

The
Albert
Einstein
Institution

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

Mission

The Albert Einstein Institution

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

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

This mission is pursued in three ways, by:

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

The Albert Einstein Institution is profoundly grateful to the many individuals who have supported us over the years. We would also like to thank the following organizations for their generous financial support during the period from 2000 to 2004:

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Robert L. Helvey

“Strategic nonviolent struggle must be recognized as a subject that can be understood and applied by all who seek to throw off the yoke of governmental oppression.”

– Robert L. Helvey

Since its founding 21 years ago, the Albert Einstein Institution (AEI) has achieved remarkable success in fulfilling its mission. By conducting serious research on nonviolent action and sharing the results of this work through publications and consultations, democratic movements throughout the world have been influenced by the Institution’s work. This is an accomplishment for which our contributors can be proud.

Since publishing our last *Report on Activities*, the pace of our work has increased in all three of our mission areas: research, sharing results, and consultations. We have responded to requests for literature from pro-democracy organizations in places like Azerbaijan, Haiti, Ukraine, Venezuela, and Zimbabwe. Consultations about strategic nonviolent struggle were arranged for movements in Serbia, Venezuela, Belarus, and Tibet. As the number of successful nonviolent struggles increase, others are realizing that this form of conflict is a realistic alternative to violent resistance against authoritarian regimes. Requests for translations have increased so much that they now far exceed our available resources to meet this demand. The same is true of requests for consultations.

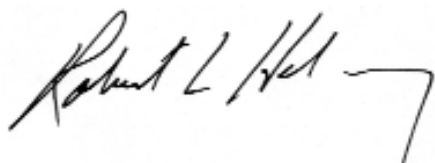
The Albert Einstein Institution continuously stresses the importance of learning from past nonviolent struggles in order to increase the chances of success for future struggles. Studies on the Lithuanian struggle for independence and the Kosovar Albanian resistance against Serbian repression shed light on two such cases.

AEI’s translation program has been instrumental in expanding our global reach. In the last four years alone, The Albert Einstein Institution’s publications have appeared in Serbian, Russian, Ukrainian, Spanish, Arabic, Farsi, Tibetan, and several ethnic Burmese languages. Additional translations are currently underway in Chinese and Kurdish.

Where conflict situations have become critical, AEI consultants have helped train members of nonviolent struggle movements. A major success story was the end of the Milosevic dictatorship in Serbia in 2000. After receiving training on how to plan a sound strategy, members of the pro-democracy group OTPOR were able to mobilize the Serbian people in a nonviolent mass demonstration, forcing Slobodan Milosevic to step down.

The Albert Einstein Institution can be of most help when a nonviolent movement is in its early stages—well before their struggle becomes newsworthy beyond their borders. As is the case with most nongovernmental organizations that provide services to those who are out of the public eye, our operating expenses exceed the income generated from general appeal letters. As a result, we are intensifying our search for those who believe in our mission and have the resources to provide for early expansion of our research, translation, and consultation programs. This support will enable us to expand our capacity to respond to increasing requests for assistance from groups who want to use nonviolent action. Every contribution is needed. Sometimes one book, one telephone call, can make a difference to a group opposing a repressive regime or fighting for social justice.

More than 200 million people died in the wars of the 20th century, and yet severe conditions still exist around the world. As we look to the 21st century, our challenge is to convincingly promote nonviolent struggle as a realistic alternative even more powerful than violent conflict to achieve political objectives and to defend against tyranny. The Albert Einstein Institution is dedicated to this task.



Robert L. Helvey
President

“After receiving training on how to plan a sound strategy, members of the pro-democracy group OTPOR were able to mobilize the Serbian people in a nonviolent mass demonstration, forcing Slobodan Milosevic to step down.”



Gene Sharp

The thought barrier and beyond

In the mid 1950s, British Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall proposed a Royal Commission to examine whether national defense could be provided by a prepared policy of nonviolent resistance. Although he received a reasonable hearing, most people and officials were highly skeptical. They could not imagine defense provided by anything other than strong military means.

Sir Stephen had encountered what he termed the “thought barrier.” His reaction was that it was necessary to “break through the thought barrier.” Though he made an impact, the thought barrier remained firmly in place.

This thought barrier was based upon the view that political power in extreme situations requires the threat or use of the strongest violence of which one’s side is capable. The unexpressed assumptions therein are that there is no realistic alternative to such violence in extreme crises and that victorious violent struggle reliably delivers one’s avowed objectives. These assumptions are matters of faith for both giant military powers and terrorist organizations.

The available historical heritage

The assumption that there is no realistic alternative to violence in extreme situations is contradicted by various cases of important nonviolent struggles in several countries in recent decades. These include Norway, Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, the Philippines, the Soviet Union, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Serbia, El Salvador, Guatemala, India, and others. Many earlier cases of improvised nonviolent struggle occurred and are also relevant.

Usually the importance of these history-making nonviolent struggles has been trivialized or ignored. Although there have also been some failures in nonviolent struggle, such as in China and Burma, the fact that these cases could have been waged at all, and that numerous nonviolent struggles have succeeded, is highly important.

Gene Sharp is “America’s premier tactician of non-violent struggle.”

– *The National Catholic Reporter*

We have already shed significant light on these aspects of our neglected history and deepened the understanding of the technique of nonviolent action that was used in those conflicts. Major new research, analysis, and education of these and other cases are still required.

The advantage of strategic planning

Past nonviolent struggles have been mostly improvised, often in highly unfavorable circumstances, without deep strategic and logistical planning. This need no longer be the case. With careful analyses and wise planning, this option can be made more effective in the future than it has been even in the impressive victories of the past. The developed technique could then be responsibly applied in various acute conflict situations—such as extreme oppression, dictatorships, foreign aggression, and attempted genocide—in which it has been widely assumed that only extreme violence has a chance of success.

