methods that nonviolent movements have at their disposal (Lesson 6).



**II. Planning considerations:** There is rarely victory for nonviolent movements without a strategic plan. Therefore, an understanding of basic strategic principles (Lesson 7) as well as tools and techniques to analyze their past and current situation (Lesson 8 and Lesson A1) is important as movements develop their strategic plans. An essential part of those plans will be communications. How do movements effectively communicate what they stand for? Developing effective messages and analyzing audience segments (Lesson 9) and understanding the tools and types of targeted communications (Lesson 10) are essential. Targeted communication is one of the most important parts of any movement's strategic plan.

## III. Organizational and operational considerations:

Nonviolent movements are faced every day with stresses in the areas of leadership (Lesson 11), fear-management (Lesson 13), and avoiding contamination (Lesson 14), so they need to be prepared. They also need to be tactically innovative and choose issues and actions that put their opponents in dilemmas (Lesson 12). Finally, management of key resources (material resources, human resources, time, and knowledge) are critical to operating a nonviolent movement or campaign. The advanced campaign management package (Lessons A2, A3, A4, and A5) addresses these issues.



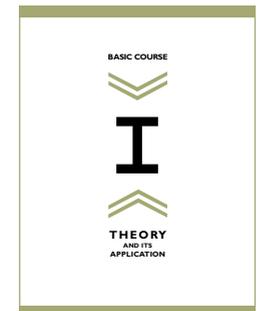
## 2. THE BASIC AND ADVANCED COURSES

In order to meet the needs of diverse audiences, the content of these lessons is divided into "Basic" and "Advanced" courses.

### I. Basic Course (3-5 days):

**TARGET GROUP:** People who are not deeply familiar with theoretical and strategic thinking about nonviolent action.

**CONTENT:** 15 lessons. A 5-day course usually will cover all 15, while a 3-day course may cover between 6-9 lessons, depending on the experience level of the attendees and the techniques of presentation employed.



### II. Advanced Course (3-7 days):

**TARGET GROUP:** People who have already been exposed to the basic course, and/or are interested in topics covered by the advanced course.

**CONTENT:** 5 time-consuming lessons, which emphasize planning and organizational considerations, as well as knowledge transfer processes.



### 3. STUDENTS' PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES AND EXERCISES

Throughout this curriculum, 50 student performance objectives highlight information that is crucial for understanding the essence of the course content.

**STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 1:**

**EXERCISE:**

Many lessons contain student exercises as well.

These exercises exist for several reasons:

1. To help people better internalize the content.
2. To help people develop confidence in their strategic thinking and decision-making abilities.
3. To create products that are relevant and useful for people waging a nonviolent struggle."



**QUESTIONS TO ASK YOURSELF:**

**TIP**

Short and easy to remember!

**IMPORTANT:**

Highlighted to make sure that you NEVER forget!

This workshop is designed to be product-centred so that workshop participants do not just leave with knowledge, but also leave with real plans of action that they developed throughout the course of the workshop.

4. Technical support

Technical support tools for workshop participants (tables, workbooks, etc) may be found in the "Students book" as well as the annexes. PowerPoint presentations for each lesson are under production in order to make future presentations of this content more standardized. You can check for these and other downloadable materials at: [www.canvasopedia.org](http://www.canvasopedia.org)

If you have questions about the content or presentation of this material, you can send inquiries to: [office@canvasopedia.org](mailto:office@canvasopedia.org)

5. Feedback

It is our sincere hope that this curriculum is helpful to you. We recognize that curriculum development is an ongoing effort, and therefore we would love to hear your comments and feedback so that we can improve this curriculum in the future. What material was helpful for you? What material do you think needs to be improved and how? What material should we add? What material should we remove? Please send all feedback to: [office@canvasopedia.org](mailto:office@canvasopedia.org)

Thank you.

Srdja Popovic  
Slobodan Djinovic  
Andrej Milivojevic  
Hardy Merriman  
Ivan Marovic

**BULLET POINTS**

**STUDENTS PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE**

**EXERCISE**

**QUESTIONS TO ASK YOURSELF**

**TIPS**

**IMPORTANT**

**TECHNICAL SUPPORT**

**FEEDBACK**

001

SLIDER showing the lesson number

**BASIC COURSE:**

**INTRODUCTION TO STRATEGIC NONVIOLENT CONFLICT**

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**I PLANNING CONSIDERATIONS**

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**II ORGANIZATIONAL AND OPERATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS**

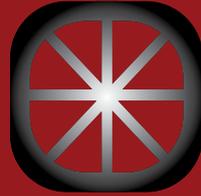
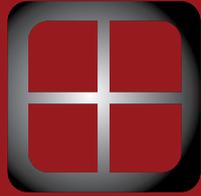
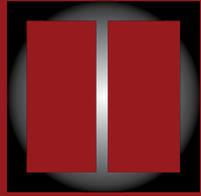
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## **BASIC COURSE**



## **THEORY AND ITS APPLICATION**



**1. THE FIRST STEP**  
THE VISION OF TOMORROW



VISION OF TOMORROW



**THE FIRST STEP: THE VISION OF TOMORROW**

Every long journey starts with one small first step. In the case of a strategic nonviolent struggle, this step is the simple and precise answer to the question:

What does your movement want the society to be like when the struggle is over?

The answer to this question, known as the “Vision of Tomorrow”, provides a picture of the future society you are striving towards. Once formulated, the Vision of Tomorrow becomes your movement’s primary objective. It is a permanent guideline for your movement’s supporters. Your strategic nonviolent struggle becomes a journey towards achieving that vision.

That journey, however, is not an easy one. The obstacles on your journey must be foreseen and removed; allies can be approached and convinced to join their efforts with your effort. Also, opponents must be recognized and faced.

**Recognize the Vision of Tomorrow as the first step in strategic nonviolent struggle.**

If you want changes in your society not only to occur, but to progressively continue, then you must see beyond the immediate goals of the movement when planning a nonviolent conflict.

Looking beyond your immediate goals forces you to look not just at what your movement is struggling against, but also what your movement is struggling for. For example, the US Civil Rights Movement did not just struggle against discrimination, it struggled for a more equal and just society. Defining what your movement is struggling for is an important part of formulating your vision.

**STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 1:**

“I have a dream...”  
- Martin Luther King



**Vision of Tomorrow:**  
Thousands marched to Washington, DC following Martin Luther King’s dream of a future America

HUMAN RIGHTS	
CIVIC LIFE AND GENERAL WELFARE	
CORRUPTION VERSUS TRANSPARENCY AND RULE OF LAW	
RELIGION	
ECONOMICS	
LAW ENFORCEMENT	

**EXERCISE:**

Write down some ideas about what your vision is for your society in the following areas:

**TIP**

Your objectives must attract the widest possible base of support!

In strategic nonviolent conflict, a movement's Vision of Tomorrow should attract the widest possible base of support. The more your vision becomes a shared vision in society, the more forceful it will become and it is possible that one day it will become true. Otherwise, your vision will only be a list of nice wishes shared by a few people.

Most people will struggle and sacrifice only for goals that are concrete and realistic enough to be reasonably attainable. Widely shared objectives create the potential for more widely distributed risks and reduce the likelihood that any single part of your movement will become a decisive target for your opponent.

### Develop a Vision of Tomorrow and understand the importance of its clarity.

To gain popular support (and thus, create a successful movement or specific campaigns), the people need to be able to see a place for themselves within your vision.

» Do the people in your country share your vision or certain parts of your vision?

» Thinking about what you have written on the previous page, what is important to people in the following groups?

- Religious groups
- Ethnic/minority groups
- Media
- Labor and Workforce
- Professionals
- Teachers and Students
- Civil servants
- Farmers
- Women
- Academics
- Politicians
- Police and military

» What will make the lives of the members of these groups better, and what will make their children's lives better?

The strategist understands the importance of listening to different groups in society and letting the members of each articulate their values and vision. The best place to start is to train your movement's members to listen to the people in their communities. A movement is not launched by telling people what YOU think is best for them.

Therefore, planners and strategists of nonviolent movements should start by listening to people from different groups in society, analyzing what they have said, and finding the commonalities between the visions of the movement and the people. Movement planners and strategists also need to understand the roots of discrepancies or contradictions among different visions or

**TIP**

In order to develop your movement's vision, you must listen to people from many different backgrounds in your society!



desires within the population.

This process of listening is very important because before people accept and share your movement's vision, people must be able to articulate and interpret their vision. They must see at least part of their vision in your vision. If people see this, what follows is a happy marriage between the people and the idea, and the

### STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 2:



### QUESTIONS TO ASK YOURSELF:



### EXERCISE:

Based on previous remarks, individually formulate a Vision of Tomorrow for your society, and present it to the group.

conception of the nonviolent movement occurs. When the strategist is confronted with contradictions, an efficient method to solve them is to bring group representatives, with their different views, together and talk with them. During the dialogue, commonalities are likely to appear since some values in certain societies tend to be more universal than others. If there are substantial disagreements in some areas, you may want to consider making the vision less specific and more abstract in those areas.



*Zoran Djindjic, Serbian opposition leader whose Vision of Tomorrow represented the cornerstone of Serbia's opposition movement during the 1990s.*

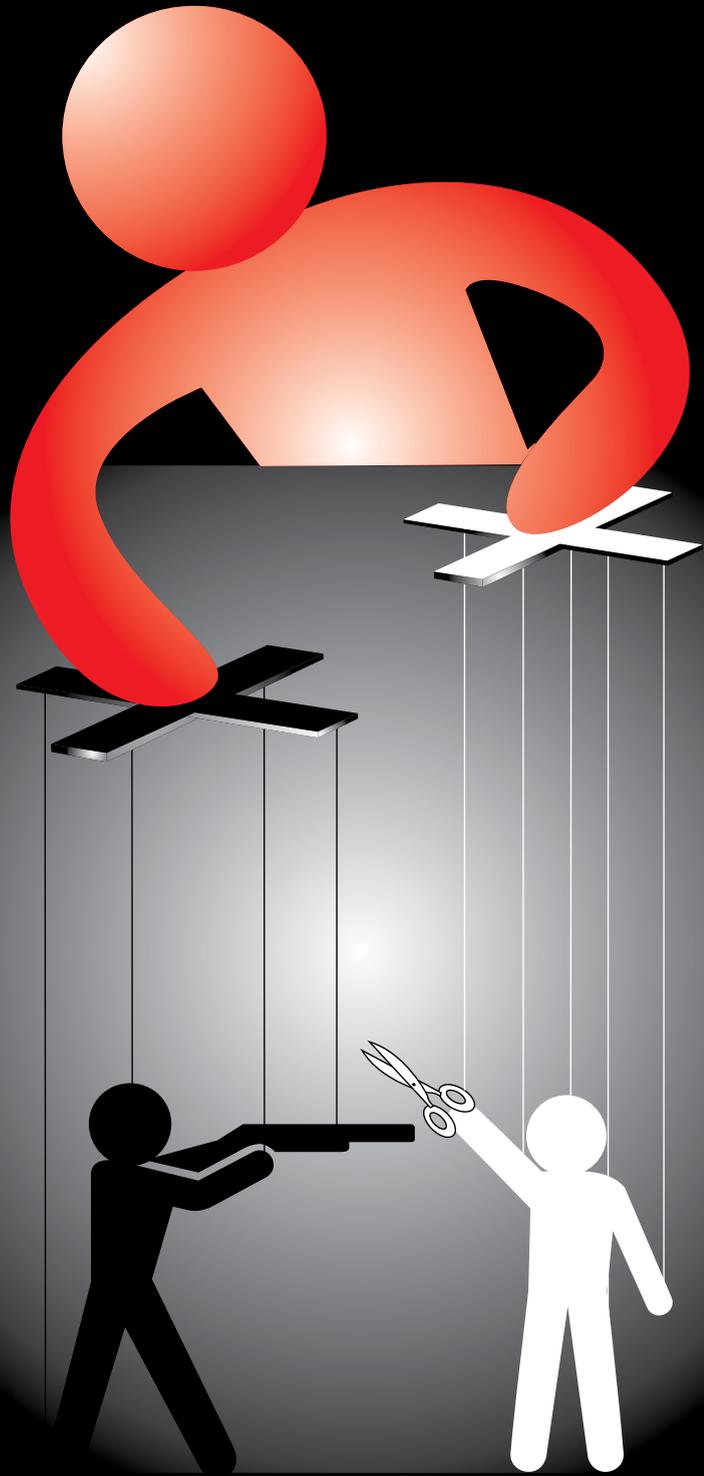
### SUMMARY

As the first step in your struggle we examined how the process of creating the Vision of Tomorrow in the society is based on listening to various groups of people. In a strategic nonviolent conflict, this vision needs to attract the widest possible base of support.

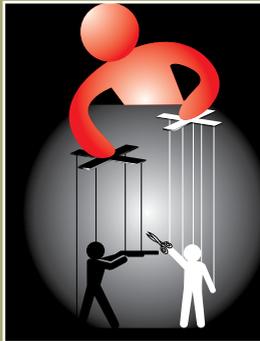
In the process of formulating the vision, you should remember that most people will struggle and sacrifice only for goals that are concrete enough to be reasonably attainable.

Once formulated, the Vision of Tomorrow is a permanent guideline for the nonviolent movement and its supporters, and the strategic nonviolent struggle becomes a journey undertaken towards achieving that vision.





**2** POWER IN SOCIETY:  
MODELS AND SOURCES OF POWER



**POWER IN SOCIETY: MODELS AND SOURCES OF POWER**

An essential part of nonviolent struggle is gaining power, and denying power to others. You cannot lift oppression in your society unless you are able to gain the power to do so. Power is also required in order to achieve almost any Vision of Tomorrow. Therefore, in order to conduct a successful nonviolent struggle, you need to understand the nature of power in society.

When you confront oppression in your society, you have two major options:

1. Take action, or
2. Take no action (accept oppression and do nothing)

If you decide to take action, you have another choice to make:

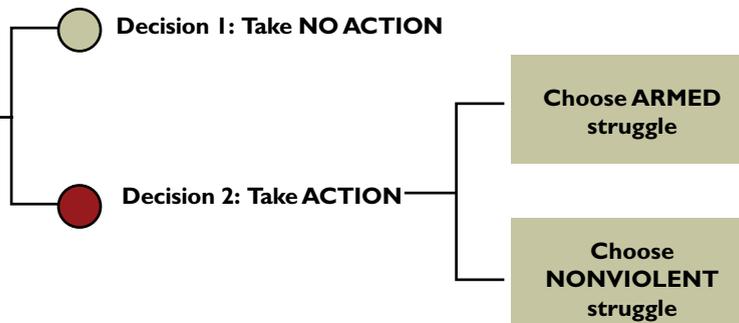
1. Undertake armed struggle, or
2. Undertake nonviolent struggle



ACTION OR NO ACTION

ARMED OR NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE

OPPRESSION



If you are reading this book, we assume you are interested in undertaking nonviolent struggle.

These two decisions — to oppose oppression and to do so nonviolently — require you to understand both the nature of political power and the theory and applications of strategic nonviolent struggle. You must also accept the fact that in your struggle there will be risks and costs.

**TIP**

If you want to win, you must take the offense!

**Define political power.**

**STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 1:**

What is political power?

*“Political power is the totality of means, influences, and pressures — including authority, rewards, and sanctions — available to achieve the objectives of the power-holder, especially those of government, the state, and those groups in opposition”*

Dr. Gene Sharp in *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*

**TIP**

There will be risks and costs in your struggle — freedom and justice are not always free!



**STUDENT  
PERFORMANCE  
OBJECTIVE 2:**

**Discuss insights into the nature and sources of political power which form the basis of theory in strategic nonviolent struggle.**

There are two possible models to explain political power: the Monolithic and the Pluralistic.

**THE MONOLITHIC MODEL**

The monolithic model describes the system authoritarians want you to perceive as being solid and unmovable like a mountain. This model promotes the idea of a fixed power structure, as if nothing could be changed except the person or people at the top. Whoever the person on the top of the power structure is, he/she has power over society. The decisions he/she makes today become a reality for the entire society tomorrow. The person or people at the top can be changed - through a revolution, a war, or a coup - but the model remains the same: whoever gets to the top of the mountain ends up controlling all power in society.

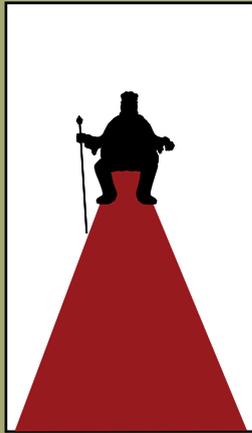
You can break small pieces away by attacking this monolith with your actions or campaigns... But the mountain of power is still there.

You can create positive change in society, if you have the right person at the top! - says the regime...

Still, there's only one problem with this model.

**THIS MODEL OF POLITICAL POWER IS NOT TRUE!**

Power does not function this way. No matter how many times an authoritarian or others tell you that it does, reality teaches us something else.

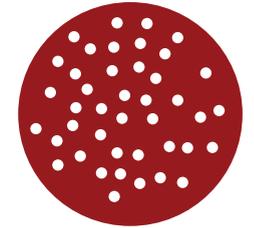


**THE PLURALISTIC MODEL**

However monolithic or fixed it may appear in the previous model, the nature of power is actually diametrically different. In a society, power can change very swiftly. It is fragile and dispersed. Wherever people are, the ultimate reality of power is the same. Power in society ultimately comes from the people. And those people - each of whom is a small, individual source of political power - can change their minds. Rulers only have that power which people provide to them.

Power can be given to the ruler *willingly*, like in democratic societies, or people can *be coerced* to give it, against their own will, or they can simply *be apathetic*, and relinquish that power because they don't care and they don't think their actions can lead to any change.

This is why nonviolent campaigns are so important: They make people aware that their actions **CAN** and **DO** make change. This is especially true when people are unified and act together in nonviolent and strategically coordinated ways.



**TIP**

God does not  
give political  
power,  
people  
provide it!

**EXAMPLE:**

Workers have been on strike for days in cities across the country. They want higher wages and the right to form unions. As time goes on, the strikes spread, and soon people are demonstrating in front of the presidential palace.

The ruler of the country decides that he must “restore order” at all costs against this “civic disturbance”. He calls a secret meeting with his top military and police advisors.

The meeting starts late because his advisors say they got stuck in traffic. When they arrive, it is very difficult for them to concentrate because the air conditioning is not working and the janitor says he does not have the supplies to fix it.

The chief of police then says that he cannot find the police files for the strike leaders because they have been misplaced somewhere. He also says the police computer systems are not working properly so they are having difficulty tracking people, communicating, and gathering evidence.

The heads of the army explain that they have drawn up a plan for troops to take control, but that they cannot be sure that their troops will obey orders because some of their family members are with the striking workers. Even the bathroom near the conference room is not working and the plumber says he is too sick today to come in to fix it!

In this situation, does the leader really have the power? Or does he depend on the obedience of those around him? Maybe those around him are not even telling him the truth! And even if they are telling the truth, they are powerless unless others continue to obey them.

Power can be found in many different and sometimes unexpected places, and before waging nonviolent struggle, you have to become skilled at understanding where it resides and how to apply it.

**Understand the nature of each source of power.**
**STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 3:**

In any society, there are six **sources of power**. The availability of all these sources of power to the ruler ultimately depends on the continued obedience of the people. This six sources of power are:

**1. AUTHORITY** (or legitimacy) – defined as the position to give orders, combined with people’s belief that those orders are legitimate.

**2. HUMAN RESOURCES** – persons and groups that obey, cooperate with, or assist the ruler. Human resources are commonly seen as the people who work in different institutions that cooperate with the ruler voluntarily or under pressure, spreading and implementing his/her policies over society.

**3. SKILLS AND KNOWLEDGE** – needed by the ruler and supplied by cooperating groups and citizens. No ruler can function without a steady supply of skills and knowledge that only experts such as engineers or technicians have, and just as a ruler needs the cooperation of experts to stay in power, an opposition group that attracts them can gain power.

**4. MATERIAL RESOURCES** – control of or access to property, natural resources, financial resources, and means of communication and transportation. A ruler’s power is related to the amount of material resources that are under his/her control. For example, rulers know that those who are materially dependent on their regime are less likely to act against them.

**SIX SOURCES OF POWER**
**AUTHORITY**
**HUMAN RESOURCES**
**SKILLS & KNOWLEDGE**
**MATERIAL RESOURCES**
**INTANGIBLE FACTORS**
**SANCTIONS**

**5. INTANGIBLE FACTORS** – the group of habits, attitudes, traditional values, and psychological, cultural, religious and sometimes ideological factors that may induce people to obey and assist the rulers. These factors usually owe their existence to some combination of religion and culture, or tradition and conventions, such as the tradition of obeying people in uniforms or representatives of religious establishments.

**6. SANCTIONS** – the enforcement of obedience through punishments, either threatened or applied, to ensure the submission and cooperation that are needed for a ruler to carry out his/her policies and to maintain control. The fear that sanctions create in others is often more powerful than the use of the actual sanctions themselves. Therefore, this source of power is expressed not necessarily by the application of the sanctions, but rather by the possibility or threat of sanctions, such as being fired, arrested or physically abused for disobedience.



### SANCTIONS

*The source of power that provides obedience through the fear of punishment*

### SUMMARY

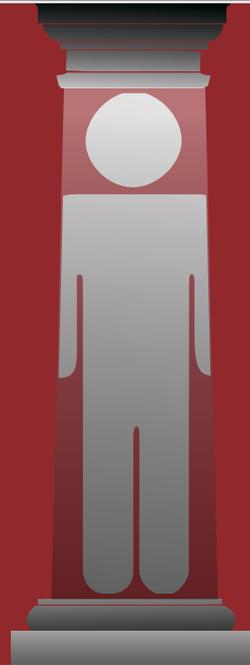
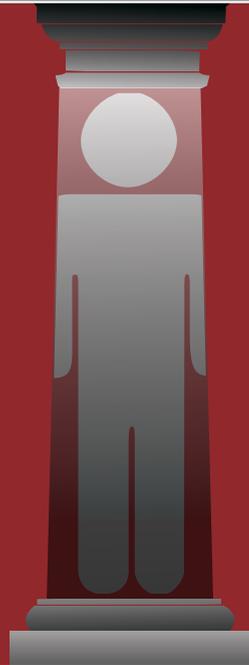
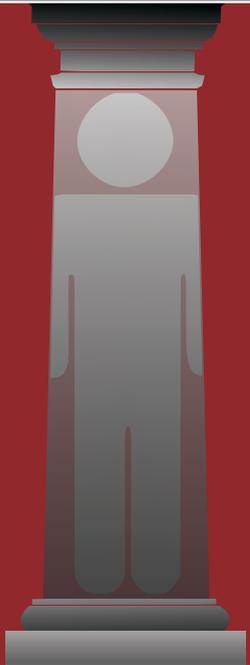
A working definition of political power includes the totality of means, pressures, and influences — including authority, rewards, and sanctions — available for a group or individual to use to achieve their objectives.

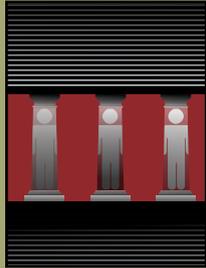
We reviewed two models of political power. The monolithic model assumes that the power structure in society is permanent, solid, and cannot be destroyed, but that ownership of power can change. The pluralistic model states that political power comes from the people in society, and that therefore it can change, if people are willing to change their consent and obedience patterns.

In deciding what consent and obedience patterns to change, it is important to identify the six sources of power, and how they function in your society. Successful nonviolent movements are able to correctly identify those areas where people can change their consent and obedience patterns and withdraw these sources of power. When the sources of power are withdrawn from the ruler, that ruler becomes powerless.



### 3. PILLARS OF SUPPORT



**TIP**

If people withdraw their support, the ruler cannot rule!

**PILLARS OF SUPPORT**

By themselves, rulers cannot collect taxes, enforce repressive laws and regulations, keep trains running on time, prepare national budgets, direct traffic, manage ports, print money, repair roads, train the police and army, issue postage stamps or even milk a cow. People provide these services to the ruler through a variety of organizations and institutions. If people stop providing these skills and services, the ruler can not rule.

Once we understand that this is the nature of political power in society, we must understand how power is exercised. The people are the main holders of power in society, but they are much more effective at exercising that power when they work together in the form of organizations or institutions, such as the police, civil servants, labor groups, business groups, etc. Some of these organizations may support your opponent, and others may support your movement.

We call these supporting organizations **pillars of support** because they support the power structure in society. At the beginning of a nonviolent struggle, it is likely that many of these organizations provide support to your opponent. If these organizations and institutions begin to withdraw their support from your opponent (and some may even start actively supporting your movement), your opponent will no longer be able to maintain control.

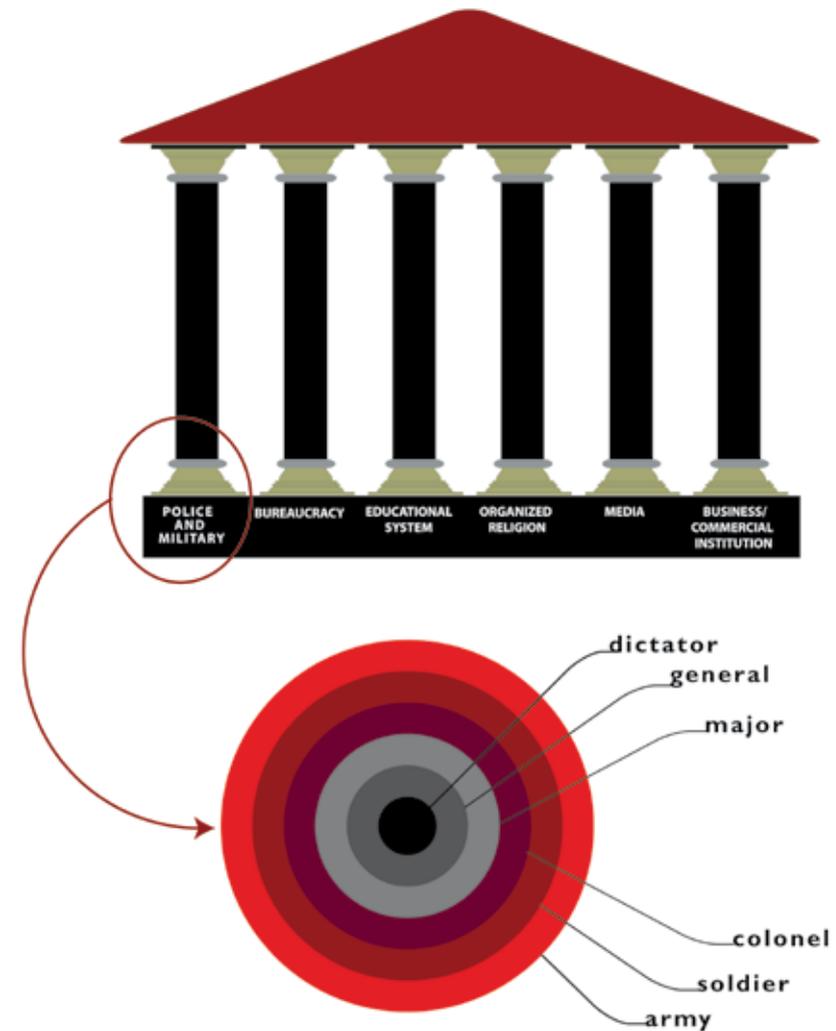
**STUDENT  
PERFORMANCE  
OBJECTIVE 1:**

**Define pillars of support.**

For our purposes, we define pillars of support in this way:

*“Pillars of support are institutions and sections of the society that supply the existing regime with sources of power required for maintenance and expansion of its power capacity.”*

Dr. Gene Sharp in *Waging Nonviolent Struggle*



Within every society, various pillars of support can be identified. They may include: the police, military, ruling institutions such as the judiciary and electoral commission, civil servants, the educational system, organized religious institutions, state-controlled media, the business community, and other organizations.

**IMPORTANT:**

Understand the difference between pillars of support and social functions.

Note that we did not list social functions such as the “economy” or “religion” as pillars of support. Pillars of support are the institutions that create and carry out social functions. If you want to influence society, identify and focus your efforts on the institutions and organizations (pillars of support) that support the existing power structure and social functions.

**STUDENT  
PERFORMANCE  
OBJECTIVE 2:**
**Understand the importance of pulling out from, rather than pushing into, different pillars of support.**

It is critical for a nonviolent movement to find ways to influence the behavior of the people within various pillars of support, by:

- eroding their loyalty to your opponent(s)
- persuading them to deny their skills and knowledge, material resources, and time to your opponent(s)

When a nonviolent movement is successful at influencing a particular pillar, members of that pillar will find ways to withdraw their support from your opponent and his/her supporters; by openly or subtly disobeying orders, by ignoring orders altogether, or by carrying orders out slowly, inefficiently and/or incompletely. Members of some pillars may also begin to openly or subtly support your movement as well.

In order to influence the behavior of various pillars, it is important to understand the difference between pulling the members of that pillar towards your movement versus pushing them away from your movement.

For example, looking at the diagram on the previous page, if you want to erode the loyalty of the soldiers of the army, successful movements in the past have generally done so by talking with them on the streets, reminding them that they are also fathers, sons, husbands, and citizens, appealing to their sense of patriotism, and assuring them that a society run by the opposition will be

better for them and their families than the current government is. This kind of behavior pulls the soldier’s loyalties away from the center of the pillar and towards the opposition. In contrast, movements that have threatened soldiers in the streets, and thrown stones or committed other violent acts against them, push them closer towards the center of the pillar. This is why some oppressive governments sometimes try to provoke violent acts by the opposition, because they know that this will push their soldiers closer to them and make the soldiers more likely to obey orders.

**Define the ways power is exercised through each pillar and estimate the level of each pillar’s importance in your society.**
**STUDENT  
PERFORMANCE  
OBJECTIVE 3:**

In this section, we will review the general attributes of several common pillars of support.

**I. POLICE**

The police are almost always an important source of power in society. They maintain law and order, they carry out the government’s laws, and they insure that the system remains stable.





**Within the police one can identify all of the different sources of power:**

**Authority** – the police have the authority to enforce the law.

**Human resources** – there are many thousands of policemen.

**Skills and knowledge** – police provide the state with various skills and knowledge such as: investigation techniques, computer and technological knowledge, surveillance techniques, knowledge of how to break up demonstrations, etc.

**Material resources** – police have weapons, computers, cars, buildings, radios, and through large budgets they can sometimes even afford helicopters, airplanes and boats.

**Intangible factors** – people are socialized to obey the police out of habit. Even when the police or the army are not present, people will obey symbols of their authority.

**Sanctions** – if you do not obey the police, you can be punished. If you resist their orders, for example by running away when they want you to stop, the punishment can be even worse.

## 2. MILITARY

While the military shares some of the same characteristics with the police, and provides similar sources of power, it is important for nonviolent movements to understand what the differences are between the military and the police in their particular society. It is not uncommon for one of these groups to be favored by an authoritarian while the other group is not trusted as much. The distrusted group often has lower loyalty to the government, which means that its support can more easily shift to your movement. Sometimes there are also rivalries between the military and the police.

## 3. BUREAUCRACY (CIVIL SERVANTS)

Civil servants compose the huge administrative entity called the state bureaucracy. Slow, inefficient and corrupt bureaucracies are the trademark of 90% of non-democratic countries.

In addition to carrying out the decisions made by the ruler, which gives them authority, the bureaucracy is also large in numbers (human resources), and has a huge repertoire of skills and knowledge.

They can also impose sanctions, because they can stop any part of most processes in the society (for example: getting a license to build a house may require at least ten different permits issued by various departments of the state's bureaucracy).

They are also paid by the state. Their large budget (material resources) often comes from taxpayer's money — from the people.

## 4. EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Teachers and students can become the catalyst for political change and can enlist support of other pillars of support in many societies. Teachers help shape minds of young children, and they help older students to think critically. They provide students with ideas and also serve as role models.

Every government depends heavily on teachers, because through teachers the young generations frequently adopt the rules and values that their governments want them to. Another reason is that teachers tend to keep students quiet, busy, and in line!

Students have been at the forefront of nonviolent movements throughout the world's history. Students are usually too small in number to make major societal changes just by themselves, but they can have an important role in awakening and mobilizing people, pointing to problems, and communicating a movement's Vision of Tomorrow. They also can make older people feel ashamed for not acting.



### TIP

If the bureaucracy withdraws its support from the ruler, everything stops!

### TIP

Students do not stand alone; they stand together with their families!



Furthermore, when students are part of a nonviolent movement, often their families also get involved. And what's more, students often have fewer immediate responsibilities than older people, so they usually have more available time and are more willing to take risks and make sacrifices. Finally, they have a large stake in the future so they more often than others feel the need for change.

## 5. ORGANIZED RELIGION

Organized religion is generally conservative and supportive of the existing power structure in society because they often have more operational influence and freedom than other institutions or groups.



However, one can find numerous examples in the past of individuals and local organizations within this pillar of support that have offered a helping hand to nonviolent movements struggling for change.

In organized religion, the six sources of power can be found. Religious groups have authority because they represent the religion. They have enormous human resources — not only

the clergy and clerics, but also believers who may be ready to act and support clerical decisions. Religious groups possess skills and knowledge to perform religious rituals and manage the clerical system. They frequently have significant material resources — including buildings, real estate, schools and investments. If religious groups are disobeyed, they can invoke sanctions, for example excommunication, castigation, or fatwa. Finally, they embody intangible factors because people are socialized to meet religious obligations and obey religious rules.

## 6. MEDIA

Effective nonviolent movements must have the means to communicate their messages to a wider audience. This is why authoritarians in many countries attempt to limit or deny movements access to this pillar of the support. They also frequently invest substantial resources in state-run media. As a consequence, nonviolent movements sometimes have to create innovative and independent media outlets and communication systems for themselves. They also sometimes choose to launch campaigns that focus on expanding media freedom and fighting censorship.

## 7. BUSINESS COMMUNITY

By providing people with goods and services that the government does not supply, and by playing an important role even in most centralized societies, business communities are frequently recognized as a very important pillar of support. Their main interest is profit, so they are quite pragmatic and often view support to a nonviolent movement or a government as an investment. Your challenge is to convince this community that supporting your Vision of Tomorrow is a wiser investment than supporting your opponent.

This pillar of support is closely related to other important pillars, such as labor unions and professional associations.



Media has become an increasingly important pillar of support in recent decades.



The business community follows the money and its material interests!

**ORGANIZED RELIGION:**  
Though usually recognized as a “conservative pillar,” organized religion sometimes plays a very dynamic role during processes of political change.

**EXERCISE:**

Analyze the ten most important pillars of support in your society, and rank them by their importance to your opponent

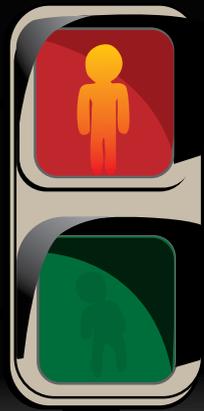
RANK	PILLAR	RANK CLARIFICATION	WAYS THE SOURCES OF POWER ARE EMPLOYED

**SUMMARY**

Rulers cannot execute their decisions without organizations and institutions supporting their will. These organizations and institutions are called “pillars of support” because they support the existing power structure in society. Through these pillars, people provide their time, energy, resources, skills and knowledge to the ruler. However, if people choose to stop providing these services, the ruler cannot rule.

As a nonviolent movement plans actions, it is important to remember that members of different pillars of support should be pulled away from their pillar and towards the movement. They should not be pushed further towards the center of their pillar. When enough individuals from various pillars shift their attitudes and behavior and are pulled away from their pillar, it can weaken the ruler and force him/her to make concessions to the nonviolent movement or to relinquish power altogether.





## 4. OBEDIENCE



**TIP**

If people do not obey, the ruler cannot rule!

**STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 1:**



**A STOP SIGN**

People obey traffic signs, which are symbols of state authority.

**OBEDIENCE**

*“The most important single quality of any government, without which it would not exist, must be the obedience and submission of its subjects. Obedience is at the heart of political power”*

Dr. Gene Sharp in *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*

Why is obedience regarded as the “heart of political power”? The answer is simple: if the people do not obey, the ruler cannot rule. Strategies for nonviolent struggle are based upon this insight. Mechanisms and methods of nonviolent struggle, exercised through actions and campaigns, are exclusively targeted towards the withdrawal of support that people provide to your opponent.

**Understand the major reasons why people in society obey.**

In order to motivate people to withdraw their consent from your opponent, you should understand why people choose to obey in the first place. There are at least ten reasons why people choose to obey, even when they disagree with the existing system:

**1. HABIT** – Since childhood most people have been conditioned to obey authority. This process begins with our parents and grandparents, and then in school our teachers are figures of authority that we obey, as are officers during military training and our superiors at our workplace. Out of habit, we obey the laws, and the people in uniform who represent them. We even obey symbols of authority - habits range from respecting “No Smoking” signs to stopping our car at a red traffic light or “stop” sign (even if we find ourselves at a deserted road intersection in the middle of the night). Breaking the obedience habit is a difficult task, just like quitting smoking. Both the decision to stop, and

reiteration about why it is so important to stop, are constantly required.

**2. SELF-INTEREST** – Although many people may intensely dislike their oppressor, some will still actively support their oppressor. This phenomenon starts to make sense once we take into account that governments and authorities often reward people for their support. Material benefits, jobs, university spots, etc. can trigger people’s self-interest — and therefore these rewards provide an incentive for them to obey. Professional and social promotions, with the accompanying prestige and privileges, are powerful forces of attraction, especially over people employed by the state, such as the police, civil servants, educators, health care workers or public service workers.



**3. FEAR OF SANCTIONS** – A strong reason why people obey is fear of punishment. Violation of a law or rule can result in a variety of sanctions, from paying fines, to harassment, to losing one’s job or position, to losing property, to imprisonment or even execution. Once a person has a “criminal record” he/she can then be denied standard citizen benefits such as bank credit, employment opportunities, and government services. The most powerful function of sanctions is often the fear that they produce in others. This fear keeps others obedient.

Examples of sanctions: One week in prison for putting up a poster; losing a job for criticizing the government during a conversation in a restaurant; arrest and interrogation for wearing a T-shirt with a message supporting the political opposition; etc.

**TIP**  
Breaking the obedience habit is a difficult task — just like quitting smoking!

**TIP**

“Politically indifferent people” are actually those who have succumbed to your opponent’s propaganda!

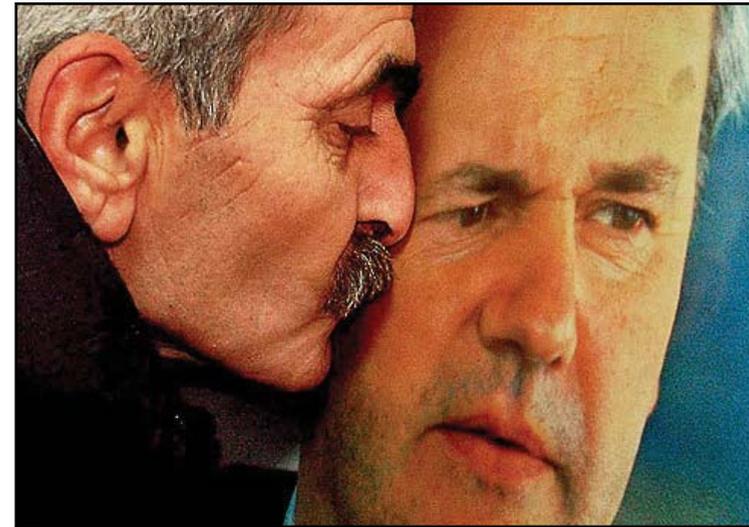
**4. INDIFFERENCE** – Many people obey simply because the cost of not doing so seems at that moment to be more trouble than it is worth. Some also declare that they are “apolitical”. However, if laws are passed that restrict basic rights and freedom, and intrude on this zone of indifference, people may become motivated to act. Nonviolent movements need to find ways to show the public that indifference actually contributes to their oppression and the erosion of individual liberties. A major obstacle to be considered is that most “apolitical” or apathetic people are receptive to the opponent’s propaganda that spins around the idea that: “trouble only comes to those who make trouble.”



