

# NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE

50 CRUCIAL POINTS





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# NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE

## 50 CRUCIAL POINTS

A STRATEGIC APPROACH TO EVERYDAY TACTICS

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Srdja Popovic • Andrej Milivojevic • Slobodan Djinovic



Centre for Applied NonViolent Action and Strategies  
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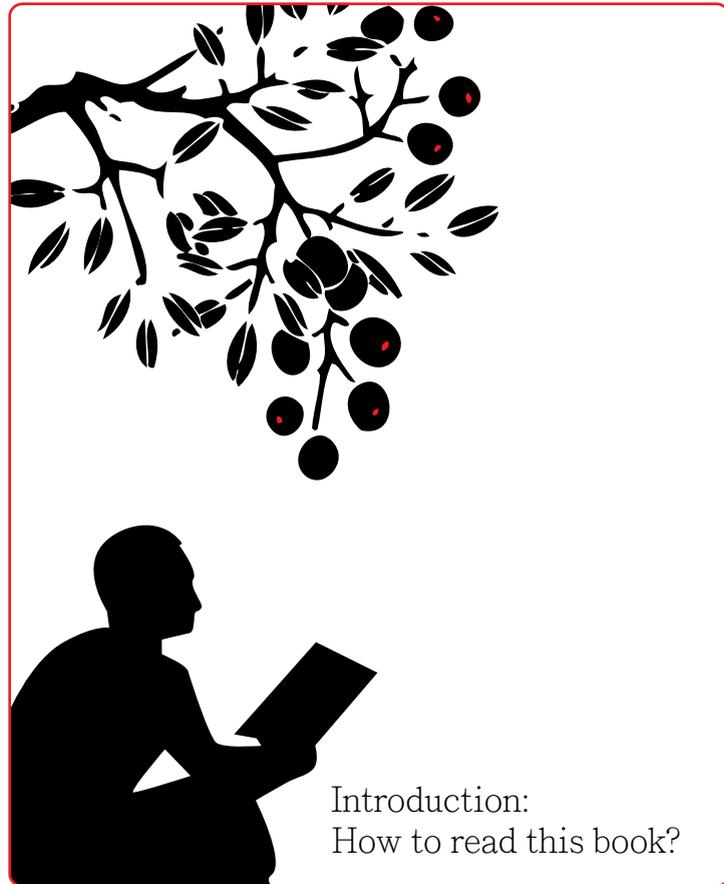
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This book is a primer on applying strategic nonviolent action in real campaigns. The techniques outlined in the following 15 chapters have been used successfully in many parts of the world. The British historian Eric Hobsbawm described the twentieth century as the “age of extremes” because of the devastating wars waged in the last hundred years and the influence of extreme ideologies which were used to justify the destruction of entire peoples, classes and faiths. While at the same time the spread of democracy and economic prosperity has transformed much of humanity, the potential for ruinous conflict persists today -- as does the opportunity for nonviolent alternatives.

Contained in the book are lessons learned from many long and difficult nonviolent struggles against nondemocratic regimes and other opponents of basic human freedoms. The book is written for those activists who are already working or are considering working on establishing freer and more open and equitable societies.

Fifty crucial points about strategic nonviolent action are presented in three thematic sections. The first, “Before You Start,” provides you with a basic conceptual and analytical framework. The second, “Starting Out,” teaches you the basic skills that successful practitioners of strategic nonviolent action have mastered, such as crafting a message and planning public actions. The third section, “Running the Nonviolent Campaign,” teaches you more advanced skills, such as managing a nonviolent campaign. The fourth section, “Working Under Repression,” tries to show you how to do your work as safely as possible. The last section suggests concrete ways to upgrade your skills and knowledge.

Chapters within the sections are organized around answering key questions: if you understand the answer to a question, you understand a crucial point about strategic nonviolent action. You can either read a specific question that interests you, or an entire chapter or section. To help you, each point is first explained, and then illustrated with an example, a case study, or a practical exercise that helps to develop your skills and knowledge. Additionally, to give you further practical advice, especially important material appears in a series of short tips, which can be easily remembered and applied.

The authors hope and believe that communicating crucial points in this way will help you learn how to operationalize strategic nonviolent action, so that you can win your rights, overcome repression, resist occupation, achieve democracy or establish justice in your lands - thus making another “age of extremes” unlikely.

## Section Outline: Before You Start

Coup d'etat, terrorist attacks, conventional wars or even the use of horrible weapons of mass destruction are all ways of struggling for political power. In this book, you will learn about another way: strategic nonviolent struggle.

In order to conduct a nonviolent struggle, you first need to understand the nature of political power. Developing this knowledge is crucial, since one of the main objectives of any struggle is either to obtain political power, or to deny it to somebody else.

After you understand the models, nature and sources of political power, you will then learn about the organizations and institutions through which power is exercised, called “pillars of support.”

At the end of the section you will discover what lies at the heart of political power: obedience, and understand that if people do not obey, the ruler cannot rule!

## Chapter 1: **Introduction to Strategic Nonviolent Conflict**

Chapter's outline questions:

- Why are we reading these pages?
- Does power really come from the barrel of the gun?
- Is there a realistic alternative?
- So, who is right?

## Chapter 2: **The Nature, Models and Sources of Political Power**

Chapter's outline questions:

- What is political power?
- How do we see political power?
- What are real sources of power?

## Chapter 3: **Pillars of Support: How Power is Expressed?**

Chapter's outline questions:

- How is power expressed within society?
- How does this power structure operate?
- Why do people obey?