The Albert Einstein Institution has with its limited resources been tackling all of these components of the thought barrier through our research, analysis, educational outreach, strategic studies, and policy development. There is still a long way to go. We need your help to make possible wise and informed expansion of nonviolent action as an alternative to both passive submission and massive violence.

The power of organized people acting with realism and strategic judgment can break the thought barrier and deal with the most acute political problems of this tragic age. Great possibilities exist.

“The power of organized people acting with realism and strategic judgment can break the thought barrier and deal with the most acute political problems of this tragic age. Great possibilities exist.”

The goal of the Albert Einstein Institution's research is to increase people's understanding of nonviolent struggle. We examine issues such as: How has nonviolent action been used in the past? What factors contribute to its success or failure? How can it be made more effective? Through this research, AEI aims to develop materials that have practical value for groups in conflict and assist in further research in this field.

In the past few years, AEI President Robert Helvey and Senior Scholar Gene Sharp have undertaken groundbreaking new research.

Drawing on 30 years of military experience and over a decade of work consulting with nonviolent struggle movements, retired Colonel and AEI President Robert Helvey delved into the question of how to build a strategy for nonviolent struggle. Helvey's unique qualifications enable him to share insights on the similarities between military and nonviolent strategy. He demonstrates ways to identify a movement's objectives, how to prepare a strategic estimate for a nonviolent struggle, and points out operational planning considerations. This research resulted in a book, *On Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: Thinking About the Fundamentals*, and represents a major new contribution to this field of study.

Senior Scholar Gene Sharp explored the dynamics of nonviolent action in conflict, and surveyed 23 diverse case studies of nonviolent action in the twentieth century. Cases include the Russian Revolution of 1905, the Muslim Pashtun movement in British North-West Frontier Province in the 1930s, the Montgomery, Alabama bus boycotts in the 1950s, school boycotts in South Africa in the 1980s, as well as the downfall of the Milosevic dictatorship in Serbia in 2000, which has not yet been written about from this perspective. His findings also include unprecedented detail about strategic planning. This research has yielded a book, *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: Twentieth Century Practice and Twenty-First Century Potential*.

"The goal of the Albert Einstein Institution's research is to increase people's understanding of nonviolent struggle."

What is Nonviolent Action

Nonviolent action is a powerful means to wage conflict,

giving population groups the means to resist oppression and injustice. Nonviolent forms of struggle undermine an opponent's power by withholding and withdrawing the cooperation and obedience required to maintain its position and achieve its goals. Nonviolent action uses psychological, social, economic, and political methods to achieve its objectives. For example, economic boycotts and strikes may disrupt an adversary's economic power. Political noncooperation can nullify oppressive government policies and weaken dictatorial regimes. Disaffection and mutiny of troops facing nonviolent resisters can limit or destroy a regime's military strength.

Nearly two hundred methods of nonviolent action have been identified and, undoubtedly, more will emerge in future conflicts. Through these "weapons" of nonviolent action, people engage in conflict by doing—or refusing to do—certain things without using physical violence. As a technique, then, nonviolent action is not passive. *It is not inaction. It is action that is nonviolent.*



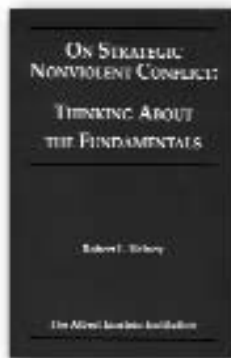
“We’ve chosen nonviolence because it is the best way to protect the people and in the long term assure the future stability of democracy.”

– Burmese opposition leader and Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi

Publications

People employing nonviolent struggle must often base their decisions on anecdotal information, political manifestos, or just plain guesswork. Lessons learned from one generation have rarely been passed on to the next. This no longer has to be the case. For more than twenty years, the Albert Einstein Institution has supported the publication of literature on nonviolent struggle. Case studies, especially, are an important tool for learning from past struggles and understanding the various circumstances in which it can be applied. This way, new nonviolent struggle movements won't feel like they have to reinvent the wheel. Through better understanding of the dynamics of nonviolent action, their chances of success can be dramatically increased.

Books



On Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: Thinking About the Fundamentals by Robert L. Helvey.

Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution, 2004. 178pp.

On Strategic Nonviolent Conflict is designed as a framework for thinking strategically about waging nonviolent conflict. It explores various operational planning methodologies in detail, as well as other fundamentals relevant to waging nonviolent struggle. Additional topics covered include propaganda, contaminants that could destroy a nonviolent movement, and the importance of providing consultations and training for members of movements.

Waging Nonviolent Struggle: Twentieth Century Practice and Twenty-First Century Potential. by Gene Sharp.

Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, 2005. (forthcoming)

Waging Nonviolent Struggle is a groundbreaking new work for those interested in studying the characteristics of nonviolent struggle, examining the historical

use of this technique, and considering strategic planning for its future applications. The book asserts that this form of struggle, if understood accurately and applied intelligently, is a viable alternative to violence and a practical way to face future major conflicts. At 39 chapters, the book also includes a glossary of terms and an index of 2,000 terms and concepts to assist further research in this field.



Civil Resistance in Kosovo by Howard Clark.

London: Pluto Press, 2000. 266pp.

Throughout the 1990s, ethnic Albanians in Kosovo used tactics of noncooperation against the repressive ultra-nationalistic Milosevic regime in Serbia. Though their struggle did not prevent war, it succeeded in postponing it by seriously frustrating Serbian plans for Kosovo. In

the book, former Albert Einstein Institution Fellow Howard Clark evaluates the nonviolent strategies used by ethnic Albanians and suggests how their struggle could have been made more effective.