**5. ABSENCE OF SELF-CONFIDENCE** – After decades of authoritarian rule or other forms of oppression, people may lack self-confidence in their ability to make change. This develops mainly from a lack of decision-making experience and limited opportunities for developing alternative leadership. Oppressive regimes often use the lack of experienced opposition leaders to promote the fiction that the incumbent leadership is the best qualified to make decisions for the people. However, just because the opponent may have a long history of making decisions (which often do not benefit the people), this does not mean it is best qualified to rule! Therefore, a key factor in the movement’s success is to restore the public’s confidence in its abilities to make logical, sound decisions and to take effective actions that can bring positive change. It is also important that the nonviolent movement continuously remind the public that

it is the people who provide political power and therefore they can take it back.

**6. MORAL OBLIGATION** (or the “common good of society”) – Coming from the assumption that “the laws protect all citizens,” people sometimes feel a moral obligation to obey even the most hated dictators because they want to “maintain order” and feel that the “laws are made for people to respect them”. It is the job of a nonviolent movement to point out that when laws are not legitimate, they do not protect the society, and sometimes it can be a moral obligation to disobey certain laws.



**7. PSYCHOLOGICAL IDENTIFICATION WITH THE RULER** – Sometimes people identify with the ruler as an extension of their family. They may feel loyalty to the regime or system similar to the loyalty that they feel to their favorite soccer club. This is particularly true if they have shared the experience of some dramatic historical events, such as a struggle for independence or a series of wars. However, a nonviolent movement can emphasize that although the ruler looks like he/she represents the people he/she rules, in actuality he/she does



JOSEPH STALIN AND  
MAO TSE-TUNG

*20th century examples  
of creating “the cult of  
personality”.*



*In ancient Egypt, the association of the rulers with the “Divine” contributed to justifying their absolute rule.*

not have their best interests in mind, and is frequently exploiting resources in order to personally enrich him/herself.

**8. SUPERHUMAN FACTORS** – Sometimes god-like character or superhuman features are attached to rulers. From the ancient concept of the “divine right of kings” (the belief that kings were chosen and blessed by a higher power) to ideological “superhuman” leaders like Adolph Hitler or Mao Tse Tung, to theocratic regimes in which there is a fusion of religion and the state, there are a variety of societies where disobeying the ruler or his/her representatives is seen as a form of sacrilege.

**9. HELPLESSNESS AND HOPELESSNESS** – After seeing the resistance efforts of others fail or after living under harsh repression, many people develop feelings of helplessness and hopelessness. Thus, people collectively obey because they believe things cannot change and they feel there is no hope for the future. If this is the case, a nonviolent movement needs to rebuild people’s confidence and hope through showing that the movement can be effective. Often this comes when a movement is able to create a record of winning small, but significant, victories that can lead to larger victories in the future.



**10. MAJORITY DOING IT** – Some people behave in a certain way because they see that the majority of people are also behaving that way. Peer and social pressure can be a powerful influence on behavior. If the majority of the people start to behave differently, these people may start to behave differently as well.

### Use the “loyalty pie” exercise to understand why and how people’s loyalties and obedience patterns can shift.

### STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 2:

004

Now that we have reviewed several reasons for people’s obedience, we will review a model for understanding how people’s obedience and loyalties shift. People have diverse loyalties to individuals, institutions and organizations. On the following page, you can see in Figure 1 how each of these loyalties is represented as a slice of a person’s “loyalty pie”. Different sizes of different slices of the pie represent how much or how little loyalty that person has to that particular part of his/her life.

The nature and intensity of people’s loyalty attachments are crucial for altering obedience patterns in society. A person’s perception of truth is frequently created by the different input that that person gets from different slices of their loyalty pie. Each “slice” supplies the person with important reference points in developing attitudes and values. When people get the nonviolent movement or campaign’s messages from multiple sources within each slice of their loyalty pie, their attitudes and even behaviors can change. The refusal of police and military forces to attack peaceful protesters in Belgrade in October 2000 was, in large measure, a result of this process.

#### TIP

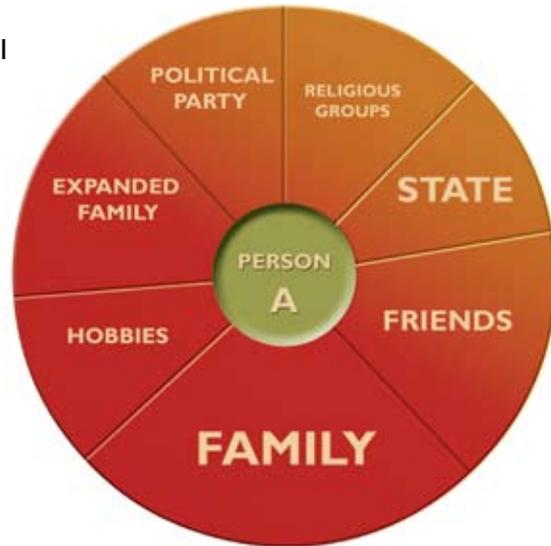
Re-composition of the loyalty pie lies at the core of strategic nonviolent struggle!



*In many successful nonviolent struggles, the winning decision point included the cooptation of the coercive apparatus. In Serbia, during the 2000 elections, the army and the police chose not to intervene against nonviolent protesters.*

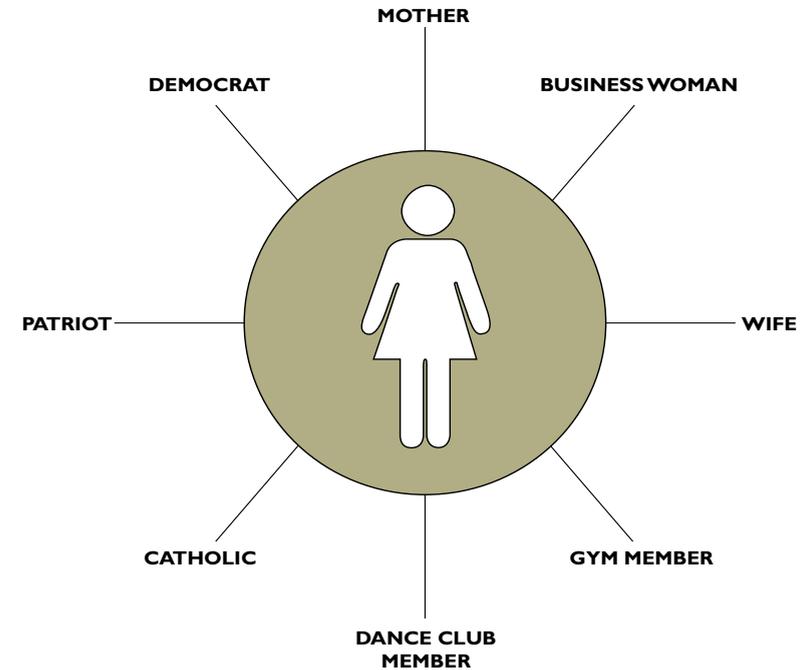
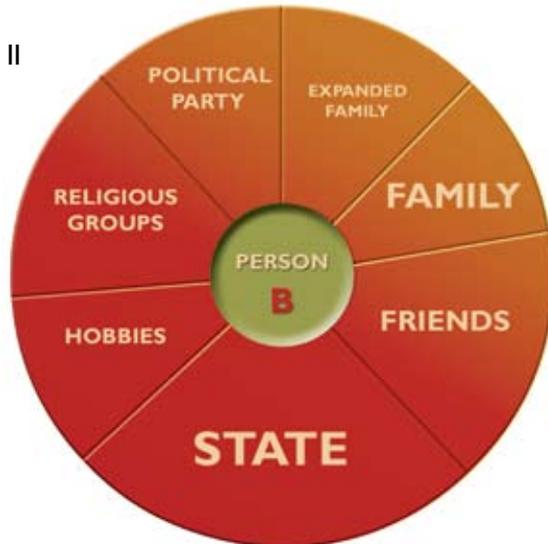
LOYALTY PIE  
To whom do you owe  
your loyalty?

FIGURE I



It is common for oppressive rulers to try penetrate and then seize control over as many slices of the loyalty pie as they can (see Figure II), so that they can reduce or eliminate organizations that people could use to oppose them, and can ensure that their messages bombard people from multiple directions.

FIGURE II



Person's daily roles

EXERCISE: "Loyalty pie role-play"

EXERCISE:

In this exercise, you will take the roles that an individual plays in each slice of their loyalty pie and make those roles more specific.

1. Define an individual's role for each slice of their loyalty pie (e.g. family slice – husband/wife, mother/father, sister/brother; hobbies slice – fisherman, football player; political party slice – member, etc.).
2. Examine how these roles function in terms of time (week, year, etc. — for example the "business woman role" is reserved for business hours five days a week), and key attributes (for example, "beloved" husband and father, "respected" expert in work, "young" husband/wife, etc.).

## EXAMPLE:



By understanding in more detail the roles that individuals play in each slice of their loyalty pie, a movement will have a better idea of how to appeal to them.

We can see examples of this in advertising as well. For example, “younger women” are usually a target group for sugar-free beverages such as “Coca Cola light”. This is particularly true when a young woman is surrounded by other young women, because it is then that she is more receptive to messages that target her as a young woman. However, mothers, wives, and older women may not be receptive to the same message as younger women. Coca Cola needs a new kind of message if it wants to reach them.

Therefore, in order to understand when and how to communicate your movement’s message, a strategic planner will reflect on what loyalties a target group has. A strategic planner will also communicate the movement’s message in such a way that it focuses on one or more slices of the target group’s or individual’s loyalty pie.

## SUMMARY

Obedience is a crucial concept in strategic nonviolent struggle. There are several primary reasons why people obey their rulers, and by understanding why people obey, your movement can more effectively promote shifts in obedience patterns.

Obedience primarily derives from a combination of habits, lack of self-confidence, fears and interests. Habits, lack of self-confidence, and interests can be changed, and one can address fear and deal with its effects.

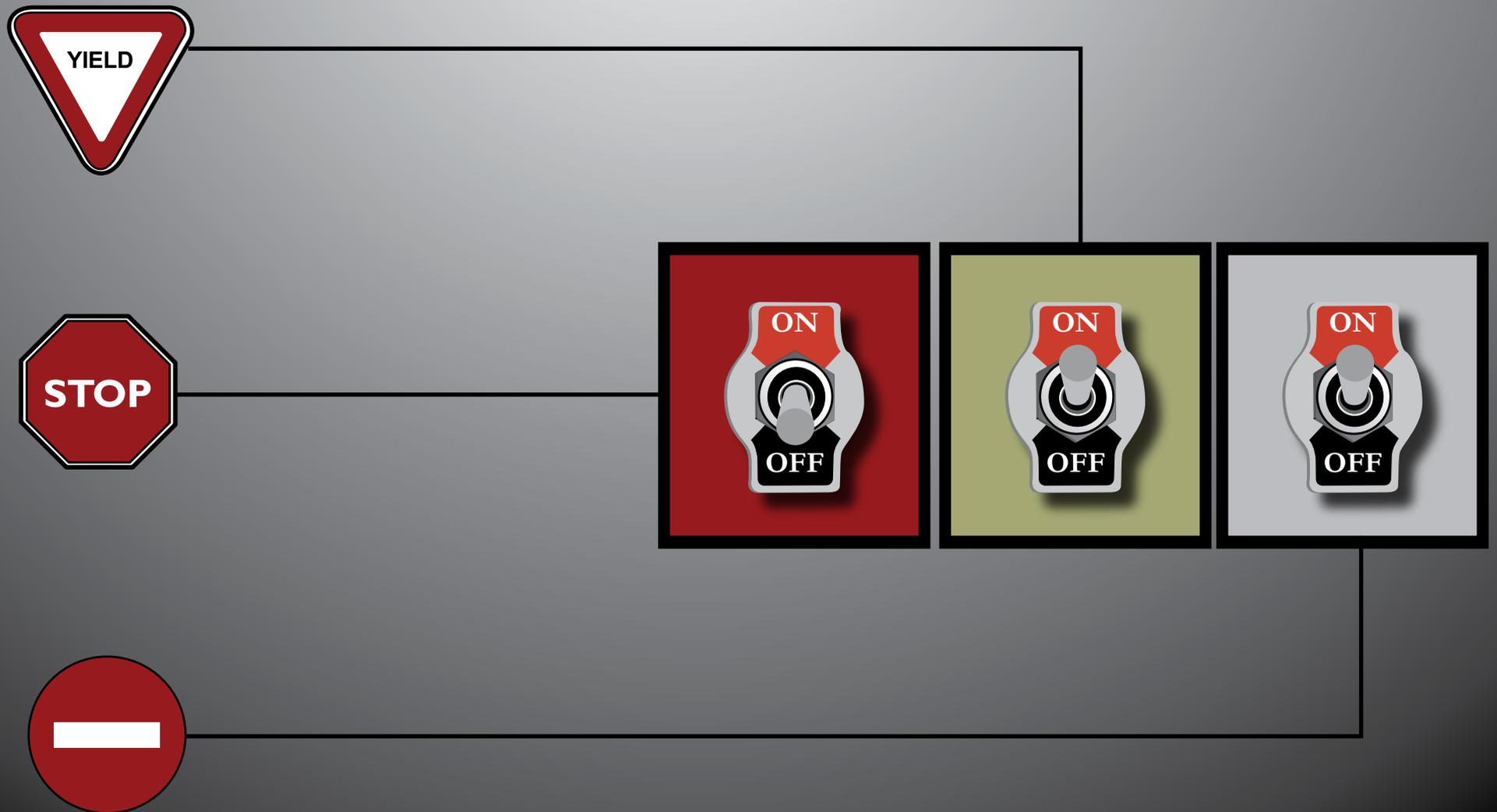
Habits can be changed through repetition of why they must be changed, and reinforcement for changing them.

Lack of self-confidence, as well as indifference, may be converted into dedication and brave actions through the process of motivation and learning that there are realistic alternatives to an oppressive situation.

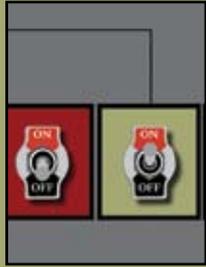
Loyalty to your opponent that is based on self-interest can change into support for your movement when people see that their self-interest lies in supporting your movement. For example, civil servants have historically switched their support to nonviolent movements once they have understood that their corrupt bosses will be replaced under a new system but that their jobs will not be jeopardized.

The loyalty pie provides a model for understanding how people’s loyalties and obedience patterns form and therefore how they can shift.





5. ACTIVATING NONVIOLENT POWER:  
MECHANISMS OF CHANGE IN  
NONVIOLENT ACTION



### ACTIVATING NONVIOLENT POWER: MECHANISMS OF CHANGE IN NONVIOLENT ACTION

Political power in society is dependent on people. Although most un-elected (and some elected) rulers would like to be seen as omnipotent, they depend on the six sources of power (discussed in Lesson 2); pillars of support (discussed in Lesson 3); and people's continual obedience (discussed in Lesson 4) in order to rule.

According to this view of political power, what is the underlying process by which nonviolent struggle works? Dr. Gene Sharp developed a theoretical model to answer this. He writes that there are four "mechanisms for change" that impact power relationships between a nonviolent movement and its opponent. These mechanisms are: Conversion, Accommodation, Coercion, and Disintegration. The way to activate these mechanisms of change is through the methods of nonviolent action (discussed in Lesson 6).

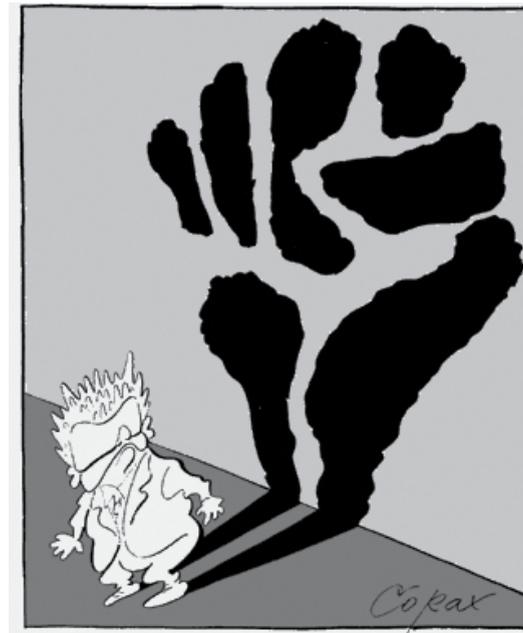
**Identify and distinguish mechanisms of change in nonviolent action: Conversion, Accommodation, Coercion and Disintegration.**

Sharp's approach is helpful to nonviolent strategists because by understanding the four mechanisms of change, it is possible to better choose and assess a movement's or campaign's nonviolent actions.

**1. CONVERSION:** There may be situations where an opponent can be convinced that it should (for practical or ethical reasons, or because it has changed its views) adopt a recommended option or demand made by a nonviolent movement. In essence, the perceived legitimacy of the nonviolent movement's grievance increases and the opponent

willingly agrees to make the desired change. The mechanism of conversion may change the opponent's public standing, for example, so that it may get credit for the change advocated by the nonviolent movement.

**2. ACCOMMODATION:** Accommodation occurs when the opponent does a cost-benefit analysis and arrives at the conclusion that a compromise settlement is a more favorable option than facing continued resistance. The opponent has neither changed its views nor been nonviolently coerced, but instead has chosen accommodation because it is feeling pressure from the nonviolent movement. The opponent's choice is usually a reflection of the fact that the nonviolent movement is growing in power and building up a "winning record" of victories on a variety of limited, but important, issues. An opponent will also be more likely to choose accommodation if that choice will help to improve its public image and if it is not being asked to grant concessions on issues that are fundamental to its continued rule.



STUDENT  
PERFORMANCE  
OBJECTIVE 1:

SPEED  
LIMIT  
55



Sometimes, the opponent accommodates “an irritating and persistent request” made by the movement.

For example, the release of political prisoners during visits of foreign diplomats is one of the oldest public relations tricks in non-democratic regimes. Yet, for a movement or campaign, it could be an important interim demand and victory resulting from specific nonviolent actions.

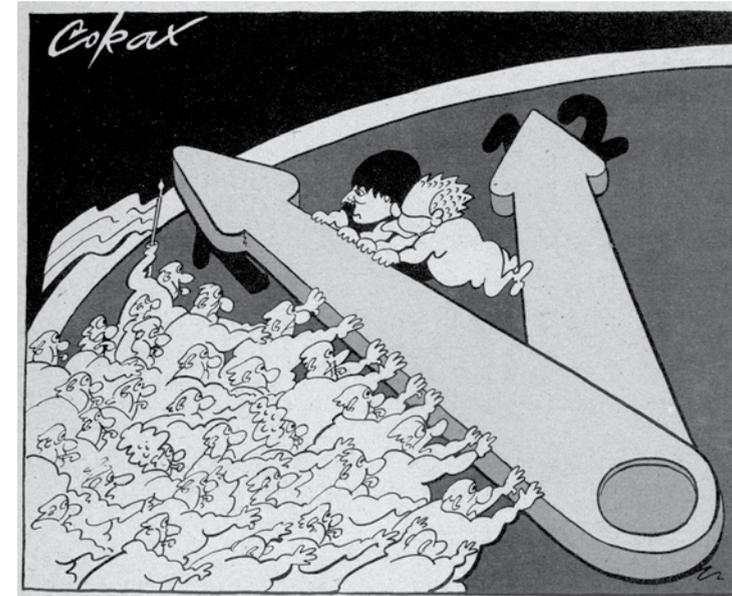
Often, the demand for free and fair elections can set in motion the process of accommodation. The cumulative effects of conversion and accommodation are:

- through interim victories, the nonviolent movement or campaign is strengthened;
- civilians experience success from their efforts and thus are more likely to take part in future nonviolent actions, including those that involve greater commitment, sacrifice, or risk;
- civilians actively learn to use the technique of nonviolent action, which can propel a movement to undertake further objectives.

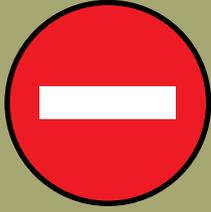
**3. COERCION:** Coercion occurs when the opponent is forced, against its will, to meet the demands of the nonviolent movement or campaign. The opponent loses effective control over the situation as a result of civilians’ widespread noncooperation and defiance. This indicates that the opponent’s real power is being significantly undermined by the actions of the nonviolent movement. However, some or all of the opponent’s officials still preserve their positions and the system has not disintegrated.



It is critical to understand that if coercion is attempted prematurely, it may fail and thus undermine the credibility of the nonviolent movement. For example, there are numerous cases in history where nonviolent movements attempted nationwide mass mobilizations in an attempt to coerce their opponent to make changes, but they were not successful because they did not build sufficient strength and organizational capacity beforehand, did not make strategic preparations for the next steps after their opponents were coerced, and/or did not consider counter-moves made by the opponent.



Furthermore, once your movement attempts coercion, there is rarely an easy retreat. Your opponents will often feel highly threatened by your movement, even if you have failed to coerce them, and they will likely take strong measures against your movement. Hence, the importance of planning and preparation before attempting to coerce.

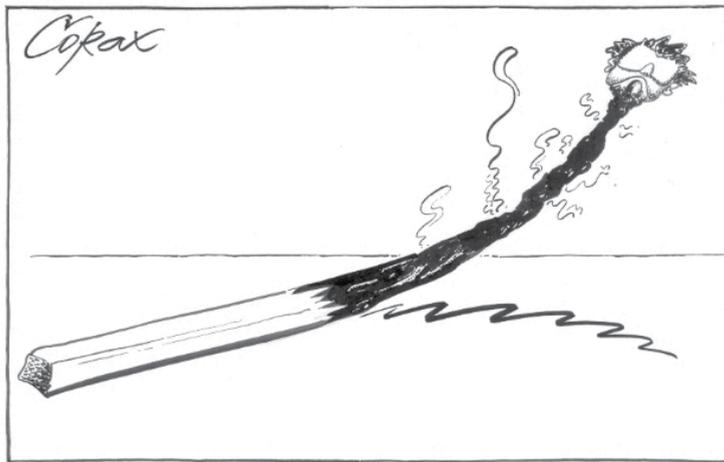
**TIP**

You must recognize and maintain the momentum!

**DISINTEGRATION:**

The movement should think very carefully before inducing disintegrating processes within the opponent's pillars of support.

**4. DISINTEGRATION:** In disintegration, the opponent is not just coerced, but in addition its system of rule disintegrates and falls apart as a result of sustained, widespread, civilian-based noncooperation and nonviolent disruption. Massive noncooperation deprives the opponent of its sources of power to such an extent that its system of control simply dissolves. It is crucial for the nonviolent movement to understand the importance of maintaining momentum in this process. Losing momentum, for whatever reason, can provide the opponent with an opportunity to re-organize itself and re-assert its power (for example, if your opponent is an authoritarian, it may try to re-assert power through launching a coup).



Once disintegration has occurred, it can be very difficult to manage because it is unpredictable what different pillars of support will do when the opponent suddenly falls. This is why, for many movements, nonviolent coercion of the opponent is a more suitable option, because a coerced transition is likely to be more stable and orderly than a disintegrated one. Members of your opponent's previous pillars of support often also feel more comfortable with coerced transitions because they have a sense of where they will be in the new system.

In either case, whether your opponent is coerced or if its entire system is disintegrated, your movement must have a plan ready for how to transfer to a post-conflict state. A collapsed opponent must be replaced by something new, or else it will return. This shows the importance of making advance plans (before you have achieved victory) for how your movement will handle the transfer of power after you have achieved victory. That will be the time when you can more fully work towards your Vision of Tomorrow, though this can only happen with careful advance preparation.. This is the time where you can more fully work towards your Vision of Tomorrow, though this can only happen with careful preparation.

**Apply different mechanisms of change strategically.**

**STUDENT  
PERFORMANCE  
OBJECTIVE 2:**

Different campaigns in your movement may rely on different mechanisms of change to be successful. You may rely on some mechanisms, such as conversion or accommodation, as you build up strength in the earlier phases of your movement, and only aim for coercion or disintegration in later phases.



**MECHANISMS OF CHANGE:**

*A successful nonviolent movement in Chile executes effective tactics to accommodate the military junta and coerce Augusto Pinochet to recognize the will of the people.*

*Chile, 1988*



Furthermore, you may want to aim to use different mechanisms of change with different groups (for example, you may aim to convert or accommodate groups or individuals that are more likely to agree with you, but attempt to coerce or disintegrate the power of groups or individuals that are very unlikely to agree with you).

Even within a single group, different mechanisms may be active. For example, if you are struggling against a government, if you focus some of your actions on the army as a pillar of support (which it almost always is), your movement may find that it is easier to:

- convert the enlisted and lower-ranking troops on the street, both because they often have less invested in the current system than the officers and higher-ranks, and also because they are often the easiest to reach with your message and tactics;
- accommodate the middle ranks and officers; and
- aim to coerce the inner circle of those who are most loyal to the regime, because they have the most invested in the current system and the price of their openly supporting your movement is very high.

However, this is only an example. Different struggles have different circumstances. For example, you may be able to find sympathetic generals or others who are close to your opponent who may be willing to subtly help your movement. This has happened in some historical cases of nonviolent struggle.

Some tactics and methods of nonviolent action are better at enabling certain mechanisms of change. You will learn more about the methods of nonviolent action and their selection in the next chapter (Lesson 6).

**SUMMARY**

Nonviolent struggle involves changes in power relationships. Dr. Gene Sharp has developed a theoretical model to explain this process. He writes that there are four mechanisms of change: Conversion, Accommodation, Coercion, and Disintegration. The method for activating these mechanisms for change is through nonviolent actions.

Some of these mechanisms work better than others on different groups. Some of these mechanisms involve more risk than others. Therefore, you may aim to achieve different mechanisms of change with different groups and in different phases of your struggle. What mechanisms you aim to apply, when you aim to apply them, and what groups you aim to apply them to, are strategic decisions that your movement must make.





6. ACTIVATING NONVIOLENT POWER:  
METHODS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION



## ACTIVATING NONVIOLENT POWER: METHODS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION

The methods of using nonviolent action can be classified into three broad categories: Protest and Persuasion, Noncooperation and Intervention. Dr. Gene Sharp has documented almost 200 nonviolent methods (for a complete list, see Annex I) and almost every new nonviolent struggle invents new methods.

### Identify and analyze different categories of methods that have been used in nonviolent struggles throughout history.

Once nonviolent strategists identify a movement's strategic and tactical objectives, they must begin the process of identifying effective nonviolent methods (which are also known as nonviolent actions) in order to:

- build the number of movement supporters and increase their participation;
- build the capacity (i.e. nonviolent discipline and experience using nonviolent action) of civilians to resist;
- withdraw the people's cooperation from the opponent;
- weaken the opponent's pillars of support by undermining the loyalties of those who support them;
- activate the mechanisms of change in power relationship;
- increase the movement's pressure and intensity over time.

**I. PROTEST AND PERSUASION** include actions such as: petitions, leaflets, picketing, wearing of symbols, singing, protests, walk-outs, and symbolic acts such as coordinated turning on and off of lights. This category is primarily symbolic. The world rarely changes because of symbolic actions alone, no matter how large they are (although they can be increasingly effective — and risky — if they take place in a country in which organized political dissent or assembly is outlawed). The main purpose of protest and

persuasion actions is to communicate a message that something is wrong, and people are ready to do something about it. By transmitting your movement's message, these actions can also be helpful in promoting the conversion mechanism of change among some groups. Protest and persuasion actions may build a conducive setting for later, more targeted, disruptive and/or potentially high-risk actions.

**2. NONCOOPERATION** methods consist of social, economic and political forms of noncooperation, such as: social ostracism, strikes, work slowdowns, withdrawals from bank accounts, stay-at-homes, and boycotts by various groups such as consumers, workers, traders, and management. Noncooperation means that people stop obeying the opponent and deny and withdraw their support from the opponent's system of power and control. There is a large variety of social, economic, and political noncooperation methods. Some of these methods require many people in order to be effective. Fortunately, some of these methods (such as a consumer boycott or a work slowdown) allow large segments of a society's population



### STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 1:



(young and old people, men and women, etc.) to actively participate in your struggle by using simple, low-risk actions. When there is broad public participation, methods of noncooperation can be the most powerful group of methods of nonviolent action.



**PHYSICAL INTERVENTION:**  
*Roadblocks are a popular method of nonviolent intervention among contemporary movements.*

**3. INTERVENTION** includes actions such as: sit-ins, blocking roads, overloading of facilities, establishing parallel (alternative) institutions, occupying buildings, acts of civil disobedience, and deliberately seeking imprisonment. These methods directly disrupt the ability of the opponent to function. The risk level is often high: failure can damage the movement's authority and the opponent could mount a harsh response. However, methods of nonviolent intervention can sometimes have a large impact with relatively few people participating in them. Because of the risk involved, the people who carry out methods of nonviolent intervention are often the best-trained, most committed members of your movement who may be willing to take on greater sacrifice than others in your movement.

Depending on your movement's or campaign's objectives, the capabilities and experience level of the resisters, and the probability of repressive or violent reprisals by your opponent,

different nonviolent actions can be selected from among these three categories. Nonviolent actions from the various categories can be conducted simultaneously in different parts of the country or region or can be sequenced so that they follow each other in order to apply continual and increasing pressure.

### Understand considerations for selecting and planning methods of nonviolent action.

**STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 2:**

#### METHODS SELECTION

What nonviolent actions (methods) should a movement choose and when? This is one of the most common questions among nonviolent activists. Although there is no guaranteed formula for success, below is a four step process to assist in selection and execution of different nonviolent methods:

**1. Do Your Homework** – Before engaging in nonviolent struggle, do your basic homework. It is essential to get as much information as possible about the situation. If a strategic estimate has been prepared (see the Advanced Course, Lesson A1: Planning Methodologies: The Strategic Estimate for more information), refer to it because it is an invaluable resource. If a strategic estimate has not been prepared, one must seriously consider doing so. Strategists who do not take all factors into consideration may choose inappropriate methods, which can lead to failure. For example, many nonviolent actions fail only because simple factors such as weather conditions were not taken into account. To see a list of other factors to consider, review the strategic estimate lesson referenced above.

**2. Participant Selection** – Who will carry out the method of nonviolent action that you want to execute? What group(s) have the necessary numbers and training to carry out the action? What group(s) will best convey your movement's message to your action's target (see step 3 for information about target

#### METHODS SELECTION

1. DO YOUR HOMEWORK

2. PARTICIPANT SELECTION

3. TARGET SELECTION

4. BUILD A WINNING RECORD



selection)? Does the method require leaders or coordinators, and if so, who will they be? In selecting who will coordinate and carry out methods of nonviolent action, it is also important to think about how much risk or potential sacrifice the action entails, and which groups are capable of taking those risks (often, it is the young people in a movement who are willing to take the greatest risks) and/or enduring possible sacrifices (such as repression, losing income, etc.).



Some movements have found it useful to rotate the burden of coordinating and executing methods among different groups in their movement, so that no one group has to take on too much sacrifice. It is also important to consider whether a group is capable of maintaining nonviolent discipline, and if a group has any training or experience with nonviolent action that will make it more reliable and effective in carrying out your movement's chosen method.

**3. Target Selection** – Nonviolent methods should not be randomly selected. For every small action, even acts of protest or persuasion, and especially for more high-risk types of noncooperation and intervention, have your target clearly

identified. Identify the strategic reasons for its selection.

For example, if you want to target a certain business company that your movement opposes because it produces a product that your movement does not like, because of its behavior (i.e. labor or environmental practices), or because it provides support to your opponent, you have many potential targets. You can target your actions at:

- the suppliers of the company's raw materials (i.e. miners, loggers, chemical plants, etc.);
- the company's labor force;
- the officers of the company;
- the people or organizations who provide financing to the company;
- the people who ship or transport goods to or from the company;
- the government that regulates — or fails to regulate — the company; and/or
- the consumers who purchase the goods that the company produces.

Your choice of target(s) will depend on your assessment of which of these potential targets will be most accessible and receptive or reactive to your movement's message, and which of these potential targets will be the most appropriate for your movement's current capabilities (for example, it may be easier to call a consumer boycott than to pressure the government to regulate a particular company, or it may be easier to get the transportation union or mining union to strike than it is to target the company's officers).

**4. Build A Winning Record** – Building a winning record occurs through small victories. Knowing how to formulate realistic and achievable objectives for your movement and

#### EXAMPLE:



*In 1773, local merchants dumped tea in Boston Harbor to protest against imperial British taxes on tea.*

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#### CAREFULLY PREPARE AND SELECT THE TARGET:

*In some societies, the internet and simple text messaging (SMS) can be an effective means of reaching the youth.*

knowing when to proclaim a victory is of crucial importance.

For example, in 1989 in Tiananmen Square in Beijing, China, student leaders pursued numerous major objectives for political change. However, the student movement was not fully united, nor were they organized broadly enough to do more than concentrated protest actions in numerous cities (note: tactics that concentrate people in a limited area are often the easiest for security forces to repress). In addition, the students' objectives changed several times, as different segments of the movement came into power and articulated new goals. These changing objectives made it difficult for moderates to argue that the government should try to negotiate with the students. Ultimately, the government opted for a violent crackdown and killed and injured thousands. The democratic movement collapsed, and the chance for at least some reforms in the Chinese political system, which may have been achievable, was lost.

Unfortunately, this is not an isolated example. There are many nonviolent movements, full of courageous and inspiring people, that still fail to build sufficient internal capacity, unity, and organization into their movement before they attempt large-scale objectives.



## ZIMBABWE

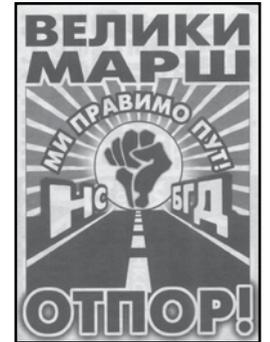
*Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA) build their capacity through a rally.*

One of the best ways to build this capacity is to build a winning record of smaller, more limited victories. A movement does this by choosing actions that are within the movement's capabilities and by picking specific objectives so that it is clear when victory has been achieved.

For example, before you attempt large-scale actions, define your short-range goals, and only pick goals and encounters with the opponent that you can win. If only twenty people are likely to show up for a demonstration, never try to organize a "march of thousands". The action will be unsuccessful and the population will perceive the movement or campaign as a failure. Instead, by organizing actions with achievable goals where you can claim clear progress and success, the general population and members of your movement will see that their actions can make a difference. This, in turn, can help attract new members to your movement (which builds your human resources, and helps to build unity), builds confidence and overcomes fear among your movement's members and the general public, and gives your movement's members valuable experience in planning and executing nonviolent action.

Furthermore, sometimes the achievement of "small" goals can transform into big victories. For example, in the 1950s and 1960s, the US Civil Rights Movement opposed segregation all over the United States, and particularly in the US south. However, from 1955-56, key groups focused their energy on integrating buses in a single city: Montgomery, Alabama. Their primary method was a boycott and later they established parallel institutions to try to transport boycotters around town. By focusing on an issue where they could win and by defining a specific objective, they were able to declare victory when they integrated Montgomery buses, and the new confidence and publicity that this "small" victory generated had a large significance on building the strength and legitimacy of the larger Civil Rights Movement.

## EXAMPLE:



*OTPOR! organized a march from Novi Sad to the capital, Belgrade, about 100km away. Starting with less than a thousand people, this march grew tremendously in size as students reached Serbia's capital.*





Another reason why achieving limited objectives may lead to eventual success is that it can produce more reliable political space for the movement to use, to grow further and to take larger actions in the future. Total, overnight victories almost never occur, and it should never be assumed that they are possible. Part of figuring out the victories that you can win involves identifying where and how your movement is strong and where and how your opponent is weak (for more information on this, see Lesson 12, Managing a Movement: Dilemma Actions).

In the Montgomery bus boycott, the US Civil Rights Movement concentrated their strength on their opponent's weakness. Their opponent was weak because 1) the bus system depended on African American people to ride it in order to meet its economic needs, and 2) the discrimination law was clearly unjust to African American people and difficult for their opponents to defend, and the movement drew attention to this fact. Therefore, as a general strategic principle, you want to concentrate your movement's strengths against your opponent's weaknesses. This will maximize the effectiveness of your actions.

### **Additional considerations when choosing methods of nonviolent action**

When deciding which methods of nonviolent action to use, evaluate how the methods you are considering relate to the goals of your overall movement or your campaigns. For example, economic methods tend to work well when the primary grievance of your campaign is economic; political methods tend to work well when your campaign's primary goals are political, etc.

A final consideration is that certain methods are better at achieving certain mechanisms of change than others. For example,

if your goal is produce conversion in your target, you may want to use methods of nonviolent protest and persuasion, such as fraternizing, public speeches, vigils, leaflets, or petitions. But if your goal is to coerce your target, you may want to focus your energy more on methods of noncooperation and intervention.

It should be noted, however, that none of these guidelines above are set "rules". There are exceptions to many of these guidelines, and what you do depends on your assessment of what is best in your situation. There is no one formula for victory, but the above strategic guidelines for choosing methods of nonviolent action are there to help give strategic planners a framework for deciding a) what methods to use, b) when and where to use them, c) who the methods target, and d) who will carry them out.

**EXERCISE:** Cross-interview analysis of nonviolent methods used in different struggles:

Divide into groups of four to six people, and each group should identify one person to serve as the reporter (who is responsible for recording answers and then presenting them to everyone). Each group chooses a struggle with which they are familiar, and makes an inventory of nonviolent methods that have been used, from very small low-risk action to mass public actions - for example, from anonymous graffiti to a general strike. Participants should then answer the following questions for each method on the list:

- What was the objective of this action?
- Why was this particular action selected?
- What was achieved by this action?
- Who made the selection - was this action a decision of the movement's leadership, or a select group of activists, or some other group?
- On a scale from 1 to 5, how successful was this action at achieving the movement's objectives?

Objective of the action?	Why the action was selected?	What was achieved by the action?	Who selected the action?	How successful was the action (scale of 1-5)?

**SUMMARY**

Nonviolent methods or actions can be divided into three broad categories: Protest and Persuasion, Noncooperation and Intervention.

Dr. Gene Sharp has documented nearly 200 nonviolent methods (available in Annex I) and almost every new nonviolent struggle invents new methods. In identifying and choosing nonviolent actions, strategists must 1) do their homework and background research; 2) select participants for the action; 3) pick the target for the action; and 4) build a record of success by choosing specific, achievable objectives. One of the main reasons that nonviolent movements fail is because they suffer tactical and strategic defeats that either stem from mistakes or omissions made during these four phases, or from the complete omission of one of the phases.