**1**  
**Introduction To  
Strategic Nonviolent Conflict**

## 1. Why are we reading these pages?

If we look at the nondemocratic parts of the world as a great battleground, we can see two very different concepts for gaining political power. The two are in confrontation even as you read these pages, and have been through most of the twentieth century. The first concept, the one used more frequently is captured by the sayings of some of the best known revolutionaries. Chairman Mao, the leader of the Chinese Communist Party, said that “politics is war without bloodshed, while war is politics with bloodshed. We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun, it is necessary to take up the gun” (Mao Zedong, *Quotations from Chairman Mao*.)

The use of violence to attain and then to maintain and increase political power is the operating principle of the first model. Put simply by Chairman Mao, “political power grows out of the barrel of a gun”. Osama bin Laden makes the same point by insisting that repression “cannot be demolished except in a hail of bullets.” In this model, the competition for political power that has gradually become freer and fairer in successive elections in democratic nations simply does exist. Rather, as Comrade Stalin said, “The people who cast the votes

don’t decide an election, the people who count the votes do.”

The other approach for gaining political power is the use of nonviolent struggle. “Violence,” the great Argentine writer, Jorge Luis Borges observes, “is the last refuge of the weak.” These pages are dedicated to those that see the second approach as the embodiment of the kind of state they wish to achieve.



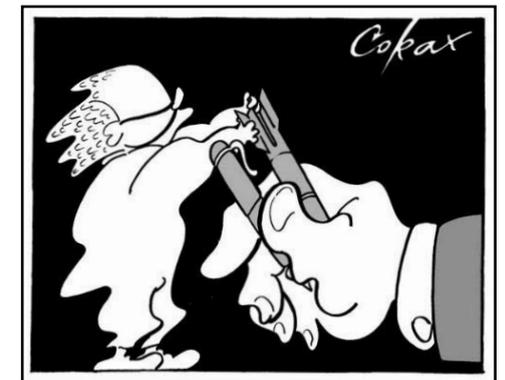
*Jorge Luis Borges*

## 2. Does power really come from the barrel of the gun?

There are certainly many who think so. Let us remember a few recent examples where violence was used to exercise political power.

- August 1990: Saddam Hussein of Iraq ordered the invasion of Kuwait. Was he exercising political power? Yes. He mobilized the power of the state towards political objectives: Iraqi control over Kuwaiti oil and territorial expansion
- Spring 1999: the Serbia dictator, Slobodan Milosevic, attempted to solve the problem of Kosovo Albanians, who overwhelmingly wanted independence from Serbia, using similar methods of Saddam Hussein. Police and army units expelled hundreds of thousands of ethnic Albanians from their homes
- September 11, 2001: al-Qaeda applied its monstrous model of attaining political power. 19 suicide hijackers crashed airplanes into buildings in New York and Washington DC, killing almost 3,000 people
- January 17, 1991: An American-led coalition of over 30 countries began an air campaign to push Iraqi forces out of Kuwait
- March 24, 1999: A NATO-led bombing campaign began, leading to the withdrawal of Serbian security forces, the return of Albanian refugees, but also to civilian casualties
- October 7, 2001: American-led forces invaded Afghanistan
- March 20, 2003 American-led forces, despite domestic and international opposition, invaded Iraq

All of these examples were attempts to gain power using violent methods, and all eventually inspired violent responses from the international community:



*Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic chooses confrontation over accommodation with NATO countries in 1999.*

### 3. Is there a realistic alternative to violence?

Contrary to the popular belief that “power only comes from the barrel of a gun” there are numerous examples of the effective exercise of power without violence.

- India achieved independence from the British Empire in 1947 largely as a result of strategic nonviolent struggle that started in 1916. Mohandas Gandhi mobilized the people, restoring their self-respect and self-confidence; he pressured the British government through non-cooperation; he established institutions outside governmental control; he undermined British dominance both in India and abroad



- The dismantling of racial apartheid in South Africa since 1990 was the culmination of a decades-long struggle marked in its decisive phase in the 1980s by effective mass nonviolent action. Nelson Mandela, the paramount leader of the struggle, was imprisoned for most of this period. But the boycotts, strikes and protests used by his followers put so much pressure on the regime that it was eventually forced to negotiate a new political system, which guaranteed equality of rights



- Nonviolent struggle was a major contributor to the collapse of the Ferdinand Marcos' dictatorship in the Philippines. In fact, this was a struggle where the people protected Army units that withdrew their loyalty from the regime



- The Solidarity organization in Poland waged a nonviolent struggle, which lasted a decade. It brought about the collapse of the communist party's control of the country, first through strikes that established a free trade union, and then during martial law through underground actions that further challenged and delegitimized the government. Eventually Poland's communist president invited Solidarity to negotiate and prepare for free and fair elections



- In May 1992, the people removed a military dictatorship in Thailand through a nonviolent struggle that featured huge strikes and protests. In early 2006, a people's nonviolent movement forced the resignation of a corrupt Prime Minister



More recently, nonviolent movements successfully removed authoritarian regimes or have compelled foreign troops to leave the country in:

-  Serbia in 2000
-  Georgia in 2002
-  Ukraine in 2004
-  Lebanon in 2005

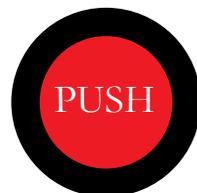
Even today, there are numerous ongoing conflicts where democratic movements are opposing authoritarian regimes using Strategic Nonviolent struggle:

-  Belarus
-  Burma
-  Iran
-  West Papua
-  Zimbabwe

There are also struggles that have not come into clear view, such as Azerbaijan and Papua New Guinea, and there are many struggles of workers, peasants, and disenfranchised groups in both developed and developing countries that you haven't noticed.