Shorter Publications



There Are Realistic Alternatives by Gene Sharp.

Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution, 2003. 54pp.

There Are Realistic Alternatives is a short introduction to the theory, practice, and strategy of nonviolent action. Based on pragmatic arguments, it presents nonviolent struggle as a realistic alternative to war and other violence in acute conflicts. Available for download from our

website, it is accessible, easily translatable, and will likely appeal to individuals who would otherwise have an inclination towards violence.

“Nothing illustrates more dramatically than this pamphlet the essential contributions of Gene Sharp and the Albert Einstein Institution to the history of nonviolence.”

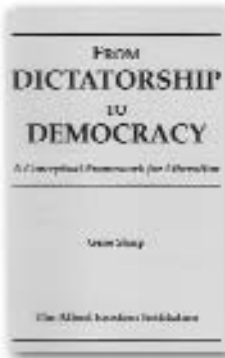
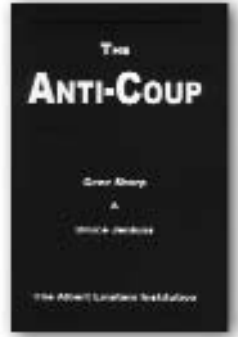
– Michael True, in his review of *There Are Realistic Alternatives* in *Peacework Magazine*.

“If I had to choose between the atom bomb and Dr. Sharp’s book, I would choose this book.”

– Andrius Butkevicius, Lithuanian Defense Minister, referring to Gene Sharp’s *Civilian-Based Defense*

The Anti-Coup by Bruce Jenkins and Gene Sharp.
Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution, 2003. 64pp.

The Anti-Coup addresses the theory and practice of organizing effective resistance among governments, nongovernmental organizations, and civilians against coups d’état and executive usurpations. As coups are one of the primary ways through which dictatorships are installed, this piece details practical measures to prevent and block these seizures of power. It also contains specific measures that governments and nongovernmental institutions can follow to prepare for anti-coup resistance. An electronic version of the booklet is available on the web.



From Dictatorship to Democracy by Gene Sharp.
Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution, 2003. 88pp.

This booklet is a thorough introduction to the use of nonviolent action and strategic thinking to topple dictatorships. Originally published in 1993 in Thailand for distribution among Burmese dissidents, *From Dictatorship to Democracy* has since spread to several parts of the world. This is the third English printing of this book, which now appears in 12 different languages, including Spanish, Farsi, Arabic, and Serbian. You can also find it on our website at www.aeinstein.org.

Nonviolent Resistance in Lithuania: A Story of Peaceful Liberation
by Grazina Miniotaite.
Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution, 2002. 98pp.

Nonviolent Resistance in Lithuania details the use of nonviolent action in Lithuania against Soviet control from 1940 until its independence in 1991. It also discusses the potential adoption of a civilian-based defense component to Lithuania’s national defense policy. This monograph may be the first major analysis in English of the nonviolent strategies employed by Lithuanians during that time.

Translations

By translating important literature on nonviolent action, we provide political leaders and activists around the world with information to help them wage their struggle more effectively. We aim to translate literature about nonviolent struggle so that it can be used in places where people need it most. Many of our translated editions are distributed directly to people on the ground. Others can be easily accessed over the internet through our website at www.aeinstein.org. The Institution has works in more than 20 languages.

Books



Russian – *Civilian-Based Defense* by Gene Sharp.
Vilnius, Lithuania: Lithuanian Association of Human Rights, 2003. 233pp.

A Russian translation of *Civilian-Based Defense* was published in January 2003. The book explains how noncooperation and defiance by a country’s population and institutions can deny invaders their objectives. The publication was distributed to several former Soviet republics, including Ukraine, Turkmenistan, and Belarus.

Tibetan – *The Power and Practice of Nonviolent Struggle* by Gene Sharp.
New Delhi, India: Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre, 2000. 343pp.

After attending AEI workshops in the 1990s, Tibetan leaders and activists became interested in obtaining translations of our materials. In response, a manuscript by Gene Sharp was printed in the Tibetan language in early 2000. With a foreword by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, and an introduction by the Venerable Samdhong Rinpoche, the book is designed as an introduction to nonviolent struggle. It has since been distributed among Tibetan leaders and activists, and is available for download from our website.

“The resistance that we planned in 1991 and organized through communications with other Estonian towns and cities was in remarkable extent based on your book *Civilian-Based Defense*.”

– Dr. Raivo Vare,
former Estonian Minister of State



Shorter Publications

Arabic – *There Are Realistic Alternatives* by Gene Sharp.
Jerusalem: Middle East Nonviolence and Democracy, 2004. 64pp.

An Arabic translation of *There Are Realistic Alternatives* was printed in June 2004. Middle East Nonviolence and Democracy (MEND), an organization based in Jerusalem, provided the translation and printing. An electronic version can be downloaded from www.aeinstein.org.



Arabic – *From Dictatorship to Democracy* by Gene Sharp.
Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution, 2004. 70pp.

From Dictatorship to Democracy now appears in 12 different languages. The newest translation into Arabic was completed in mid-2004 and is available on our website.



Ukrainian – *From Dictatorship to Democracy*
by Gene Sharp.
Ukraine, 2004. 86pp.

In May 2004, the Albert Einstein Institution funded the printing of 12,000 copies of this booklet printed locally in the Ukraine. The Ukrainian edition is also available on the web.

Farsi – *From Dictatorship to Democracy* by Gene Sharp.
Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution, 2004. 47pp.

A Farsi translation of *From Dictatorship to Democracy* was completed in January 2004 and placed on our web site. Within six months, it was downloaded more than 1,800 times. The translation has also received notice from various dissident groups, Iranian political organizations and news web sites.