Finally, it is crucial for a nonviolent movement or campaign to initiate only those encounters which its strategists have assessed can be realistically won. On the road to final victory are interim victories. These small successes should be proclaimed in order to develop a winning record and build the capacity of a movement through wider civilian participation.



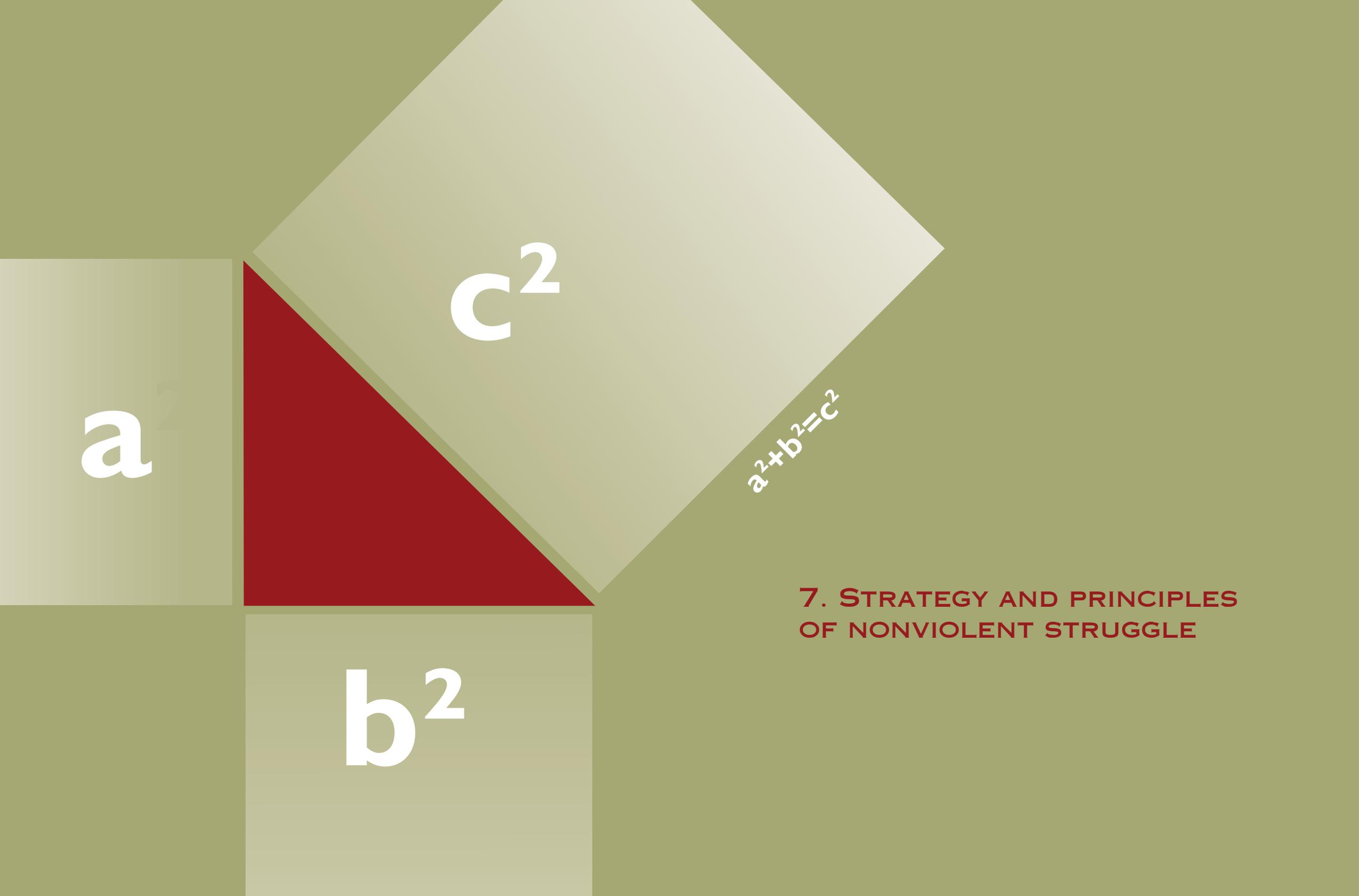


**BASIC COURSE**



**PLANNING**  
CONSIDERATIONS





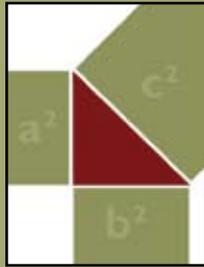
**a**<sup>2</sup>

**c**<sup>2</sup>

$a^2 + b^2 = c^2$

**b**<sup>2</sup>

**7. STRATEGY AND PRINCIPLES  
OF NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE**



**STRATEGY AND PRINCIPLES OF NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE**

*“He will win who knows when to fight and when not to fight. He will win who knows how to handle both superior and inferior forces. He will win whose army is animated by the same spirit throughout all its ranks. He will win who, prepared himself, waits to take the enemy unprepared...”*

SUN TZU in *The Art of War*

A strategy is the conception of how best to act in order to achieve objectives in a nonviolent conflict. Given limited resources and uncertainty, strategy is concerned with determining first whether, when or how to fight, and then deciding how to achieve maximum effectiveness in order to gain certain ends. There are four levels of strategic management: grand strategy, campaigns, tactics and specific methods.

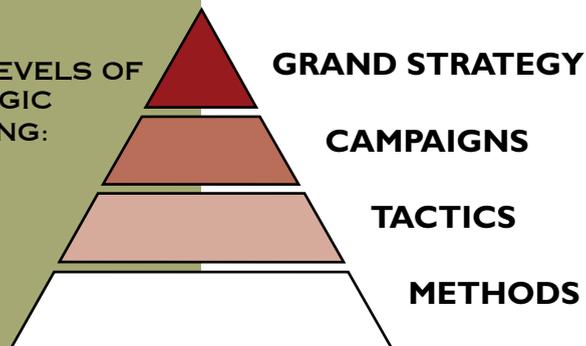
**Understand the four levels of strategic planning.**

WHAT IS STRATEGY?



STUDENTS  
PERFORMANCE  
OBJECTIVE 1:

FOUR LEVELS OF  
STRATEGIC  
PLANNING:



**GRAND STRATEGY** is the broadest conception of what your objective is and how it is to be attained in a conflict. The grand strategy addresses what form of action will be used in the struggle, and it also addresses the coordination, allocation, and timing of distribution for all resources (human, political, economic, time, etc.) of a movement so that it can attain its objectives in a conflict.

A **CAMPAIGN** is a plan for the conduct of each major phase within a grand strategy. Each campaign has a specific objective (or objectives) that helps to support the overall goals of the grand strategy. Each campaign also has a plan for how it shall develop, and how its separate components (such as tactics and methods) can fit together to contribute to its success.

**TACTICS** are limited plans of action for achieving specific, limited objectives that support the larger objectives of a campaign.

**METHODS** are specific nonviolent actions. As we learned in the previous lesson, there are literally hundreds of methods of nonviolent action (see Annex I for a list of Dr. Gene Sharp’s famous “198 Methods”) and they fall into three broad categories: nonviolent protest and persuasion, noncooperation (social, economic, political), and nonviolent intervention.

From the four levels of strategy, it is clear that a movement must first build their grand strategy, then identify campaigns that support that grand strategy, and then choose different tactics and methods that support those campaigns. This way of planning from the top (grand strategy) down (to campaigns, tactics and methods) has been effectively used in all kinds of conflicts in history.



SUNTZU  
*The famous strategist from ancient China*

**STUDENT  
PERFORMANCE  
OBJECTIVE 2:**

**Adopt and recognize the use of three principles of waging a strategic nonviolent struggle.**

When you have built your Vision of Tomorrow and used this information to build a grand strategy, with subordinate campaigns, tactics, and methods to achieve your goals, you are prepared to wage your struggle. The outcome of your struggle will be partly determined by the skill of those waging it. There are three general principles for success: **Unity, Planning, and Nonviolent Discipline.**

**I. UNITY:** Unity has three components:

**a. UNITY OF PEOPLE** - Nonviolent movements or campaigns require the participation of a diversity of political, social and economic groups and sectors of society - because by definition a movement's legitimacy and strength lies in its mobilization of large numbers of civilians. For large-scale, national movements, this usually requires a coalition of groups and organizations.

**b. UNITY WITHIN THE ORGANIZATION** – The three levels of the movement — the leadership, the operational network, and people from the widest possible parts of society engaged in conflict — must be in harmony with each other. Therefore, the movement's organizational structure should be designed to enable the efficient execution of strategy, tactics, and methods. Democratic procedures may be appropriate in the decision making process — but executing those decisions requires discipline, responsiveness and synergy rather than endless debate. Otherwise, there will be organizational breakdown and confusion. In some struggles, your opponent will also attempt to plant people in your movement whose role is to generate debate and turmoil to weaken the unity of the movement.

**c. UNITY OF PURPOSE** – A movement or campaign must have internal consensus about its goals, and these goals must resonate with significant parts of the larger population. Most individuals will only struggle and sacrifice for goals that are meaningful to their everyday lives (goals where their personal concerns also become political concerns) and that are concrete enough to be reasonably attainable. An objective will have greater strategic utility if it is more important for the movement to pursue it than for the opponent to resist it. In other words, pick the “battles” that: 1) mean the most to the people in your movement and society and 2) that you can realistically win. For example, in the Indian Independence Movement against British colonial rule, being able to make salt and not pay a tax on it was easily understandable and important to ordinary people. By launching the Salt March in 1930, Gandhi was able to attack the British monopoly on salt, which touched virtually all members of Indian society. Gandhi's goal of ending the British salt monopoly was both attainable and concrete, and Gandhi used his strength (large numbers of motivated people) against the British's weakness (an unenforceable law that was very difficult to defend politically or justify imprisoning people to uphold). Also, it is important that a movement or campaign have only a relatively small number of goals — otherwise it is very difficult to have unity and agreement among the different groups and organizations involved.

**2. PLANNING:** Strategic nonviolent movements or campaigns are not organized spontaneously. There must be deliberate, detailed planning. Two key components are:

**a. TACTICAL CAPACITY BUILDING** – Successful movements build up their capacity to recruit and train activists, gather material resources, and maintain a communications network and independent outlets for information (for example,



India 1930.  
*People united in their demand to produce salt.*

**UNITY OF:**

- A. PEOPLE
- B. ORGANIZATION
- C. PURPOSE

**TIP**

There is no universal formula for organizing a movement!

**TIP**

Pick the battles you can win!

**PLANNING:**

- A. TACTICAL CAPACITY BUILDING
- B. STRATEGIC SEQUENCING OF A VARIETY OF TACTICS

encrypted emails, short-text messaging, underground press, and alternative web sites). This involves detailed campaign and tactical planning, and efficient time management. Time is perhaps the most important resource of a struggle (time management is discussed in Advanced Lesson A4, Managing a Movement: Time Management).

**TIP**

Use a variety of tactics and sequence them to keep your opponent off balance and to maintain the momentum.

**b. STRATEGIC SEQUENCING OF A VARIETY OF TACTICS** - The strategic selection and sequencing of a variety of nonviolent tactics is essential. Sequencing tactics allows your movement to increase pressure on your opponent and to maintain momentum. Using a variety of tactics keeps your opponent off balance and ensures that your opponent can not predict your movement's next action. Tactics should be directly linked to intermediate goals which in turn flow from the movement's or campaign's grand strategy.

**3. NONVIOLENT DISCIPLINE** - Nonviolent discipline means two things: following the strategic plan for a struggle and refraining from violence. Refraining from violence means that members of the movement do not use violence in their actions and do not participate in threats of violence. To make this clear, some movements create a publicly distributed "Code of Conduct" or "Guidelines for Action" that gives everyone the nonviolent discipline standards demanded by the movement.

Nonviolent discipline lies at the heart of civilian-based power. There are three main reasons:

**a. WIDESPREAD PARTICIPATION AND STAYING POWER** - Most people will join a nonviolent movement for change if they agree with the movement's objectives. However, most people will not join a violent movement for change. Therefore, a key to getting and maintaining widespread participation in your movement is to remain nonviolent. In a nonviolent movement, there is a place for everyone in society (from children to the elderly, from

women to men) to contribute. The more widespread the participation in your movement, the more costly it will be for your opponent to try to control your movement (your opponent may not even have the resources to do so), and the more your opponent will have to spread its forces and resources among many different areas.



**b. DE-LEGITIMIZING THE OPPRESSOR** - In many nonviolent struggles, the oppressor will violently crack down on civilians and activists. When nonviolent discipline is maintained, such repression can destroy the oppressor's credibility and legitimacy and decrease its support (especially when the repression is widely publicized through the media or other information channels). At the same time, sympathy and support for the nonviolent struggle may increase.

**c. COOPTING THE OPPONENT'S DEFENDERS** (such as the military and the police)

*"You can't coopt those you threaten to kill."*

- Dr. Peter Ackerman, Co-author, *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*

**EXAMPLE:**

In Nashville, Tennessee when many African Americans and other members of the US Civil Rights Movement engaged in civil disobedience, police capacity for repression was overwhelmed because they could not handle such a large number of arrests, nor could the prisons hold all the activists.

*When faced with repression, the nonviolent movement should maintain nonviolent discipline in order to de-legitimize the oppressor.*



Violence gives an oppressor the excuse to crack down (for example to attempt to “restore order” or “fight terror”). Nonviolent discipline takes away this excuse. Nonviolent discipline is also necessary in order to coopt — that is, erode the loyalties of — those people who support and obey the oppressor’s orders. When security forces feel threatened, they tend to obey orders. When they know that a movement is nonviolent, and that the movement has a proven record of remaining nonviolent, they are less likely to use harsh repression and more likely to consider the legitimacy of the nonviolent movement’s grievances and Vision of Tomorrow.

These principles should dictate strategy development. They allow for a critical and constructive approach to examination of your planning. If you want to assess how your movement or a campaign is working at any given moment, start by evaluating whether your movement has these three key elements: UNITY, PLANNING, and NONVIOLENT DISCIPLINE.

#### **Recognize the three main outcomes of nonviolent actions: Mobilization, Interruption, and Defection.**

The main outcomes of each strategically planned action in nonviolent struggle are:

**MOBILIZATION** – achieved through mobilization of target groups within society and recruitment of activists for the movement or campaign.

**INTERRUPTION** – of the opponent’s activities. The nonviolent movement’s action creates disruption and makes “business as usual” impossible for the opponent.

**DEFECTION** – by people in different pillars of support. Supporters of the opponent are targeted both by nonviolent

actions and the movement’s messages that erode their loyalty to the movement’s opponent and encourage them to disobey.

#### **Learn to use a cost-benefit analysis when selecting nonviolent actions.**

When identifying and choosing nonviolent actions that are based on the movement’s objectives and strategies, the strategist must have in mind that each action carries potential costs as well as benefits for the movement. Different actions require different material and human resources, and some of them carry a high risk of social punishment and physical harm.

**EXAMPLE:** A successful demonstration may nevertheless result in injuries and arrests of some of the participants. Actions involving economic or social noncooperation can lead to job or financial loss or lowered social status for movement members and supporters.

A simple but effective method to help choose nonviolent tactics is the cost-benefit analysis. For each action considered, it is necessary to evaluate the possible costs-benefits for both the action and its outcome.



*Serbia 2000.  
Injured demonstrator*

#### **STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 4:**

##### **TIP**

Every action has its cost!

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#### **STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 3:**

**EXERCISE:**

Using the following table format drawn on a flip chart, apply a cost-benefit analysis to past actions that you have used and possible actions that you are considering using in the future. Were your past actions successful, or not - and what caused their outcome?

ACTIONS PICKED. EXAMPLES:	POSSIBLE COST FOR YOUR MOVEMENT	POSSIBLE BENEFIT FOR YOUR MOVEMENT	POSSIBLE COST FOR YOUR OPPONENT
Submitting a petition during mass demonstrations in front of Government headquarters	Violent repression is used against protesters; and/or some protesters become violent and hurt the movement's legitimacy.	A successful demonstration will gain the movement publicity and new recruits.	Increasing public discontent and loss of legitimacy.
Elections boycott	Low public response may damage credibility of the movement. May also lead to opponent's total official control of government structures (if control is not total already).	Complete participation will de-legitimize the election results. However, complete participation may be difficult to achieve.	Loss of legitimacy in case of successful boycott.
Hunger strike	Participants may harm their health.	Participants may bring new attention to the movement.	Public sympathy for the strikers may lead to a loss of legitimacy.

**SUMMARY**

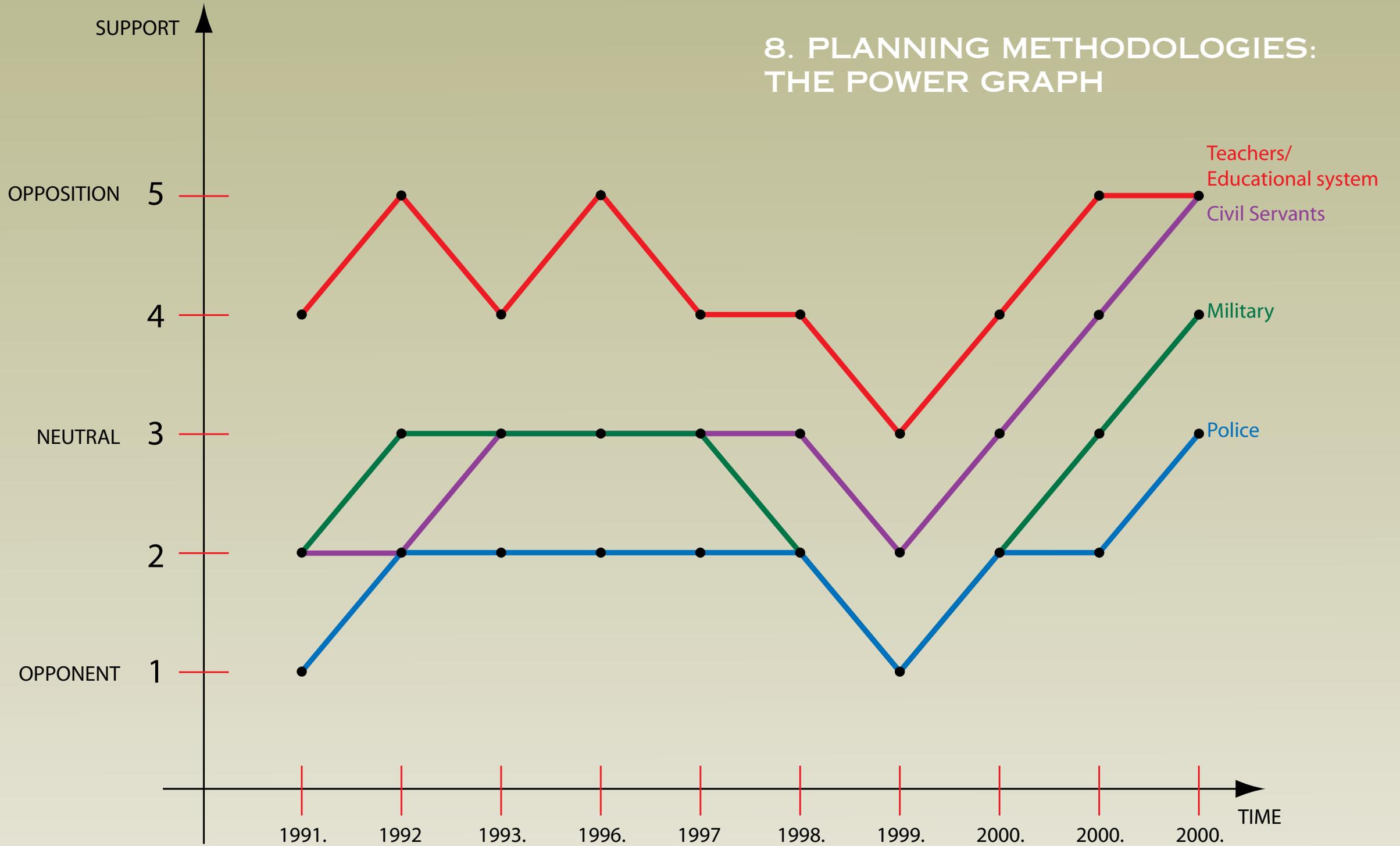
There are four levels of strategic planning in nonviolent struggles: Grand Strategy, Campaigns, Tactics, and Methods. The objectives of each level of planning reinforce the objectives of the level above it (i.e. tactics reinforce campaigns, which reinforce the grand strategy's objectives). When planning a strategy, it is most helpful to start planning based on your conception of a grand strategy, and then work your way down to the other levels, as opposed to thinking about methods, and then working your way up to a grand strategy.

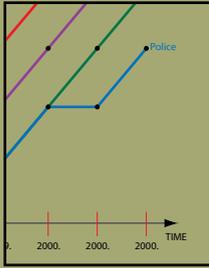
When you are waging your struggle, the strategist should give special attention to the three principles of successful nonviolent struggle. They are: Unity, Planning, and Nonviolent discipline. Unity consists of unity of people, unity within the organization and unity of purpose. Planning includes tactical capacity building and strategic sequencing of a variety of tactics. Nonviolent discipline is necessary to mobilize civilians, recruit activists, de-legitimize the oppressor, and coopt the oppressor's defenders, such as the military and police.

Actions in strategic nonviolent struggle have three main outcomes - mobilization of the movement's supporters, interruption of the opponent's activities and defection of the opponent's supporters. These can be achieved only through taking action, building your movement's capacity, and taking the offense. When strategically choosing nonviolent tactics, a cost-benefit analysis can be helpful in making the most effective decisions.



# 8. PLANNING METHODOLOGIES: THE POWER GRAPH





## PLANNING METHODOLOGIES: THE POWER GRAPH

Power graph analysis is a method of macro-analysis that can give you a quick, general assessment — a “snapshot” — of comparative power relationships in your society. It provides a broad analysis of strengths and weaknesses of your opponent and your movement. This assessment can assist in directing your focus towards more favorable courses of action for your movement. Still, it can never be a full substitute for a strategic estimate (outlined in the Advanced Course, Lesson A1: Planning Methodologies: The Strategic Estimate), which serves as a source document for all aspects of strategic planning.

**Develop a power graph representing the relative power relationships between the pillars of support of opposing and friendly forces.**

In Lesson 2 we identified the six main sources of power in any given society (Authority, Human Resources, Skills and Knowledge, Material Resources, Intangible Factors, Sanctions). We also learned in Lesson 3 how these sources of power are configured into pillars of support.

The level of support that each individual pillar has for your opponent is not constant. Instead, the support level changes over time. Precise recognition of previous support changes during critical time frameworks is crucial for strategists, because it helps them to evaluate and understand how the support provided by each individual pillar shifts from one political option to another.

### TIP

Support within an individual pillar fluctuates!

## EXAMPLE I:

Serbian case study: Democratic opposition versus Milosevic

We shall develop a power graph analysis for Serbian society at different points in recent Serbian history. Specifically:

### March 9, 1991

The first opposition demonstrations occur in Belgrade Public Square, led by the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) and the Democratic Party (DS). Protesters demand the immediate end of state control over RTS (National TV station) and free and fair elections. Police forces respond violently. Each side suffers the loss of one life during street conflicts.

### Spring 1992

A massive student protest starts at Belgrade University, which then spreads to other university centers in Novi Sad, Nis and Kragujevac. Students, who demand the independence of the university and the democratization of Serbia, proclaim Belgrade’s Students’ Square (a city area with 11 University buildings) to be “free territory.” The protests are unsuccessful and terminate at the beginning of July.

### December 1993

Milosevic’s socialist party loses its parliamentary majority in early elections. Contrary to the will of voters, after a short crisis, Milosevic re-establishes his government with the support of a minor opposition party, New Democracy (ND).

## EXAMPLE



### November 1996

On November 17, while NATO forces settled in Bosnia, elections are held for the Yugoslav National Parliament. The opposition coalition, “Together” (*Zajedno*) wins in 32 municipalities, including Belgrade. On November 20 the Electoral Commission calls for a recount in most of the areas won by the opposition. On November 25 Milosevic annuls the election results, prompting massive demonstrations, mostly nonviolent. On November 27 Milosevic holds a new election, which is boycotted by the opposition. Protests are held and become massive.

### February 1997

On February 4, under pressure from the opposition and the OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe), Milosevic proclaims the restoration of the opposition’s victories in the November 17 elections. Demonstrations still continue, with protestors demanding a revision of electoral policy and an independent and free media.

### October 1998

After months of violent clashes between Serbian security forces and armed formations of the ethnic Albanian minority from the Serbian province of Kosovo, a cease fire is signed. The UN Security Council demands that Milosevic withdraw Serbian security forces from Kosovo and stop oppression of ethnic Albanians. In early October in Belgrade, a dozen university students form a new organization called “Resistance!” (“Otpor!”). By the end of the month four Otpor! members are arrested for spray-painting their symbol — a clenched fist — on walls in Belgrade.

### March – June 1999

After diplomatic efforts fail, NATO launches a series of air strikes on military and industrial targets in Serbia and Kosovo.

Milosevic refuses to yield; after three months of air strikes, which devastate Serbia’s infrastructure and cause the deaths of many civilians, Serbia withdraws troops from Kosovo, which was the primary condition for ending NATO’s bombing.

### January – March 2000

“Otpor” organizes an enormous rally on Orthodox New Year’s Eve (January 13), emphasizing the misery caused by a decade of Milosevic’s rule. The official start of a year-long campaign to defeat Milosevic, together with an appeal to the democratic opposition to unite, is proclaimed.

In 20 cities and towns, Otpor’s activists are arrested and interrogated, and sometimes beaten. Over 60,000 anti-Milosevic posters are put up in 67 cities and towns.

### April – July 2000

The regime levies increasingly heavy fines on media outlets, and one of the infractions is coverage of Otpor’s activity. 100,000 people mass in Belgrade to demand early elections to depose Milosevic, and the two most popular opposition leaders appear together for the first time since 1997. In July 2000, in an attempt to restore his credibility, Milosevic announces early elections and schedules them for September 24. Opposition parties unite and agreed to run one candidate against Milosevic.

### September – October 2000.

Vojislav Kostunica, the opposition candidate, defeats Milosevic in the elections, but the results are not officially accredited. In response, a nonviolent uprising is launched that includes a week-long mass mobilization of millions of civilians and a general strike that lasts for a week and forces the Milosevic regime to accept the opposition’s victory.





In order for you to conduct your own power graph analysis, you must identify the pillars of support that you want to track over a given period of time. These may include:

1. Police
2. Military
3. Civil Servants
4. Students (and Teachers – the Educational System)
5. Workers
6. Business Community
7. Church
8. International Community

Then you must agree on key historical events that you will use as reference points in your graph.

**Serbian Case Study: Democratic Opposition vs. Milosevic**

PILLAR OF SUPPORT	March 9, 1991.	Spring 1992.	December 1993.	November 1996.	February 1997.	October 1998.	March/June 1999.	January/Mar 2000.	April/July 2000.	Sept./October 2000.
Police	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	3
Military	2	3	3	3	3	2	1	2	3	4
Civil Servants	2	2	3	3	3	3	2	3	4	5
Teachers /Educational system	4	5	4	5	4	4	3	4	5	5
Workers	2	3	3	4	3	3	2	3	4	5
Business Community	2	3	3	4	3	3	2	3	3	4
Church	2	3	3	4	3	3	2	3	3	4
International Community	3	3	4	5	4	5	5	4	4	5

**POWER GRAPH EXERCISE – Scaling**

- 1•** Supportive of the opponent & willing to act
- 2•** Supportive of the opponent & willing to act
- 3•** Neutral
- 4•** Supportive of the movement
- 5•** Supportive of the movement & willing to act

**STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 2:**

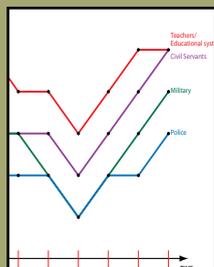
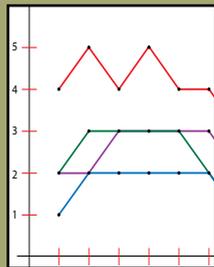
**Interpret reasons for changes in power relationships at different times and identify the strengths and weaknesses of both friendly and opponent forces.**

**Data Interpretation**

Now we can study the data we have entered in our chart. We are not only interested in the numbers, but more importantly, what those numbers can tell us. You can go into group session to interpret the meaning of this data. Below is an interpretation of the data in the Serbian case.

**Observations from the data:**

- Milosevic was winning until 1996-1997.
- Opposition forces lost the momentum gained through the election fraud in the winter of 1996-1997. Still, they were able to successfully proclaim an intermediate victory when their Nov. 17 election victories were restored.
- Milosevic gained power when the use of force was threatened against Serbia
- Citizens' support for the Milosevic government increased during the NATO bombing
- After OTPOR formed, support for Milosevic slowly but constantly decreased.
- Milosevic increased the level of pressure on his opponents by increasing his use of sanctions against them.
- Under pressure to restore his legitimacy, Milosevic made a crucial mistake by calling for early elections in 2000.
- Once united, and with a clear strategic plan, opposition forces defeated Milosevic with a huge wave of public support.
- The police and military pillars of support were different. The military was generally less loyal to Milosevic than the police.
- In order for the opposition to be successful, in their struggle the police did not need to support the opposition. Instead, they only needed to become neutral.



**EXERCISE:**

Identify critical points in time during the history of your struggle. Then, using the pillars of support you previously identified in Lesson 3, prepare an analysis of your own society today.

PILLAR OF SUPPORT	199_	199_	199_	200_	200_
Police					
Military					
Teachers					
Students					
Business community					
Media					

**POWER GRAPH:**

*A great tool for understanding how political power in society can shift from one social group to another during a nonviolent struggle.*

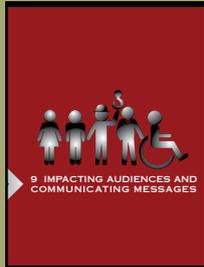
**SUMMARY**

A power graph is a planning tool for macro-analysis of societal power relationships. It consists of identifying key pillars of support and, at selected points in recent history, assigning a numerical value to the support level that each pillar has for your opponent or your movement. Important conclusions about the regime's power and support can be identified. However, because the power graph is static and focuses solely on pillars of support, it is not a substitute for more detailed planning tools, such as the strategic estimate (outlined in Lesson A1 in the Advanced Course). Rather, it is a complement to the strategic estimate and is useful for understanding the relationships and changes in current and past power relations.





**9. IMPACTING AUDIENCES AND  
COMMUNICATING MESSAGES**



## IMPACTING AUDIENCES AND COMMUNICATING MESSAGES

There is an old English saying that “The pen is mightier than the sword”. If those words were written today they would probably be: “The **WORD** is more powerful than armies”. Communicating messages and impacting audiences are essential components of a strategic nonviolent movement. They are necessary to:

- help people to express their discontent, grievances and wishes;
- convey the vision and objectives of the nonviolent movement;
- provide information and facts that the opponent is hiding or does not want the people to know;
- convey messages to various groups within a society or to the population as a whole;
- influence public debate and perceptions;
- influence the opponent’s pillars of support;
- convey information and messages to the media and international community.

### CASE STUDY OF IMPACTING AUDIENCES:

#### The “Marlboro Man”

This MUCHO MACHO man is a cowboy — masculine, tough, strong, independent and good-looking. We are supposed to think that if we consume Marlboros that we will share those features. Philip Morris, the company that produces these smokes, has pulled off one of the most successful psychological operations in history. Adopting the fiction they’ve built, we end up being addicted to a drug that causes cancer, heart disease, emphysema, impotence, and premature aging. We do this because we are shown the Marlboro man, a man purported to be a picture of health and masculinity. In real life, the man was

probably a model, who had never ridden a horse, had lived in a small apartment in a huge city, and, except for photo sessions, had never left the city on any other occasion. And what’s even worse: The Marlboro man himself died of lung cancer!

The point of the Marlboro Man example is that targeted and strategic communications are so powerful that they can even influence people to do things that are harmful to themselves. If millions of people’s lives can be changed by a deceptive message, imagine how many can be influenced by a truthful message!

**Understand the four components of effective targeted communication and recognize and define target audiences.**

**STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 1:**

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In order to communicate messages, you need to decide whom you want to impact (**the target**), what needs to be said (**the message**) and how to communicate things that need to be said (**the messenger**). You also need to know the effect that your message and messenger are having, so you can adjust accordingly (**feedback**). For the purposes of strategic nonviolent struggle, you need to review your strategic estimate and plans to identify your targets and to determine possible messages and messengers.

**1. TARGET**



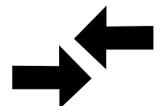
**2. MESSAGE**



**3. MESSENGER**



**4. FEEDBACK**



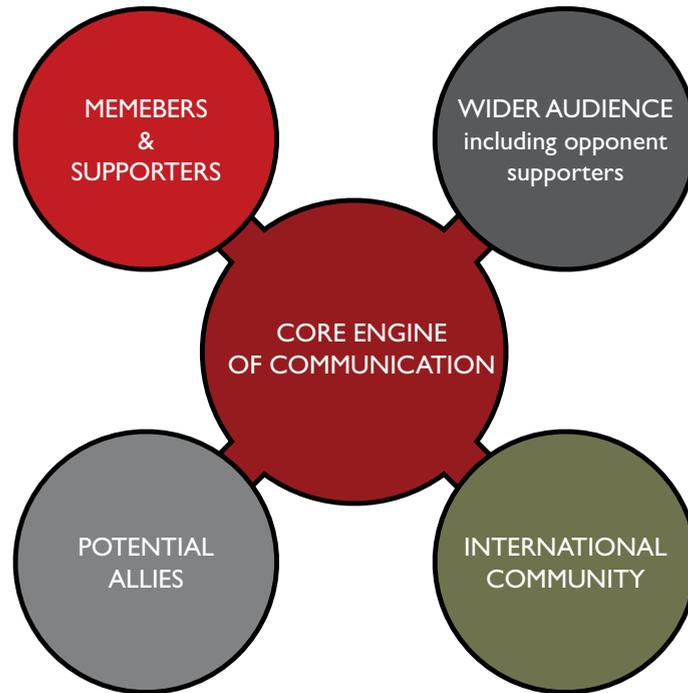
TARGET AUDIENCES IN NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE



MEMBER & SUPPORTERS  
*Otpor Serbia, 2000.*



WIDER AUDIENCES  
*Milosevic supporters*



POTENTIAL ALLIES  
*Otpor attempts to unite the Serbian opposition, April 2000.*



INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY  
*Kofi Annan*

To perform a successful communications operation, you must analyze the different groups that your movement is addressing. Those categories, called “target audiences”, include:

GROUP	YOU WANT THEM TO
<b>MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS:</b>	You want the members of your movement to be bold, motivated and ready to act and even take risks for your movement’s Vision of Tomorrow.
<b>WIDER AUDIENCES:</b> A broad spectrum of audiences: from your opponent and its supporters, to other socially active groups, in society.	You want as many of these individuals and groups, including those who are at this point supporting towards your opponent, to have their sentiments shifted in accordance with your movement, and its Vision of Tomorrow.
<b>POTENTIAL ALLIES:</b> (“other members of the opposition”) Every single group in society that has a similar vision of tomorrow, commitment to nonviolent means, and any noticeable kind of infrastructure.	You want them to unite into a wide coalition, gaining compromises and staying together until your strategic goal is achieved.
<b>INTERNATIONAL TARGET AUDIENCES:</b> International NGOs, foreign media, governments, labor unions, religious groups, the international business community, etc.	You want them to support and promote your Vision of Tomorrow.

**IMPORTANT:**  
The communications expert knows that power is exerted through organizations.

**GOTOB JE!**

**IT'S TIME  
RESISTANCE!**



**STUDENT  
PERFORMANCE  
OBJECTIVE 2:**



Target audience

In order to make targeted communication effective inside and outside of your movement, inner communication channels must operate efficiently. Messages should be conveyed through smooth and rapid communications both “up and down” to ensure that messages are understood, refined if necessary, and that consistent and non-contradictory messages come from the movement leadership.

In order for this to happen, once targeted communication has begun, it should be continuous. This reduces the possibility that the target will use other reference points (such as your opponent’s propaganda) to evaluate the message you are giving to them. You should also keep in mind that if your targeted communication loses its credibility, it will become ineffective. Therefore, all targeted communication must be based upon verifiable facts. To make your points more strongly, you can emphasize certain facts and explain the meaning of the facts. For example, you may choose to emphasize an event or a story that leads to a conclusion that reinforces your movements message.

**Define pre-communication as the analysis of how to impact the target audience’s attitudes.**

### **PRE-COMMUNICATION: GROUND WORK PREPARATION**

*“Pre-communication can be defined as the analysis of the target audience, followed by tailored messages that prepare a target audience to be receptive to major communication campaigns, thereby maximizing the impact of the movement’s messages.”*

- Jacques Ellul in his book *Propaganda*

A farmer studies and analyzes soil conditions. Based upon this analysis of soil conditions, and the market demands for

agricultural products, the farmer makes his/her decision about what crops should be planted. Similarly, communication experts make their decisions about message themes, campaigns and techniques based upon their analysis of the target audience and their objectives. Like the farmer studies soil, the communications expert must study the target population. Some questions to consider asking are:

- Who is the target population? What is their religious, cultural, economic, and political history?
- Is the target population homogeneous or diverse? How so?
- What are the cultural preferences of different groups in the target population?
- What are the valued and admired symbols of social goodness in the target population?
- What language does the target population use to talk about the issues in their lives?
- What are people’s hopes and expectations for their lives?
- What is the gap between these hopes and expectations and the reality of people’s lives?

Based on the answers to questions such as these, the communications expert begins to understand what messages, symbols, words and language the target population will be most receptive to.

**Prioritize objectives of communication using the SETI (Strategic Emotional Tactical Information) model.**

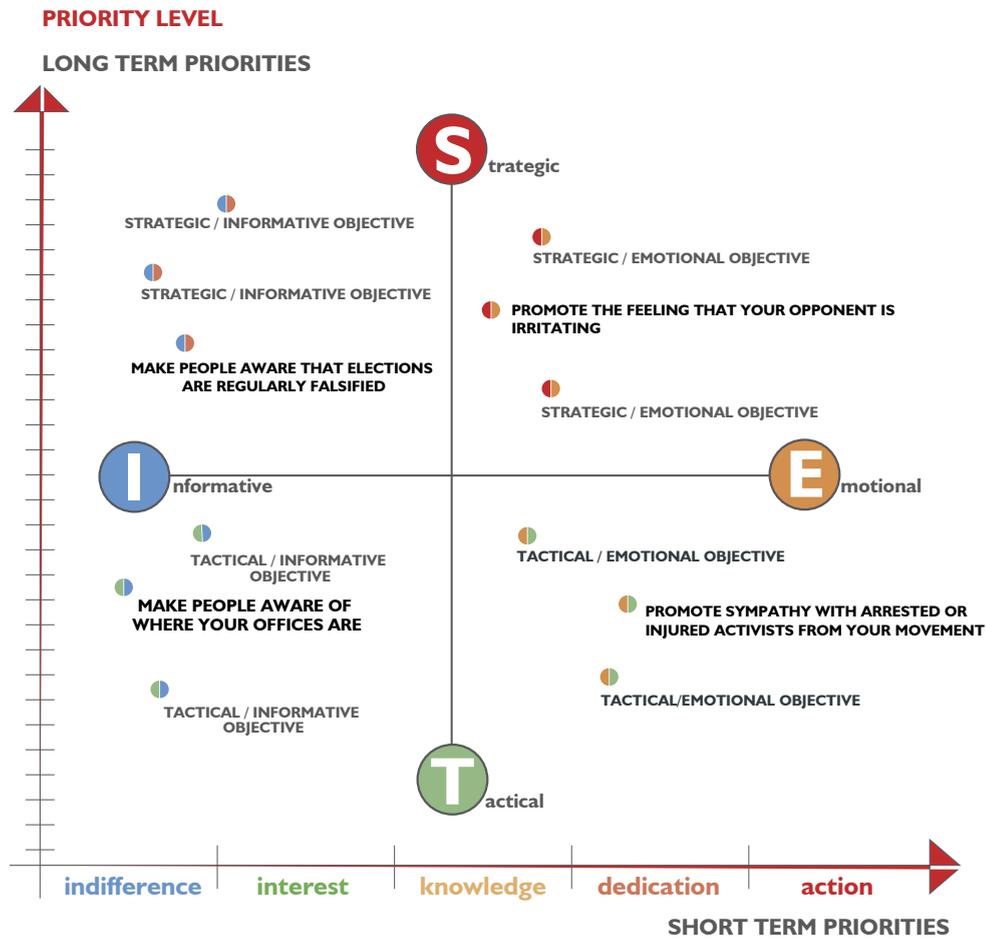
Before your movement starts using targeted communications, you should consider setting the communications plan in order to prioritize your strategic and tactical objectives.