**You have never looked at things in this way?**

**Now is time to start!**



#### 4. So, who is right?

The examples of violent conflict already mentioned represent the most prominent recent instances of relying on violence to achieve political goals. Here is a partial scorecard:

1. KOSOVO: Despite the presence of thousands of UN peacekeeper, this remains an unstable region. Continued drug and arms smuggling, violent confrontation between political opponents and ethnic strife are just a few of the unfortunate consequences of the use of violence.
2. AFGHANISTAN: Also, despite the presence of thousands of NATO troops, armed conflict still continues in many parts of the country, while the most import export commodity, unfortunately, continues to be - heroine.
3. IRAQ: Hundreds of thousands of troops have not been able to prevent increasing terrorist attacks that have cost thousands of Iraqi and American lives.

On the other hand, in many countries where nonviolent struggle was used during the last decade, the scorecard looks quite different:

1. SERBIA: From being the source of many problems in the Balkans region, Serbia has gone a long way towards becoming democratic and stable in the last five years, and it slowly but surely moves closer to joining the European Union.
2. GEORGIA: This has become a country where political rights and civil liberties have increased considerably and where electoral theft seems unlikely in the future.
3. UKRAINE: While political instability persists, this remains a country where elections and the political process are used to settle conflict, and poisoning your opponent seems unlikely to be tried again. This has been proven in democratic elections in 2006.
4. LEBANON: A country known for its long civil war and the presence of tens of thousands of Syrian soldiers could convinced those soldiers to withdraw - without firing a single bullet?

If these successes appear like faint praise, consider the empirical evidence offered in a recent study by Adrian Karatnycky and Peter Ackerman, “How Freedom is Won: From Civic Resistance to Durable Democracy.” Countries where strategic nonviolence was used tend to have considerably lower levels of political violence while basic freedoms tend to be stronger after the transition than in countries where “people power” had a smaller role in the transition process. Not only is nonviolent struggle a “realistic alternative” to using force, experience has shown that social changes won using methods of nonviolent struggle and strategies can achieve more positive and longer lasting solutions than violent methods do.

Even guerrillas need to make the trains run on time!



### Keep in mind the following lessons:

- Violence means that non-participants in the conflict also suffer. Just think about the collateral damage in the bombing of Serbia, Iraq or Afghanistan, and about all the destruction typical in guerrilla and civil wars. The social and economic costs of violence, in short, are widely spread
- While guerrillas and others who rely on violence may have many “hard” skills, like knowledge of military tactics, logistics, and planning, many lack the “soft” skills needed in a democratic society. First, using methods of strategic nonviolent struggle increases the skill set of activists, which is crucial for a post-struggle transition: you will learn how to organize, manage, and gain technical skills. Second, since the opponent’s supporters have these skills, they continue to run the government in post-conflict societies, and can undo the changes for which you fought

These pages are dedicated to those of **you** who believe in the **nonviolent** struggle model, and especially to all of you who are willing to dedicate your time and **energy** to nonviolent struggle for a **better future** of **your homelands**.

The Authors

The image shows a group of people silhouetted against a bright, cloudy sky at sunset or sunrise. They are positioned on what appears to be the roof of a building. One person in the center is making a peace sign with their right hand. To their right, another person is holding a rifle. A third person further right is also making a peace sign. The overall scene suggests a moment of protest or a display of power.

**2**

The Nature, Models and Sources of  
**Political Power**

## The Nature, Models, and Sources of Political Power

POLITICAL POWER IS GENERALLY ONLY PERCEIVED INDIRECTLY, THROUGH ITS EXTERNAL FORMS, SUCH AS THE STATE APPARATUS, THE POLITICAL SYSTEM, OR THE MEDIA, BUT THE ESSENCE OF POLITICAL POWER REMAINS HIDDEN TO THE MAJORITY OF ORDINARY OBSERVERS. UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL POWER REPRESENTS IF NOT THE FIRST, THEN CERTAINLY A NECESSARY STEP TOWARDS PREPARING A SUCCESSFUL NONVIOLENT CAMPAIGN. IT IS IMPORTANT TO UNDERSTAND THAT POLITICAL POWER IN SOCIETY CAN BE FLUID AND THAT INDIVIDUALS WHO MAKE UP A SOCIETY CONSTITUTE ONE OF THE KEY SOURCES OF POLITICAL POWER.

### 5. 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.

Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*

In defining power, Gene Sharp follows the central insight about power made by the famous German sociologist, Max Weber, namely that those with power are able to have an effect on others and on the environment even when there is opposition to such a course of action. Power based on social norms, rules that attach punishments or rewards (sanctions) to social behaviour, is called authority. To be “effective,” power must be seen as legitimate by most of those subject to authority.