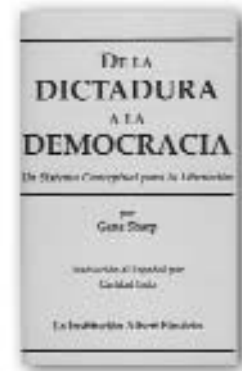
Spanish – *De la Dictadura a la Democracia* by Gene Sharp.

Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution, 2003. 93pp.

The Spanish language edition of *From Dictatorship to Democracy* was printed in December 2003, and is available for download from our website.

Mon, Jing-Paw and Chin – *From Dictatorship to Democracy* by Gene Sharp.

To complement AEI's long history of consultations with Burmese pro-democracy activists, the printing, publication and distribution of three new ethnic Burmese language editions of *From Dictatorship to Democracy* is now complete. In addition to an earlier Burmese translation and a Karen edition printed in 1999, the Mon and Jing-Paw (Kachin) editions were printed in 2000, and the Chin edition in 2001.



“The book [*The Politics of Nonviolent Action*] was more than useful, and we have about 10,000 proofs of how it worked here in Serbia.”

– Srdja Popovic, founding member of OTPOR resistance movement in Serbia



Serbian – *From Dictatorship to Democracy*

by Gene Sharp.

Novi Sad, Yugoslavia: Civic Initiatives, 1999. 84pp.

Miljenko Dereta, Executive Director of Civic Initiatives (an organization working in Serbia), decided to publish a Serbian edition of this booklet after com-

ing across a photocopy of the English version. NATO bombing threats in 1998 and 1999 halted democratization activities, including production of the book. A few days after the bombing ceased, Civic Initiatives returned to their printer and arranged for 5,500 copies of the Serbian *od Diktature do Demokratije*. All copies were distributed free of charge, and eventually, this publication made its way into the hands of most of the top democratic opposition leaders.

Media

The New York Times Magazine – 26 November 2000

“Who Really Brought Down Milosevic” by Roger Cohen

Peace Magazine (Canada) – Oct-Dec 2001

“AEI Goes to Serbia” by Chris Miller

The Washington Post – 11 December 2001

“U.S. Advice Guided Milosevic Opposition” by Michael Dobbs

NO W magazine – 19-25 September 2002

“Saving Iraq: Why U.S. Bombs Won’t Deliver Democracy” by John Bacher

The National Catholic Reporter – 15 November 2002

“Paths to Peace” by Claire Schaeffer-Duffy

The New York Times Magazine – 24 November 2002

“Give Peace a Chance. Questions for Gene Sharp.” by David Wallis

National Public Radio – 26 November 2002

“What Would Gandhi Do?”

TeenSpeak magazine – Spring 2003

“Scholar Promotes Alternatives to War” by Jordan Mamorsky

Peacework magazine – May 2003

“Realistic Alternatives to Violence” by Michael True

Newsday – 19 May 2003

“Combat Needn’t Be Used to Topple Dictators” by Bob Keeler

Tribune Media Services – 29 May 2003

“Fear Factor” by Robert Koehler

Peace Magazine (Canada) – July-September 2003

“Gene Sharp 101” by Metta Spencer

Reason magazine – June 2003

“What Next for U.S. Foreign Policy? Power, Stability and the Post-Iraq World Order” by Jesse Walker

Tribune Media Services – 1 December 2003

“Revolution of Roses: The Georgians Can Teach Us Something about Regime Change” by Robert Koehler

Peace Magazine (Canada) – April-June 2004

“Who’s Afraid of PD?” by John Bacher

L’Hebdo (Switzerland) – 22 April 2004

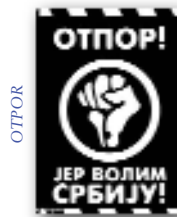
“Révolution, mode d’emploi” by Laurent Rouy

1. *Public Speeches* 2. *Group petitions* 3. *Banners, posters* 4. *Wearing of symbols* 5. *Humorous skits* 6. *Picketing* 7. *Marches* 8. *Mock funerals* 9. *General strike* 10. *Boycott of social affairs* 11. *Stay-at-home*

Methods of Nonviolent Action* 12. *Withdrawal from social institutions* 13. *Expulsion from international organizations* 14. *Consumers' boycott* 15. *Boycott of elections* 16. *Refusal of public support* 17. *Civil disobedience* 18. *International trade embargo* 19. *Refusal to rent* 20. *Parallel government* 21. *Nonviolent harassment* 22. *Establishing new social patterns* 23. *Alternative communication systems* 24. *Hunger strike*

*The above are examples taken from the 198 methods of nonviolent action, For more information, see Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, Part II, *The Methods of Nonviolent Action*, Boston, Massachusetts: Porter Sargent, 1973.

To aid in the effective use of strategic nonviolent struggle, the Albert Einstein Institution consults with groups, and at times governments, that are interested in waging nonviolent struggle. The goal of our consultations is to educate groups, and sometimes policymakers, about the dynamics of nonviolent action, and to teach them to think strategically about waging nonviolent struggle. Over the years, the Albert Einstein Institution has conducted consultations with groups in more than 20 countries.



Serbia

A student opposition group named OTPOR (meaning “Resistance” in the Serbian language) was formed in 1998, with the goal of removing the Serb dictator, Slobodan Milosevic, from power. From the start, OTPOR shunned violence, believing that guerrilla tactics would only play to Milosevic’s strengths. Members printed and distributed leaflets, held marches and sit-ins and spray-painted slogans on walls. They even performed humorous skits in the streets as a way to ridicule the regime.