*Highlighting the product’s distinguishing qualities is what “sells” in targeted communication.*

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**STUDENT  
PERFORMANCE  
OBJECTIVE 3:**



**EXERCISE: SETI GRAPH**

- List different communication objectives for different selected target audiences (e.g. farmers, international community, etc.).
- Categorize your communication objectives within chart squares (as is done in the example above), according to your objectives' characteristics.

**SAMPLE OBJECTIVES:**

• “Make people aware of where your offices are.”  
(TACTICAL/INFORMATIVE)



• “Make people aware that elections are regularly falsified.”  
(STRATEGIC/INFORMATIVE)



• “Promote sympathy with arrested or injured activists of your movement.” (TACTICAL/EMOTIONAL)



• “Promote the feeling that your opponent is irritating.”  
(STRATEGIC/EMOTIONAL)



**IMPORTANT:**

The goal of your communications campaign is to move people from indifference to your movement and your Vision of Tomorrow, to interest, to knowledge, to dedication, and finally to action for your movement and your Vision of Tomorrow. This step-by-step process requires you to start with short-term (tactical) informative and emotional communications objectives. As you make progress, you move your communications objectives to longer-term (strategic) informative and emotional objectives.

Ultimately, it is emotional communications objectives that move people to take action, and the effectiveness of your communications campaign in the long-term depends on your capacity to move people toward Strategic Emotional objectives, in the upper- right part of the SETI diagram.

**TIP**

Facts do not speak for themselves, and only obtain meaning when put into context!

**TIP**

The strategist must keep the message clear, and stick to it!

**Message:**

Once the target audience is analyzed, and communication objectives are established and prioritized, you have to define your message. Your message is the limited, clear and truthful information that your nonviolent movement will communicate in order to motivate, persuade, and inspire your target audience to support, and take action for, your movement.

Your message should promote action or should condition people to respond to later calls for action. Your message should relate to your movement's Vision of Tomorrow.

**ISSUES TO BE REFLECTED UPON:**

- Do you want to send the same message to different groups? Why or why not?
- Should different groups (such as farmers and civil servants) get the same targeted communication leaflets? Why or why not?
- What are the traditional beliefs and universal values you want to refer to when addressing members of the clergy or international community representatives?
- What are the ways to obtain some feedback or measure the impact from your targeted communications? (Government reactions, responses from individuals, increases in acts of nonviolent resistance, growth of the movement's human resources or material resources, etc).

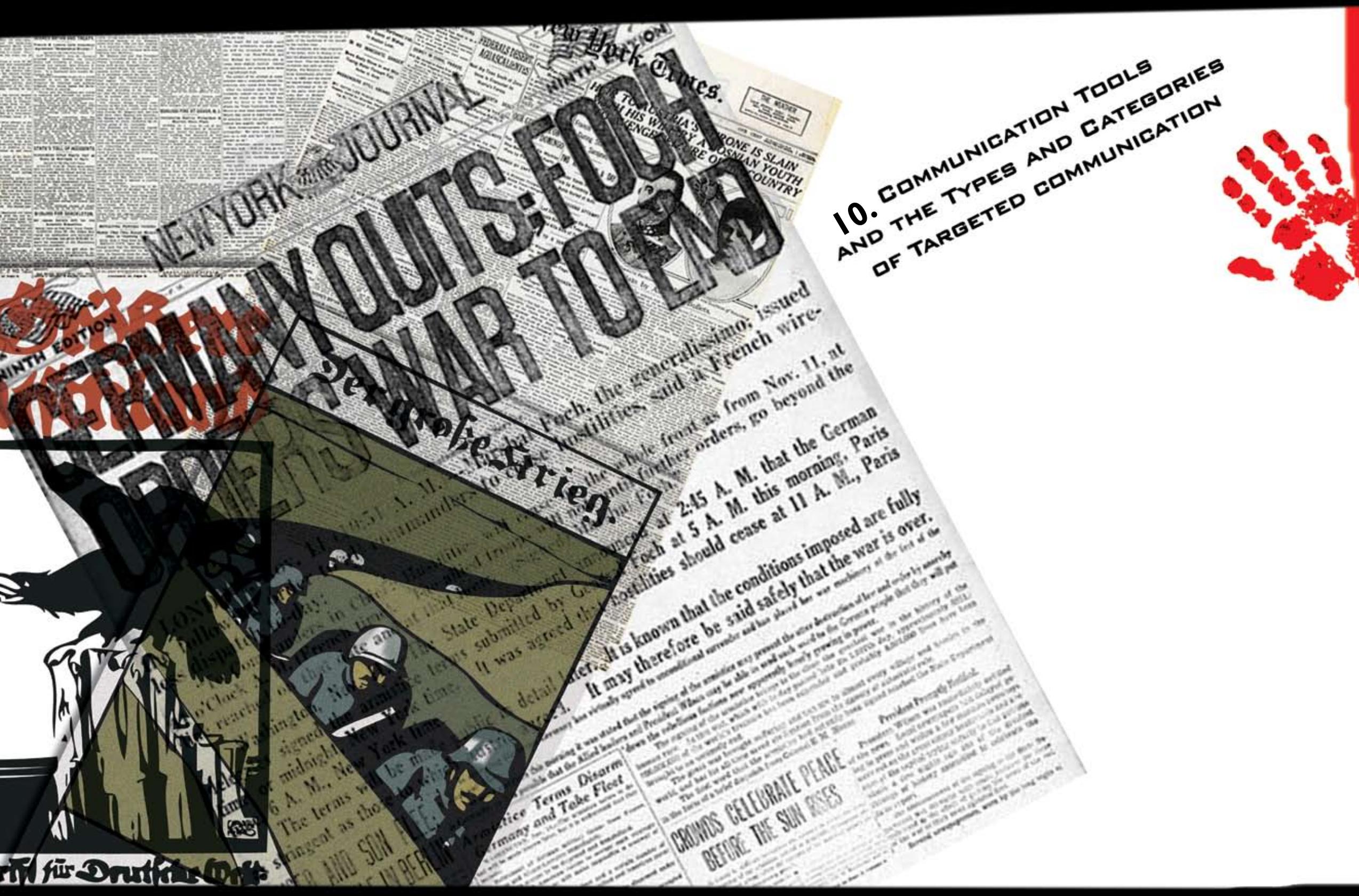
**SUMMARY**

Effective targeted communication requires 1) target identification, 2) a message, 3) a messenger, and 4) a feedback mechanism.

Before undertaking a communications campaign, it is important to analyze potential target groups and define the message and messenger. These activities play a crucial role in understanding how to best impact a target audience. Pre-communication can also be used to help make the target more receptive to later messages.

It is important for nonviolent movements to examine and define four different target audiences (Members and Supporters, Wider Audiences, Potential Allies, and the International Community) and to learn how to prioritize communication objectives for each of those groups. The SETI diagram can be helpful in doing this. Ultimately, it is emotional communications objectives that move people to take action, and the effectiveness of your communications campaign in the long-term depends on your capacity to move people toward Strategic Emotional objectives, in the upper-right part of the SETI diagram.





NEW YORK JOURNAL

NINTH EDITION

für Druffin Out

AND SON

Terms Disarm  
and Take Fleet

CROWDS CELEBRATE PEACE  
BEFORE THE SUN RISES

10. COMMUNICATION TOOLS  
AND THE TYPES AND CATEGORIES  
OF TARGETED COMMUNICATION



# GERMANY OUTS: FOOD WAR TO END

Foch, the generalissimo, issued further orders, go beyond the

It is known that the conditions imposed are fully  
It may therefore be said safely that the war is over.

President Proclaims

President Wilson was

**TIP**

Pick the most effective communications channel for the selected target audience!

**COMMUNICATION TOOLS AND THE TYPES AND CATEGORIES OF TARGETED COMMUNICATION**

Once the map of target audiences is examined, and your communication objectives for each target audience are defined, your next challenge is to pick the right channel for communicating your message to your selected target audience(s).

In order to maximize the impact of your message content on the target audience, you need to distinguish clearly which types and categories of communication are most effective for delivering your message to your chosen audience.

**Recognize different tools for communicating with the wider audience.**

There are a wide variety of tools for communicating your message to a wider audience. Here are some examples:



Symbols portrayed in gestures and in printed communications – a clenched fist on the wall and a gesture by an old lady, Serbia, May 2000.



“He is Finished!” – 1.2 million stickers and more than 60 tons of pamphlets, posters, booklets and other printed materials used during the final phase of the anti-Milosevic campaign in Serbia, 2000.



“Gotov je! 23/9/2000” (“He is Finished!”) and the date of elections – this simple cell phone SMS was distributed to half a million cell phone users during the final stage of the anti-Milosevic campaign in Serbia.

**STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 1:**

**IMPORTANT:**

There are various channels for communicating your message, and a movement’s communications expert has to pick them selectively — by always keeping in mind the distinguishing characteristics of the target audience.

TYPE	DESCRIPTION
<i>Slogans, caricatures, symbols and songs</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Written manually or mechanically, painted, drawn, printed, mimed, gestured, spoken</li> <li>• Communicate directly the ideology of the movement</li> <li>• Identify the movement in low-cost, effective ways</li> <li>• Difficult for an opponent to control</li> </ul>
<i>Banners, posters and displayed communications</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Posted in secret or revealed in public</li> <li>• Posted on existing structures (i.e. walls, sidewalks)</li> </ul>
<i>Leaflets, pamphlets, and books</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Leaflets and pamphlets distributed to the public</li> <li>• Books describe more detailed positions</li> <li>• Legally or illegally produced and distributed</li> </ul>
<i>Newspapers and journals</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Compete with the opponent’s official written propaganda</li> <li>• Legally or illegally produced and distributed</li> </ul>
<i>Recorded music, radio, and television</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lyrics can be taken as a call for action or a voice raised in protest</li> <li>• Compete with the opponent’s official radio and TV programming</li> </ul>
<i>Skywriting and earth writing</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Airplanes can do skywriting</li> <li>• Ground-writing in fields with ploughed dirt, in sand, or by plantings</li> </ul>
<i>Internet websites</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Difficult to trace the source and therefore difficult for the opponent to control</li> <li>• Reach a national or international audience rapidly</li> </ul>
<i>Mass e-mail and cell phone SMS</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Difficult to trace the source and therefore difficult for the opponent to control</li> <li>• Reach a national or international audience rapidly</li> </ul>
<i>Rumors</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Subject of rumor must be of high importance to the target</li> <li>• Must be perceived as based upon known or suspected facts</li> </ul>

**EXAMPLE:**

*The RIGHT and WRONG choice of specific messengers for different audiences: Referring the UN Human Rights Commission to a website in English, and referring farmers who do not speak English and have limited access to electricity, to the same website.*

**STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 2:**

**Distinguish between different types of targeted communication: White, Gray, and Black.**

There are three types of targeted communications:



**1. WHITE**

The author of the targeted communication is truthfully identified. (e.g., Free Elections Organization press release; appeal to the UN by the Human Rights Commission).



**2. GRAY**

The author is not identified. Contents may not be documented.



**3. BLACK**

The author of the targeted communication is intentionally misidentified. In other words, the responsibility for releasing the material is placed on someone else in order to create a problem for the opponent. This form of targeted communication is quite risky, because it may undermine the credibility of whoever is using it. Therefore, it shouldn't be used except by highly trained communication experts and even then, only when no other solution is available.

**Distinguish between targeted communication of agitation and integration.**

**STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 3:**

There are two major categories of targeted communications that reflect the communication expert's intention:

- 1) Targeted communication of agitation
- 2) Targeted communication of integration

**TARGETED COMMUNICATION OF AGITATION**

Agitation taps into the people's dissatisfaction. It encourages members of your wider audience to defy your opponent, and advocates that members of the population participate in the movement and change the established order.

Targeted communications of agitation may aim to end authoritarian rule or some other unjust and oppressive system. While messages of agitation address the individual, they can actually be expressed through group behavior. Individuals might be driven towards taking part in collective action that alters their habits, changes their judgment, and causes them to modify their beliefs. A nonviolent example is a torch light parade or other group actions against symbols of authority. However, agitation messages have also been used by violent, undemocratic groups to intimidate and even hurt civilians, such as in Germany under the Nazis.

Agitation does not address complicated issues, nor does it appeal to idealism. Messages of agitation are primarily focused on people's emotions. The danger is when they are used to create fear and hate, which are often the easiest emotions for them to produce. For that reason, there is always a risk that

**TIP**

Messages of agitation can help to arouse people to action, but a movement must be careful to ensure that people choose to take constructive, not destructive, action.

such messages can incite violence. Nonviolent movements must be aware of this danger and exercise extreme caution when using agitation messages. Even if the movement has no intention of unleashing destructive emotions, they may be aroused. Once unleashed in society, a movement may not be able to control them.

TARGETED COMMUNICATION OF INTEGRATION

The objectives of messages of integration are the reduction of social tensions and the adoption of the values and legitimate authority of the group, movement, or coalition that is fighting oppression. Messages of integration create new loyalties or reinforce existing ones.

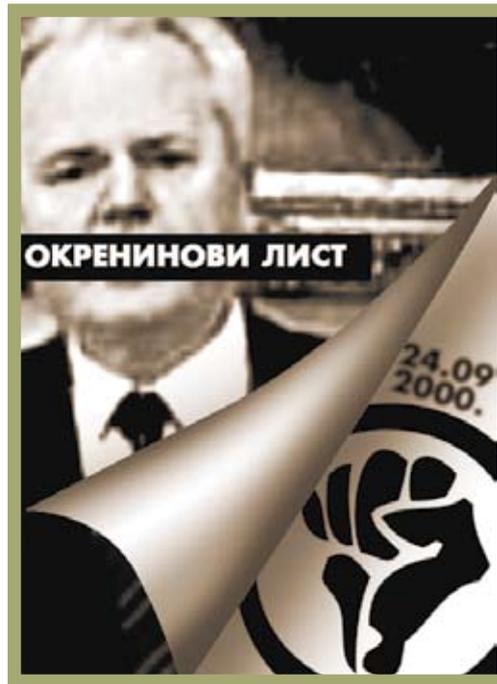
While agitation messages consist of a series of short-term actions, integration messages are conveyed on a long-term basis. They aim towards civic and social stabilization, and the encouragement of values linked to democracy, tolerance, human rights, rule of law, and transparency in each and every segment of the society. Integration messages suggest that there is an alternative to the current oppressive system and that citizens will be the beneficiaries of new socio-political developments.

**IMPORTANT:**

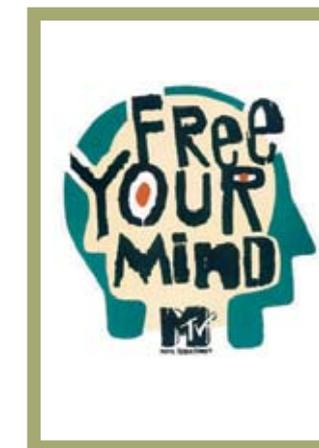
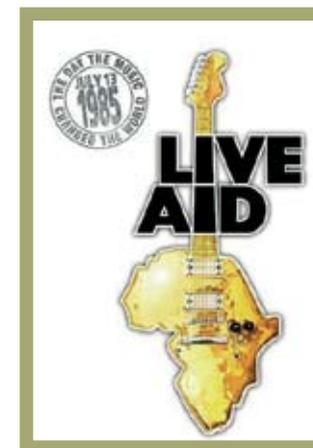
When using agitation messages, always stress the elements of your Vision of Tomorrow that provide an alternative to what you are attacking. This paves the way for your future integration messages.

**TIP**

Focus messages of agitation on a single person or a single policy.

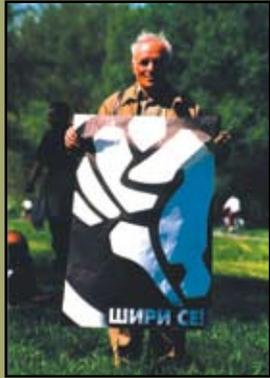


“Turn to a brand new page” – suggesting a vision of tomorrow for Serbian society after Milosevic departs.



**EXAMPLE**

Positive examples of integration messages are well known, such as Live Aid or MTV’s “Free Your Mind award”.



*It is crucial to select the right messenger for your message – OTPOR’s poster “Siri se” (“It is spreading”) appears only in large formats (communicating OTPOR’s growing size) and only features its main symbol — the fist — underlining the spreading of the movement by each person in the movement.*



## SUMMARY

During this block of instruction, we examined targeted communication from three different perspectives:

We identified groups of “messengers” that can carry messages to target audiences, and we have described some of the advantages and disadvantages of each of these messengers.

We also identified three types of targeted communication:

- 1) WHITE – the source of the information is transparently identified;
- 2) GRAY – the source of the information is not identified;
- 3) BLACK – the source of the information is intentionally misidentified.

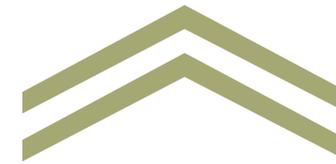
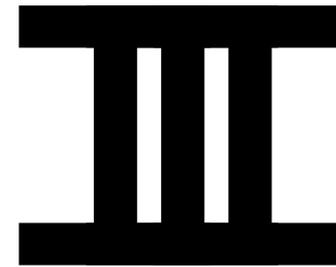
We noted that black “propaganda” is very risky and should only be used rarely and only by highly skilled communications experts.

Communications experts should also keep in mind that agitation messages can motivate people to take action, but they can also create instability and agitated emotions. A movement must be very careful when it uses messages of agitation. On the other hand, integration messages promote stability, social cohesion, and human values. Sometimes, movements use agitation messages to mobilize people and integration messages to ensure that they take constructive action.



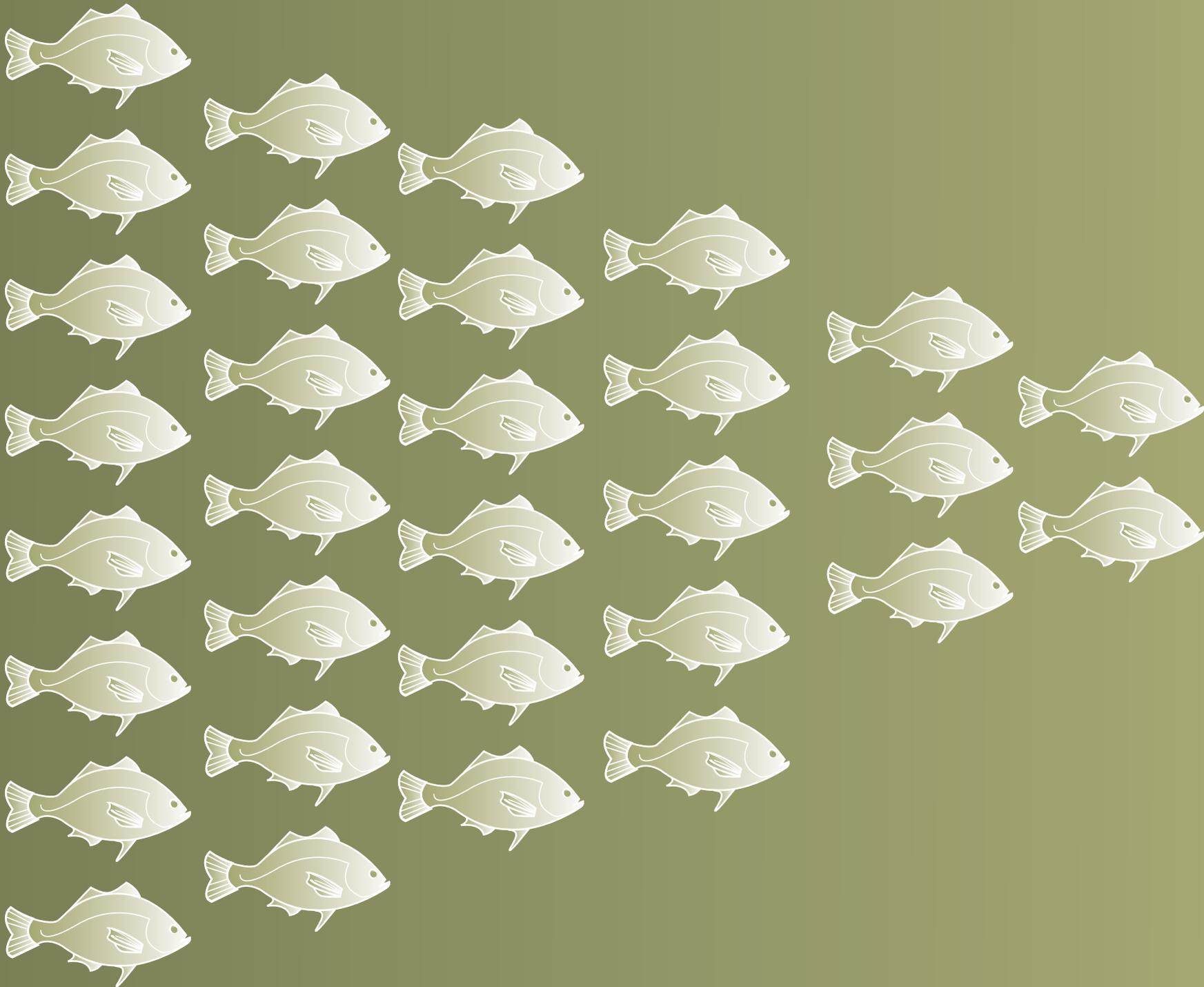


**BASIC COURSE**

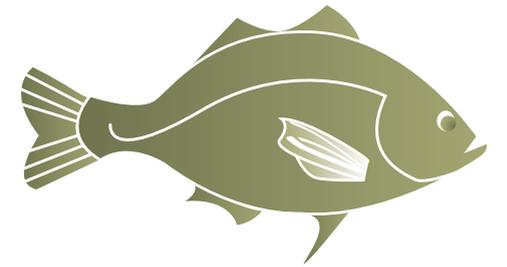


**ORGANIZATIONAL  
AND OPERATIONAL  
CONSIDERATIONS**

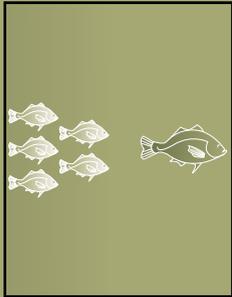




**11. MANAGING A MOVEMENT:**



**LEADERSHIP**

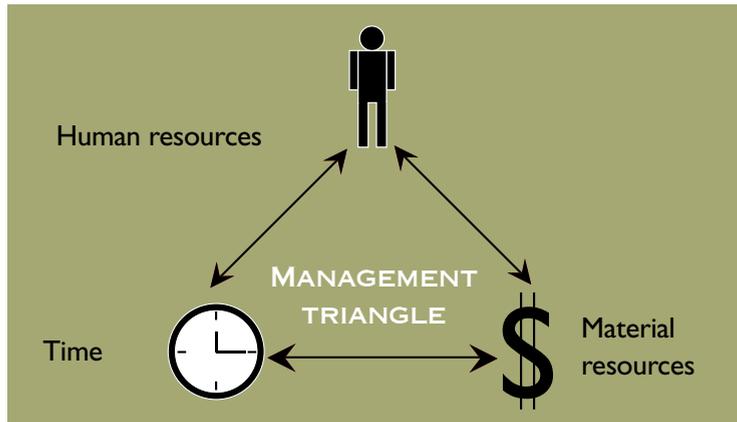


## MANAGING A MOVEMENT: LEADERSHIP

Waging a nonviolent struggle involves three ongoing processes:

- management of the human resources of the movement
- planning and management of material resources
- management of time as the universal resource

(You can learn more about management of each of these resources in Advanced Lessons A2, A3, and A4).



There are three levels of human resources in nonviolent movement: movement leadership, movement members and nonviolent activists, and the general civilian population. In this chapter, we focus on movement leadership.

Leadership is the process of influencing, motivating, and enabling individuals and groups to achieve goals. Leaders animate and influence the way people think about what is desirable, possible and necessary.

It is crucial for a nonviolent movement to apply principles of successful leadership, and to recognize and select a leadership style that will serve the movement in its particular circumstances.

Just as there is no single best leadership model for any organization

in all circumstances, there is also no single formula for determining the best leadership structure for all nonviolent movements. The kind of leadership structure you choose is up to you and other members of your movement. It is a strategic choice.

### Understand the nature of leadership and its role in strategic nonviolent conflict.

The role of leadership in nonviolent conflict is twofold: to make decisions that will shape the conflict, and to serve as the rallying point and source of inspiration, courage and clarity of purpose.

Great political, religious and social leaders throughout history have generally shared three main characteristics:

- **A vision for the future** – this may be shared by a wide base of supporters;
- **Strength of personality** – this often includes willpower, motivation, and commitment;
- **Self-control** – Great leaders do not misuse their authority within the movement.

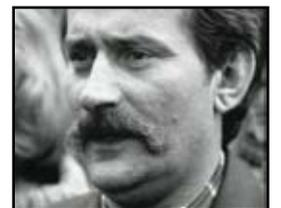
There are many different kinds of leaders that can possess all of these qualities. Some movement's have had high-profile, individual charismatic leaders, such as Gandhi or Martin Luther King, Jr., to lead their struggle. However, high-profile charismatic leaders are not necessary in order for nonviolent struggle to be effective. Some struggles have relied on low-profile leaders and/or used a de-centralized leadership structure as a way to wage their struggle and win. Serbia's nonviolent uprising against Slobodan Milosevic and the former Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution are examples of how a committee or a group empowered to make decisions can effectively lead even if they are personally unknown to most of the movement's activists or population.

In addition, at times a de-centralized leadership structure can be better for a movement because centralized leadership is often

### STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 1:

#### TIP

Not all nonviolent movements require a popular and charismatic leader such as Gandhi in order to be effective!



**LECH WAŁESA**  
former leader of the "Solidarity" movement later became the first democratically elected president of Poland.

#### HUMAN RESOURCES

- Leadership
- Movement members and activists
- Population

#### WHAT IS LEADERSHIP?



**TIP**

Leaders are vulnerable to repression!



MOHANDAS  
GANDHI

*Salt March 1930.*

**EXAMPLE:**

RESISTANCE-  
symbol instead  
of visible  
leadership

more vulnerable to your opponent's repression. Throughout history, resistance leaders have been killed, arrested, deported or neutralized politically (for example by ridicule, cooptation, or [true or false] accusations of scandal). A de-centralized leadership structure can make it more difficult for your opponent to know where to concentrate its efforts to stop your movement. It also means that the movement will continue even if one or several of its leaders are arrested.

As one way to minimize the impact and likelihood of repression against important figures in your movement, it can be helpful to have both low-profile and high-profile leaders in your movement. While externally, the high-profile leaders may make public statements or be the "face" of the movement, the low-profile leaders are better able to work in situations that could require some risk, such as organizing and monitoring certain nonviolent actions or gathering sensitive information. In these situations, a high-profile leader would more likely be arrested, while a low-profile leader may be able to work undetected.

To deal with the issue of repression (arrests, assassination, etc.) against resistance leaders, it is also necessary for the movement to develop deep levels of leadership that cannot be broken during crackdowns, and for lines of succession to be clear. Knowledge of the movement's basic strategy should extend well down through the movement organization, and the success of the struggle must not be tied to the personal fortunes of its leadership. As the movement's authority grows, the opponent will inevitably pay more and more attention to visible figures in the movement, as well as their immediate subordinates. Nonviolent movements must develop a succession plan to survive possible temporary or permanent loss or neutralization of exposed leaders or key decision makers.

The Serbian movement OTPOR! (RESISTANCE in Serbian) was led by a hidden committee, whose members were mainly unknown to the public. They developed a unique and

empowering strategy for all of OTPOR's members, which was also a trap for the Serbian dictator's (Slobodan Milosevic) security forces. OTPOR promoted the concept of "individual resistance", whereby practically every single member was proclaimed a leader. Therefore, every time an OTPOR member appeared in public, he/she would start with the sentence, "I am (name) - one of 20,000 leaders of the RESISTANCE! Movement!" This innovative model encouraged people to join the movement (equal leadership possibilities for everybody) and confused the security forces about who the key people in the movement were, which kept key people in the movement from being arrested or neutralized politically.

Learn seven principles of effective leadership.

STUDENT  
PERFORMANCE  
OBJECTIVE 2:

**SEVEN PRINCIPLES OF EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP**

**1. SET THE (PERSONAL) EXAMPLE** – Where leaders demonstrate honesty, hard work, courage and respect for others and show that they are willing to make personal sacrifices for the cause, those same characteristics will be evident among followers. Systematic corruption cannot be avoided when leaders are corrupt.

**2. KNOW THE PEOPLE YOU EXPECT TO LEAD** – An effective leader must demonstrate care and concern for those he/she is expected to lead. Leaders must create a climate of trust and show a willingness to listen. Community level leaders should make an effort to personally know their supporters, as well as "fence sitters", and make genuine effort to demonstrate concern for them.

**3. BE PROFICIENT IN CARRYING OUT RESPONSIBILITIES** – Leaders are expected to articulate clearly why the struggle must be undertaken, to inspire the

**EXAMPLE**

*With his heroic behavior, imprisoned South African anti-apartheid leader Nelson Mandela set a world-recognized example of brave leadership, and inspired tens of thousands of people within the country and around the globe to share his struggle.*



NELSON MANDELA  
*At the Nobel Peace Prize  
Award Ceremony  
Oslo, Norway, 1993.*

public to participate, and to know how to achieve victory,

**4. SEEK AND ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY** – Conflict environments are characterized by uncertainty, misjudgments, and mistakes. Effective leaders step forward with confidence and fill leadership voids that will appear when a movement experiences a set-back. They also accept responsibility for failure if the movement does not achieve its objectives.

**5. GIVE OTHERS CREDIT FOR SUCCESS** – Good leaders usually do not use the word “I” when discussing a successful event. It was “we” who succeeded. Thus, good leaders show people that they are in the very heart of the things and that their individual participation is what really makes a difference to the success of the struggle. They acknowledge and show appreciation for the participation and contributions of others.



**EXAMPLE:** On January 13, 2000, the Serbian RESISTANCE! Movement organized a huge public performance called “HEROES OF THE RESISTANCE” where some 30 individuals were granted public recognition for their prolific opposition activities in past years. The most “resistful” actors, journalists and rock musicians (who were not members of a movement, but were brave enough to oppose the regime) were given the “FIST AWARD” (a bronze statue designed to look like the popular “Oscar” movie award), and thousands of Belgrade citizens, present at the event in a central square, supported them by shouting their names and applauding for hours.

## 6. LEARN FROM (your and others’) EXPERIENCE

– The most expensive way to learn is from your own mistakes. Thus, effective leaders learn from their and others’ mistakes and successes.

**EXAMPLE:** The successful October 2000 Serbian nonviolent revolution helped to inspire nonviolent uprisings in two countries — but with different outcomes. The model of using election fraud as a trigger for political change was used in Zimbabwe in 2001. It resulted in failure, because the leaders of the democratic movement didn’t have a strategy for using nonviolent action to increase pressure on the government AFTER election fraud occurred. They called for a stay-away, but without a clear demand for the Mugabe regime to step down and a unifying strategy to accomplish it, the result was the collapse of the movement. A year later, learning from the Serbian experience, and avoiding mistakes the mistakes of the opposition in Zimbabwe, the leadership of the Georgian “Kmara” movement developed a strategy months before the election to launch a general strike and mass demonstrations when election fraud occurred. When the movement launched their general strike and mass demonstration shortly after the election, they successfully forced the corrupt, authoritarian president, Eduard Shevardnadze, to resign.

## 7. DELEGATE AUTHORITY AND RESPONSIBILITY

– A good leader never assumes that he/she is the only intelligent person in the movement. Successful leaders know how to challenge and maximize the abilities of subordinates. The right people should be selected for the right positions, and responsibilities for more strategic activities should extend down through the movement leadership, together with a process for delegating responsibility to subordinates. Even the best leaders in history had a 24 hour per day limitation, and their movements would have collapsed if they had tried to do all of the activities themselves. Over-centralization of decision-making is a fatal flaw in any organization!

### EXAMPLE:



“HEROES OF THE RESISTANCE - AWARDS” ceremony, Serbia 2000.

### EXAMPLE



**კმარა!**

The Georgian movement “Kmara” learned from the positive experience of the Serbian struggle

**STUDENT  
PERFORMANCE  
OBJECTIVE 3:**

**Distinguish between four different styles of leadership.**

Leadership styles vary from authoritarian to being democratically “the first among equals”. It is wise to recognize that just because a movement may be striving for democratic change in their society, it may not always be possible for the internal structure of the movement to be democratic. Different leadership styles have different strengths that can be useful to a movement at different times.

<p><b>1. THE AUTOCRAT</b> tells people what to do: Autocrats make almost all of the decisions and pass them down to subordinates to carry out.</p>	<p><b>MAJOR ADVANTAGES</b> of autocratic leadership: It is suited for crises, where decisions and actions need to be immediate. Also, when a group has suffered a defeat, it can draw confidence from a leader who takes charge and knows what to do.</p>
<p><b>2. THE BENEVOLENT AUTOCRAT</b> persuades others to agree with his/her ideas: The benevolent autocrat makes all the important decisions and then convinces subordinates to go along with them. He/she may allow some decisions to be made by a few loyal and trusted subordinates within a framework set by him/her. Rewards as well as punishments may be used to “motivate” people.</p>	<p><b>MAJOR DISADVANTAGES</b> of autocratic leadership: Unlike the army, people in nonviolent movements support their leaders by choice, and therefore are more enthusiastic when they feel part of the decision-making process. Also, if the leadership is not careful, it can become insulated from the movement because it does not regularly solicit or always consider the views of the members of the movement when it is making decisions.</p>

<p><b>3. THE CONSULTATIVE DEMOCRAT</b> consults with others before making his/her decisions: Consultative democrats have confidence in their subordinates and communicate and consult widely with them. Before making decisions they will seek the views of subordinates, but they will have the final say.</p>	<p><b>MAJOR ADVANTAGES</b> of democratic leadership: Everyone knows why and how decisions are made, which builds trust and confidence and fosters innovation. Democratic leadership also provides members with valuable experience for assuming leadership positions themselves.</p>
<p><b>4. THE PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRAT</b> shares the decision making process with others: Participatory democrats have complete confidence and trust in their colleagues and subordinates. When a major problem arises or a decision has to be made, all the relevant actors are called together to discuss the issues and the majority view is taken as the final decision.</p>	<p><b>MAJOR DISADVANTAGES</b> of democratic leadership: leadership reaching a decision can become quite time-consuming when there is a wide divergence of views. In less disciplined movements, democratic leadership may also lead to the expectation that there should be a “democracy” in executing decisions, that is, if individuals within the organization disagree with a decision from the leadership, they may refuse to participate in individual action. This may result in organizational breakdown and divisions.</p>

(Based on Tayeb, M. H., 1996, *The Management of a Multicultural Workforce*. Chichester: Wiley & Sons.)

**ISSUES TO REFLECT UPON:**

1. What are the attitudes and cultural values of the people inside and outside of the movement? Are they changing?
2. What kinds of decisions will the movement leadership be making — broad strategic decisions, detailed tactical decisions, or both?
3. How much does the movement need to emphasize strict discipline and obedience to orders and how much does it want to emphasize individual thinking and creativity?
4. What is the predominant leadership style in your organization at the current time?
5. What is the best leadership structure and style for your movement given your circumstances? Consider what kinds of challenges your movement faces, the kinds of repression your opponent may use, how your leadership structure relates to your overall goals as a movement, etc.



*Charismatic individuals and/or group leadership may lead the movement to success — if they stick to certain principles of leadership!*

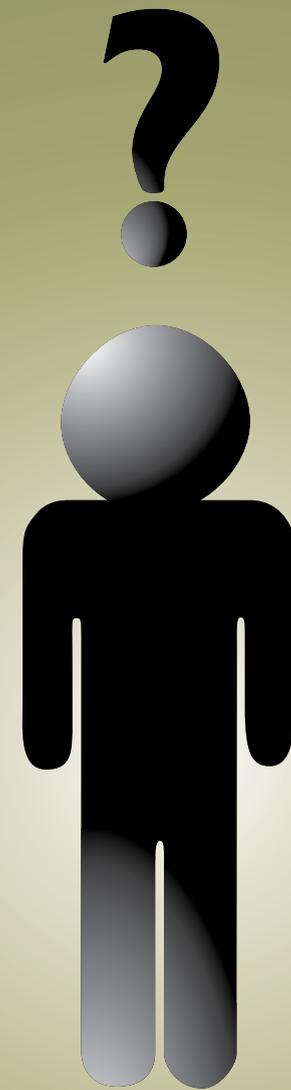
**SUMMARY:**

Leadership is the process of influencing, motivating, and enabling individuals and groups to achieve goals. Leaders animate and influence the way people think about what is desirable, possible and necessary. The role of leadership in nonviolent conflict is twofold: to make decisions that will shape the conflict, and to serve as the rallying point and source of inspiration, courage and clarity of purpose.

There is no universal model of successful leadership in strategic nonviolent conflict. History teaches us that both individual and group leadership may be successful or unsuccessful — depending on the conditions of the particular struggle.

Successful leaders share many of the same key characteristics. No one leader has to possess all of these traits in order to be successful, but all successful leaders have been found to exhibit some of them. Leadership is often situational — requiring more or less of one trait or leadership style than another. It is important to remember that the competence of a leader is more important than the particular leadership style that is adopted.





**12. MANAGING A MOVEMENT:  
DILEMMA ACTIONS**



## MANAGING A MOVEMENT: DILEMMA ACTIONS

Dilemma actions put an opponent in a situation where it must either a) grant a nonviolent movement's demand, or b) act in a way that sacrifices some of its own support and damages its public image.

Historically, dilemma actions have proven to be very important to nonviolent movements. They frequently have been used to expand political space and to give movements small victories that help them build momentum and a record of success.

It is important that dilemma actions are based on widely held popular beliefs and widely reported, and that large numbers of civilians are involved. Also, the greater the popularity of the nonviolent activists leading the dilemma action, the greater the dilemma is for your opponent.

### STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 1:

#### Identify the components of a dilemma action.

Dilemma actions place an opponent in a situation where any action that it takes will result in a negative outcome for it. With these actions, nonviolent strategists attempt to create a “lose-lose” framework for their opponent. There are three major components of a dilemma action:

1. Creating or identifying an issue that is meaningful to the public and around which people will rally. The most effective issues are usually related to government prohibitions or policies that intrude in people's personal lives, or widely spread rumors and personal provocations about unpopular individuals that support your opponent.
- 2) Designing the action.
- 3) Performing the action and benefiting from its outcome.

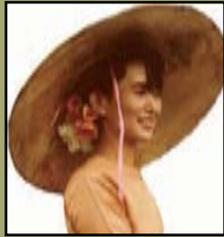


#### EXAMPLE:

*An example of a well selected issue for a dilemma action is Indian leader Mohandas Gandhi's selection of the unpopular British Salt Tax.*

An example of an ingenious dilemma action was the Salt March campaign of 1930, launched by Mohandas Gandhi during the Indian independence struggle against British colonial occupation. Making salt only required boiling sea water and collecting the salt residue, but the British had passed laws granting themselves control of the production of salt and this became a major source of tax income for the colonial government. When Gandhi organized mass defiance of the British salt law, the British government was faced with a dilemma about how to respond. If the British occupiers arrested Gandhi and other salt law breakers, they would look ridiculous for being so repressive about something as simple and basic to everyone's life as salt. This would damage their legitimacy and make heroes out of the activists. However, if they did not take action against the salt

## EXAMPLES OF DILEMMA ACTIONS



Burma  
“farmer’s hat”

law breakers, they would not only lose the salt monopoly and its tax revenues, they would lose authority in the eyes of the millions of people that they were trying to rule.

Another example of a dilemma action was the “Farmer’s Hat” action by the Burmese opposition. The farmer’s hat was the symbol of the National League for Democracy party (headed by the Nobel Prize winner, Aung San Suu Kyi) during the campaign prior to the May 1990 elections. The nonviolent action of simply wearing a hat, which the regime had prohibited as “subversive”, created a dilemma for the ruling military authority (commonly referred to as SLORC). If SLORC arrested people for wearing a common hat, it would lose additional credibility among Burmese. But if SLORC did nothing and allowed people to wear the hat without punishment, then the population could openly oppose the regime!

During the US Civil Rights Movement, in Nashville, Tennessee (and other cities), African-Americans and others who supported them violated a ban that prevented them from sitting and eating at restaurants and department store lunch counters. This nonviolent direct action was designed to not only create a dilemma for local authorities and businesses, but also to overturn the myth that all white people supported racial segregation. Over the course of several sit-ins, lunch counters were disrupted and businesses lost money. Media coverage increased, as over a hundred brave African-American students and white supporters were arrested in the face of police intimidation and violence by citizens. Protest telegrams began to come in from across the country, including from celebrities such as singer Harry Belafonte and former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt. The mayor of Nashville was faced with a dilemma. Keeping the students in jail would hurt the city’s reputation more than allowing them to continue breaking segregation laws. In the end, the movement won and the lunch counters became integrated.



USA  
Lunch counter occupation

In Serbia in 1999, the nonviolent youth movement, OTPOR, used street theatre to ridicule the dictator, Slobodan Milosevic and his unpopular wife, Mirjana Markovic. This cleverly created a dilemma for the police, who were faced with two unfavorable choices — to arrest harmless, popular young people who were making people laugh or to disobey an order to stop the “humiliation” of the dictator and his family.



EXAMPLE: OTPOR’s “A Dime for Change”. In this action, activists attached a picture of Slobodan Milosevic’s face to a large petrol barrel in a central location in Belgrade. People could hit the face with a big bat after throwing into the barrel a few “dimes for change.” Over 300 individuals participated in hitting the barrel, out of which 10 were arrested, together with the barrel.

The purpose of these all these actions — in different parts of the world and for different kinds of struggles — was to create a dilemma for the opponent when its policies did not conform with widely held beliefs or the will of the people (such as people’s belief that they should be able to make salt from the ocean without intrusion, or wear a hat, or sit at lunch counters, or have freedom of expression). Through these and other dilemma actions, strategists have forced their opponent to risk losing support either by granting or denying the demands of the nonviolent opposition.

### EXAMPLE

“A DIME FOR  
CHANGE”  
Serbia, 1999.

## STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 2:

### STEPS TO DESIGN A DILEMMA ACTION

*In order to design an effective dilemma action, the key step is to select the right issue.*

#### Learn the methodology for designing dilemma actions.

THE FIRST STEP in designing a dilemma action is to review the opponent's policies that place restrictions on the day-to-day activities of the population. The more personal and intrusive the restrictions are, the bigger the dilemma will be for the opponent.

EXAMPLE: The government does not generally allow people to express a political opinion, even if it means wearing a piece of clothing.



THE SECOND STEP is to identify those policies that run counter to widely held beliefs, even among the opponent's supporters.

EXAMPLE: The vast majority of people in the country believe that everyone has the right to produce salt or to wear a farmer's hat.

THE THIRD STEP is to identify an action that will put the opponent in a position of either granting the nonviolent movement an exemption to the restrictions or engaging in

unpopular sanctions. Selection of very unpopular individuals within the oppressive system (such as in the “Dime for Change” example) in order to personalize the dilemma action may make the opponent more likely to react strongly, but may also make your opponent's reaction seem even less legitimate. At the same time, selecting popular public persons (actors, sports personalities, local community leaders — “celebrities” in a word) to participate in this action will increase the chances for success. People identify with their respected role models, and if these personalities step out, people will usually follow.

EXAMPLE: A famous Serbian actor, Voja Brajevic, finished a very popular performance in the Serbian National Theatre in late 1999. For this performance, he replaced his usual shirt with a T-shirt with the fist symbol of the OTPOR! movement. Wearing this symbol in public was strictly prohibited, but police were too confused to interrupt the show. Days after, actors and musicians repeated this action all over Serbia, setting brave personal examples for average citizens who were — until then — regularly arrested for wearing this symbol in public, and therefore afraid to take risks.

This example shows how creative and well-planned action increases the costs of intervention for your opponent and reduces the risks and costs of disobedience for ordinary people.

THE FOURTH STEP, or the “post-production”, of a dilemma action is to exploit the opponent's response to the action by gaining as much publicity as possible in order to encourage people to support the nonviolent movement. Strategists must make a public issue EITHER out of the absence of a reaction by the opponent OR because of a clumsy, possibly repressive reaction when a nonviolent group is breaking one of its laws. If it is possible, the skillful use of media is the best channel to achieve this.

#### EXAMPLE:

*Celebrities showing “the fist” – An OTPOR poster campaigns from late 1999, showing famous Serbian actors saluting with the fist symbol of the resistance!*



**STUDENT  
PERFORMANCE  
OBJECTIVE 3:**



**Design two dilemma actions.**

Draw a table with three columns. In the left column, identify and list the most difficult problems that people are facing directly due to your opponent's policies.

Then, in the right column, write down the widely held beliefs of the people that contradict these policies.

In the middle column, develop a "dilemma action" that is based on putting the people's widely held beliefs against the unpopular policies.

**EXERCISE:**

Design two dilemma actions

OPPONENT'S PRESENT POLICY	DILEMMA ACTION	"WIDELY HELD BELIEFS"
Censorship	Publish Buddhist literature	People have the right to read literature
Gatherings are illegal	Gather in large groups for a funeral or a sports match	People have the right to gather in groups
Curfews	Defy the curfew in groups	People have the right to be outside their homes at any time

The opponent is left to respond. It can choose to do nothing or to engage in unpopular sanctions. It is important to note that if the opponent chooses to do nothing in response to a dilemma action, the movement can declare a victory, which strengthens the movement and allows it to pursue further objectives. Some dilemma actions can also plant the seeds of alternative institutions and organizations run by the opposition or nonviolent movement, such as a publishing house or an independent media outlet.

**SUMMARY**

"Dilemma actions" occur when the opponent is put in a position where both a response to an action by the movement, and the absence of a response, will be unfavorable to it. Dilemma actions can be tactical or strategic, and are carefully constructed around an issue that places the opponent in a position of being against widely held popular beliefs or the will of the people.

Dilemma actions can target an oppressive ban, law or social practice. Personalizing the target of a dilemma action, especially against unpopular leaders, may put your opponent in an even more difficult position.

To be effective, dilemma actions should be widely known to the population and permit widespread participation. It may also help if they are led by popular opposition leaders or celebrities.

Historically, dilemma actions have proven to be very important to nonviolent movements. They frequently have been used to expand political space and to give movements small victories that help them build momentum and a record of success.



"I must not fear. Fear is the mind-killer.

Fear is the little-death that brings total obliteration.

I will face my fear.

I will permit it to pass over me and through me.

And when it has gone past

I will turn the inner eye to see its path.

Where the fear has gone there will be nothing.

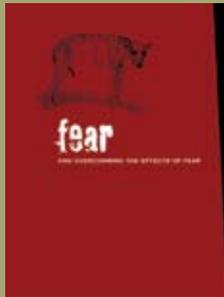
Only I will remain."

Frank Herbert, *Dune*



# 13 fear

AND OVERCOMING THE EFFECTS OF FEAR



## FEAR AND OVERCOMING THE EFFECTS OF FEAR

*“Courage is not absence of fear; it is control of fear, mastery of fear.”*

- Mark Twain

Fear of physical harm or social threat (like losing a job) is an emotion experienced by all human beings during their life. A primary reason that people obey your opponent is fear of sanctions for disobedience. Fear is a normal, instinctive response to a perceived threat. Fear is observed in the entire animal kingdom and therefore has no moral value attached to it. Most of us cannot overcome fear itself. However, all of us can overcome the detrimental effects of fear.

The biological value of fear is that it alerts us to the proximity of danger and the need to be prepared to take action. Instinct provides us with two courses of action — flight or fight. In a strategic nonviolent conflict, your objective is to use rational thought rather than relying on instincts.

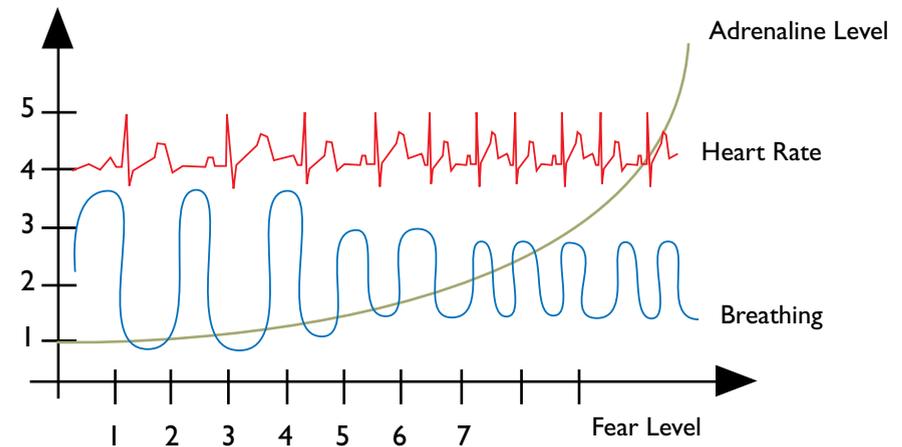
### STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 1:

**Describe the physiological and psychological effects of fear.**

### WHAT IS FEAR?

What is fear? The physiological characteristics of fear result from an increased discharge of neurons from the sympathetic division of the nervous system. This causes blood vessels to contract in the skin and intestinal tract, thus permitting more blood to flow to the heart. This, in turn, causes the heart to beat faster and more strongly. The respiratory rate increases. The powerful hormone adrenaline acts with other hormones to

release increased quantities of glucose, the “fuel” that powers muscles, into the blood stream, thereby giving momentary superhuman strength.



### CASE STUDY: Citations

*He peed in his pants.* (Our body is anticipating a possible abdominal wound. The elimination of bodily waste reduces the risk of infection in case of such a wound.)

*He got COLD FEET.* (Blood rushes away from the extremities to the heart and other vital organs.)

*He was scared STIFF.* (Many animals “freeze” to avoid detection.)

This lesson addresses how to overcome the effects of fear. Fear is like the rain! It falls all over you, but still, there are ways to stay dry.

**TIP**  
Fear is natural and based on instincts!

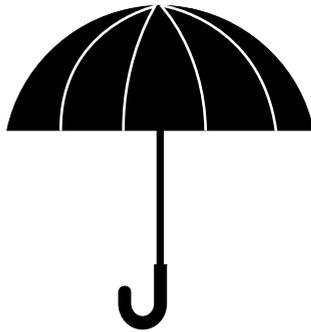
### TIP

Fear is like the rain! You can't stop it, but you can take actions to overcome its effects.

“RAINCOAT AND UMBRELLA”

There is a similarity between fear and rain — both are natural events and can't be avoided, but adverse effects can be minimized in both cases.

OVERCOMING THE EFFECTS OF FEAR



PREPARATION



ACTION

Techniques to overcome the effects of fear can be classified into two groups:

1. Preparation techniques
2. Techniques for conduct during an action

**Preparation Techniques** – before a fearsome event occurs, one should focus on avoiding surprises and fearsome stimuli.



Placing a large banner in front of a march in order to avoid seeing your opponent.



Drummers creating rhythmic noise or singing to smother the sound of riot police rattling their shields.

PREPARATION



EXAMPLES

TECHNIQUE	DESCRIPTION
<i>Avoiding surprises</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Clarify the goals or purpose of the action. (Why am I here?)</li> <li>• Accurately identify risks and possible sanctions</li> <li>• Carefully plan the action</li> <li>• Rehearse the action</li> <li>• Stay focused on the task, not on the opponent</li> <li>• Study the opponent's previous responses and anticipate likely actions</li> <li>• Let everyone know what will happen to them if they are arrested or hurt. Let everyone know that the group will support and take care of them. The key message here is “you are not alone”.</li> </ul>
<i>Avoiding fearsome stimuli</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Using banners to avoid seeing your opponent</li> <li>• Hands on ears or making noise (like drums or singing) to smother the opponent's noise</li> </ul>
<i>Physiological acts</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Concentrate on breathing</li> <li>• Verbalize through chanting, singing, talking or yelling</li> <li>• Use humor to reduce fear within your group</li> <li>• Yawn (this has the same effect as deep breathing since it provides the same amount of oxygen to brain and makes one appear to be calm)</li> </ul>
<i>Emotional considerations</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Accept fear as natural</li> <li>• Consider the realistic consequences of your action</li> <li>• Meditate</li> <li>• Practice religious faith/prayer</li> <li>• Emphasize that the cause is worth the risks</li> <li>• Maintain focus on tasks to be accomplished and their importance to the movement's success</li> </ul>

“UMBRELLA”



Preparation techniques

**IMPORTANT:**  
Attention should be paid to analyzing the effects of fear on your movement, and developing your own system of defense against it.

ACTION



EXAMPLES

2. Techniques for Conduct During an Action – “On site” leaders should focus on minimizing confusion and panic, and maximizing the action’s outcome.



Appear as non-threatening to your opponents’ forces.



Leaders appear calm and confident.



Organize the presence of cameramen and photographers at the confrontation site.



When your opponent controls the situation, consider deferring any confrontation.

TECHNIQUE	DESCRIPTION
<i>Communication within your own group and with your opponent’s supporters</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Members of the movement wear similar clothing, carry symbols and banners</li> <li>Members act non-threatening towards the opponents’ forces</li> <li>Leaders appear calm and confident and are involved in nonviolent actions</li> <li>Avoid feeling alone by staying close together (holding hands, linking arms, etc.), chanting, singing or wearing group symbols</li> <li>Have a large and fast turnout at your public actions (rapid mobilization and safety in numbers)</li> </ul>
<i>Organizational considerations</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Insure that each person is assigned a task that requires his/her full attention during the nonviolent action</li> <li>Make sure that everyone is properly conducting their tasks (e.g., First aid, water supplies, messengers, banner carriers, chant leaders, rank alignment, camera holders, etc.)</li> </ul>
<i>Profiting from the momentum</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Recognize the right moment to declare victory or to command the dispersion of your movement’s members in order to avoid a possible violent confrontation</li> </ul>
<i>Flight</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Whenever possible, you should be the one who picks the time and place for possible confrontation with your opponent’s forces</li> <li>If your opponent takes control of the situation, consider re-scheduling the planned nonviolent action</li> </ul>

“COAT”



Action techniques

**TIP**

Half the success of an action is overcoming the effects of fear!

**THOUGHTS TO CONSIDER:**

If members of your movement are too afraid to take directly confrontational or high-risk actions, it is worth considering if there is a lower-risk alternative action that they could do. It does not help a movement to put its members into situations that they are not prepared for. If your activists are too afraid of one action, it is important to find other actions that they can do.

Also, many activists frequently assume that actions that require great courage, risk, and publicity will be the most powerful and effective actions that they can take. However, this is not always true. Sometimes, low-risk, low-profile, dispersed actions can be more effective. For example, sometimes a consumer boycott can be more effective than a protest, or a stay-at-home strike can be more effective than a public strike. Managing fear in your movement is important, but one of the best ways to do so is to avoid high-risk actions (which can cause fear) unless people are prepared and the actions are necessary.

**SUMMARY**

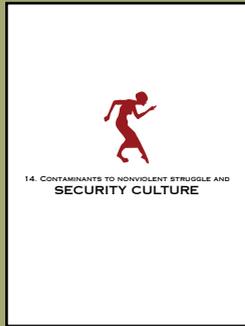
Once you accept that fear is a natural state of your body and mind, and you understand how it is physically and mentally expressed, you do not need to judge others about it or feel ashamed of yourself. However if your movement intends to succeed, you must understand the methods and techniques used to overcome the adverse effects of fear. Removing or reducing fearful stimuli and anticipating surprises, through improved understanding and developed skills and discipline, have proven to be effective.

Trust and confidence in the movement's leadership (which are present when a movement has built up a record of success) and goals also help to reduce fear among people taking part in nonviolent actions. So is the strong belief that one's own best interests are on the same side as the nonviolent movement's.





14. CONTAMINANTS TO NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE AND  
**SECURITY CULTURE**



## CONTAMINANTS TO NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE AND SECURITY CULTURE

In this lesson, we will examine and discuss some problems, risks, and contaminants that can harm your movement. It is important for your movement to understand these contaminants so they can try to prevent them, and to identify and address these contaminants quickly if any of them do appear in your movement. If contaminants are dealt with as soon as possible after they arise, they should not harm your movement too much, but if they are ignored, they can grow quickly and cause even a popular organization to collapse.

**Identify significant contaminants and corresponding risks that are common in nonviolent struggle.**

### I. VIOLENCE

Violence is the most serious contaminant to the success of nonviolent struggle. One single act of violence (or sometimes even just a threat of violence) committed by someone in the movement or a participant at an action may give your opponent the public justification it needs to commit atrocities against the people, and to discredit the movement as seeking unlawful change or even a revolutionary coup. This, in turn, could destroy the effects of months of confidence-building measures undertaken to prepare for a major nonviolent campaign.

Acts of violence will also result in the loss of support from members of the general public as well as groups and individuals capable of reinforcing the moral authority of your movement. Many people do not want to participate in violent change and will leave your movement if they believe that is what you stand for. Furthermore, efforts on your behalf by external groups and international organizations cannot succeed if your movement is perceived as a group of terrorists. Finally, violence tends to push your opponent's supporters closer to your opponent and

makes them more likely to obey orders, but your movements objective is to pull your opponent's supporters away from your opponent and make them less likely to obey orders.

### NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE & DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY

Though different from direct violence against other human beings, the consequences of property destruction or sabotage by your movement can be similar. Property destruction by your movement:

- gives your opponent an excuse to crack down on and lawfully prosecute your movement;
- can easily escalate into violence (especially if the perpetrators are caught in the act of destroying property) or result in unintentional injury;
- can alienate members of the wider public or other potential support groups that do not want to be associated with property destruction;
- tends to obscure your movement's message, because the property destruction tends to become more associated with your movement than your actual message and vision of tomorrow for what you are trying to accomplish.

**Conclusion:** Nonviolent struggle and violence do not mix! Do not permit participants of your movement to engage in violent acts against the government. Avoid even considering violent alternatives to nonviolent struggle, and do not write anything containing references to acts of violence. This is not a moral judgment on the use of violence. It is common sense.

### 2. FOREIGN NATIONALS

Many nonviolent movements attempt to cultivate external assistance as much as possible in order to neutralize outside support or sympathy for the opponent. However, foreigners should not be seen as participating in domestic political struggles, nor should they have any strategic or leadership roles in nonviolent movements, because excessive foreign involvement can be used

#### TIP

Avoid even considering violent alternatives!

#### COMMENT:



*The consequences of property destruction may be harmful to your movement.*

#### STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 1:



*Even though some may join your movement, it is important to prevent potentially violent groups, such as certain soccer fans, from contaminating your nonviolent movement.*

**TIP**

The presence of foreigners in your movement can be used by your opponent to de-legitimize your movement.

**TIP**

Actions without strategic purpose may undermine your movement's grand strategy!

by your opponent to de-legitimize your movement as being a front for outside groups. Therefore, when you develop your organizational chart for the nonviolent movement structure, there should be no foreigners listed on that chart.

### 3. ACTIONS THAT ARE NOT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE STRATEGIC PLAN

In a strategic nonviolent struggle, no action should be conducted without a clear purpose that reinforces the movement's objectives. Ill-conceived or poorly planned actions dissipate scarce resources and create confusion among supporters. There will always be a tendency within movements for some supporters to act as "free agents" and do "something" to support the movement. When that "something" is not in accordance with the movement's overall strategic plan, it can be harmful to the movement. For example, if your movement is engaged in a campaign that uses primarily low-risk actions to fight against corruption in a particular city, it may not be helpful if a group of activists from your movement decide on their own to launch a high-risk protest around the issue of free elections throughout the nation. The movement's strength must be concentrated in order for it to be effective, and actions that are not in accordance with the strategic plan make it more difficult for the movement to do this.

There is a piece of military wisdom that reflects this point: "There are no free spirits on the battlefield." Each unit and individual mission must be designed to directly support the overall mission of your movement. This in no way should inhibit initiative by supporters. Their ideas, creativity, and initiatives should be encouraged but should always be directed towards supporting your movement's grand strategy and campaigns. When your movement has clear objectives and good coordination procedures, it is more difficult for your opponent to sabotage your campaigns.

### 4. EXCLUSIONARY POLICIES

Policies or statements that exclude, or are perceived to exclude, the participation of certain groups or individuals can harm a movement. Exclusivity may cause hostility or apathy. Everyone in the population must know that there is room for them in your movement. As outlined in Lesson 1, your movement's Vision of Tomorrow and overall objectives need to attract the widest possible base of support.

**CASE STUDY:** In the Indian independence struggle some people attempted to keep the movement "pure of heart" by excluding those who did not morally object to using violence (i.e., members of the military). Gandhi thought very differently. His assessment was that members of the military appreciated — and had the ability to conduct — effective civil disobedience. History proved him right, and he was able to recruit supporters for the Indian independence struggle from among the soldiers and policemen!

### 5. EXCESSIVE SECRECY WITHIN THE MOVEMENT

In a strategic nonviolent struggle, very little information needs to be protected. In fact, public statements of what a movement intends to do can be a sign of strength, can heighten support for and participation in nonviolent actions by the general public, and can show that the movement is not afraid. However, some nonviolent movements have also included a clandestine element for practical reasons in order to protect elements of the leadership from repression. Depending on the situation, other aspects of a movement, such its material resources or parts of its strategic estimate (which is outlined in Advanced Lesson A1), may also be kept secret. Still, excessive secrecy can bring paranoia and distrust to the leadership and members of the movement, and can lead to exclusivity of potential supporters. Therefore, a movement needs to carefully consider



INDIA 1930.  
*Members of Gandhi's movement approaching policemen*

**TIP**

Too much secrecy can contaminate a nonviolent movement!



SERBIA 2000.  
Young Otpor activists  
distributing leaflets

what information truly needs to be kept secret, and what the repercussions of keeping that information secret are. Also, if the movement starts as a mostly underground movement, it will need to consider and plan for how it can effectively transfer to an above-ground movement at a later phase in the struggle.

**EXAMPLE:** After hundreds of Serbian activists were arrested and interrogated with the same questions in police stations (“How is your movement financed? Who are the leaders?”), the OTPOR! movement printed answers to the questions, and publicly distributed 100,000 copies of them!

## 6. INHIBITING ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The purpose of an organizational structure is to help the movement to apply its major operational principles: UNITY, PLANNING and NONVIOLENT DISCIPLINE. The organizational structure you develop should make directing a campaign clear and straightforward. Any organizational structure that inhibits the ability to direct a campaign or apply these three principles will significantly reduce the movement’s effectiveness.

A democratic decision-making structure may mean that everyone in your movement feels heard and that decisions are examined from many perspectives, but it can also lead to slow decision-making, slow adaptability, and factionalism. It can also make your movement easier to infiltrate and gain information from.

On the other hand, a highly autocratic structure, which can be adaptable and organized, may place too much power in the hands of one leader, which can lead to unpopular decisions that the movement’s supporters disagree with and to the arrest of that leader by the movement’s opponent. The leader may also be prone to make mistakes because he or she has not considered decisions from enough different perspectives.

These issues need to be considered when developing your movement’s organizational structure.

## Identify and adopt principles of security culture that are relevant to your circumstances.

### STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 2:

Security is not just a list of rules and procedures to be followed. It is also about developing an attitude of awareness of security issues. This awareness should become part of the organizational culture of your movement. Below are three “principles of security culture” to consider that will likely minimize the effects of your opponent’s counter-intelligence activities.

### I. NEVER ASSUME YOUR OPPONENT’S INTELLIGENCE AGENTS HAVE NOT INFILTRATED YOUR MOVEMENT

Plan and act accordingly. Follow a “need to know” rule. If someone doesn’t need to know the names of other members, places, or times of some action or aspect of your movement, don’t give them that information. If you know that a meeting is scheduled for next week, before you inform others, decide if they need to know about it. If they have a need to know — do they need to know about it now, rather than a few hours prior to the meeting? Leaders can set an example by accepting that this rule applies to them as well. For example, if it is not necessary for a leader to know the bank information for the movement, or the storage location of movement materials, that leader should accept that he or she does not know either. This is not about trust. It is about making sure that information stays secure.

Develop procedures for management of email, phone, and fax communications. Look into options for higher security communications, such as encrypted email or skype (www.skype.com) voice communication over computers. Update anti-virus software and password protection of important files. Develop procedures for managing the trash in your office (for example, all sensitive files are shredded). If very important matters need to be discussed, consider meeting in person in an open environment where it is difficult for conversations to be tapped. Develop a network of couriers if needed.

#### TIP

You must assume you are being watched and act accordingly!



## 2. UNDERSTAND THAT CHANGING NORMAL ACTIVITIES OR ACTING DIFFERENTLY CALLS ATTENTION TO YOURSELF

Security services conduct pattern analysis. They analyze patterns of people's and organization's regular behavior. When an organization or individual start behaving differently (breaking the pattern), he/she/it attracts attention. For example, if the your opponent knows that many people do not strongly support it, pretending to support it may attract attention and expose movement members. Movement members may also want expand their friendships and contacts before they start becoming very active in the movement because it seems very



suspicious if a person only contacts and spends time with other nonviolent struggle activists. If you assume you are always being watched, or your phone conversations and email are monitored, you can build a character, and gradually even accept this fact without excessive worrying.

## 3. TEACH YOUR ACTIVISTS "Security culture"

As a nonviolent movement becomes more effective, harassment by your opponent and intelligence and infiltration activities will increase. You must create secure communication channels within your movement. This is more than merely educating movement activists about your opponent and its capability to infiltrate the movement. It also includes acting in solidarity with each other. The best protection is to train activists about what to say, what not to say, and more importantly, how to say things.

Lying, rumors, direct bragging (i.e. telling people what you did or plan to do) and indirect bragging about activities (i.e. implying to people that you did or plan to do, "something" or telling them that you have secrets), as a consequence of your members' need to try to impress people, may attract the regime's agents and lead to the "leaking" of important information. In fact, quite a lot of



### TIP

It is not about  
WHAT one says, but  
HOW one says it!

your opponent's intelligence may be gathered this way. In order to minimize the damage, it is wise to impress upon such persons that they must change this behavior and/or prohibit their access to sensitive information sources (meetings, documents etc).

In addition, activists should be told what to expect if they are interrogated by police or security forces, and given answers to commonly asked questions so that they are prepared. In order to prevent your opponent from obtaining sensitive information about movement plans, **NAMES, DATES AND NUMBERS** should not be discussed in vulnerable environments, including communications over the phone and email.

#### EXAMPLE



#### WRONG:

We should meet at the market at 3pm to discuss news: John Doe wants to join our movement. He is ready to participate at the group meeting to organize the strike planned for next month.



#### RIGHT:

Let's meet at our usual place and time. I had an interesting discussion with a friend of mine that I want to tell you about.

#### IMPORTANT:

Mentioning specific activities, names, numbers and dates is generally acceptable only:

- during a meeting of your group
- if an activist has been arrested and brought to trial
- in interviews for the media by an authorized person

This should be done carefully by an authorized person in a manner that does not compromise security.

#### SUMMARY

Several factors can limit the effectiveness of a nonviolent movement. Violence by movement activists poses the greatest risk. Actions without strategic purpose create confusion among participants. Keeping "everything a secret" usually means nothing is kept secret. An organizational structure that inhibits the application of strategy significantly reduces the movement's effectiveness.

It is important to adopt principles of security culture in order to minimize chances of valuable information being given to your opponent. These principles should be practiced early in the development of the movement, and all new activists should be trained in them.



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15. PLAN FORMAT



## PLAN FORMAT

It is said that a political leader is a person who has a vision and the ability to persuade the public that this vision can and should become a reality. It is also well known from the field of business that “no product may be sold if you cannot persuade the potential buyer within 10 minutes that it is necessary for him/her to have it.” In the same way, part of appealing to people to support your movement is making sure that you can express your vision clearly and briefly. This can be done if you structure your ideas in a systematic way. Similarly, for internal communications within your movement, program and operational documents should also be brief and structured in a standardized format. This ensures clarity as to purpose, actions to be taken, and assigned responsibilities.

In this lesson, we will introduce a common “plan format” that can help a movement to keep its internal communications clear and brief. You may want to adopt this format as it is, or alter it in some way to better suit your needs. Regardless, adopting some sort of plan format has at least four major benefits:

1. First, a plan format guides strategists to ensure that all important information is addressed.
2. Second, the recipient(s) of the plan will be able to understand it on the first reading because it will be clearly organized.
3. Third, the same type of information will always appear in the same place — the reader will always know where to find answers to specific questions (e.g. what, when, why, where, who).
4. Last but not least, adopting a clear plan format can increase the capability of every single activist to explain and spread the movement’s ideas within their own local community.

## Understand and use the plan format for strategic and tactical planning in a nonviolent struggle.

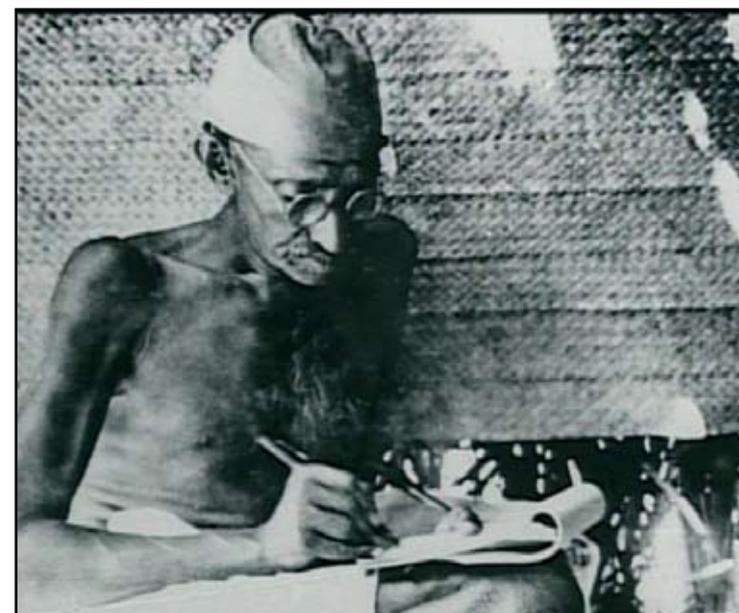
### STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 1:

The plan format can be used for single actions or for entire campaigns with multiple actions on several fronts. The plan format ensures that a reader can find answers to the most important questions he/she has. These questions may include:

- What is the current situational environment in which your planned operation or actions will take place?
- What is your mission and objective(s)?
- What is to be done (planned activity/activities)?
- How are you going to achieve it (concept of operation)?
- Identification of tasks and assignment of responsibilities.
- Essential information regarding support and communications.

#### TIP

Examine all information relevant to your plan!



1. Situation
2. Mission statement
3. Execution
4. Administration and logistics
5. Coordination and communications



**TIP**

The more people know about your mission, the more they can offer to it!

**IMPORTANT:**

It is critical to understand the importance of including “WHY” in the mission statement. People are more likely to do what is asked of them if they understand the reasons for doing so.

The five components of the plan format are as follows:

1. **SITUATION.** This paragraph briefly describes relevant current activities of the nonviolent movement and the opponent in the area in which the planned activities are to occur.

2. **MISSION STATEMENT.** The selection of a mission will likely be influenced by information contained in the power graph (see Lesson 8) or a strategic estimate document (see Advanced Course Lesson A1) or a locally prepared estimate of the situation. This paragraph, concisely and clearly states WHO will do WHAT, WHEN, HOW and WHY.

**EXAMPLE:** “The Committee to Promote Free and Fair Elections, in order to achieve a democratic government, initiates a nonviolent campaign on 1 March 2006 to mobilize the public to support and vote for democratic reform candidates in the parliamentary elections; prevent fraudulent actions at the polls; establish a national “strike committee” to impose nonviolent sanctions against the government in the event election fraud occurs; and prepare for the establishment of a new democratic government.”

3. **EXECUTION.** This paragraph consists of a description of how your nonviolent campaign or action will unfold from the beginning to the end. If the plan is for a full campaign rather than a particular action, it generally will identify all the campaign phases, including preparation and intermediate objectives. Phases can be either time- or event-oriented. In addition, by using the backward planning process (that is, by creating a plan and timeline by looking at your endpoint first and then planning backwards about what needs to happen in order to get to that endpoint [see Advanced Course Lesson A4 for more information]), a planner can identify the critical specific tasks

to be accomplished and assign responsibility for each.

**EXAMPLE:** Planning a Get Out The Vote (GOTV) campaign can be broken into three phases:

During Phase I (preparatory phase) – movement members will be assigned to create a training curriculum and train a cadre to conduct a Get Out The Vote (GOTV) campaign in each voting district.

During Phase II (intermediate objective) – activists in each voting district will receive GOTV training by the trained cadres.

During Phase III (execution phase) – the newly trained activists will provide direct assistance to get voters to the polls, perform exit polling services, and report results periodically throughout the day.

4. **ADMINISTRATION AND LOGISTICS.** This paragraph identifies what administrative and logistical support will be required and how to obtain it. A list of material and human resources, as well as skills and knowledge required to execute the action or campaign, are also included. For example, the action or campaign may require funding, printed materials, films, speakers and entertainers available to support GOTV events.

5. **COORDINATION AND COMMUNICATIONS.** This paragraph explains what is to be communicated, how that communication is to be accomplished, and procedures for coordinating between and among the groups participating in the campaign and/or local activities. This section could include telephone numbers, email addresses, couriers, meeting schedules, etc.



*A non-partisan campaign to get young people to vote in the 1998 Slovakian parliamentary elections, called “Rock volieb!” or “Rock the Vote!”*

**TIP**

Divide your plan into phases!

**STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 2:**

**Apply the plan format to an ongoing nonviolent conflict.**

**EXERCISE:**

Break into groups and — using the plan format — design and present a campaign or action for an ongoing nonviolent conflict. Each individual presentation should not exceed 15-20 minutes.

**TIP**

Determine WHO is going to do WHAT, WHEN and HOW!

Component/Length	Question to be answered	Don't forget
SITUATION (up to 2 paragraphs)	“What is the current situational environment in which your planned operation or actions will take place?”	Examine all information relevant to your plan!
MISSION STATEMENT (1 paragraph)	“WHO will do WHAT, WHEN, HOW and WHY“	Explain to people what they will do, and why they will do it!
EXECUTION (1 paragraph per each phase)	“How are you going to achieve it?”	Identify phases, either time- (“until the date XY”) or event- (“until the presidential elections”) oriented, including preparation and intermediate objectives
ADMINISTRATION AND LOGISTICS (1 paragraph)	“What administrative and logistical support will be available and how will you obtain it?”	List all human and material resources, as well as skills and knowledge, required for the campaign or action and examine their possible sources!
COORDINATION AND COMMUNICATIONS (1-2 paragraphs and contact list)	“How are groups or individuals that are participating in the campaign or local activities going to communicate and coordinate among themselves?”	Procedures and patterns of communication should be supported by a detailed list of contacts of organizations and individuals of relevance!

**SUMMARY**

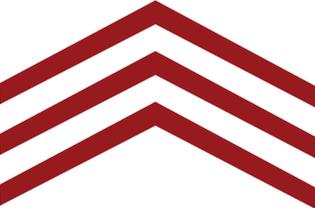
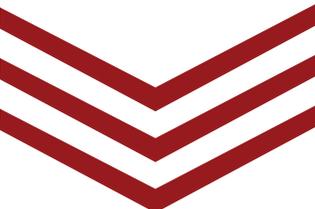
The plan format presented in this lesson provides answers to generally the most important questions that a reader needs to know. Using a standard format like this for planning at every level within a nonviolent movement can help to clarify actions and campaigns for planners and practitioners.

Having a plan format also promotes completeness, conciseness and clarity in communicating essential information for carrying out campaigns and activities. It saves time for both the writer and the reader. The format discussed in this lesson is an example that you may want to adopt, or you may be more comfortable with a plan format created by your own movement. Overall the important points are that movements should consider using some kind of planning format, the format should contain all of the information needed for strategic objectives and tactical actions, and this information should be presented in a standardized manner every time.