Power is the ability to produce intended effects.  
Bertrand Russell

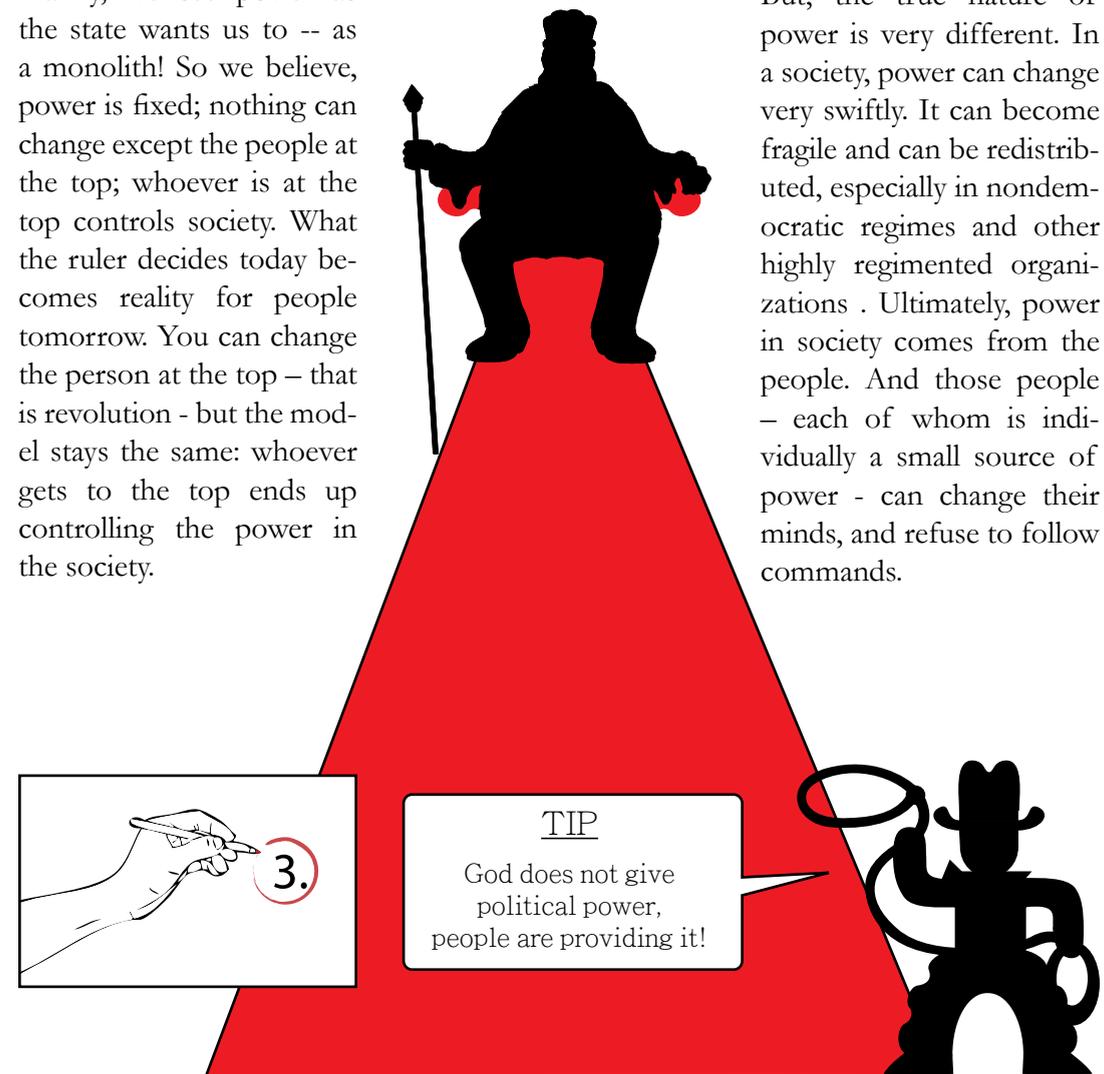
	HIGH AUTHORITY	LOW AUTHORITY
HIGH POWER	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• President in democracy</li> <li>• Popular dictator</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Plane hijacker</li> <li>• Unpopular dictator</li> </ul>
LOW POWER	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nobel Prize winner</li> <li>• Teacher</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Child</li> <li>• People on state aid</li> </ul>

You cannot change society without having the political power needed to implement your reforms. Strategic nonviolent struggle is not only about fighting for ideals. It is a struggle for political power whose main goal is to make your vision come true.

### 6. How do we see political power?

Mainly, we see power as the state wants us to -- as a monolith! So we believe, power is fixed; nothing can change except the people at the top; whoever is at the top controls society. What the ruler decides today becomes reality for people tomorrow. You can change the person at the top – that is revolution - but the model stays the same: whoever gets to the top ends up controlling the power in the society.

But, the true nature of power is very different. In a society, power can change very swiftly. It can become fragile and can be redistributed, especially in nondemocratic regimes and other highly regimented organizations. Ultimately, power in society comes from the people. And those people – each of whom is individually a small source of power - can change their minds, and refuse to follow commands.



## 7. What are the real sources of political power?

According to Gene Sharp, the main sources of political power in a society, on which decision-makers, institutions, as well as organizations and movements rely, include these elements:

1. AUTHORITY	The ability to issue a command and have people submit to it. It's built slowly and patiently, and is lost – easily, by renegeing on promises and not delivering outcomes.
2. HUMAN RESOURCES	Defined as the strength of the organization and depends on the NUMBER of people who labour for the organization, or the ruler.
3. SKILLS AND KNOWLEGDE	Training the persons who are the human resources, it enables increased efficiency in work.
4. MATERIAL RESOURCES	Defined as the money and other assets which can be used to increase the other sources of power. These resources include logistics, printing capacity, office space, hardware, and control of other scarce resources.
5. SANCTIONS	In reality, it's the fear of sanctions that make this an important pillar. If an organization can predictably punish a detractor, then it has power; if others in society perceive the punishment as legitimate, it has even more power. In terms of a nonviolent campaign, this aspect of power relates to the ability of the organization to credibly, persistently, and publicly show how the regime abuses basic human and civil rights.
6. INTANGIBLE FACTOR	(Habits, attitudes, sense of responsibility) the group of psychological, traditional, cultural, religious and sometimes ideological factors that may induce people to obey and assist the rulers. Those factors usually owe their existence to some combination of religion and culture, or conventions, such as a tradition of obeying people in uniforms or representatives of the religious establishment.

### 1. CASE STUDY: Janitor

After the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the United States, it was crucial for the country's leaders to make strategic decisions. Following procedures in the case of a national security emergency, President Bush was in the air in his plane, Air Force One, and his administration was holding consultations in an underground bunker somewhere near Washington, D.C.

The faces were as deadly serious as were the issues before the country's leaders, and decisions that would have worldwide effects were about to be made...