In March-April 2000, AEI consultant Robert Helvey held a workshop on strategic nonviolent struggle in Budapest, Hungary for several members of OTPOR. The workshop was sponsored by the International Republican Institute.

OTPOR requested assistance because they were not achieving their desired results. It appeared that their strategy had drifted away from attacking the regime’s sources of power. Helvey reviewed with them the theory and applications of nonviolent struggle and OTPOR made some adjustments. They also began to read AEI literature.



Demonstrators meet army resistance during a nonviolent protest in May 2000.

A nongovernmental organization working in Serbia, Civic Initiatives, had coordinated the publication of a Serbian edition of AEI's booklet, *From Dictatorship to Democracy*—translated as *od Diktature do Demokratije*—in early 1999. OTPOR used this translation, as well as excerpts from the book *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* by Gene Sharp, to create a training manual for local representatives of their organization. In all, more than 1,000 Serbian activists were trained to use methods of nonviolent action.

OTPOR's objectives were to get rid of Milosevic and to ensure victory by the opposition in a presidential election, regardless of the candidate. To meet these objectives, they launched two separate campaigns; the first was called "He's Finished!" and the second "It's Time!" OTPOR carried out the aggressive, mostly underground "He's Finished!" campaign, which by its name implied that Milosevic had already been defeated. The other campaign was more positive and focused on getting people out to vote.

The federal elections in September 2000 had an unprecedented turnout of nearly 80 percent. Though Milosevic lost, he refused to step down from the presidency and attempted to discredit the election results. On 5 October, hundreds of thousands of people from all over Serbia marched in the capital of Belgrade, seizing the Parliament building and forcing Milosevic to resign—the climax of a successful, well-planned and executed nonviolent struggle. The transition from dictatorship to democracy had been made.

In May 2001, Civic Initiatives invited the Albert Einstein Institution to participate in a week of events to promote democracy and the development of civil society in Yugoslavia. AEI learned that, in the aftermath of the struggle against Milosevic, Gene Sharp was well known throughout Serbia. His writings were extremely popular among Serbs. Local media shared the national interest and he was interviewed several times throughout the week.



Steve York

**“Thank you for providing
OTPOR with invaluable
assistance in refining our
strategy which successfully
removed Slobodan Milosevic
from power in 2000.”**

– Srdja Popovic, founding member of
Otpor resistance movement in Serbia



OTPOR

“What was most amazing to us was to discover that what we were trying to do spontaneously in Serbia was supported by a whole nonviolent system that we knew nothing about.”

– Srdja Popovic, in Washington Post article about Helvey’s workshop

Gene Sharp and Chris Miller spoke at three public meetings in Belgrade, Krusevac, and Pozarevac (Milosevic’s hometown). In addition, the Albert Einstein Institution participated in a two-day seminar with representatives from nongovernmental organizations throughout Serbia.

Sharp and Miller also met with Srdja Popovic, a founding member of OTPOR and a member of the Serbian Parliament. Mr. Popovic—a participant in Robert Helvey’s Budapest consultation in March-April 2000—was also one of the architects of the strategy for Serbia’s nonviolent struggle. Popovic explained a great deal about the planning and analysis of the struggle from OTPOR’s perspective, including details on the police campaign, propaganda, arrest training, and nonviolent discipline.

Sound strategic planning and wise application of nonviolent action proved essential to the Serbian struggle’s success.

Venezuela

After his failed coup attempt in 1992, Hugo Chávez emerged victorious from the presidential elections in December 1998. Since then the regime has become increasingly authoritarian despite having been democratically elected. Soon after coming into office, Chávez drafted a new constitution, which significantly increased the powers of the presidency.



Sign declares “...we’re working hard to get rid of Chavez!”

Chávez’s popularity began to wane in December 2001 when he announced by decree a set of 49 new laws affecting industries including banking, agriculture and oil. People reacted by taking to the streets for a one-day nationwide civil strike. The government responded with violent repression against the protesters. In this climate, the opposition has had difficulty mobilizing. Venezuelan society is extremely polarized as a result, and poised for the potential outbreak of violence.



Zalbr

Venezuelans opposed to Chávez met with Gene Sharp and other AEI staff to talk about the deteriorating political situation in their country. They also discussed options for opposition groups to further their cause effectively without violence. These visits led to an in-country consultation in April 2003.

The nine-day consultation was held by consultants Robert Helvey and Chris Miller in Caracas for members of the Venezuelan democratic opposition. The objective of the consultation was to provide them with the capacity to develop a nonviolent strategy to restore democracy to Venezuela. Participants included members of political parties and unions, nongovernmental organization leaders, and unaffiliated activists.

Helvey presented a course of instruction on the theory, applications and planning for a strategic nonviolent struggle. Through this, the participants realized the importance of strategic planning to overcome existing shortcomings in the opposition's campaign against Chávez. *Ofensiva Ciudadana*, a pro-democracy group in Venezuela, requested and organized the workshop. This workshop has led to continued contact with Venezuelans and renewed requests for additional consultations.



Reuters/Kimberly White

Venezuelans protest against left wing President Hugo Chavez in Caracas, August 2004.



A member of the student pro-democracy movement *Zubr* (meaning Bison) stands under the Belarussian flag during a march in the capital city of Minsk.

Belarus

Since 1917, Belarus has been almost completely controlled and operated by the Russian security service. Thus, despite Belarussian independence in the early 1990s, the KGB has remained a political power through the former Soviet administration.

Alyaksandr Lukashenko, the autocratic President of the Republic for the last decade, is himself a former KGB Major.

In November 1996, Lukashenko revised the constitution, which greatly expanded the powers of his presidency. His government often subjects the Belarusian population to harsh—and mostly random—repression, including imprisonment, beatings, and disappearances. Against this backdrop, opposition groups have often found it difficult to mobilize.