**ADVANCED COURSE**



**PLANNING**  
**CONSIDERATIONS**



# A1 THE STRATEGIC ESTIMATE

## I. MISSION You are here

## 2. SITUATION This is what we are aware of

## 3. COURSES OF ACTION This is what we conclude

### 2A. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AREA OF OPERATIONS

### 2B. OPPONENT RELATIVE COMBAT POWER

### 2C. FRIENDLY RELATIVE COMBAT POWER

- a) Geography
  - Topography
  - Hydrography
- b) Climate/ Weather
- c) Transportation
  - Type
  - Availability
  - Speed
  - Locations
  - Vulnerability
- d) Telecommunications
  - Type
  - Availability
  - Acquirability
  - Vulnerability
- e) Politics
  - Current political situation
  - Level of repression
  - Opposition in government
  - Level of corruption
  - Other factors

- a) Opponent military/ police/security forces
  - Strengths
  - Order of battle
  - Location and disposition
  - Reinforcements
  - Logistics
  - Combat efficiency
  - Profile of military
- b) Opponent nonviolent struggle
  - Strengths
  - Weaknesses
  - Pillars of support
  - Demographic considerations
    - Population parameters
    - Education levels
    - Ethnic and religious group densities
    - Economic parameters
  - Political considerations
    - "Natural allies"
    - Organizations
    - Political fissures
  - Security considerations
    - Effectiveness of counter-intelligence
    - Vulnerability for recruitment
    - Organizational vetting procedures
    - Communication
    - Information and documents security

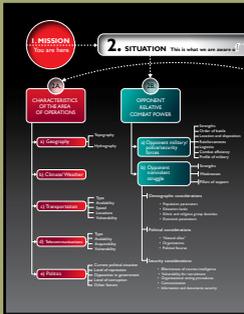
- a) Friendly Military
  - Strengths
  - Order of battle
  - Location and disposition
  - Reinforcements
  - Logistics
  - Combat efficiency
  - Profile of military
- b) Friendly Nonviolent Struggle
  - Strengths
  - Weaknesses
  - Pillars of support
  - Demographic considerations
    - Population parameters
    - Education levels
    - Ethnic and religious group densities
    - Economic parameters
  - Political considerations
    - "Natural allies"
    - Organizations
    - Political fissures
  - Security considerations
    - Effectiveness of counter-intelligence
    - Vulnerability for recruitment
    - Organizational vetting procedures
    - Communication
    - Information and documents security

- a) Assumptions
- b) Opponent capabilities
- c) Our courses of action

## 4. ANALYSIS of opposing courses of action

## 5. COMPARISON of own courses of action

## 6. DECISION This is what we strive for



## PLANNING METHODOLOGIES: THE STRATEGIC ESTIMATE

The strategic estimate of the situation is the most critical planning document in a nonviolent struggle. It provides facts and analysis that are relevant to the struggle, and it requires intense, structured intellectual work focused on determining the most effective and efficient course of action to accomplish a mission. Since a strategic operation plan is derived from the strategic estimate, the quality of analysis and quantity of information analyzed determines the quality of the plan and its chances for success. The importance of creating and developing a sound strategy cannot be over-emphasized. A movement can carry out tactics successfully, but it cannot win if the strategy that those tactics serve is incorrect or inappropriate.

Not only is the strategic estimate essential for building strategic action plans, it is important also in developing policies, responding to crises, and providing different parts of the movement with a source of sound and thoughtful analysis and factual data.

The strategic estimate is a “living document”. This means that it is to be constantly updated with new facts and information. Therefore, it is desirable that someone on a nonviolent movement be assigned as the Strategic Estimate Coordinator. Others will be responsible for gathering, evaluating and submitting information to be included in the estimate and for identifying information in the strategic estimate that may no longer be relevant or accurate.

Because of security concerns there may be some portions of the strategic estimate that should be placed in a classified annex. This classified annex would be available only to those whose “need to know” requires it. For example, information such as organizational strengths (numbers and names), courier routes, inside contacts, etc., are very sensitive and not relevant to every member of the movement or even the staff.

Identify the types and sources of information to be included in a strategic estimate for your struggle. Follow the format for constructing a strategic estimate using the *Strategic Estimate Workbook*.

### STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 1:

The strategic estimate helps strategic planners organize and analyze key information that must be considered in planning a nonviolent struggle.

A strategic estimate has six major parts:

1. **THE MISSION:** What is your group’s “Vision of Tomorrow”?
2. **THE SITUATION:** What information about the land, people, and government contributes the most to the planning of your conflict? What is your opponent’s capacity and ability to wage struggle (also called “relative combat power”) versus your movement’s capacity and ability to wage struggle.
3. **COURSES OF ACTION:** A list of all possible courses of action your movement could carry out.
4. **ANALYSIS OF OPPOSING COURSES OF ACTION:** What could your opponent do in response to each of your possible courses of action?
5. **COMPARISON OF OWN COURSES OF ACTION:** Weighing advantages and disadvantages of each of your possible courses of action.
6. **DECISION:** What course of action are you going to take to achieve your “Vision of Tomorrow”?

### EXERCISE:

Follow the format presented in the *Strategic Estimate Workbook*

**TIP**

Stick to your mission statement in every single moment of your struggle!

**EXAMPLE**

*“The People of (insert country) under (insert name of nonviolent movement) will conduct a strategic nonviolent struggle to achieve a democratically elected government and prevent a coup d’état.”*

**TIP**

Assumptions are substitutes for when you do not have facts, but no assumption is as good as a fact!

**1. MISSION** (pages 4-8 of the Workbook).

You will want to draw from your Vision of Tomorrow (which is discussed in the Basic Course, lesson 1) for this paragraph of your strategic estimate. An effective Vision of Tomorrow can draw support from many parts of society, and can express what the movement stands for, not just what it stands against.

A Vision of Tomorrow also looks beyond immediate goals - for example, ending authoritarian rule, occupation, corruption or discrimination against a minority, ethnic group, or women - to express the long-term changes that you are struggling for in your society.

**2. THE SITUATION** (pages 8-33 of the Workbook)

The second paragraph of the estimate is where you place all of the information that you have about the situation in which your mission will be conducted. You not only examine terrain, transportation, communications and climate and weather, but also the political and military situation of both friendly and opponent forces. You also examine assumptions. You want to know everything there is to know that could impact your operations. The “Situation” part of the strategic estimate is divided into three parts – Characteristics of the Area of Operations, Opponent Relative Combat Power and Friendly Relative Combat Power (Relative Combat Power means the capacity and ability of you or your opponent to wage struggle).

Whatever information you cannot acquire about the terrain, transportation, or any other relevant inputs will have to be replaced with assumptions instead. Recall that assumptions are substitutes for facts - no assumption is as good as a fact. So you want to make as few assumptions as possible.

**2A. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AREA OF OPERATIONS****a) GEOGRAPHY**

If the opponent is likely to respond to your action with military actions, geography provides clues about how it will attempt to respond. Geography can also influence the movement and timing of your nonviolent actions and mobilizations. Geography has two elements:

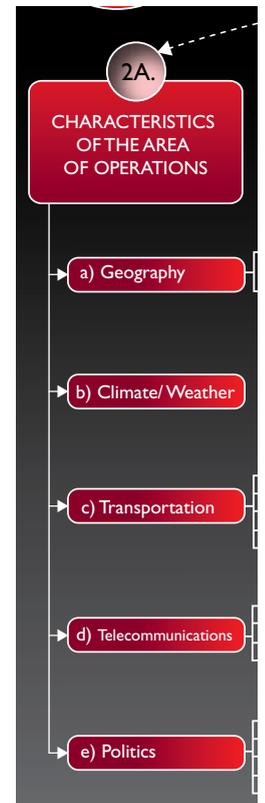
1. Topography. Contour maps provide sufficient information on topography.
2. Hydrography. For purposes of a nonviolent struggle, river and stream crossings are important. For example, talking to local villagers can provide information about the best places to cross streams and rivers at different times of the year. Local people may also be aware of little-known crossing sites that could be used during nonviolent actions.

**b) CLIMATE AND WEATHER**

Most information about the weather that strategists should know is fairly obvious, but the impact of the weather on planned nonviolent actions needs to be taken into consideration. Movement planners can get more information from looking at the weather reports in the newspapers.

**c) TRANSPORTATION**

Couriers travel. Coordinators and activists travel. The army and police travel. People go from city to city or village to village. Material resources travel all over the country. The transportation infrastructure in society is incredibly important. How long it takes to get from Point A to Point B could be critically important for you or your opponent. The first place to look to assess transportation capabilities is schedules for trains, buses, planes and boats. Movement planners can read newspapers and tourist publications, visit train and bus stations, and talk with tourists. You may also want to talk with truckers or train operators.



d) TELECOMMUNICATIONS. What technologies are available to the opponent and to the nonviolent movement?

e) POLITICS. In this paragraph strategists want to describe the general political framework in which the movement must operate. The movement or campaign will, by necessity, be working within the political environment. Therefore, it is important to know about the political currents. Press releases, news reports, personal interviews, reviews of activities, political polls, and the results of previous elections are good places to start.

**2B. OPPONENT RELATIVE COMBAT POWER**

Two aspects of your opponent’s combat power should be examined: a) the opponent’s capacity to use military/police/security forces and b) the opponent’s capacity to wage nonviolent struggle against your movement. The strategic estimate provides a framework for how to analyse both.

**a) OPPONENT MILITARY/POLICE/SECURITY FORCES**

Your opponent’s military and police and other security forces should be analyzed in terms of:

- 1. Strength
- 2. Order of battle
- 3. Location and disposition
- 4. Reinforcements
- 5. Logistics
- 6. Combat efficiency and
- 7. Profile of military

See the *Strategic Estimate Workbook* for more information about what each of these terms means.

**b) OPPONENT NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE CAPACITY**

What are the capabilities of your opponent to wage nonviolent struggle against your movement?

- 1. Strengths: List the strengths of your opponent - what nonviolent actions could it take against you?
- 2. Weaknesses: List the weaknesses of your opponent - where is it vulnerable to nonviolent actions?

3. Pillars of Support: List the groups that provide support and power to your opponent. Note any groups whose support is essential to your opponent’s continued rule.

**OPPONENT RELATIVE COMBAT POWER**

If the opponent is an authoritarian or repressive government, it has an enormous potential for both violent and nonviolent ways to fight the movement. Below are some possible strong or weak points that the opponent may have:

1. STRENGTHS	2. WEAKNESSES	3. PILLARS OF SUPPORT
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Censorship</li> <li>• Ownership of radio, television, and press</li> <li>• Control of all formal education</li> <li>• Financial resources to influence behavior</li> <li>• International recognition and access to world press and other key communicators</li> <li>• Well-trained and extensive intelligence network</li> <li>• Ability to impose sanctions through the military, police, or bureaucracy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Incompetence in government services</li> <li>• Despised by the people</li> <li>• No trained strategists</li> <li>• Sponsored a policy of oppression, or possibly even genocide, against minorities</li> <li>• Slow bureaucratic structure</li> <li>• Inflexible bureaucracy, policies, and rules, which leads to inability to adapt to new circumstances</li> <li>• Incompetency, nepotism, and corruption among civil servants and bureaucrats</li> <li>• Insular leadership and internal decision-making, which leads to mistakes</li> <li>• Possible internal conflicts among officials</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National army</li> <li>• Militias</li> <li>• Police</li> <li>• Intelligence forces</li> <li>• Media</li> <li>• Foreign investors</li> <li>• Business community</li> <li>• Government institutions, i.e., judiciary, electoral commission, central bank</li> <li>• Civil servants</li> <li>• State-owned resources, e.g., oil, natural gas, minerals</li> <li>• External actors, i.e. foreign governments, organized crime [drugs or arms traffickers, etc.]</li> <li>• Religious groups</li> <li>• Political parties</li> </ul>

**EXAMPLE**

*Opponent Relative Combat Power*



- Demographic considerations
- Population parameters
  - Education levels
  - Ethnic and religious group densities
  - Economic parameters

4. Demographic considerations: Which of the following demographic considerations are important when considering the strengths and weaknesses of your opponent? If they are important, find or estimate the numbers and explain why they are important. Also, look for trends and changes in these numbers over time. Think about:

- Population parameters such as numbers, age structure, sex ratio, growth rate, birth rate, death rate, infant mortality rate, immigration/emigration rates, life expectancy, public health indicators [i.e. drug addiction, access to clean water, incidence of hunger, HIV/AIDS rates, etc.], crime rates)
- Education levels, literacy rates, languages spoken
- Ethnic and religious group densities
- Economic parameters (household incomes, percent in poverty, inflation rates, unemployment, currency exchange rates)

**EXAMPLE**

*Opponent Demographic Considerations*

OPPONENT DEMOGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS
<p>a. General (used in analysis of both sides) An example follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Population (exact number) 0-14 yrs.: (e.g. 36%) (female) [number]; male [number] 15-64 yrs.: (e.g. 60%) (female) [number]; male [number] 65+ yrs.: (e.g. 4%) (female) [number]; male [number]</li> <li>• Population growth: %</li> <li>• Birth rate: number of births/1000 population</li> <li>• Death rate: number of deaths/1000 population</li> <li>• Population densities occur in (enter cities).</li> </ul> <p>b. Distribution of college graduates supporting opponent</p> <p>c. Etc.</p>

5. Political Considerations

- “Natural allies”: List groups of people whose interests are being served by your opponent (and who therefore may be willing to give assistance to your opponent).
- Organizations: List specific societal organizations whose interests are being served by your opponent.
- Political fissures: Where are there weaknesses in relationships within these groups and organizations that can be exploited?

OPPONENT POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS		
a. “Natural allies”	b. Organizations	c. Political fissures that can be exploited
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Soldiers</li> <li>• Police</li> <li>• Civil servants (which?)</li> <li>• Businessmen (which?)</li> <li>• Some members of the religious establishment</li> <li>• External actors (i.e. members of organized crime, trading partners, etc.)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National army</li> <li>• Police</li> <li>• Business groups</li> <li>• State-run media</li> <li>• Militias or para-military organizations</li> <li>• Religious institutions</li> <li>• Veterans’ organizations</li> <li>• External organizations (e.g., foreign governments, regional partners, world powers [drug traffickers, arms smugglers, etc.]</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Army versus police</li> <li>• “Moderates versus hard-liners” within the government</li> <li>• Government versus laborers</li> <li>• Junior officers versus senior officers</li> <li>• Privates versus non-commissioned officers</li> <li>• Political rivalries and competitive ambitions among people in political parties or the ruling elite</li> <li>• Business rivals</li> </ul>

**EXAMPLE**

*Opponent Political Considerations*

6. Security considerations: This section explores how you might access your opponent's protected information.

- a. Effectiveness of counter-intelligence: What are your capabilities for penetrating your opponent's group or any groups that support your opponent? What risks are involved in this? Who within your opponent's group may be vulnerable for recruitment into your group? What kind of information might they provide access to?
- b. Organizational vetting procedures: What does your opponent currently do to keep infiltrators out of its ranks? How can you overcome those obstacles?
- c. Communications: How are messages transmitted between members of your opponent's organization? Where are they vulnerable?
- d. Information and document security: How does the opponent secure its sensitive information? Is there any way to get around their security?

2C. FRIENDLY RELATIVE COMBAT POWER

Information about the current capabilities of opposition groups to wage nonviolent struggle can be obtained from those who are or have been active in nonviolent opposition against your opponent or your opponent's supporters. It is useful to learn about different organizations opposed to your opponent, their degree of cooperation with each other, what their previous nonviolent actions were, the locations of actions, numbers and types of activists and civilians that were involved, the objectives and strategies of prior campaigns, lessons learned from past actions, etc.

a) FRIENDLY MILITARY

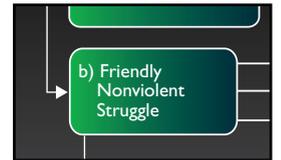
There may be groups that are sympathetic to the goals of a nonviolent movement but that want to use armed struggle. Keep in mind that a military component within a nonviolent movement is never recommended, and that violence, as well as armed individuals, are among the most dangerous contaminants to nonviolent struggle. However there have been cases where external factors (for example the NATO alliance) used military intervention against a movement's opponent. The

movement leadership must carefully weigh the risks of struggle contamination should a military component be admitted into the conflict.

b) FRIENDLY NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE

What is your movement's and sympathetic groups' overall capacity for nonviolent struggle against your opponent?

1. Strengths: List your strengths. You may want to look at the six sources of power (discussed in the Basic Course, lesson 2) and ask yourself how much of each source your movement has. You may also want to ask what range of nonviolent actions is your movement currently capable of taking against your opponent?
2. Weaknesses: List your weaknesses. Where are you vulnerable to actions that may be taken by your opponent? It may help you to look at the six sources of power as you consider this.
3. Pillars of support: List the groups that provide you with support and power.

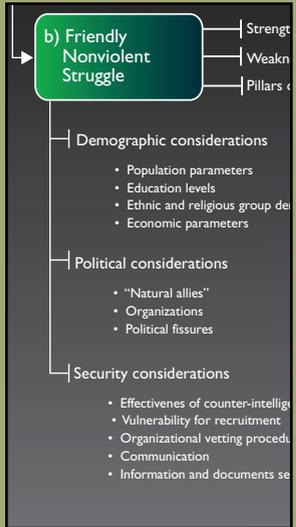


EXAMPLE

*Friendly Nonviolent Struggle*

<b>FRIENDLY NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE</b>
While the opponent's pillars of support are a major focus of the movement's efforts, it is important to assess the nonviolent movement's own "friendly" pillars of support.
<b>PILLARS OF SUPPORT</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nongovernmental organizations</li> <li>• Religious institutions</li> <li>• Alternative media or other information channels</li> <li>• Labor or trade unions</li> <li>• Political parties and coalitions opposed to your opponent</li> <li>• Educational organizations or institutions</li> <li>• Ethnic minority organizations (in-country and international.)</li> <li>• Multilateral institutions (e.g. United Nations, etc.)</li> <li>• International civil society/democracy/human rights organizations</li> <li>• Diaspora groups</li> </ul>





4. Demographic considerations: Which of these (below) or other demographic considerations are important when considering your strengths and weaknesses?

- a. Population parameters such as numbers, age structure, sex ratio, growth rate, birth rate, death rate, infant mortality rate, immigration/emigration rates, life expectancy, public health indicators [i.e. drug addiction, access to clean water, incidence of hunger, HIV/AIDS rates, etc.], crime rates)
- b. Education levels, literacy rates, languages spoken
- c. Ethnic and religious group densities
- d. Economic parameters (household incomes, percent in poverty, inflation rates, unemployment, currency exchange rates)

5. Political Considerations:

- a. “Natural allies”: List groups of people whose interests are being served by your movement (and who therefore may be willing to give your movement assistance).
- b. Organizations: List specific social organizations whose interests are being served by your movement.
- c. Political fissures: Where are there weaknesses in relationships within these groups and organizations that could be exploited by your opponent? How might you mend — or prevent exploitation of — these fissures?

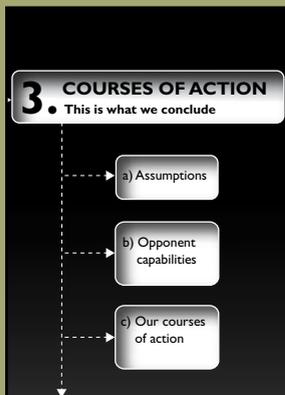
FRIENDLY POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS		
a. “Natural allies”	b. Organizations	c. Political Fissures
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Businessmen (which?)</li> <li>• Students</li> <li>• Farmers</li> <li>• Laborers</li> <li>• Teachers</li> <li>• Minority groups</li> <li>• Movement’s members</li> <li>• Poor people</li> <li>• Some members of the religious establishment</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Some religious groups (which?)</li> <li>• Opposition political parties</li> <li>• Environmental groups</li> <li>• Human rights organizations</li> <li>• Professional organizations (trade and labor unions)</li> <li>• Regional and multi-lateral institutions (i.e. the United Nations)</li> <li>• International nongovernmental organizations (which ones?)</li> <li>• Local nongovernmental organizations (which ones?)</li> <li>• National or international foundations</li> <li>• External actors (i.e. foreign governments)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Political fragmentation is almost always widespread among the opposition. The most serious disagreements should be identified and resolved.</li> </ul>

**EXAMPLE**

*Friendly Political Considerations*

**EXAMPLE**

Communication techniques that may provide some security include: Couriers, drop-offs, pre-arranged codes, encrypted email, such as Hushmail, ([www.hushmail.com](http://www.hushmail.com)) secure voice communications, such as SKYPE ([www.skype.com](http://www.skype.com)) internet-based telephony, and other forms of computer communications



6. Security considerations: This section explores how your protected information may be vulnerable to discovery by your opponent.

- a. Effectiveness of counter-intelligence: What are your opponent's capabilities to infiltrate your group? What can you do to prevent this? Within your movement, who may be vulnerable to recruitment by your opponent? Is anyone vulnerable to blackmail by the opponent? What kind of information might they provide access to?
- b. Organizational vetting procedures: What is currently being done to reduce opportunities for infiltration by opposing forces?
- d. Communications: How are messages transmitted between members of your movement? How secure are these methods? Where are these methods vulnerable?
- e. Information and document security: What procedures are in place to secure your sensitive information (consider physical and digital security [i.e. anti-virus software, password protection, and backup data])? Is there a chain of custody for these materials?

### 3. COURSES OF ACTION

At this point in the strategic estimate we start using the information obtained and the assumptions made.

#### a) Assumptions

In putting together the strategic estimate, and in determining possible courses of nonviolent action, strategists may need to make assumptions because it is impossible to have access to all of the necessary facts and information.

When you make assumptions, there is a danger that your assumptions will be incorrect. Because your strategy will be based on the facts and assumptions in your strategic estimate, incorrect assumptions can lead to a flawed strategy. Also, information and facts can change, and therefore it is important to know what information in your strategic estimate is concrete, what information has the potential to change, and how such shifting information may affect your strategy.

Examples of common assumptions:

- The police and military will not attempt to beat thousands of nonviolent resisters marching in the street.
- The opposition political parties will unite and support the movement.
- Foreign governments will not provide assistance to the nonviolent movement.
- Attention from international groups and the international news media will restrain the opponent from using violence.

Some of these assumptions may be correct. Others may be incorrect. The most important thing for a planner to know is that they are assumptions, and therefore not as reliable as facts.

#### b) Opponent Capabilities

By reviewing and analyzing information about your opponent, you identify its capabilities that could affect your possible courses of action. Your estimate of your opponent's capabilities will be based on the assessments you did in section 2A (Characteristics of the Areas of Operations) and 2B (Opponent Relative Combat Power).

#### OPPONENT CAPABILITIES

- Arrest, murder, or exile of the movement's leadership.
- Violent suppression of major civil unrest in major population centers (with degrading of its capabilities to conduct military operations in other areas).
- Obtain the cooperation of neighboring countries' military and intelligence organizations to isolate and limit the effectiveness of groups that may support the movement from across the border.
- Attack and seize the movement's headquarters and local offices. Confiscate property.

It should be noted that the opponent's capabilities can change. Successful actions carried out by the nonviolent movement can reduce and limit the capabilities of the opponent. Therefore, this section of the strategic estimate must be updated over time.

**EXAMPLE**

*Opponent Capabilities*

**EXAMPLE**

c. Own Courses of Action (CA)

Given all the information you have gathered and analyzed so far, what are the possibilities for nonviolent action for your group? Describe all the possible courses of action (even the ones you do not plan to use), from what “no action” (doing nothing) would look like, to what “extreme action” would look like, and everything in between.

**COURSE OF ACTION 1**  
National nonviolent struggle for political change or self-determination

A strategy to systematically establish movement strongholds throughout the country, with objectives to:

- Recruit members for the nonviolent movement
- Consider and make preparations for country-wide mobilization
- Distract and confuse the opponent with multiple, dispersed targets
- Conduct nationwide nonviolent operations targeted at the opponent’s pillars of support to undermine political support and loyalty for the opponent or oppressive system

**COURSE OF ACTION 2**  
Issue-specific nonviolent campaigns. Issues will include: corruption, human rights, racial/ethnic/gender discrimination, poverty

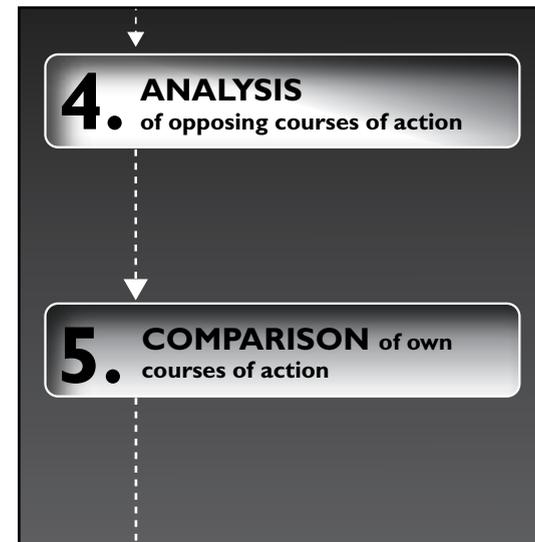
A strategy to establish nonviolent struggle groups in targeted geographical locations and/or among targeted sectors, with objectives to:

- Recruit members to the nonviolent campaigns
- Struggle for victories on specific issues by targeting specific pillars of support relevant to those issues
- Put opponent in dilemmas by choosing issues that force it to choose between accepting the movement’s demands or delegitimizing itself through fighting the movement
- Win intermediate victories to help build confidence in the movement, attract new members, and unify the opposition
- Consider and make preparations for larger-scale mobilizations

**COURSE OF ACTION 3**  
Let current trends continue (do nothing different)

Outline what the movement is doing presently, and include:

- Any nonviolent campaigns and actions, however small
- The number of active and passive supporters in the nonviolent movement and in similar organizations
- The opponent’s response to the movement’s actions and to actions of similar groups



AO1

#### 4. ANALYSIS OF OPPOSING COURSES OF ACTION

In this paragraph, you try to determine the impact of each opponent capability on each of your own courses of action.

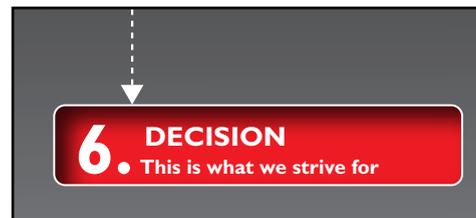
#### 5. COMPARISON OF OWN COURSES OF ACTION

In this paragraph, you try to determine and compare the advantages and disadvantages of each course of action based on your priorities and factors that your movement feels are most important. For example, you may feel that it is highly important to keep civilian casualties to a minimum. This would affect how you evaluate different courses of action.

#### 6. DECISION

Given your evaluation of the possible responses of your opponent, and the strengths and weaknesses of each course of action (Sections 3 and 4), the strategic estimate planners will make a decision on which course of action nonviolent movement will pursue.

The course of action decided upon is translated into a completed operational mission statement (as explained in detail in the Basic Course, lesson 15: Plan Format).



STUDENT  
PERFORMANCE  
OBJECTIVE 2:

Interpret data from the *Strategic Estimate Workbook*.

#### SUMMARY

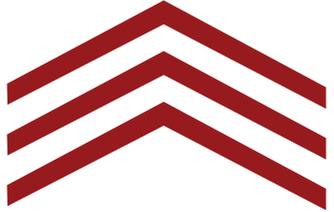
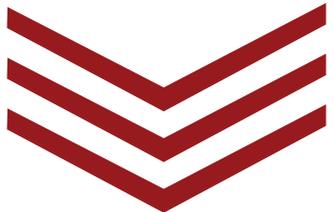
At the most basic level, the strategic estimate is a calculation and comparison of the strengths and weaknesses of the nonviolent movement and its opponent, as seen within the broad social, historical, cultural, political and economic contexts of the society in which the conflict occurs.

The strategic estimate is a critical document for the strategic planner. It is a time-consuming process to complete, but it is also an investment in your struggle. A well-prepared strategic estimate gives planners a common framework of facts, analysis, and (only when necessary) assumptions. This can contribute greatly to the success of the struggle by helping them to identify best courses of overall action for the movement, specific campaigns, and effective tactics. In essence, a movement's strategy flows from the analysis in the strategic estimate. The strategic estimate is a "living" document and must be constantly updated. The format of the strategic estimate is designed to help strategists to think clearly, even under pressure.



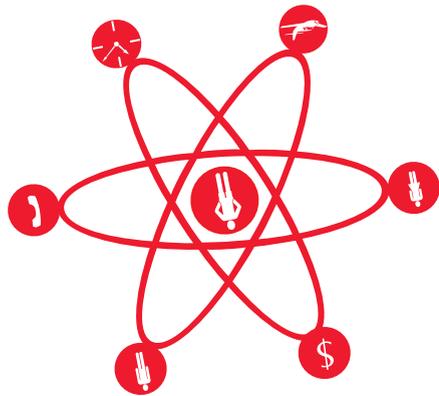
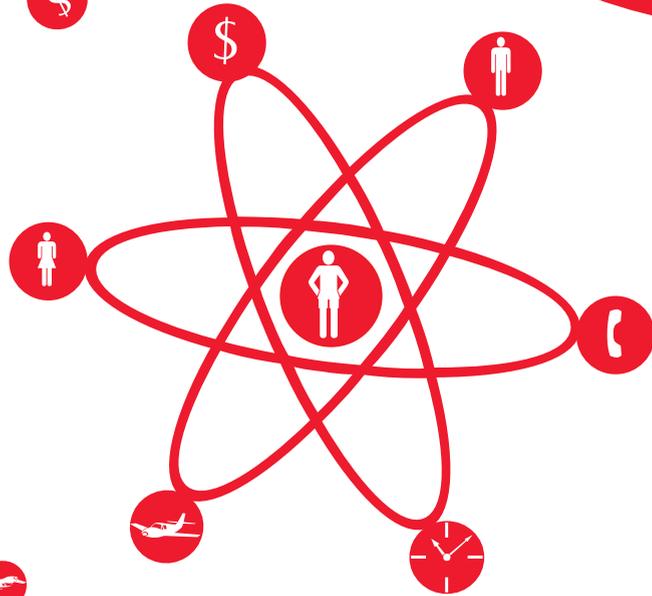
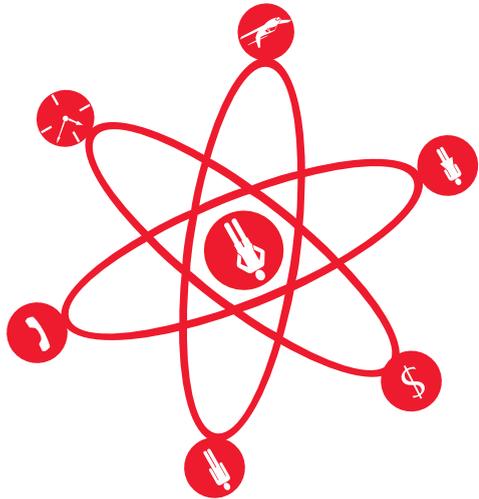


**ADVANCED COURSE**



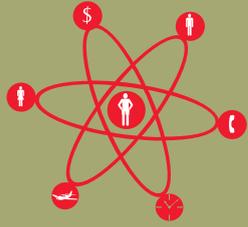
**ORGANIZATIONAL  
AND OPERATIONAL  
CONSIDERATIONS**





## **A2**

**MANAGING A MOVEMENT:  
MATERIAL RESOURCES**



## MANAGING A MOVEMENT: MATERIAL RESOURCES

Building and managing a nonviolent movement are complementary, mutually reinforcing activities. The more you build the movement, the more you will need to understand the principles of how to manage the movement's key resources. These key resources are: human resources, materials resources, and time.

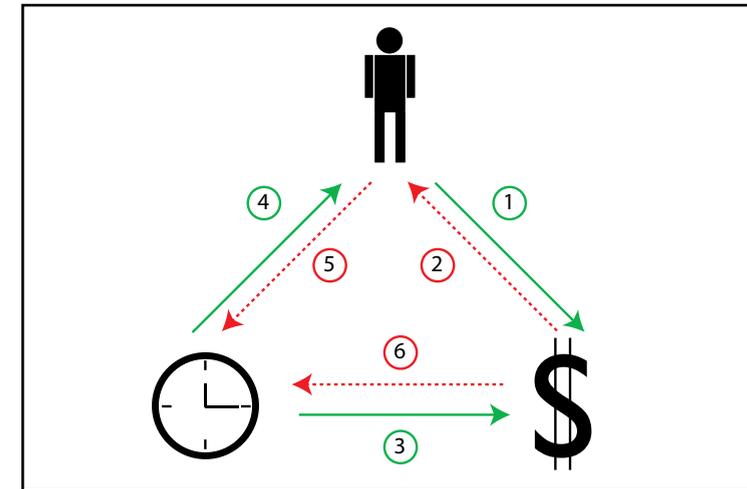
Human resources consist of the people who support the movement or campaign, along with their collective efforts and labor. Effective management of human resources is crucial in order for a movement to obtain mass numbers of supporters, and to utilize the invaluable skills and knowledge that people bring to a movement.

Material resources include tangible assets such as money, supplies, communications equipment, property, and modes of transportation. Needs assessment and material resources planning helps a movement to function operationally.

Time of course is a finite and non-renewable resource. A movement can try to raise more money or recruit more people, but it cannot regain time that has been lost. Therefore, time must be carefully planned and used in a strategic way in order to gain maximum efficiency from human and material resources.

In this lesson, we will discuss effective management of material resources. In order to do this, however, we must look at the relationship between the movement's three key resources. Effective management of material resources is related to the effective management of human resources and time.

**Recognize the importance of key resources — Human, Material, and Time — in building a nonviolent movement.**



*Mutual influence of key resources*

The three key resources are considerably dependent on each other. For example, the recruitment of new activists for a movement increases the possibility of access to critical material resources (1), but material resources are needed and used during the process of recruiting and mobilizing new activists (2).

Carefully planned time will enable a nonviolent movement or campaign to maximize the effectiveness of both its material (3) and human (4) resources, but this will also have a cost (5) both in terms of engaging people (working hours) and material resources (6) (from coffee for meetings to travel expenses, etc.). Time is valuable and non-renewable. As Benjamin Franklin, the American inventor, diplomat and writer once said “Lost time is never found again.” The backward planning process — in which you plan an action by working backwards from the end to the beginning in terms of activities and dates — is a useful tool to avoid wasting this precious resource.

Thus, growth of each of the key resources can have a positive impact on other two. Conversely, a crisis in one resource can adversely affect the others as well.

**STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 1:**

**STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 2:**

**Understand basic principles of accumulating and managing material resources.**

**TIP**

Maximize the impact of your material resources by using them wisely!

In order to conduct a successful campaign, material resources need to be obtained and secured. Successful management of materials resources can help a movement to function operationally even under great oppression. Decision-makers should conduct needs assessments, and volunteers should keep track of the resources used for every single activity. In this way, during each phase of the campaign, an accurate picture exists of where and how resources are being used and where changes need to be made.

Nonviolent movements also need to keep an ongoing inventory of available resources, prioritize the use of those resources in accordance with strategic plans, and conduct ongoing cost/benefit analyses for all materials obtained in order to maximize the effectiveness of their use.

**IMPORTANT:**

How a movement manages their material resources, and particularly money, can promote unity or create divisions. For example, some movements have fallen because of jealousy or accusations of profiteering by paid staff. To avoid this, some successful nonviolent movements, such as Otpor, chose not to pay any of their officers or members. The issue of whether or not to pay a movement's core members is one that must be carefully considered in light of the potential risks that this involves!



MATERIAL TYPE	EXAMPLES
Essentials needed for survival and to maintain morale	Food, shelter, clothing, medical aid, funds for victims and out-of-work people
Materials needed for communications and transportation	Computers, mobile phones, transmitters, supplies, vehicles, bicycles, gasoline, bus, train and airplane tickets
Materials needed for fixed operating costs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Office space</li> <li>• Telephone, fax, internet, copying machine, computers</li> <li>• Postage (both for newsletters and general correspondence)</li> <li>• Office supplies</li> <li>• Coffee</li> <li>• Officers' expenses (if any!)</li> </ul>
Materials needed for direct nonviolent actions (campaigns)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Flyers, brochures or other recruitment materials</li> <li>• Event room rental</li> <li>• Refreshments at social events and work-parties</li> <li>• Newsletters (printing, paper, postage, photographs)</li> <li>• Media releases (printing, paper)</li> <li>• Posters</li> <li>• Expenses related to hosting speakers (hotel, meals, promotion)</li> <li>• Rewards or incentives for workers (if any!)</li> <li>• Travel and registration expenses for delegates to provincial or federal conventions and seminars</li> <li>• Other campaign expenses, if a campaign is expected</li> </ul>

**EXERCISE:**

Using a group brainstorming session, discuss what resources your movement needs, and how those resources can be acquired. The table provides some examples of resources that are useful to many movements.

POTENTIAL SOURCES OF MATERIAL SUPPORT

**TIP**

Governments don't have friends, they have INTERESTS!

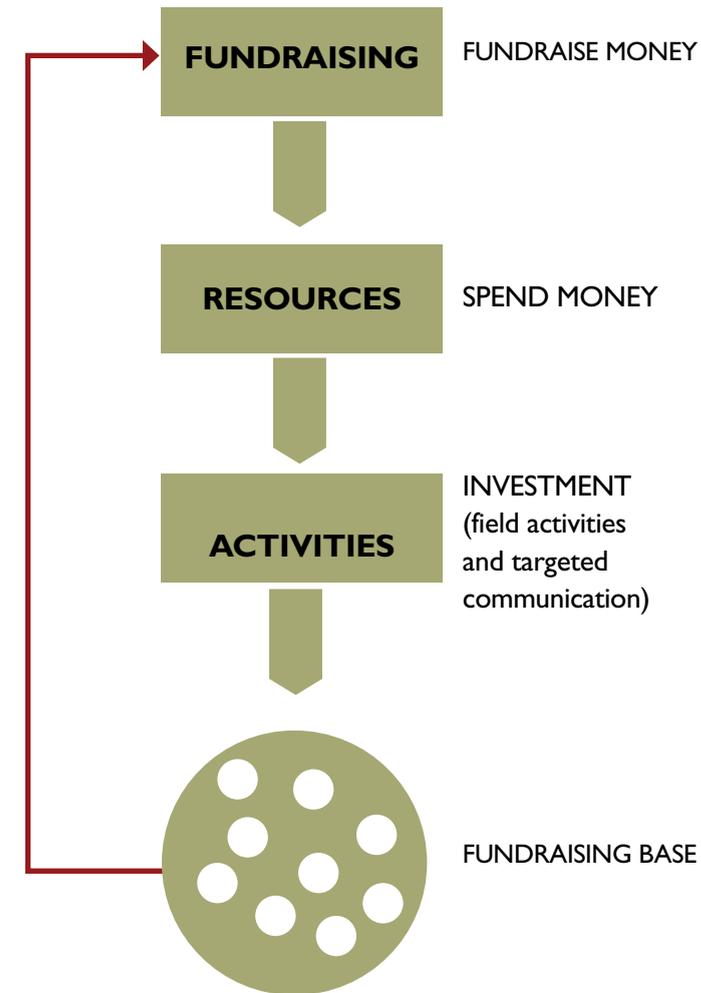
Nonviolent movements always face the challenge of getting different sources of material resources. Sometimes the support is entirely domestic, and other times the campaign or movement can obtain a limited amount of international assistance. Domestic support has come from local civil society groups and non-governmental organizations, businesses, religious institutions, unions, professional organizations and committed individuals. Youth groups have also frequently tapped an age-old source of support — their families!

Nonviolent movements and campaigns can also seek assistance from the international community, such as multilateral organizations, international nongovernmental organizations, members of the diaspora community, foundations, organizations or aid agencies supporting democracy, human rights, and civil liberties, unions, and religious institutions. However, nonviolent strategists must exercise care to ensure that international support does not hinder, disrupt or exert too much influence over the homegrown movement's goals or activities. Sometimes international organizations are encumbered by slow bureaucracies, rigid mandates, or "experts" who think they either know more than the "locals" or are better decision-makers.

**WARNING:** All international groups have their own interests and agendas. It is critical that nonviolent movements not to be drawn away from their own domestically developed strategies in an attempt to attract potential funders.

Groups that may potentially support your movement can be addressed by your movement's communications. You may need to emphasize different aspects of your struggle depending on the interests of the potential supporter. Representatives of

nonviolent movements will be more effective in dealing with sources of support for material resources if they have strong language, negotiation and grant-writing proposal skills.