But imagine now there was a collapse of the climate system in this important place. It is impossible to hold even a trivial meeting in Washington D.C. in early September weather without air conditioning, with all the humidity and the heat. The only person who has the skills and knowledge to repair the climate system appears to be a janitor - a poorly educated, badly paid, middle-aged and VERY nervous man ....

An individual, who can decide to fix the climate system, can also REFUSE to do so.

Now, who would be the most powerful man in the world at that moment? Of course, if it were not an emergency, many people other than the janitor could fix the system. As the number of people who choose to withhold consent increases, so does their potential to exercise political power, and the effect of their collective choice becomes greater than the sum of individual moral gestures.

#### TIP

Those who control the sources of power, can control the exercise of power!



While analysing your society with the sources of power framework, also think what signals power in society.

### IMPORTANT:

These three indicators of power overlap but are analytically useful:

#### DECISION-MAKING:

Those who make important political, economic, or other policies and decisions seen in a society as important have power.

#### INFLUENCE:

The powerful have the ability to change our points of view repeatedly about important issues, even when the material or psychological costs are high.

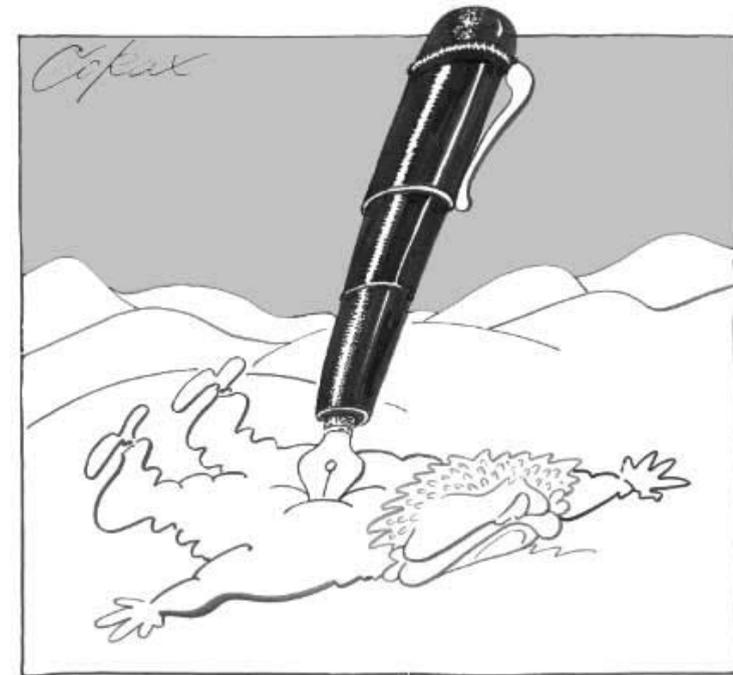
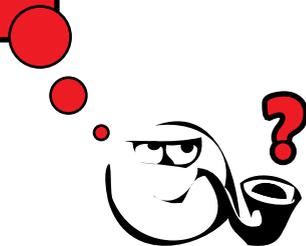
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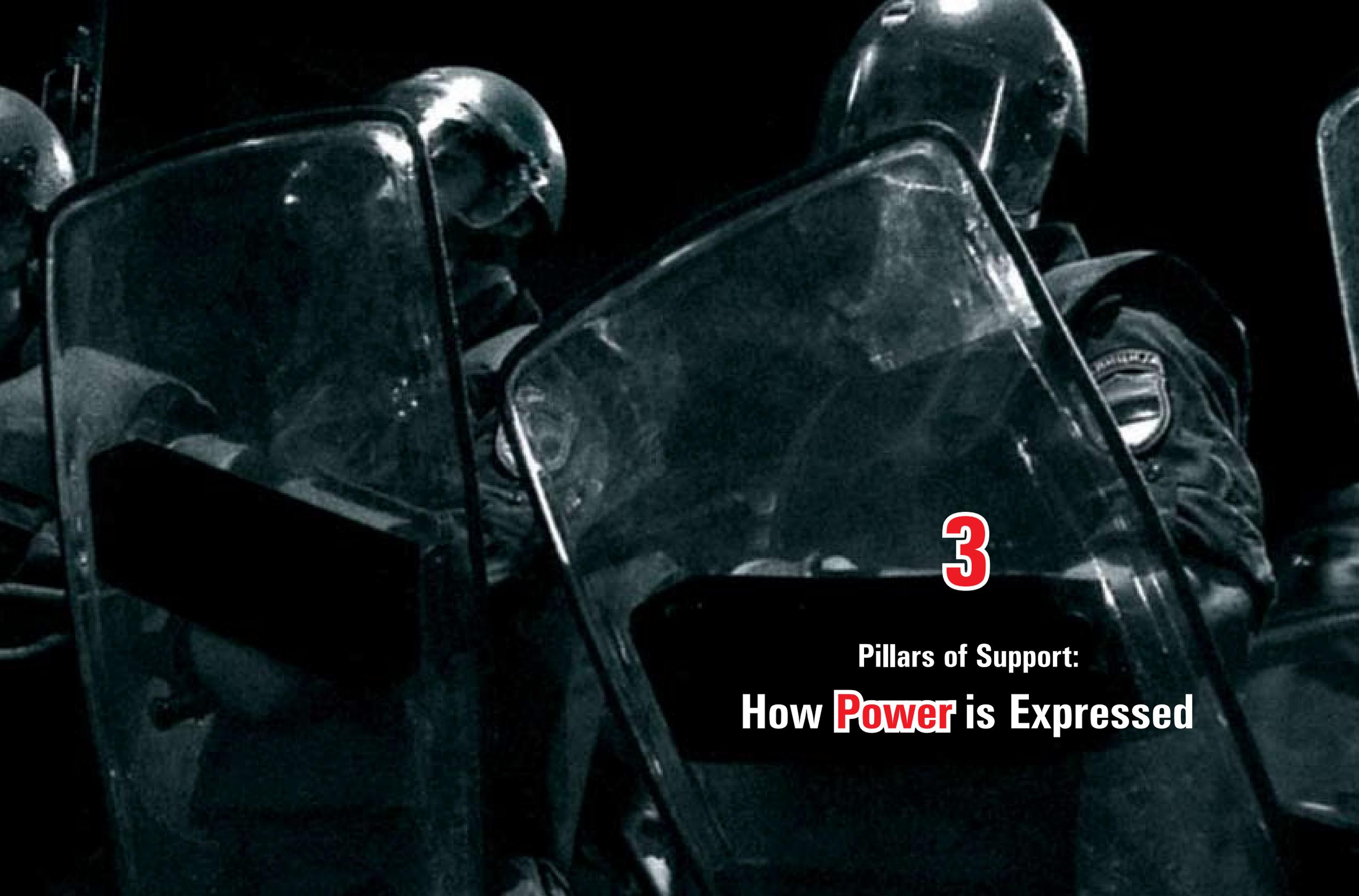
Those whom we see as powerful have power. This relates to authority (see earlier section “What is Political Power?”)