Zubry

Nearly 5,000 people took part in the People's March "For Better Life" in Minsk on 12 March 2003.

In response to a request from Semion Sharetski, exiled Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Belarus, the Albert Einstein Institution conducted a workshop for Belarusian democrats from 26-31 January 2001. Due to the sensitive political climate in Belarus, the workshop was held out-of-country in neighboring Lithuania. Senior Scholar Gene Sharp developed the workshop and instructed the participants on the potential of strategic nonviolent struggle to achieve democratization in face of a dictatorial regime. Participants included select



Zubry

Young members of the Zubry movement protest in a march held on 21 July 2004

leaders and members of Belarussian political parties, representatives from trade unions and non-governmental organizations, as well as activists, university professors, and students.

The workshop examined strategic nonviolent struggle with specific attention to the nature, strengths, and vulnerabilities of extreme dictatorships. The consultants emphasized the importance of strategic planning in nonviolent struggle and provided insights into how a grand strategy is developed.

Several days into the workshop, participants watched as President Lukashenko denounced the “workshop on nonviolent struggle” on



Reuters/Hoavaard Barditt

“No Government can exist...without the cooperation of the people...and if people withdraw their cooperation in every detail, that Government will come to a standstill.”

– Gandhi



Belarusian television. Later, the Belarusian government issued a formal complaint to the Lithuanian embassy in Minsk, and the Belarusian embassy in Vilnius, Lithuania issued a similar complaint to the

Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs for allowing such a workshop to be held. The Lithuanian government responded by stating they could not control the actions of nongovernmental organizations inside Lithuania, as long as such actions were conducted within their constitutional law.

Lukashenko's personal denunciations of the workshop helped the participants realize the power potential of the information they had received and how the government felt threatened by it.

Zimbabwe

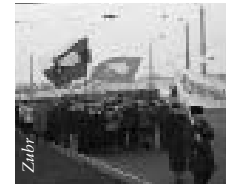
Growing government dissatisfaction amongst the people of Zimbabwe led to the creation of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), formed as a political party in 1999. The party is working for change through democracy and nonviolent action. By organizing national strikes, the MDC is attempting

to pressure the regime of President Robert Mugabe to address the deteriorating economic situation.

In February 2002, AEI consultants Robert Helvey and Joshua Paulson met with Zimbabwean opposition groups. Approximately fifty people participated in two separate consultations, one with leaders of the MDC and



A supporter of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) wears party flags in his dreadlocks at a rally near the capital city of Harare, March 2002.



Protestors wave flags with the Bison symbolizing Zubr, a pro-democracy movement in Belarus, November 2003.

"Violence is a method by which the ruthless few can subdue the passive many. Nonviolence is a means by which the active many can overcome the ruthless few."

— Jonathan Schell, in his book *The Unconquerable World: Power, Nonviolence, and the Will of the People*

“In recent years various dictatorships...have collapsed or stumbled when confronted by defiant, mobilized people.”

– *From Dictatorship to Democracy*

another with representatives from civil society groups. For security reasons, the consultations could not take place inside Zimbabwe and were held instead in South Africa and Botswana.

The consultants’ primary objective was to help the Movement for Democratic Change develop ideas on how to avoid violence in the days after the presidential election scheduled for March 2002. A secondary objective was to help incorporate a strategic component in the nonviolent struggle for democracy in Zimbabwe.

Consultations with MDC leaders indicated that its focus was on “free and fair elections” despite the overwhelming evidence that Mugabe would not permit them. Since the election was only a few weeks away, the MDC did not believe it could prepare an alternate plan in case the election idea failed. Unfortunately, as predicted, Mugabe used tactics such as ballot box stuffing, moving polling places on election day, beating MDC supporters waiting in line to vote (sometimes with international observers watching), and closing polls early or not opening them at all. In the face of these obstacles, the MDC lost the election. The consultations were sponsored by the International Republican Institute.

Tibet

At the invitation of the Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Center, the Albert Einstein Institution conducted a course on strategic nonviolent struggle for Tibetans in New Delhi, India in 2002. This course was the latest in a series of consultations that AEI has



AP/Wide World Photos

had with Tibetans in India, stretching back to 1996 in Dharamsala, 1997 in New Delhi, 1998 in Kosi, and 1998 in Norbulinka. These courses focused on the nature and dynamics of nonviolent action in acute conflicts and requirements for effective nonviolent struggle.

The Baltic States: Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, the governments of the Baltic States used various forms of nonviolent resistance and noncooperation against the occupying Soviet regime. The pro-independence governments in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia used Albert Einstein Institution materials in English, as well as translations into Latvian and Lithuanian, to plan their drives for independence.

In January 2001, AEI staff returned to Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia on the advent of the ten-year anniversary of their struggle for independence from the Soviet Union and met with current and former members of the Defense Ministries of all three countries. Discussions with these officials included the potential of a nonviolent resistance component as part of total defense policy,

as well as remembering the historic events that led to their nonviolent liberation from the Soviet regime.

In addition, the Latvian Prime Minister Andris Berzins invited Gene Sharp to speak at a conference to celebrate the ten year anniversary. Sharp's speech, "Latvia's Struggle for Independence in a World Context," was later published in Latvia's official state newspaper, *Latvijas Vestnesis*.

**"We had no other opportunity
or way to become independent,
just through nonviolence."**

– Former Latvian Minister of Defense
Girts Valdis Kristovskis



Tibetan women wear gags to symbolize suppression of free speech under Chinese rule in Tibet.