**PICTURE:**

*When fundraising is done effectively, it creates a cycle in which your fundraising base continues to expand*



### SUMMARY

Three key resources of successful nonviolent movements and campaigns are time, material and human resources. They are complementary and mutually-reinforcing of one another.

In order to conduct a successful campaign, material resources need to be obtained and secured. Needs assessments should be made for each upcoming activity. The upgrading of a movement's material resources should strictly follow both the movement's overall growth and increase of activities.

Crucial skills for fundraising and securing material resources include proficiency in foreign languages, negotiations, and grant-writing. Nonviolent strategists must exercise care that international support does not hinder, disrupt or exert too much influence over the homegrown movement's goals or activities. Sometimes international organizations are encumbered by slow bureaucracies, rigid mandates, or "experts" who think they either know more than the "locals" or are better decision-makers.





**A3**  
MANAGING A MOVEMENT:  
HUMAN RESOURCES



## MANAGING A MOVEMENT: HUMAN RESOURCES

“Human resources” are the people who dedicate their time and skills to your movement. The importance of volunteers to a nonviolent movement lies in their numbers, the free working hours that they dedicate to the struggle, and the skills, knowledge and social networks that they provide to your movement. Thus, to build a strong movement it is crucial to:

1. Continually recruit those interested in your movement or the issues that your movement is focusing on
2. Constantly reach out to potential supporters for whom direct involvement is not feasible
3. Train your new members and draw on their skills, knowledge, and social networks

People join groups for different reasons. You must understand these reasons in order to attract them to your movement and its Vision of Tomorrow and also to motivate them to act.

Activists (volunteers) are the infantry and field power of a nonviolent movement or campaign. Without them victory is not possible. There are two types of activists: those who provide skills and knowledge behind the scenes, and those who engage in nonviolent direct action. Any long-term campaign must build a base of both types of supporters.

### Understand the importance of human resources.

There are three reasons why human resources are so important for a nonviolent movement.

1. **NUMBERS:** Human resources are a source of political power in and of themselves. When you have numbers, you increase both the authority of the movement and its capacity for mass action. By increasing numbers, a nonviolent movement becomes a credible force against an opponent.
2. **WORKING HOURS (TIME):** Secondly, and equally as important, volunteers provide free labor to a movement or campaign. They donate their time and energy.



### EXAMPLE

**HE IS FINISHED!**  
— even the youngest kids were interested in contributing to the Serbian national campaign in 2000.

**CASE STUDY:** Being in a position to command over 30,000 people in the “He’s finished” campaign, the Serbian nonviolent movement OTPOR! was probably for a short period mightier than many international corporations. Why? Simple mathematics shows that having 30,000 people working four or eight hours a day provided the movement with more than a million working hours per month — the equivalent of a strong international business company.



India 1930.

### STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 1:

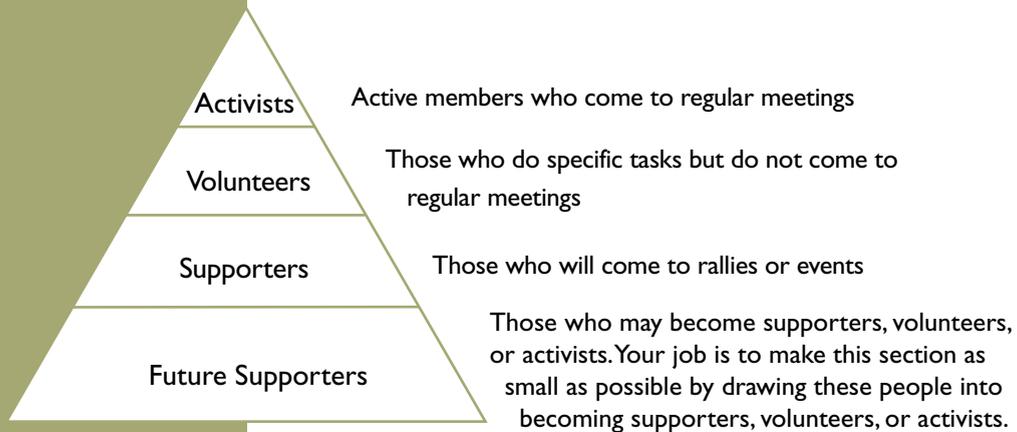
**STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 2:**

3. **SKILLS:** Last, but not least, are the skills, knowledge, and social networks that people bring to your movement. For example, using a computer, creating a website, communicating clearly, organizing people, and fundraising are some of the skills that movements and campaigns may need in order to function, grow, mobilize citizens, undermine the opponent, and succeed.

**Learn how to manage and upgrade human resources.**

**A key component of managing human resources is building your base of supporters. But how is that done?**

Once a few movement supporters are enlisted, human resource management begins. The next important step is building an activist base. An effective model/method to do this is to compile a “master list” of all the names of people who have signed in at various meetings or activities. This list should be divided into four sections:



Every single name on this master list is a very important source of power for a nonviolent movement. Every person has skills, knowledge, and social networks (e.g. someone’s friend or relative may be a police officer, university professor, businessman, religious figure, or civil servant, etc.). It is very important that both the leadership and the activists in your movement understand this fact.



**TIP**  
Every activist is important for a nonviolent movement!

An important part of building a movement or campaign, even at the very beginning, is keeping supporters engaged/interested and advancing their skills and responsibilities, which is called “human resource upgrading”. Past experiences show that within the first month of recruitment, there is a tendency for activists to leave the movement — which means a lot of unused human resources will be lost — unless these new supporters are continuously engaged.

Continual human resource upgrading is necessary at every level of the movement, from the grass-roots level to the leadership. If you want to maintain the momentum, you need to give volunteers simple and achievable tasks that lead initially to small successes and victories.

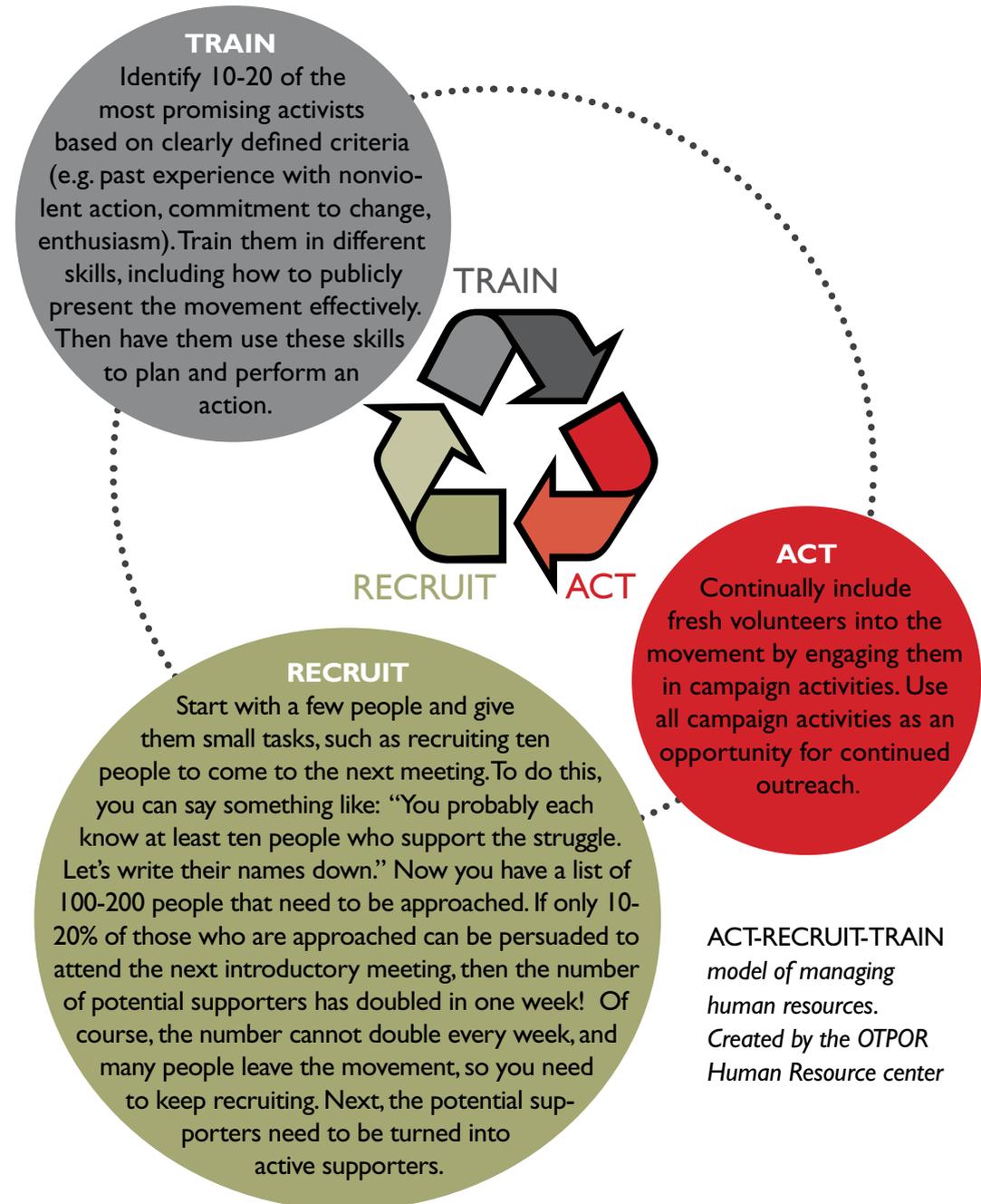
Activists and volunteers contribute with their labor and skills to the movement!

In order to keep new supporters engaged and upgrade their skills and responsibilities, it is often necessary to conduct well-organized educational workshops that involve knowledge and skills transfer in areas such as: engaging in nonviolent direct action, organizing events, strategic analysis and planning, managing external relations, dealing with the media, communications, etc. Such workshops should include separate sessions for planners, organizers and activists, based on their responsibilities, capacities and time to devote to the movement.



**EXERCISE:**

The ideas in this lesson can be put into practice in the Act-Recruit-Train (ART) model (which was developed by OTPOR's Human Resource center) of building a movement and managing human resources:



**STUDENT  
PERFORMANCE  
OBJECTIVE 3:**



**TIP**

Your movement should be permanently recruiting, training and making new activists active!

**Adopt a strategic approach to the recruitment process.**

People will join your movement for various reasons. Some like to be a part of something they consider important, and a struggle against oppression or to win rights and justice not only sounds important, it may be crucial to their chance to have a good future. Participation in movement activities also represents a change that allows people to avoid routine activities and do something exciting outside of their everyday life. Another motivation is that being an activist satisfies many people's need for contact and closeness with other people. Lastly, being able to influence even minor things within an organization is a special kind of motivation because people feel that they are "part of the team" and making an impact.

In order to build a strong movement, the leadership should not only continually recruit those interested in the struggle, but it should also constantly reach out to potential supporters, such as civil servants or people from the business community, who might not be able to be directly involved but can play indirect or behind-the-scenes roles. These indirect or behind-the-scenes roles could involve opening up new communications channels for the movement, informing the movement of people's thinking, urging co-workers to consider the movement's message, engaging in small acts of defiance, such as work-slowdowns. For people without significant social networks, they could help the movement through simple, anonymous actions like participating in a boycott.

Because recruiting and expanding the activist base is a constant responsibility for a nonviolent movement, almost all activities of any kind should be followed by ongoing outreach and recruitment action. A movement or campaign should provide continual opportunities for people to become informed about

an issue and show support. Often new potential supporters are just curious about a group or struggle, and need some extra encouragement before they decide to get involved.

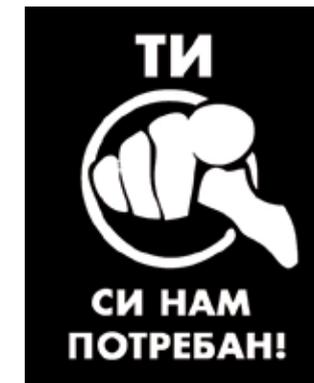
For a movement, every place and activity may be an opportunity to recruit. Wherever movement activists appear — from soccer games or theatre shows to political demonstrations — there must be logistical support for a recruitment activity. For example, a simple information table staffed by a volunteer with sign-up sheets may be sufficient in many low-risk situations. In higher risk situations, where people may be afraid to put their name on a list, ways to communicate by email or SMS can be provided. Even if the movement is performing a small, quick public action, in the few existing minutes there should be activists present whose only responsibility is simply talking to random bystanders. Some of them are probably going to be interested to learn more about the movement. It has been said that even a press conference should be used to try to recruit some of the journalists!

**TIP**

Activities of any kind should be followed with outreach and recruitment action!



*One of the most famous recruitment posters in history: "Uncle Sam needs you!", from the United States during World War II.*



*ОПОР: "Ti si nam potreban"! "We need you!", from Serbia, 2000. This poster was used in World War I first, and again in World War II.*

**EXERCISE:**

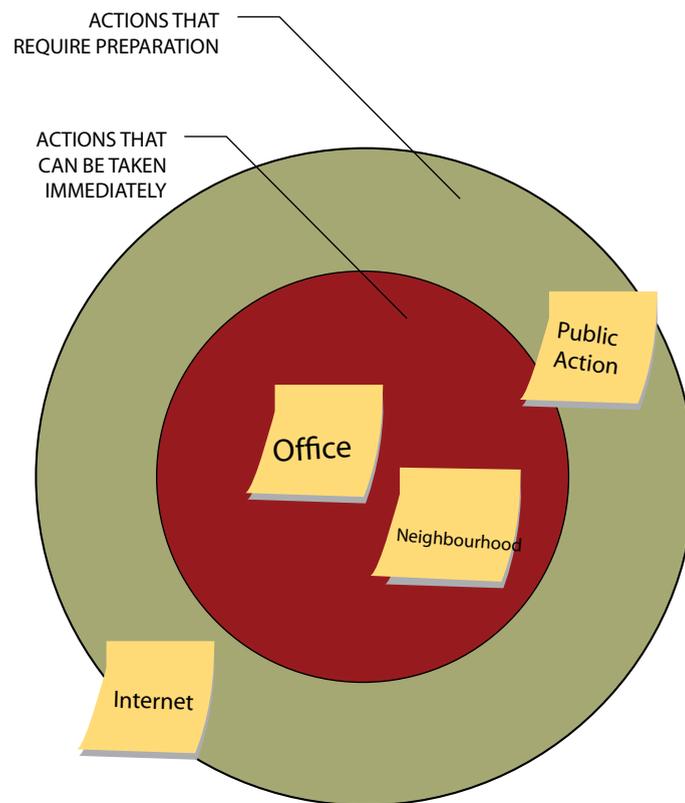
Mind-mapping of potential sources for new volunteers.

The purpose of this exercise is to identify as many potential sources of human resources as possible.

Through brainstorming, students produce a "MIND MAP" on the flip chart, which helps them to plan a strategic approach to recruiting new activists.

**THE FIRST CIRCLE** represents actions that can be taken almost immediately, for example: make your movement's office visible so people can find and join you; think about religious-based events, since they may attract large numbers of people; put a promotion table at a soccer game next week and try to persuade visitors to join, etc.

**THE SECOND CIRCLE** represents potential sources of human resources that could be reached, if the movement invests time and energy. For example, in order for people to join via the movement's website, it is necessary to first request the building of a website and find a person to manage it, etc.

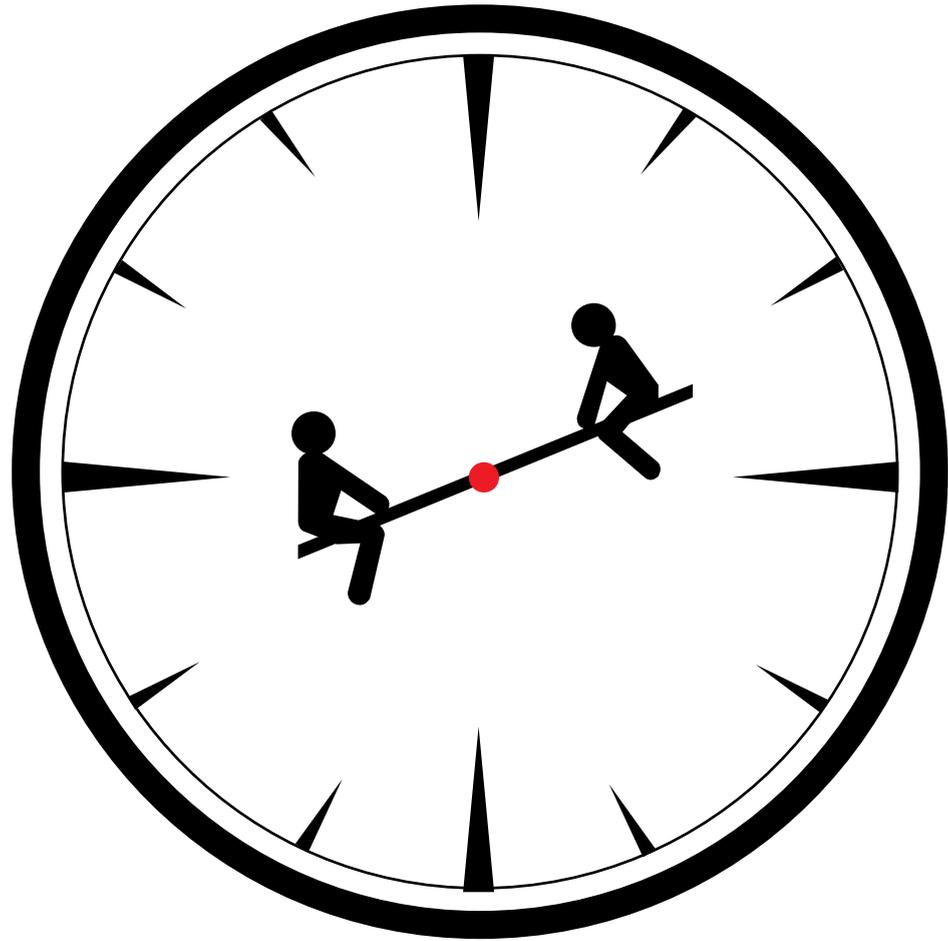
**SUMMARY**

Human resources increase the size and strength of a movement, and are therefore a source of power for several reasons. First, activists, volunteers, and supporters contribute to the movement, providing it with numbers. Second, because they mostly or completely work on a volunteer basis, they are a source of free working hours for the movement. Finally, they bring valuable skills, knowledge and social networks to the movement. Activists, volunteers, and supporters are the infantry and field power of your nonviolent movement. Without them, victory is not possible.

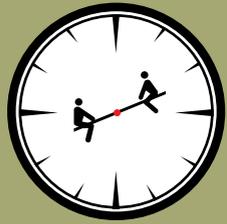
Ongoing recruitment and outreach is a basic requirement for almost all successful nonviolent movements. This consists of: building a base of activists, volunteers, and supporters who engage in nonviolent direct action, as well as those who engage in "behind the scenes" actions, keeping track of their skills, availability and contact information, keeping them engaged, and upgrading their skills. Every single activist, volunteer, and supporter is precious to a nonviolent movement or campaign.

With every human resource being precious to the nonviolent movement, efforts must be made to keep them informed, active and motivated at all times.





**A4**  
MANAGING A MOVEMENT:  
TIME MANAGEMENT



**MANAGING A MOVEMENT: TIME MANAGEMENT**

Three main groups of resources in nonviolent struggle are human resources, material resources, and time.

Human resources are crucial to develop capacity for organizing and carrying out mass actions, and the acquisition of material resources enables a movement or campaign to function operationally, sometimes even under great repression. The third resource, time, is universal and limited (each side of the conflict has the same limited amount and cannot create more). Therefore, time should be carefully planned and used, in order to gain the maximum impact from human resources and available material resources.

However diverse the conditions (cultural, social, historic and political) for each nonviolent struggle, careful time planning is an important part of successful movements.

**STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 1:**



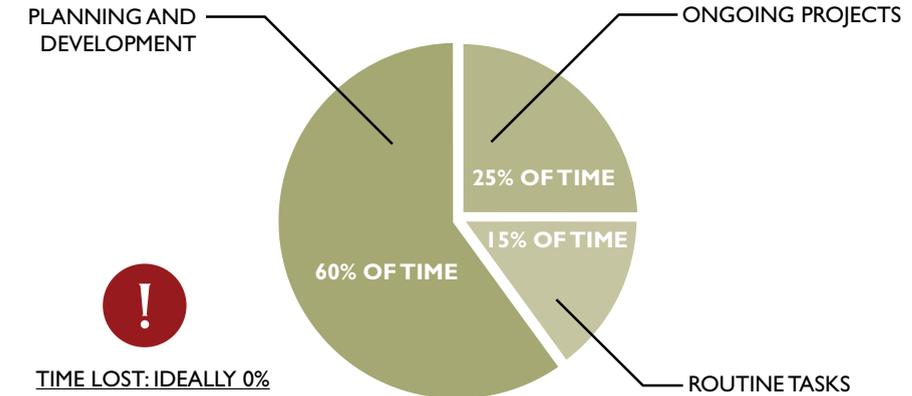
“Lost time is never found again”  
- Benjamin Franklin

**Understand the nature of time as a universal resource.**

Time is something people are aware of every day of their lives. It’s on watches, cell phones, clocks and calendars. But how often do people understand that time is also a valuable resource, particularly in a nonviolent struggle?

Unlike other resources, the unique characteristic of time as a resource is its universality. There may be huge differences in the quantity and quality of human and material resources available to the nonviolent movement and the adversary. However, time is the same for both. For example, if elections are to be held in 60 days, the amount of time available to both sides is the same. Everybody has 60 days, or 1440 hours or 86,400 minutes or little less than 5.2 million of seconds to use... or to waste.

From the point of view of its use, time (for nonviolent movements as well as for other organizations) can be divided into four different categories:



1. Time for planning and development – planning and development tasks are the most important ones for strategists (e.g. producing the campaign calendar).

2. Time for ongoing projects (organizational and operational tasks) – ongoing projects tasks are related to the management of the movement’s ongoing activities (e.g. meetings ).

3. Time for routine tasks – routine and “trivial” tasks are important, but they also sometimes occupy too much of people’s time.

4. Time to loose – Ideally, there should be no lost time. In most cases, 80% of this time in the movement comes from “waiting for somebody else”. A person who is 15 minutes late for a meeting with a group of 10 people has actually wasted 15 minutes of his/her time and 150 minutes more - 15 minutes for each person who had been waiting.

**TIP**  
Identify lost time, and reduce it as much as possible!

**TIP**

Effective use of time usually requires that you delegate. You must learn how to delegate and decide which tasks to delegate to whom!

**EXERCISE:**

The best business and political strategists have achieved this time allocation by careful time planning, as well as through efficient organization, which enables them to delegate most routine tasks and some of their ongoing project activities to their subordinates, thereby saving this precious resource called “time” for planning and operational development. If the leaders and strategists are occupied with too many “trivial” and “operational” tasks, there will be nobody to plan future activities for the movement, and the movement will gradually become less effective, and could eventually collapse.

**EXERCISE:** Calculate your own time allocation, and compare it with the “ideal time pie”.

### Understand the importance of time planning in a campaign.

1. “Nothing is as easy as it looks.”
  2. “Everything takes longer than you think.”
  3. “Before you do something, you must finish something else first.”
- Adopted from “Murphy’s Law”

No matter how small an action or campaign may be, keeping it organized is a serious task. In order to achieve the ideal allocation of time, strategists should delegate tasks whenever this is possible, and make it as easy as possible for activists to do their jobs and reach their goals. By planning for every moment of available time, a movement will be ready to meet the challenges that lie ahead.

Your time plan should be flexible, and allow for unforeseen developments and opportunities. The best movements are those that can quickly react to events and turn the unexpected to the movement’s advantage. Though strategy should be soundly worked out, campaign tactics should be flexible and adaptable to changes in conditions.

**CASE STUDY:** During the 2000 anti-Milosevic campaign in Serbia, a violent incident occurred that included the dictator’s son, Marko. The bodyguards of Milosevic’s son had badly beaten three OTPOR! activists in the small town of Pozarevac.

Though this brutality was not part of the plan, in only a few days OTPOR! printed and put up 25,000 posters with the injured face of Radojko Lukovic, one of the beaten activists, along with the phrase, “This is the face of Serbia.” The message was that the people are being humiliated and should rise up against the Milosevic family, which thinks it is “untouchable” and “above the law.”



*This is the face of Serbia!*

Campaigns need a beginning, middle and clearly defined end. Sometimes a “launch” event can bring media attention and a spurt of campaigning work. On the other hand, if you fear repression or attention from your opponent, sometimes the beginning of a campaign should be kept low-profile. Escalation of the campaign may be focused on increasing the frequency, intensity, or diversity of grass-roots level activities, such as public events and door-to-door canvassing. Strategists should plan in advance how to end the campaign and when and how to proclaim victory in order to motivate participants for future campaigns.

A campaign plan is essential to success, but a campaign plan that gathers dust or is used to prop up a wobbly table in the campaign office is pointless. The plan should be a living document that is continuously updated and tested against the unfolding reality. It is a guide to action, that is regularly discussed and improved.

You may want a calendar of events, representing tasks for each day in the campaign, to be visible at your campaign headquarters, and in meeting rooms where decisions are to be made.



**STUDENT  
PERFORMANCE  
OBJECTIVE 3:**

**Adopt the backward planning process for creating a campaign calendar.**

“Backward planning” is a time management tool designed to maximize the effective use of time. It works like this:

1. On a monthly calendar, write down all of the deadlines that are relevant to your campaign.
2. On a separate piece of paper, write down each event or action that relates to these deadlines, and then list the steps that you must follow to complete each event or action (see an example of this on the following page).
3. Then, plot those steps backwards on the calendar, assigning the last step to the day before the action or event is supposed to occur. Continue to move up your list, plotting one or two steps on each day, until you have assigned all the steps to various dates on the calendar.
4. Move on to your next deadline and repeat step #3. It is usually a good idea to plan your last deadline first.

Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun
			01	02	03 EVENT 1	04
05	06 EVENT 2	07	08	09	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22 EVENT 3	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	ELECTIONS

**PUBLIC EVENT PREPARATION TIME LINE**

**10-15 DAYS BEFORE PUBLIC EVENT**

- Pick an issue
- Design an action, name and the message
- Suggest the time and place
- Draw a calendar with all relevant preparation activities and share it with other members of your movement
- Create a budget
- Prepare printed material (if required)

**7-3 DAYS BEFORE PUBLIC EVENT**

- Meet with the participants and delegate tasks to be done
- Distribute materials (if required)
- Plan a detailed scenario of event
- Analyze possible pitfalls, and plan for surprises

**48 HOURS BEFORE PUBLIC EVENT**

- Take necessary legal steps (inform police, for example)
- Remind participants, confirm time and place of the event
- Prepare press release, and public statement with selected message
- Hold a press conference (if necessary)

**24 HOURS BEFORE PUBLIC EVENT**

- Last review of time schedule and necessary materials
- Send a press release inviting journalists to the event
- Delegate operational tasks for participants

**EVENT DAY**

- Gather participants in headquarters and motivate them for the event
- Event (execution)
- Send a press report on the event to journalists

**1-2 DAYS AFTER THE EVENT**

- Call the participants, giving them recognition for participating the event
- Produce press clipping on event media coverage
- Evaluate success of the event

**TIP**  
Keep your  
calendar visible  
and updated!

## TIPS:



Serbia 2000.  
*Otpor's campaign calendar*  
was visible in its office!

## HOW TO WRITE YOUR CALENDAR?

1. One key to successful backward planning is to break down a campaign into small, realistic tasks, because otherwise people will feel overwhelmed by how much there is to do and won't know how to organize themselves. For example, if the subject of planning is a public event, the first task should not be to "write a speech" (too broad), but rather "pick an issue". Likewise, "organize media coverage" is too general — and could be clarified as: "send a press release inviting journalists to our event". Consider exactly what tasks are involved in preparing for each event or action.
2. Another important aspect of successful backward planning is to plan in advance! Ideally, strategists should plot out the steps for an overall campaign.
3. Be realistic. Don't set up a poster campaign on a Friday night when you know in advance that your posters must be ready "before the end of the week". Allow extra time to accomplish necessary tasks.

Backward planning works because it forces strategists to create internal deadlines, and because it only asks that a realistic amount of work is done each day in order to complete an assignment. It is the difference between trying to jump onto the seventh floor of a building unsuccessfully, and using stairs instead.

Adapted from *How to Study in College*, by Walter Pauk  
(Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1997)

## PRACTICAL EXERCISE

Using the format above, prepare a plan for a party in honor of a University professor. The plan should be based on the following information:

"Dr. Eye Know-it-all, Chairman of the English Department at the university has just completed a 1000 page book entitled "The Sea As a Means of Dramatic Unity in Moby Dick". As you may know, Herman Melville wrote this novel in 1851 about Captain Ahab and his quest to kill a particular Great White Whale. The publication release date for Dr. Know-it-all's book is three weeks from today.

You are graduate students in the English Department and decide to hold a surprise dinner party for him on the evening of the publication date. Using the format for planning we have been discussing today, you will prepare and present your plan to the Dean of the Graduate School in one hour.

It may be of interest to know that "Big Eye", as his friends call him, is divorced (three times), smokes Cuban cigars, enjoys drinking two dry martinis before dinner and one brandy after dinner. His hobbies are stamp collecting, writing poetry in Greek and Latin, and fishing. According to his last wife, his favorite foods are raw oysters and boiled sweetbreads (cow brains), which may explain the three divorces. In addition to Latin and Greek, he speaks fluent English, German, Russian, and Hebrew."



Draw a calendar of a planning on a table flip chart, or use sticky “don’t forget papers”, and present it in front of the group.

#### ISSUES TO BE REFLECTED UPON:

- Did information about the professor’s personal life influence the planning for the dinner party?
- How was the party to be financed?
- Who was invited and why?
- Is the party going to be serious or light-hearted?
- Will a gift be presented? If not, why not?
- If so, what is it and why was it selected?
- What factors influenced selection of the venue for the dinner party?
- Were invitees informed of any dress requirements (casual, informal, formal)?

#### SUMMARY

A crucial step to successful nonviolent struggle is understanding that time is a key resource for nonviolent movements and campaigns. Unlike material and human resources, the unique characteristics of time is that it is universal and limited. Time analysis consists of the allocation of this resource among three broad categories - planning and development, ongoing projects and routine tasks. Strategists should not only reduce any wasted (lost) time, but also delegate tasks to others in order to save their own time for the planning and management of important ongoing projects.

The carefully planned use of time enables the nonviolent movement to utilize its human and material resources most effectively. The backward planning process may be useful for doing this. A time plan should be broken into small tasks that are both realistic and flexible.





A5  
MANAGING A MOVEMENT:  
TRANSFERRING NONVIOLENT SKILLS AND KNOWLEDGE



## TRANSFERRING NONVIOLENT SKILLS AND KNOWLEDGE

To build a strong movement you and your colleagues must be able to effectively transfer your knowledge, skills and information to your supporters.

Those doing the teaching must know the basics of adult learning theory and knowledge-transfer techniques.

### Understand the importance of transferring knowledge in strategic nonviolent struggle.

Knowledge transfer is essential for both disciplined and coordinated actions. The primary objective of any training is to increase individual and organizational capacities to achieve goals and objectives. Training should affect attitudes and improve skills. Training people to be disciplined and to possess an understanding of the dynamics and methods of nonviolent struggle can help prevent violent or politically damaging behavior.

**CASE STUDY:** An example of the importance of training can be found in the U.S. Civil Rights Movement led by Dr. Martin Luther King in the 1950s and 1960s. Demonstrators did role-playing simulations to prepare themselves to act in the proper manner when confronted by authorities. Role-playing was also used to test tactics for their effectiveness. In a sense, these were like “war games” where tactics could be tried without the risks associated with trying them in a “real-life” situation. Also, before major actions, church services were often held to prepare the people for their parts in the action.

This kind of training enabled demonstrators to be very

disciplined and prepared when they did their actions. Despite provocations and repeated physical attacks by authorities and thugs, the demonstrators maintained the nonviolent discipline necessary to accomplish their objectives.

### Introduce adult learning theory and methodology to nonviolent struggle.

### STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 2:

In order to teach effectively, you must fully understand what will be taught (subject matter), the purpose of the course, and what level of understanding or skills are desired. The use of Student Performance Objectives helps in developing lesson plans by forcing the facilitator to identify clear (and sometimes measurable) objectives. A Student Performance Objective contains an action verb (which says, in effect, what the student will be able to do as result of the instruction).

*“Tell me, and I will forget. Show me, and I may remember.  
Involve me, and I will understand.”*  
Confucius, 450 B.C.



Effective teaching also requires an understanding of how people learn. One model to describe this process divides learning into three components:

- 1) Knowledge domain (COGNITIVE)
- 2) Attitude domain (AFFECTIVE)
- 3) Skill-building domain (SKILLS)

### STUDENT PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE 1:

### CASE STUDY:



*Dr. Martin Luther King, leader of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement*

PURPOSE OF DOMAINS:

(COGNITIVE)

The Knowledge domain of learning

1. Understand
2. Analyze
3. Evaluate

(AFFECTIVE)

The Attitude domain of learning

1. Learn new values and attitudes toward information.

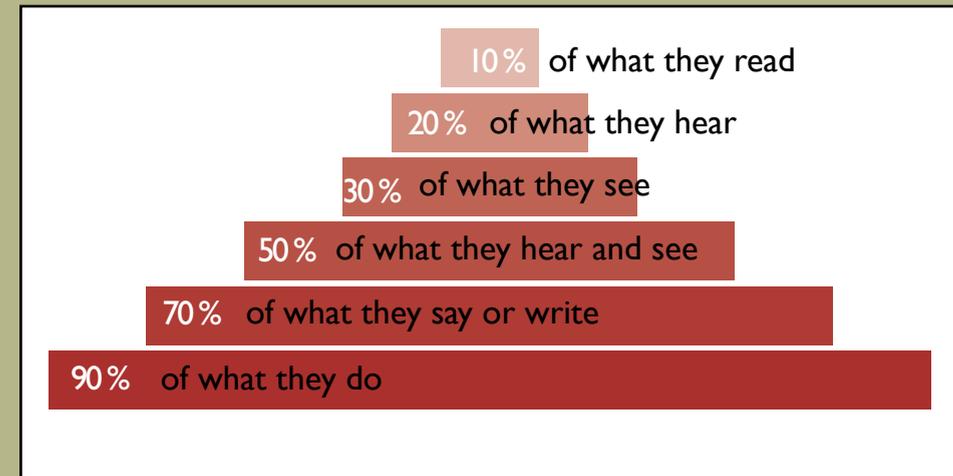
(SKILLS)

The Skills-building domain of learning

1. Effectively act on information
2. Adapt to new situations

DALE'S CONE OF EXPERIENCE

People remember:



PRESENTATION TECHNIQUES

There are many techniques used for adult learning process, some of which were demonstrated during this course.

**TIP**

People learn best when they are active participants in the learning process!

<b>METHOD / EXPLANATION</b>	Lecture/ mainly one-way communication from facilitator to students	Lecture With Discussion / facilitator and students share and expand their ideas on a topic that all have had some previous knowledge or experience of
<b>STRENGTH</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>presents factual or complex theoretical material in direct, logical manner</li> <li>contains inspirational examples</li> <li>stimulates thinking</li> <li>useful for large groups</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>involves students at least after the lecture</li> <li>students can question, clarify &amp; challenge</li> </ul>
<b>LIMITATIONS</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>experts are not always good teachers</li> <li>audience is passive</li> <li>learning is difficult to gauge</li> <li>communication is one way</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>time may limit discussion period</li> <li>quality is limited to quality of questions and discussion</li> </ul>
<b>PREPARATION</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>needs clear introduction and summary</li> <li>needs time and content limit to be effective</li> <li>should include examples, anecdotes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>requires that questions be prepared prior to discussion</li> </ul>
<b>ALREADY APPLIED IN THIS COURSE</b>	<p>(Basic 2) Strategic Nonviolent Power in Society; models and sources of power</p> <p>(Basic 7) Strategy and principles of Nonviolent struggle</p> <p>(Basic 13) Fear and overcoming the effects of fear</p> <p>(Basic 14) Contaminants to nonviolent struggle, security culture</p>	<p>(Basic 3) Pillars of support</p> <p>(Basic 5) Activating Nonviolent Power: Mechanisms of change in nonviolent action</p> <p>(Basic 11) Managing a movement – Leadership</p>

<b>Brainstorming / a group problem-solving or teaching technique in which everyone is encouraged to share ideas and possible solutions to the problem</b>	<b>Videotapes and visuals</b>	<b>Class Discussion / Harvesting - two-way communication between facilitator and students, using questioning and other activities to study a new topic in a structured way, guided by the facilitator</b>	<b>Small Group Discussion</b>	<b>Case Studies / students examine and discuss the issues described in a case study of a situation, and seek possible solutions to the problems they identify</b>	<b>Role Playing / students act out different ways of responding to particular situations they are studying</b>	<b>Workshops/ Worksheets/Surveys students do practical work set and supervised by a facilitator</b>	<b>Guest Speaker</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>listening exercise that allows creative thinking for new ideas</li> <li>encourages full participation because all ideas equally recorded</li> <li>draws on group's knowledge and experience</li> <li>spirit of congeniality is created</li> <li>one idea can spark off other good ideas</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>entertaining way of teaching content and raising issues</li> <li>keep group's attention</li> <li>looks professional</li> <li>stimulates discussion</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>pools ideas and experiences from group</li> <li>effective after a presentation, film or experience that needs to be analyzed</li> <li>allows everyone to participate in an active process</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>allows participation of everyone</li> <li>people are more comfortable in small groups</li> <li>can reach group consensus</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>develops analytic and problem solving skills</li> <li>allows for exploration of solutions for complex issues - allows student to apply new knowledge and skills</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>dramatic method to introduce problem situation</li> <li>provides opportunity for people to assume roles of others and thus appreciate another/other points of view</li> <li>allows for exploration of solutions</li> <li>provides opportunity to practice skills</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>allows people to think and act for themselves without being influenced</li> <li>individual thoughts can then be shared in</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>personalizes topic</li> <li>breaks down breaks down students' stereotypes</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>can be unfocused</li> <li>needs to be limited to 5 - 7minutes</li> <li>people may have difficulty getting away from known reality</li> <li>if not facilitated well, criticism and evaluation may occur</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>can raise too many issues to have a focused discussion</li> <li>discussion may not have full participation</li> <li>only as effective as the quality of subsequent discussion</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>not practical with more that 20 people</li> <li>few people can dominate</li> <li>others may not participate</li> <li>is time consuming</li> <li>can get off the track</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>needs careful thought as to purpose of group</li> <li>groups may get side tracked</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>people may not see relevance to own situation</li> <li>insufficient information can lead to inappropriate results</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>people may be too self-conscious</li> <li>not appropriate for large groups</li> <li>people may feel threatened</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>can be used only for short period of time</li> <li>insufficient information can lead to inappropriate results</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>may not be a good speaker</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>facilitator selects issue</li> <li>must have some ideas if group needs to be stimulated</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>need to set up equipment</li> <li>effective only if facilitator prepares questions to discuss after the show</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>requires careful planning by facilitator to guide discussion</li> <li>requires question outline</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>facilitator needs to prepare specific tasks or questions for group to answer</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>case must be clearly defined in some instances</li> <li>case study must be prepared</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>facilitator has to define problem situation and roles clearly</li> <li>facilitator must give very clear instructions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>facilitator has to prepare handouts</li> <li>Facilitator has to explain tasks</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>facilitator must contact and coordinate speaker's appearance</li> <li>introduce speaker appropriately</li> </ul>
<p>(Basic 1) The First Step – Vision of Tomorrow</p> <p>(Basic 9) Impacting audiences and communicating messages</p> <p>(Basic 13) Managing a movement – Dilemma actions</p>	<p>Any of lesson plans, especially (Basic 10) Tools Types and categories of targeted communication</p>	<p>(Basic 4) Obedience</p> <p>(Basic 8) Planning methodologies - Power-graph exercise</p> <p>(Advanced 2) Managing a movement- Material resources</p> <p>(Advanced 4) Managing a movement -Time planning</p>	<p>(Basic 1) The First Step: A Vision of Tomorrow</p> <p>(Basic 14) Contaminants to nonviolent struggle, security culture</p>	<p>(Advanced 1) - Planning Methodologies-Strategic Estimate</p> <p>(Basic 13) Managing a movement – Dilemma actions</p>	<p>(Basic 1) The First Step: A Vision of Tomorrow</p> <p>(Basic 4) Obedience</p> <p>(Advanced 3) Managing a movement - Human resources</p> <p>(Advanced 5) Transferring nonviolent skills and knowledge</p>	<p>(Basic 13) Managing Movement in conflict - Dilemma actions</p> <p>(Advanced 1) Planning Methodologies - Strategic Estimate</p> <p>(Advanced 5) Transferring nonviolent skills and knowledge</p>	<p>Useful in any lessonplan</p>

Adopted from: Getting the Most Out of Your AIDS/HIV Trainings, East Bay AIDS Education Training Center, Revised from 1989 addition by Pat McCarthy, RN, MSN, 1992

**STUDENT  
PERFORMANCE  
OBJECTIVE 3:**

**Demonstrate the ability to teach an aspect of nonviolent struggle.**

**EXERCISE:**

Select a student performance objective from one of the lessons in this course. Prepare a presentation, not to exceed 30 minutes. Start with the introduction, continue with the main body, examples and practical exercises (if appropriate), and then conclude with a summary. Evaluate the effectiveness of the presentation by using group discussion.