(Adopted from Robert Dahl, *Modern Political Analysis*.)

#### QUESTIONS TO ASK YOUR SELF:

1. How do people in your society see power?
2. Do people believe that power may shift from one group to another (if not-why not)?
3. What sources of power operate the most transparently in your society?
4. Are there sources of power still available for your movement?
5. What is the nature of your rulers` authority?





3

Pillars of Support:  
How **Power** is Expressed

## Pillars of Support: How Power is Expressed

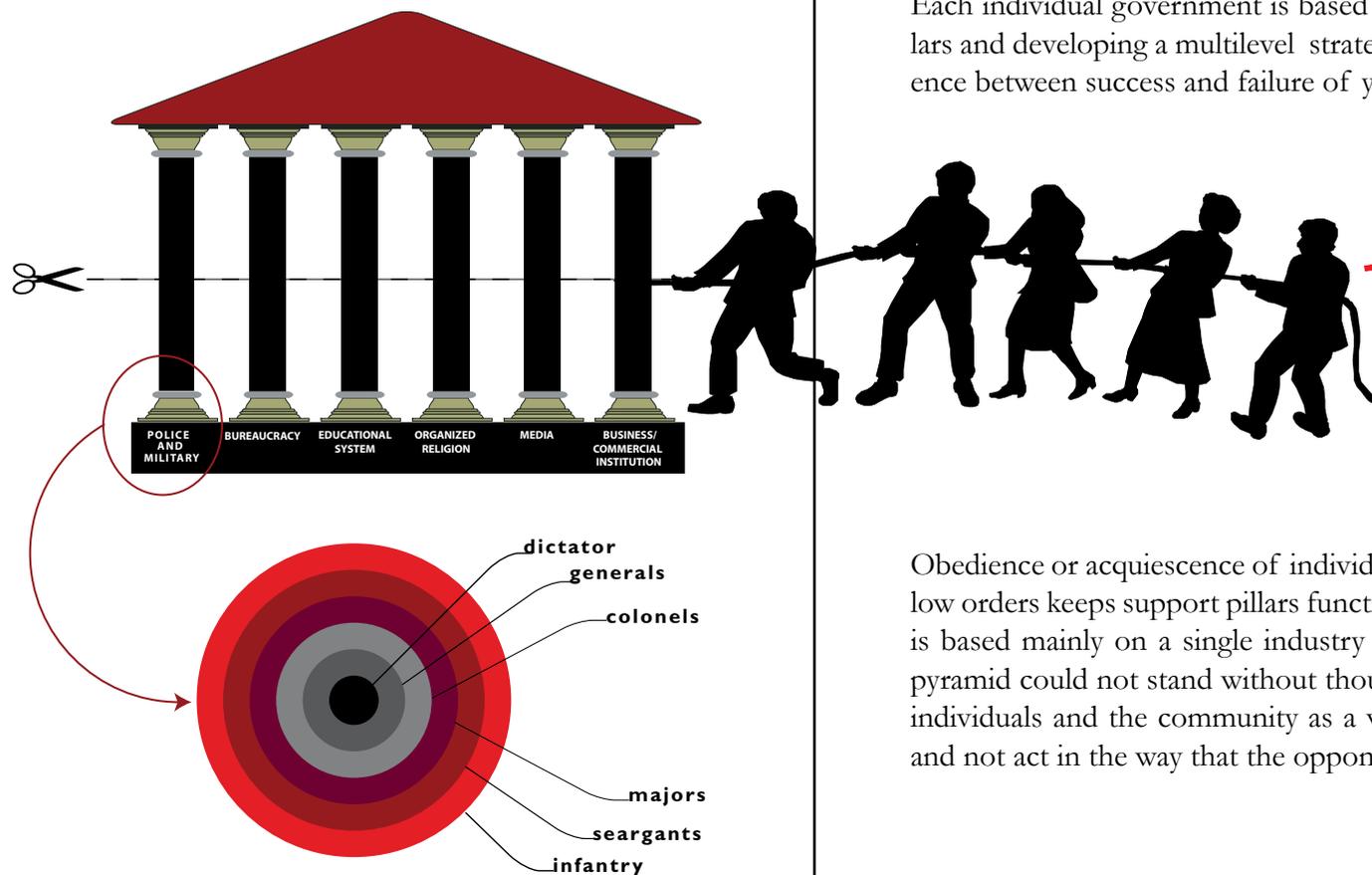
BY THEMSELVES, RULERS CANNOT COLLECT TAXES, ENFORCE REPRESSIVE LAWS AND REGULATIONS, KEEP TRAINS RUNNING ON TIME, PREPARE NATIONAL BUDGETS, DIRECT TRAFFIC, MANAGE PORTS, PRINT MONEY, REPAIR ROADS, KEEP MARKETS SUPPLIED WITH FOOD, MAKE STEEL, BUILD ROCKETS, TRAIN THE POLICE AND ARMY, ISSUE POSTAGE STAMPS OR EVEN MILK A COW. PEOPLE PROVIDE THESE SERVICES TO THE RULER THROUGH A VARIETY OF ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS. IF PEOPLE WOULD STOP PROVIDING THESE SKILLS, THE RULER COULD NOT RULE.