Numerous individuals and organizations interested in the potential of nonviolent struggle contact the Albert Einstein Institution. In recent years, requests for information or advice have come from people involved in conflicts in Albania, Kosovo, Moldova, Serbia, Slovakia, Cyprus, the Republic of Georgia, Ukraine, Belarus, Azerbaijan, Iran, Afghanistan, the United Arab Emirates, Iraq, Lebanon, the Occupied Territories, Vietnam, China, Tibet, West Papua, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Aceh (Indonesia), Kashmir, Haiti, Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia, Cuba, Mexico, Angola, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Togo, Kenya and Zimbabwe.

Burma



The New Era Journal

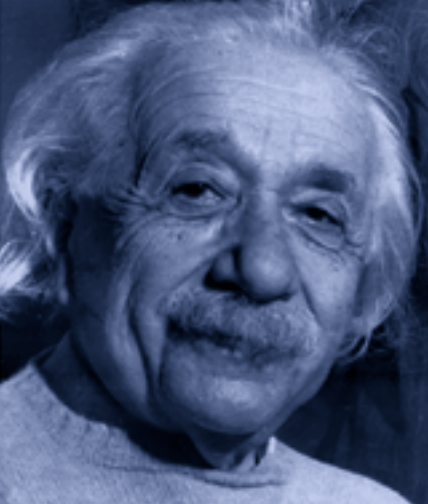
Since the late 1980s, the Albert Einstein Institution has provided translated materials, briefings and workshops to various Burmese opposition groups. AEI's relationship with Burmese pro-democracy activists continues. In August 2000, Robert Helvey conducted a week-long course on strategic planning of political defiance for the National Council of the Union of Burma Political Defiance Committee in Mae Hong Song, Thailand. Helvey also met with Karen National Union Leaders and the Chairman of the Democratic Party for a New Society, Aung Moe Zaw. These consultations were sponsored by the International Republican Institute.

Iran

In response to a request by a donor within the Iranian exile community, AEI consultant Robert Helvey conducted a week-long course on nonviolent struggle for a group of Iranians in March 2003. The participants were young professionals in exile in the United States and Canada who would be used as spokespeople for various Iranian democracy groups.

Iraq

Robert Helvey conducted a seminar for representatives of several Iraqi exile organizations at The Hague in September 2002, at the initiative of the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict. The call for help in developing a structure for a strategic nonviolent movement came too late, however, before the U.S.-led invasion in March 2003. Though the invasion led to the ouster and capture of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein, news of violent uprisings in Iraq continues to dominate headlines of newspapers around the world.



“On the whole, I believe that Gandhi held the most enlightened views of all political men in our time. We should strive to do things in his spirit: not to use violence in fighting for our cause...”

– Albert Einstein

Historical Examples of Nonviolent Action*

494 BC

Plebian withdrawal from Rome to secure reforms.

1765-1775

American colonial resistance and political boycotts.

1850-1867

Hungarian national resistance to Austrian rule.

1905

Labor and general strikes in Russia during the Revolution of 1905.

1913-1919

Woman suffrage movement in the United States.

1920s to 1947

Indian independence movement.

1944

Ousting of the Martinez dictatorship in El Salvador and the Ubico dictatorship in Guatemala.

1940-1945

Norwegian, Danish and Dutch resistance to occupation by Nazi Germany.

1950s-1960s

Civil rights movement in the United States.

1968-1969

Czechoslovak resistance to the Soviet-led invasion and occupation.

1980-1989

Solidarity movement in Poland.

1986

“People power” revolution in the Philippines that brought down the Marcos regime.

1989

“Velvet” revolution in Czechoslovakia.

1950-1990

Key aspects of the South African struggle against apartheid.

1990-1999

Albanian noncooperation against repressive Serbian rule in Kosovo.

1996-2000

Serbian movement to oust Milosevic dictatorship.

2001

“People Power Two” campaign which ousted Filipino President Estrada.

2003

Georgian struggle to topple the Shevardnadze government.

**This list represents only a few examples of nonviolent action in the past.*

Robert Helvey, *President*

A retired Colonel after 30 years with the U.S. Army, Robert Helvey is now a strategic planning consultant to nongovernmental organizations promoting nonviolent political reforms among pro-democracy movements. Mr. Helvey has consulted internationally with nonviolent opposition groups from Burma, Thailand, Tibet, the Occupied Territories, Belarus, Serbia, Venezuela, and Zimbabwe. He holds a B.A. and M.A. from Marshall University, is a graduate of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, as well as the U.S. Navy War College, and was a Senior Fellow at Harvard University's Center for International Affairs.

Cornelia Sargent, *Chair*

Cornelia Sargent is active in numerous activities throughout New England. She is Vice-President of the Cold Pond Community Land Trust in New Hampshire, and a Conservation District Supervisor for Sullivan County, New Hampshire. Ms. Sargent has held legal internships at the Vermont Agency of Natural Resources, the Disability Rights Center, and New Hampshire Legal Assistance. She also worked with Stephen Speicher, the past president of the American Blind Lawyers Association. She is currently working towards a 500-hour mediation certificate from Woodbury College in Vermont. Ms. Sargent received her B.A. from Smith College and her J.D. from Northeastern University School of Law.

Gene Sharp

Gene Sharp is the founder and Senior Scholar of the Albert Einstein Institution. He holds a B.A. and M.A. from Ohio State University and a D.Phil. from Oxford University. He is also Professor Emeritus at the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth. For nearly thirty years Dr. Sharp held a research appointment at Harvard University's Center for International Affairs. He is the author of various books, including *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (1973), *Gandhi as a Political Strategist* (1979), *Social Power and Political Freedom* (1980), *Civilian-Based Defense* (1990), and *From Dictatorship to Democracy* (1993, 2002, 2003). His writings have been published in more than thirty languages.