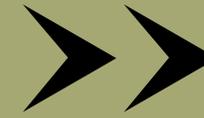


**SUMMARY**

An organization cannot be successful if its members are not trained in what their responsibilities are and how to carry them out. In order to effectively transfer nonviolent skills and knowledge to members of a movement, facilitators must know and be able to apply basic adult learning theory and knowledge-transfer techniques.

There are three domains of learning — knowledge, attitude and skills building — as well as many teaching methods for their transfer. Facilitators should pick the teaching methods that meets the requirements of the content to be transferred, as well as the needs of the group they are teaching. As they select teaching methods, they should remember that whenever possible, people learn best by participating in interactive discussions and exercises and by doing new things.

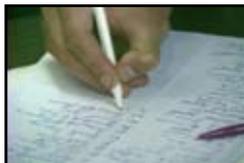




# ANNEX I

METHODS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION

THE METHODS  
OF NONVIOLENT  
PROTEST AND  
PERSUASION



## METHODS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION\*

### Formal Statements

1. Public Speeches
2. Letters of opposition or support
3. Declarations by organizations and institutions
4. Signed public statements
5. Declarations of indictment and intention
6. Group or mass petitions

### Communications with a Wider Audience

7. Slogans, caricatures, and symbols
8. Banners, posters, displayed communications
9. Leaflets, pamphlets, and books
10. Newspapers and journals
11. Records, radio, and television
12. Skywriting and earthwriting
- 12a. IT messaging – Mass SMS and e-mailing  
[This method was developed in Serbia 2000 by Otpor (Resistance) during the nonviolent campaign against Slobodan Milosevic]

### Group Representations

13. Deputations
14. Mock awards
15. Group lobbying
16. Picketing
17. Mock elections

### Symbolic Public Acts

18. Displays of flags and symbolic colors

\* This list is based on Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action: The Methods of Nonviolent Action* (Boston, MA: Porter Sargent Publishers), 1973.

19. Wearing of symbols
20. Prayer and worship
21. Delivering symbolic objects
22. Protest disrobings
23. Destruction of own property
24. Symbolic lights
25. Displays of portraits
26. Paint as protest
27. New signs and names
28. Symbolic sounds
29. Symbolic reclamations
30. Rude gestures

### Pressures on Individuals

31. “Haunting” officials
32. Taunting officials
33. Fraternization
34. Vigils

### Drama and Music

35. Humorous skits and pranks
36. Performances of plays and music
37. Singing

### Processions

38. Marches
39. Parades
40. Religious processions
41. Pilgrimages
42. Motorcades





### Honoring the Dead

- 43. Political mourning
- 44. Mock funerals
- 45. Demonstrative funerals
- 46. Homage at burial places



### Public Assemblies

- 47. Assemblies of protest or support
- 48. Protest meetings
- 49. Camouflaged meetings of protest
- 50. Teach-ins

### Withdrawal and Renunciation

- 51. Walk-outs
- 52. Silence
- 53. Renouncing honors
- 54. Turning one's back

### Ostracism of Persons

- 55. Social boycott
- 56. Selective social boycott
- 57. Lysistratic nonaction
- 58. Excommunication
- 59. Interdict

### Noncooperation with Social Events, Customs, and Institutions

- 60. Suspension of social and sports activities
- 61. Boycott of social affairs
- 62. Student strike
- 63. Social disobedience
- 64. Withdrawal from social institutions

### Withdrawal from the Social System

- 65. Stay-at-home
- 66. Total personal noncooperation
- 67. "Flight" of workers
- 68. Sanctuary
- 69. Collective disappearance
- 70. Protest emigration [*hijrat*]

### Actions by Consumers

- 71. Consumers' boycott
- 72. Nonconsumption of boycotted goods
- 73. Policy of austerity
- 74. Rent withholding
- 75. Refusal to rent
- 76. National consumers' boycott
- 77. International consumers' boycott

### Action by Workers and Producers

- 78. Workmen's boycott
- 79. Producers' boycott

### Action by Middlemen

- 80. Suppliers' and handlers' boycott

### Action by Owners and Management

- 81. Traders' boycott
- 82. Refusal to let or sell property
- 83. Lockout
- 84. Refusal of industrial assistance
- 85. Merchants' "general strike"

THE METHODS  
OF ECONOMIC  
NONCOOPERATION:  
ECONOMIC  
BOYCOTTS



THE METHODS  
OF SOCIAL  
NONCOOPERATION



## Action by Holders of Financial Resources

- 86. Withdrawal of bank deposits
- 87. Refusal to pay fees, dues, and assessments
- 88. Refusal to pay debts or interest
- 89. Severance of funds and credit
- 90. Revenue refusal
- 91. Refusal of a government's money

## Action by Governments

- 92. Domestic embargo
- 93. Blacklisting of traders
- 94. International sellers' embargo
- 95. International buyers' embargo
- 96. International trade embargo

## Symbolic Strikes

- 97. Protest strike
- 98. Quickie walkout (lightning strike)

## Agricultural Strikes

- 99. Peasant strike
- 100. Farm Workers' strike

## Strikes by Special Groups

- 101. Refusal of impressed labor
- 102. Prisoners' strike
- 103. Craft strike
- 104. Professional strike

## Ordinary Industrial Strikes

- 105. Establishment strike
- 106. Industry strike
- 107. Sympathetic strike

## Restricted Strikes

- 108. Detailed strike
- 109. Bumper strike
- 110. Slowdown strike
- 111. Working-to-rule strike
- 112. Reporting "sick" [sick-in]
- 113. Strike by resignation
- 114. Limited strike
- 115. Selective strike

## Multi-industry Strikes

- 116. Generalized strike
- 117. General strike

## Combination of Strikes and Economic Closures

- 118. Hartal
- 119. Economic shutdown

## Rejection of Authority

- 120. Withholding or withdrawal of allegiance
- 121. Refusal of public support
- 122. Literature and speeches advocating resistance

## Citizens' Noncooperation with Government

- 123. Boycott of legislative bodies
- 124. Boycott of elections





- 125. Boycott of government employment and positions
- 126. Boycott of government depts., agencies, and other bodies
- 127. Withdrawal from government educational institutions
- 128. Boycott of government-supported organizations
- 129. Refusal of assistance to enforcement agents
- 130. Removal of own signs and placemarks
- 131. Refusal to accept appointed officials
- 132. Refusal to dissolve existing institutions
- 133. Reluctant and slow compliance
- 134. Nonobedience in absence of direct supervision
- 135. Popular nonobedience
- 136. Disguised disobedience
- 137. Refusal of an assemblage or meeting to disperse
- 138. Sit-down
- 139. Noncooperation with conscription and deportation
- 140. Hiding, escape, and false identities
- 141. Civil disobedience of "illegitimate" laws



#### Action by Government Personnel

- 142. Selective refusal of assistance by government aides
- 143. Blocking of lines of command and information
- 144. Stalling and obstruction
- 145. General administrative noncooperation
- 146. Judicial noncooperation
- 147. Deliberate inefficiency and selective noncooperation by enforcement agents
- 148. Mutiny



#### Domestic Governmental Action

- 149. Quasi-legal evasions and delays
- 150. Noncooperation by constituent governmental units

#### International Governmental Action

- 151. Changes in diplomatic and other representations

- 152. Delay and cancellation of diplomatic events
- 153. Withholding of diplomatic recognition
- 154. Severance of diplomatic relations
- 155. Withdrawal from international organizations
- 156. Refusal of membership in international bodies
- 157. Expulsion from international organizations

#### Psychological Intervention

- 158. Self-exposure to the elements
- 159. The fast
  - a) Fast of moral pressure
  - b) Hunger strike
  - c) Satyagrahic fast
- 160. Reverse trial
- 161. Nonviolent harassment

#### Physical Intervention

- 162. Sit-in
- 163. Stand-in
- 164. Ride-in
- 165. Wade-in
- 166. Mill-in
- 167. Pray-in
- 168. Nonviolent raids
- 169. Nonviolent air raids
- 170. Nonviolent invasion
- 171. Nonviolent interjection
- 172. Nonviolent obstruction
- 173. Nonviolent occupation

#### Social Intervention

- 174. Establishing new social patterns
- 175. Overloading of facilities

#### THE METHODS OF NONVIOLENT INTERVENTION





- 176. Stall-in
- 177. Speak-in
- 178. Guerrilla theater
- 179. Alternative social institutions
- 180. Alternative communication systems

#### Economic Intervention

- 181. Reverse strike
- 182. Stay-in strike
- 183. Nonviolent land seizure
- 184. Defiance of blockades
- 185. Politically motivated counterfeiting
- 186. Preclusive purchasing
- 187. Seizure of assets
- 188. Dumping
- 189. Selective patronage
- 190. Alternative markets
- 191. Alternative transportation systems
- 192. Alternative economic institutions

#### Political Intervention

- 193. Overloading of administrative systems
- 194. Disclosing identities of secret agents
- 195. Seeking imprisonment
- 196. Civil disobedience of "neutral" laws
- 197. Work-on without collaboration
- 198. Dual sovereignty and parallel government



*In Serbia, the victory of the pro-democratic movement came after a decade-long strategic nonviolent conflict. During that decade, Milosevic had successfully stayed in power, surviving many outside attempts to remove him, mostly by relying on his own sources of power and on the conflicts and mistakes that beset the pro-democratic movement in Serbia.*



*“Violence is the last  
sanctuary for the weak”  
- J. L. Borges*

## **ANNEX II**

OVERVIEW OF 10 YEARS OF NONVIOLENT CONFLICT IN SERBIA



## OVERVIEW OF 10 YEARS OF NONVIOLENT CONFLICT IN SERBIA

*May 14, 1989*

The first independent radio station, “Youth Radio - B92,” was founded in Belgrade.

*March 8, 1990*

The first issue of *Demokartija* (Democracy), the official newspaper bulletin of the Serbian opposition, appears.

*June 13, 1990*

The first anti-government protests in front of the national TV building take place in Belgrade. Famous writer, and one of the founders of the Democratic Party, Borislav Pekic, is injured during the ensuing police violence against the protesters.

*August 1990*

The first (and the last) meeting of the representatives of parliamentary groups from all six constitutive republics of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia is initiated by Serbian opposition parties, in order to offer a nonviolent solution to increasing hostility. The meeting is held in the Bosnian capital, Sarajevo, and leads to no results.

*March 9, 1991*

The first opposition demonstrations take place in Belgrade, on the main city square, and are led by the Serbian Renewal Movement and the Democratic Party. Protesters demand the immediate cessation of state censorship on Radio Television Serbia, the national TV and radio stations, and fair elections. Police forces respond violently. One protester and one policeman lose their lives in street conflicts. The country's leadership calls for a military intervention. Late in the evening, the army “restores order” in the streets of the country's capital, Belgrade.

*March 10, 1991*

There is a nonviolent protest of Belgrade students at Terazije Square. More than 10,000 students perform a “nonviolent occupation,” led by the “Terazije Students’ Parliament”. They block the central streets of Belgrade with a 24-hour sit-in and do not move until the army withdraws from the streets of the national capital.

*February 1992*

A large petition appealing for the withdrawal of Slobodan Milosevic is signed by more than 500,000 citizens of Serbia. Milosevic does not even comment on the petition.

*Spring 1992*

A massive student protest start at Belgrade University, spreading to campuses in Novi Sad, Nis and Kragujevac. Students demanding University independence and democratization of Serbia proclaim a “free territory” on Belgrade's Students' Square, a large city area with 11 university buildings. Major opposition parties join with their own protests, which finish unsuccessfully at the beginning of the July.

*May 1992*

Federal and local elections are boycotted by Serbian opposition parties, who claim that un-free electoral and media conditions prevented fair electoral competition.

*May 31 1992*

The United Nations Security Council votes to impose an economic embargo on Serbia for its role in the military conflicts in neighbouring Croatia and Bosnia.

*June 28, 1992*

More than 100,000 people, led by opposition parties, organize a two-week long demonstration in front of the Federal Parliament





building ("Vidovdanski Sabor"), increasing the pressure for better electoral conditions.

*Autumn 1992*

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic accommodates the opposition parties by organizing a series of negotiations with opposition leaders, and finally calls for early elections.

*December 19, 1992*

At the early parliamentary and local elections, the opposition wins for the first time a majority of the local assembly seats in 11 municipalities, including parts of Belgrade. Milosevic's Socialist Party wins the majority in the Serbian Parliament, though.

*June 2, 1993*

After a violent incident between the MPs, in which Branislav Vukic of the Serbia Radical Party, an ally of the ruling Socialist Party, assaults one of the opposition leaders from the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), SPO organizes an overnight protest, trying to block the Parliament building and support their injured MP. After a violent conflict with the police at the entrance to the Parliament, a policeman is shot and dies the same night. Hours later, police break into the premises of the Serbian Renewal Movement, arresting and beating the SPO's leader, Vuk Draskovic.

*Late June 1993*

Under increasing pressure from the opposition parties and the public, Milosevic decides to release Draskovic from prison.

*December 1993*

Milosevic's Socialist Party loses its parliamentary majority in early elections. After a short crisis, Milosevic re-establishes a government with the support of a minor opposition party, New Democracy (ND).

*March 9 1996*

Two major opposition parties, the Serbian Renewal Movement and the Democratic Party, supported by the Civic Alliance of Serbia, form a broad based coalition, *Zajedno* (Together). The coalition announcement is made during a huge rally, organized to mark the fifth anniversary of the first opposition demonstration in Serbia.

*November 1996*

On November 17, with a NATO peacekeeping force in Bosnia, elections are held for the Yugoslav National Parliament. The opposition coalition, *Zajedno* (Together) wins in 32 municipalities, including in Belgrade. On November 20, the Electoral Commission calls for a recount in most of the areas won by the opposition. On November 25, Milosevic annuls the election results, prompting massive demonstrations, most of which are nonviolent. On November 27, Milosevic holds new elections, which are boycotted by the opposition. The protests grow in size.

*December 1996*

As hundreds of thousands demonstrate, Milosevic invites an international commission to review the election results. On December 27, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe tells Serbia to reinstate the winners of the original elections or face international isolation.

*January 1997*

Beleagued by unremitting opposition in the streets, Milosevic concedes defeat in the city of Nis, but opposition leaders vow to continue the demonstrations until all election results are honoured. On January 14, the Electoral Commissions in Belgrade and elsewhere call for further seating of elected representatives.



*February 1997*

On February 4, Milosevic announces he will restore the opposition's victories from the November 17 elections. Demonstrations continue, with protesters demanding election reform and freedom for the media.

*July 1997*

Constitutionally barred from serving another term as President of Serbia, Milosevic is elected President of Yugoslavia.

*December 1997*

In a contested election, Milosevic's ally, Milan Milutinovic, is declared the winner of a five-year term as President of Serbia.

*August 1998*

After months of fighting, Milosevic's troops defeat the Kosovo Liberation Army, which has been trying to win Kosovo's independence through the use of force. International attention becomes focused on the rebellion.

*October 1998*

A Kosovo cease-fire is signed. UN security council threatens Serbia with authorization of the use of force if Milosevic does not remove Serbian security forces from Kosovo. Once the threat passes, Yugoslav troops re-enter Kosovo. In early October in Belgrade, a dozen university students form a new organization called Otpor! (Resistance!). Initially they work for the repeal of laws that put their university under Socialist Party political control and that impose restrictions on the media. Toward the end of the month, four Otpor members are arrested for spray-painting their symbol, a clenched fist, on walls in Belgrade.

*March 1999*

After diplomatic efforts fail, NATO launches a series of attacks against military and industrial targets in Serbia and Kosovo.



Milosevic refuses to yield.

*May 1999*

On May 24, the UN War Crimes Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia indicts Milosevic on a number of charges, including crimes against humanity.

*June 1999*

Under an agreement brokered by Russia, Serbia withdraws troops from Kosovo in return for an end to the NATO bombing. Anti-government protests resume.

*August 1999*

Following months of protest demonstrations, Otpor holds a "birthday party" for Milosevic in Nis, accepting such gifts as prison coveralls and a one-way ticket to The Hague.

*September 1999*

Protests continue as the Serbian economy deteriorates further, despite a government propaganda initiative to rebuild Serbia. On September 21, rallies begin in 20 cities urging Milosevic to resign. At the same time, the opposition begins to fragment, and the number of demonstrators dwindles. On September 29 and 30, the police and army use force to break up separate demonstrations.

*October 1999*

On October 2, the police block some 7,000 demonstrators marching to a city hospital to see those who were wounded during the previous day's demonstrations. An opposition leader, Zoran Djindjic, vows rallies will continue through mid-October. On October 3, Serbian Renewal Movement leader Vuk Draskovic is injured in an automobile accident that kills a close family member. He blames the incident on Milosevic's security forces. On October 14, the fractious opposition unites





to demand early elections.

*November 1999*

Milosevic's allies pass a law curbing the authority of opposition municipal governments in areas where demonstrations have taken place. On November 22, Otpor holds a rock concert which is followed by speeches.

*January 2000*

Otpor organizes an enormous rally on Orthodox New Year's Eve (January 13), highlighting Serbia's misery after a decade of Milosevic. Opposition politicians speak. All call for early elections. On January 21, Milosevic moves against the independent press, fining the Belgrade newspaper *Danas* (Today) 310,000 dinars.



*March 2000*

Press and media oppression continue; newspapers are fined a total of 202 million dinars, and a television station in Belgrade is temporarily pulled off the air and then harassed with lawsuits. Otpor activists in 20 towns are arrested and interrogated, and sometimes beaten. Nonetheless, 60,000 anti-Milosevic posters are put up in 67 towns and cities.

*April 2000*

Media outlets are charged increasingly heavy fines, and one of the infractions is coverage of Otpor's activity. 100,000 people mass in Belgrade to demand early elections to unseat Milosevic, and the two main opposition leaders appear together for the first time since 1997.



*May 2000*

With the government on the offensive, 18 Serb political parties unite to form a coalition, the Democratic Opposition of Serbia, or DOS. Tensions mount with the assassination of

a Milosevic ally on May 13. The government blames the killing on the opposition and Otpor. That same day, Otpor organizes a "surrender action," turning their membership lists over to police throughout the country. The government accelerates its repression, arresting activists and taking off the air two independent television and radio stations. 20,000 people demonstrate for days.

Otpor attempts to register as a political organization, citing the opposition's incompetence; the application is rejected.

On May 27, opposition parties come together for a rally, and on May 29 the government issues a statement blaming all unrest on pressures from international media outlets under NATO control and the activities of an internal fifth column. ("The internal fifth column" was an expression often used by Milosevic and his propaganda apparatus, to characterize his enemies as traitors, NATO collaborators, enemies of the state paid by NATO, etc.)

*July 2000*

On July 17, Otpor members hold a demonstration to dramatize high food prices and enact a parody of official government news. Milosevic, having pushed through Parliament a constitutional amendment that will allow him two more terms as President, announces early elections scheduled for September 24.

*August 2000*

As elections approach, Otpor launches an anti-Milosevic campaign with the slogan, "He's Finished!" It appears everywhere. On August 8, Milosevic's birthday, Otpor displays giant satirical birthday cards in town squares throughout Serbia.





### September 2000

Otpor headquarters are raided and its materials seized. In an atmosphere of state-ordered vilification of the opposition, the elections are held on September 24. More than 30,000 volunteers monitor some 10,000 polling places to prevent fraud. By the close of the day, the monitors announce that Milosevic has been defeated by a substantial margin. The new president is the DOS candidate, Vojislav Kostunica, a scholar and lawyer un-tainted by Serbian political corruption. Milosevic, claiming that neither he nor Kostunica received a majority of the votes, calls for a run-off election. The opposition calls for a general strike to force Milosevic to honour the popular vote.



### October 2000

Beginning with a coal miners' strike, sector after sector of the country grinds to a halt. Protesters block streets with barricades and their bodies. When Milosevic sends soldiers to break the strike, tens of thousands of citizens turn out.

By October 5, the country has come to a virtual standstill. Hundreds of thousands of protesters pour peacefully into Belgrade. The police, with a few exceptions, acknowledge their orders but refuse to obey them. By the end of the day, the protesters control the parliament building and the state-run television and radio stations. European leaders call for Milosevic to step down.

On October 6, Milosevic acknowledges defeat, and the head of the Army congratulates Kostunica on his victory.

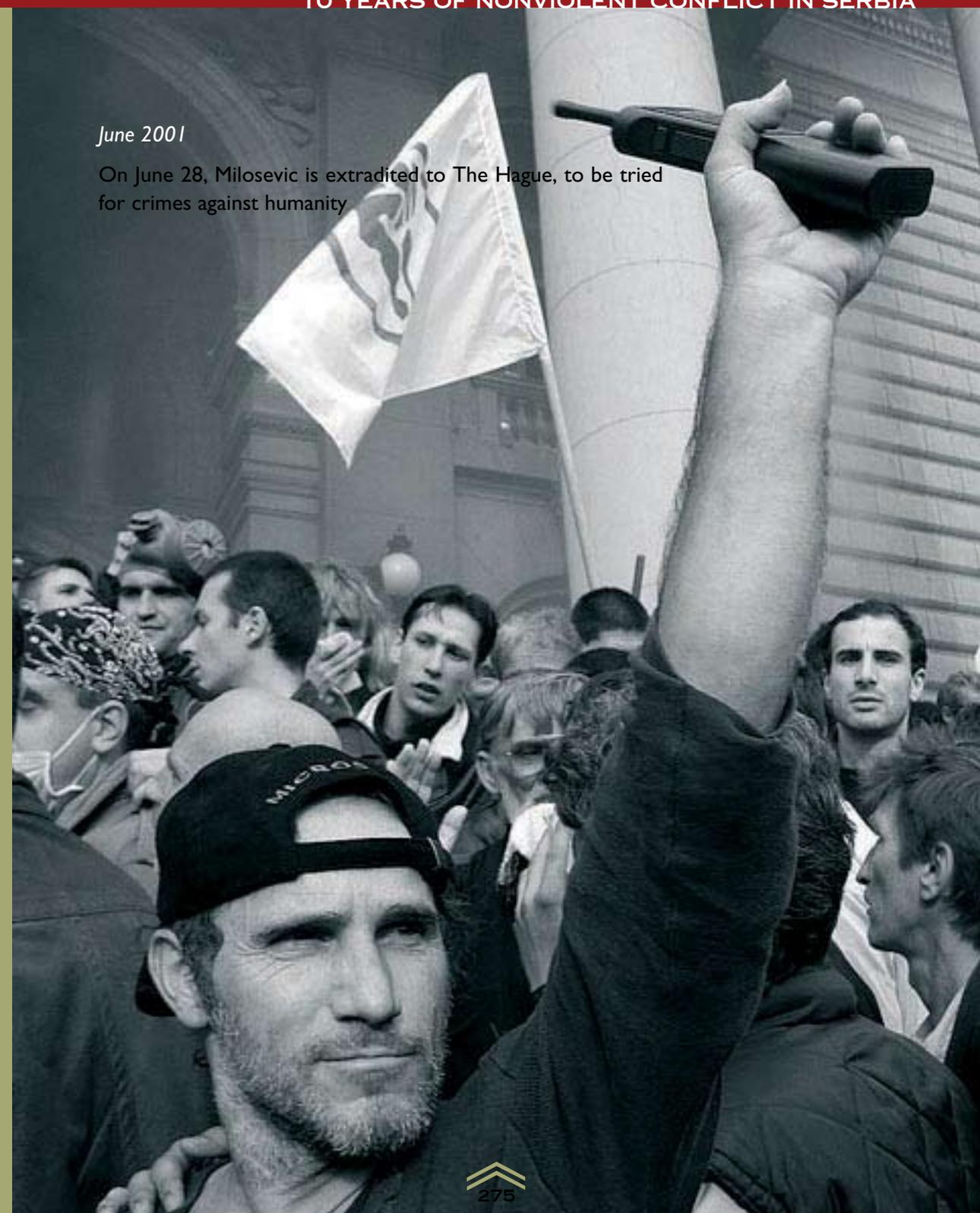


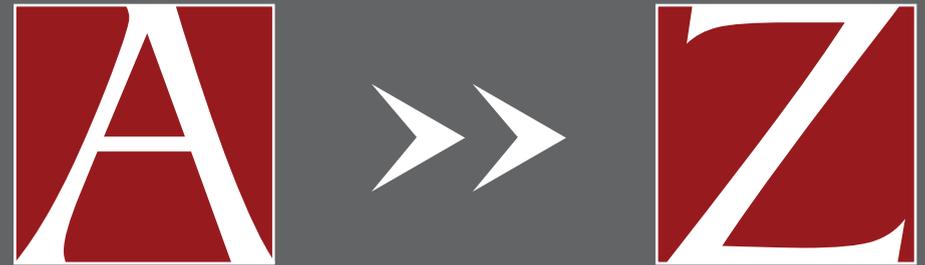
### April 2001

On April 1, the police unit responsible for investigating crimes by public officials arrests Slobodan Milosevic, the first step of the process that eventually takes him before the UN's International Criminal Tribunal in The Hague.

### June 2001

On June 28, Milosevic is extradited to The Hague, to be tried for crimes against humanity





# GLOSSARY

## OF IMPORTANT TERMS IN NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE\*

\* adapted from Gene Sharp, *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential*, (Boston, MA: Porter Sargent Publishers), 2005, pp. 543-552

**Accommodation**

A mechanism of change in nonviolent action in which an opponents chooses to compromise and grant certain demands of the nonviolent resisters. Accommodation occurs when an opponent has neither changed its views nor been nonviolently coerced, but has concluded that a compromise settlement is desirable. Accommodation may result from influences that, if continued, might lead to the conversion, nonviolent coercion, or disintegration of the opponents' system or regime.

**Authority**

The quality that leads the judgments, decisions, recommendations, and orders of certain individuals and institutions to be accepted as right and legitimate and therefore to be implemented by others through obedience or cooperation. Authority is a main source of political power, but is not identical with it.

**Boycott**

Noncooperation, either socially, economically, or politically.

**Campaign**

A plan for the conduct of a major phase of a nonviolent struggle. Campaigns are a series of activities (tactics) designed to achieve medium- and long-term goals. Campaigns are more likely to be successful if your entire group has an opportunity to be involved in the planning process. Campaigns are designed to reinforce

the objectives of the movement's grand strategy.

**Civic abstention**

A synonym for acts of political non cooperation.

**Civic action**

A synonym for nonviolent action conducted for political purposes.

**Civic defiance**

Assertive acts of nonviolent protest, resistance or intervention conducted for political purposes.

**Civic resistance**

A synonym for nonviolent resistance with a political objective.

**Civic strike**

An economic shut-down conducted for political reasons. Workers, students, professionals, shopkeepers, white-collar workers (including government employees), and members of upper classes may all participate.

**Civil disobedience**

A deliberate nonviolent violation of particular laws, decrees, regulations, ordinances, or military or police orders. Civil disobedience is usually targeted at laws or rules that are regarded as immoral, unjust, or tyrannical. Sometimes, however, laws or rules of a largely regulatory or morally neutral character may be disobeyed as a symbol of opposition to the wider policies of a government.

**Conversion**

A change of viewpoint by an opponent against whom nonviolent action has been waged, such that the opponent comes to believe it is right to accept the objectives of the nonviolent group. This is one of four mechanisms of change in nonviolent action.

**Disintegration**

A mechanism of change in nonviolent action in which the opponent is not simply coerced, but rather its system or government is disintegrated and falls apart as a result of massive non cooperation and defiance. The sources of power are restricted or severed by the noncooperation so completely that the opponents' system or government simply collapses.

**Economic shut-down**

A suspension of the economic activities of a city, area, or country on a sufficient scale to produce economic paralysis. The motives are usually political. This may be achieved with a general strike by workers while management, business, commercial institutions, and shopkeepers close their establishments and halt their economic activities.

**Freedom (political)**

A political condition that permits freedom of choice and action for individuals and also for individuals and groups to participate in the decisions and operation of the society and the political system.

**Goal**

The target (mission) that should be achieved. (For example: Getting at least 1,000 people to sign a petition). Short-term goals are things that can be accomplished within a short period of time (i.e. one month), such as obtaining the petition signatures. Long-term goals are those things that can be achieved within a couple of years, or perhaps even decades. Long-term goals are often linked to short-term goals, and may depend on the achievement of one or more (sometimes even a series) of short-term goals. Long-term goals are generally considered more important than short-term goals, as their value is usually higher. Therefore, if achieving a certain short-term goal makes an obstacle for later achieving a certain long-term goal, it is often advised to sacrifice the short-term goal (see the entry for "Tactic" for more information).

**Grand strategy**

The broadest conception of how an objective is to be attained in a conflict by a chosen course of action. The grand strategy coordinates and directs all appropriate and available resources (human, political, material, time, etc.) of a group to attain its objectives in a conflict. Several limited campaigns may be applied within a grand strategy to achieve particular objectives in subordinate phases of the overall struggle.

**Grievance group**

The general population group whose

grievances are at issue in the conflict and are being championed by the nonviolent resisters.

#### **Human resources**

The number of persons and groups that obey, cooperate with, or assist a group in implementing its will. This includes the proportion of such persons and groups in the general population, and the extent, forms, and independence of their organizations. A group's power is affected by the availability of these human resources, which constitute a source of political power.

#### **Material resources**

A source of political power. The term refers to property, natural resources, financial resources, the economic system, means of communication, and modes of transportation. The degree to which a group controls, or does not control, these helps to determine the extent or limits of the group's power.

#### **Mechanisms of change**

The processes by which change is achieved in successful cases of nonviolent struggle. The four mechanisms of change are conversion, accommodation, nonviolent coercion, and disintegration.

#### **Methods of nonviolent action**

Specific means of nonviolent action. Nearly two hundred methods have thus far been identified under three main classes: nonviolent protest and persuasion, noncooperation (social, economic, and

political), and nonviolent intervention.

#### **Noncooperation**

Methods of nonviolent action that involve deliberate restriction, discontinuance, or withholding of social, economic, or political cooperation (or a combination of these) with a disapproved person, activity, institution, or regime. The methods of noncooperation are classified in the subcategories of social noncooperation, economic noncooperation (economic boycotts and labour strikes), and political noncooperation.

#### **Nonviolence (religious or ethical)**

The belief that violent acts are prohibited on religious or ethical grounds. In some belief systems, not only physical violence is barred but also hostile thoughts and words. Certain belief systems additionally enjoin positive attitudes and behaviour toward opponents, or even a rejection of the concept of opponents. Such believers may or may not participate in nonviolent struggles with people practicing nonviolent action for pragmatic reasons.

#### **Nonviolent action (NVA)**

A general technique of conducting protest, resistance, and intervention without physical violence. Such action may be conducted by (a) acts of omission — that is, the participants refuse to perform acts that they usually perform, are expected by custom to perform, or are required by law or regulation to perform; or (b) acts of commission — that is, the participants perform acts that they usually do not perform, are not expected by custom

to perform, or are forbidden by law or regulation from performing; or (c) a combination of both. The technique of nonviolent action includes a multitude of specific methods that are grouped into three main classes: nonviolent protest and persuasion, noncooperation, and nonviolent intervention.

#### **Nonviolent coercion**

A mechanism of change in nonviolent action in which demands are achieved against the will of an opponent because effective control of the situation has been taken away from the opponent by widespread noncooperation and defiance. The opponent may or may not still remain in his/her official positions

#### **Nonviolent insurrection**

A popular political uprising against an established regime by use of massive noncooperation and defiance.

#### **Nonviolent intervention**

Methods of nonviolent action that directly interfere with an opponent's activities and disrupt the operation of its system. Acts of nonviolent intervention are most often physical (such as a sit-in) but may also be social, economic, or political.

#### **Nonviolent protest and persuasion**

Methods of nonviolent action that are symbolic and express opposition opinions and/or attempt to persuade individuals or groups to support a cause. These acts extend beyond verbal expressions of opinion but stop short of noncooperation

and nonviolent intervention.

#### **Nonviolent struggle**

The use of multiple, coordinated acts of nonviolent action by a group to achieve that group's objectives.

#### **Pillars of support**

The institutions and sections of a society that supply a regime or organization with critical sources of power (such as legitimacy [authority], human resources, materials resources, skills and knowledge, or the ability to carry out sanctions) that are necessary in order for it to function. Without the support of the pillars of support, a regime or organization would collapse.

Examples of pillars of support may be the police, prisons, and military forces supplying sanctions, moral and religious leaders supplying authority (legitimacy), labor groups and business and investment groups supplying economic resources, and other groups that may provide critical sources of political power.

#### **Political defiance**

The strategic application of nonviolent struggle in order to end a dictatorship and replace it with a democratic system. This resistance by noncooperation and defiance mobilizes the power of the oppressed population in order to restrict and cut off the sources of the dictatorship's power. Those sources are provided by groups and institutions called "pillars of support". When political defiance is used successfully, it can make a nation ungovernable by the current or any

future dictatorship and therefore create a democratic system that is resilient against possible new threats.

### **Political jiu-jitsu**

A process that may operate during a nonviolent struggle whereby an opponent's repression (particularly violent repression) against nonviolent resisters backfires against the opponent. Frequently the repression de-legitimizes the opponent and draws supporters and empathy to the nonviolent resisters. Political jiu-jitsu can operate only when violent repression is met with continued nonviolent defiance, not violence or surrender. The opponent's repression is then seen in the worst possible light. Resulting shifts in opinion are likely to occur among third parties, the general grievance group and even the opponent's usual supporters. Those shifts may produce withdrawal of support for the opponent and increased support for the nonviolent resisters. The result may be widespread condemnation of the opponents, internal opposition among the opponents, and increased resistance. These changes can at times produce major shifts in power relationships in favor of the nonviolent struggle group. Political jiu-jitsu does not operate in all cases of nonviolent struggle. When it is absent, the shift of power relationships depends highly on the extent of noncooperation of the nonviolent resisters and their supporters.

### **Political power**

The totality of influences and pressures available for use to determine and implement official policies for a society. Political power may be wielded by the institutions of government, institutions and organizations outside of the government (such as businesses), or by political opposition or other dissident groups and organizations. Political power may be directly applied in a conflict, or it may be held as a reserve capacity for possible later use.

### **Sanctions**

Punishments (violent or nonviolent) imposed either because people have failed to act in an expected or desired manner or because people have acted in an unexpected or prohibited manner. The ability to carry out sanctions is a source of political power.

### **Self reliance**

The capacity of an individual or group to manage its own affairs, make its own judgments, and provide necessary resources for itself and its allies.

### **Skills and knowledge**

A source of political power. A ruler's power is supported by the skills, knowledge and abilities that are provided by persons and groups in the society (human resources) and the relation of those available skills, knowledge and abilities to the ruler's needs for them.

### **Sources of power**

Sources of power include: authority, human resources, skills and knowledge, intangible (psychological or cultural) factors, material resources and sanctions. The majority of these sources derive from the society. Each of these sources is closely associated with and dependent upon the acceptance, cooperation, and obedience of various parts of the population and the society's institutions. With a strong supply of these sources the ruler will be powerful. When a nonviolent movement organizes to weaken or sever these sources of power from its opponent, the opponent's power will weaken and collapse.

### **Strategic nonviolent struggle**

Nonviolent struggle that is applied according to a strategic plan that has been prepared on the basis of analysis of the conflict situation, the strengths and weaknesses of the contending groups, the nature, capacities, and requirements of the technique of nonviolent action, and especially strategic principles of that type of struggle. See also: grand strategy, strategy, tactics, and methods.

### **Strategy**

A plan for the conduct of a major phase, or campaign, within a grand strategy for the overall conflict. A strategy is the basic idea of how the struggle of a specific campaign shall develop, and how its separate components shall be fitted together to contribute most advantageously to achieve its objectives. Strategy operates within

the scope of the grand strategy. Tactics and specific methods of action are used in smaller scale operations to implement the strategy for a specific campaign.

### **Strike**

A deliberate restriction or suspension of work, usually temporarily, to put pressure on employers to achieve an economic objective or sometimes on the government in order to win a political objective.

### **Tactic**

A limited plan of action to achieve a specific limited objective. Tactics are intended for use in implementing a wider strategy in a phase of the overall conflict. They are the building blocks of nonviolent campaigns. The distinction between goals and tactics can be confusing because sometimes a group needs to achieve certain goals first before employing certain tactics.

### **Violence**

Physical violence against other human beings that inflicts injury or death, or threatens to inflict such violence, or any act dependent on such infliction or threat. Some types of religious or ethical nonviolence conceive of violence much more broadly. The narrower definition used in this book allows people with those religious or ethical beliefs to cooperate with persons and groups that are prepared on pragmatic grounds to practice nonviolent struggle.

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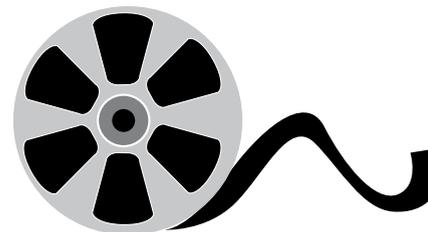
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This curriculum is devoted to activists around the globe who are fighting for their rights, freedom and for a better world as you read these lines.

Srdja Popovic  
Slobodan Djinovic  
Andrej Milivojevic  
Hardy Merriman  
Ivan Marovic

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