GENE SHARP · *THE POLITICS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION* ·

### 8. How is power expressed within society?

Power in society is expressed largely through institutions and organizations. Most individuals do not exert political power, but institutions are made of real people who can be persuaded to change their point of view and withdraw support.

These institutions, holding up the structures of power, are called the **Pillars of Support**. If people's support for these pillars is withdrawn or weakens, then the government or other opponent will begin to collapse.



### 9. How does this power structure operate?

Within every single society various pillars of support can be identified. They can include:

- the police, military, and other coercive structures
- the judiciary and electoral commission, and elite professionals
- the civil service and other specialists and technical experts
- the educational system and other structures that produce and control knowledge
- organized religion and are traditionally respected institutions
- media and those who manage the provision of information to the public
- business community and others who manage the financial and economic sector

Each individual government is based on very few crucial pillars. Identifying crucial pillars and developing a multilevel strategy that weakens those pillars may make the difference between success and failure of your nonviolent struggle.

#### TIP

The nonviolent campaign's primary task: pulling individuals out of the support pillars!

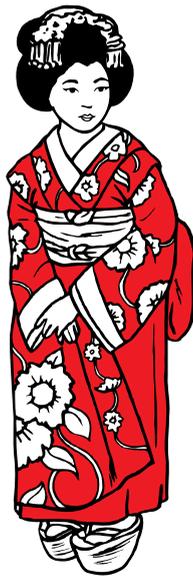
Obedience or acquiescence of individuals and, more specifically, their willingness to follow orders keeps support pillars functional, even where a government's economic power is based mainly on a single industry or resource such as oil. Even in these cases, the pyramid could not stand without thousands of individuals following orders. Therefore, individuals and the community as a whole have the power to withdraw their support, and not act in the way that the opponent wants them to.

## 10. Why do people obey?

Obedience is a crucial concept in strategic nonviolent struggles. There are several reasons why people obey their decision-makers. With an understanding why people obey, we can more effectively promote collective disobedience to unjust laws. Also, understanding why people obey provides a powerful rebuttle to the belief that “obedience is natural.”

Human beings are not genetically predisposed to obedience, but rather to living in communities, in a society in which good reasons are available for voluntary compliance with laws and conventions. But when compliance is forced and obedience is demanded by a government through threats and sanctions rather than by popular consent, obedience becomes less stable.

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



### TIP

Obedience is at the heart of political power!



Military parade, India 1930. *A classic example of an expression of obedience staged in order to increase the public authority of the colonial regime*

### QUESTIONS TO ASK YOUR SELF:

1. What pillars of support for the current regime exist in my country?
2. What pillars are crucial in my society?
3. What is the basis for loyalty of people working in these crucial institutions-organisations?
4. How can these people be approached?
5. What are the primary reasons that people obey the government?



## Section Outline: Starting Out

Once you understand the nature of political power and the ways in which power is expressed through institutions and organizations we call “pillars of support,” and that obedience is at the heart of political power, you can move from strategic nonviolent theory to taking the first practical steps and applying the theory.

As in any serious operation, your most important activities will be related to assessment and planning. Planning is the first and foremost requirement in order to keep organized any major action, such as campaign. Without proper planning, your campaign is just a “guess,” and your success is based on luck. Every aspect of your campaign should be planned before it is implemented, from strategy to fundraising to grassroots organizing to media relations.

One of the most important issues in your plan is targeted communication. Through targeted communication you may persuade people in your society to change their point of view, pay attention to your activities, and eventually, join your movement. This section also offers several useful tools for planning communication activities and public actions.

## Chapter 4:

### Assessing Capabilities and Planning

Chapter’s outline questions:

- Why do we assess capabilities?
- What is “SWOT” analysis?
- Why do we need a plan?

Main themes include:

- Successful and unsuccessful struggles
- Three foundational concepts of Strategic Nonviolent Action (SNVA):
  1. Strategic analysis of strengths and weaknesses
  2. Planning
  3. Never focus on intentions, focus on capabilities

## Chapter 5:

### Planning Skills: The Plan Format

Chapter’s outline questions:

- What are the main questions in this struggle?
- Who will do what, when, how, where and why?
- How do we use the plan format?

The main themes include:

- Importance of planning and the “10 minute pitch”
- Plan Format Template



Chapter 6:

## **Targeted Communication: Message Development**

Chapter's outline questions:

- How do we plan communications?
- What is our target audience?
- What is message?
- How do we develop our messages?

The main themes include:

- Definition of targeted communication
- Selection the target audiences
- Definition of the message

Chapter 7:

## **Let The World Know Your Message: Performing Public Actions**

- What is a public action?
- How do we plan a public action?
- How do we put our opponent in a dilemma?