Curt Goering

Curt Goering is Senior Deputy Executive Director of Amnesty International USA (AIUSA). He is the Chief Operating Officer of AIUSA and his responsibilities include policy and strategy development, public representation, and fundraising. He has also carried out numerous research assignments in the field for Amnesty International in the Middle East, Africa, Europe and Asia. Mr. Goering received his M.A. from Georgetown University, and holds a B.A. from Bethel College in Kansas.

Elizabeth Defeis

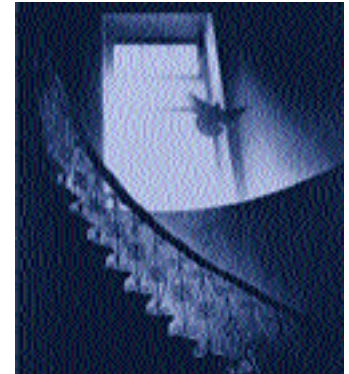
Elizabeth Defeis is the former dean of Seton Hall University School of Law and currently teaches international law, human rights, and international criminal law at Seton Hall. Professor Defeis has provided technical assistance to the governments of Armenia and Macedonia with respect to building democracy and has lectured extensively throughout the former Soviet Union and in Italy. She was a visiting scholar at Columbia University's Center for the Study of Human Rights and a recipient of a Fulbright lectureship for scholarship in Armenia and Russia. She was also the first chair of the Urban Development Corporation of New Jersey and is an NGO delegate to the U.N. Coalition Against Traffic in Women. Ms. Defeis received her B.A. and J.D. from St. John's University School of Law and her Master of Law from New York University School of Law.

Mary E. King

Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies at the University for Peace of the United Nations, Dr. Mary King is also Senior Fellow, University of Oxford, Rothermere American Institute, and Distinguished Scholar, the American University Center for Global Peace, Washington, D.C. During the Carter Administration, she had worldwide responsibility for the Peace Corps and has since acted as an adviser to President Carter. In 1988, she won the Robert F. Kennedy Book Award for *Freedom Song: A Personal Story of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement*, which chronicles her four years working the movement. Her latest book, *Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Power of Nonviolent Action*, originally published by UNESCO in 1999, was re-released in New Delhi, India in 2002. In 2003, she received the Jamnalal Bajaj International Prize, in Mumbai, for promoting Gandhian values outside India. King holds a Ph.D. from the University of Wales at Aberystwyth.

Joshua Paulson

Joshua Paulson worked as a consultant, researcher, Special Assistant, and Assistant Program Director at the Albert Einstein Institution from 1997-2002. He assisted in the drafting, editing, and preparation of Gene Sharp's new book, *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: Twentieth Century Practice and Twenty-First Century Potential*. Mr. Paulson is currently attaining his J.D. at Columbia Law School as a Lowenstein Public Interest Fellow. He also has extensive experience in Latin America and Africa. Mr. Paulson obtained his B.A. from Carleton College and his A.M. from Stanford University.



“Democracy has a better chance to emerge when dictators fall to the nonviolent power of the repressed people themselves...”

– Bob Keeler, referring to the work of AEI in his article “Combat Needn’t be Used to Topple Dictators”

Statements of Financial Position

As of 30 June 2003, 2002, 2001 and 2000

	2003	2002	2001	2000
Assets				
Cash and cash equivalents	\$ 493,447	\$ 359,249	\$ 157,145	\$ 123,404
Grants and Bequests receivable	13,090	216,605	35,025	—
Prepaid expenses and security deposits	8,943	7,966	6,812	11,819
Inventory	21,061	4,952	9,385	9,740
Annuity	349,683	350,743	368,094	382,545
Net Property and Equipment	1,080	1,619	2,899	10,594
Total Assets	\$ 887,304	\$ 941,134	\$ 579,360	\$ 538,102
 Liabilities and Net Assets				
Liabilities				
Accounts payable and accrued liabilities	37,611	64,253	43,364	25,111
Deferred revenue	—	—	—	4,199
Deferred Compensation	198,650	317,696	271,623	232,227
Net Assets				
Unrestricted	263,757	206,069	(115,301)	(153,449)
Temporarily restricted	387,286	353,116	379,674	430,014
Total Net Assets	651,043	559,185	264,373	276,565
Total Liabilities and Net Assets	\$ 887,304	\$ 941,134	\$ 579,360	\$ 538,102

History of the Albert Einstein Institution

Albert Einstein was deeply concerned about war, oppression, dictatorship, genocide and nuclear weapons. In his later life, he became enormously impressed with Gandhi and his work on nonviolent struggle. In 1952, Einstein said, “Gandhi, the greatest political genius of our time, indicated the path to be taken.” Today, the Albert Einstein Institution continues work on that aspect of Einstein’s thought, examining the potential of nonviolent struggle to resolve the continuing problems of political violence.

In 1973, Dr. Gene Sharp published his first major work, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*. There was widespread recognition that this analysis of social power was as fundamental to understanding nonviolent conflict as Carl Von Clausewitz’s *On War* was to understanding the theory and nature of violent conflict. Sharp continued research on strategic nonviolent struggle and shared this knowledge in order to promote greater understanding and widespread use of this technique as an alternative to violence. In 1983, he founded the Albert Einstein Institution, and since then, the Institution has helped groups involved in conflicts in many corners of the world.

Albert Einstein Institution Staff

Robert Helvey – President

Gene Sharp – Senior Scholar

Jamila Raqib – Office Manager/Translations Coordinator

Hardy Merriman – Assistant to the Senior Scholar/Media and Outreach Coordinator

Emilie Amstutz – Development Officer

The Institution would also like to thank past staff members who contributed to various activities covered in this report: Chris Miller, Joshua Paulson, and Bruce Jenkins.

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