Main themes include:

- Planning public actions
- Dilemma actions and profiting from them





# 4

## Assessing Capabilities and Planning

## Assessing Capabilities and Planning

PLANNING IS AN ESSENTIAL FIRST STEP IN CONDUCTING A NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE. THE FIRST STEP IN MAKING YOUR PLAN A REALITY IS TO PERFORM A DETAILED ASSESSMENT OF THE CAPABILITIES BOTH FOR YOUR MOVEMENT AND OF THE OPPONENT, AND THEN DEVELOP A PLAN FOR YOUR CAMPAIGN BASED ON REALISTIC PARAMETERS.

IF YOU KNOW YOUR ENEMY, AND KNOW YOURSELF, YOU WILL KNOW THE OUTCOME OF A THOUSAND BATTLES. · SUN TZU, "THE ART OF WAR" ·

### 11. Why do we need to assess capabilities?



Sun Tzu, *famous strategist of ancient China*

Just as you don't jump into water before you check its temperature, you don't launch nonviolent struggle before examining the conditions on the ground. Assessing capacities is a place where many newcomers to nonviolent struggle make mistakes. Underestimating the opponent or overestimating your own strengths makes a plan of action unrealistic, and therefore its goals unattainable. One of the most important things is to distinguish between intentions and capabilities.



#### TIP

Never focus on intentions;  
focus on capabilities!

### EXAMPLE: Distinguishing Intentions and Capabilities

Intentions	Capabilities
I want a dinner in a fancy restaurant	I have enough money for a fast food meal
We want to organize mass demonstration	We have only a few dozen of supporters
The opponent wants to arrest all of the opposition leaders	The opponent has limited information on the opposition leadership

Think for a moment like a shopkeeper trying to decide what will sell in the store. She would have to think about at least two things: First, what do people buy in her shop, and second how much does it cost her to get those items? Similarly, we can gain insights by focusing on the demand for public action by individuals and on the resources needed to supply that action.

To estimate demand for a nonviolent action, consider these factors:

- **Individual benefits** to each participant: when the individual benefit is perceived as small, even though the benefit to society could be high, demand tends to be low (we'll return to this!)
- **Available alternatives** to participation: when a person believes that there are many substitutes to nonviolent action, their demand for such an action again tends to be low

To approximate the ability to generate nonviolent actions, or its supply, consider these factors:

- **Costs of organizing** are higher when the number of participants and people affected is big
- **Geographic coverage** of activists: Even if the number of activists is large, if they are concentrated (in cities, or regions) this limits the ability to generate some actions, like a national campaign
- **Resources** include the time necessary to organize and implement the action, as well as the required human and material resources (we'll come back to this in Chapters 9-11)

Assess both the opponent's and your own capacities when thinking about the demand and supply for action. (Adopted from by Paul Heyne, *The Economic Way of Thinking*.)

## 12. What is SWOT analysis?

With a good assessment of capacities, which takes into account the benefits and costs to the opponent and to your organization of taking specific actions, you can move to the next level. SWOT analysis is a tool for assessing an organization and its environment. It is the first stage of planning and helps organizations focus on key issues. SWOT stands for strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats. Strengths and weaknesses are internal factors. Opportunities and threats are external factors. What makes SWOT analysis particularly powerful is that with a little thought, it can help you uncover opportunities of which you are well placed to take advantage. And by understanding your weaknesses, you can manage and eliminate threats that would otherwise catch you off guard.

### Strengths

- What advantages do you have?
- What do you do well?
- What relevant resources do you have access to?
- What do other people see as your strengths?

### Weakness

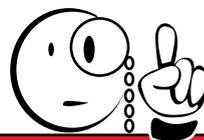
- What could you improve?
- What do you do badly?
- What should you avoid?

### Opportunities

- Where are the good opportunities facing you?
- What are the interesting trends you are aware of?
- Are there possible allies in your environment?

### Threats

- What obstacles do you face?
- What is your opponent doing?
- Could any of your weaknesses seriously threaten your movement?



### IMPORTANT:

Assess carefully and act strategically since resources are limited for both you and your opponent.

There are 5 rules in using SWOT analysis:

1. Be realistic about the strengths and weaknesses of your organization.
2. Analysis should distinguish between where your organization is today, and where it could be in the future.
3. Be specific. Avoid “grey areas”.
4. Always analyze in relation to your opponent i.e. superior to or inferior to your opponent.
5. Keep your SWOT short and simple. After considering all the angles, condense and carefully organize your analysis.

## 13. Why do we need a plan?

Planning is the foremost way a major activity, such as a campaign, to stay organized. Section II, Running a Nonviolent Campaign, deals with these issues in depth and shows that without proper planning, your campaign is just a “guess,” and your success therefore the result of chance. Every aspect of your campaign should be planned before it is implemented, from strategy to fund-raising to grassroots mobilization to media coverage. Therefore it is necessary to develop multilevel planning for a nonviolent movement.



Success consists of going from failure to failure without loss of enthusiasm.  
*Sir Winston Churchill*

CASE STUDY: OTPOR, Serbia 2000. Levels of planning developed after late 1999

After NATO's bombing of Serbia and Montenegro in the spring of 1999, the Milosevic regime tried to consolidate power, and discredit all its opponents as traitors and hirelings of the countries that participated in the bombing. Many pro-reform parties could not agree to a stable and coherent political platform. These factors helped create the space for a non-partisan movement to mobilize the public. Otpor filled this space very visibly in 2000, but this could only be done because of the planning done during the fall of 1999.

The table below outlines key components of Otpor's strategy and tactics; plans were developed for each level, from the grand strategy through tactics.



1. Grand strategy	How we are going to win this struggle?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Build-up movement until elections</li> <li>• Launch a three-level campaign negative for opponent, positive for the opposition and get out to vote (GOTV)</li> <li>• Prepare for election fraud by organizing general strike and nonviolent takeover of the government with key allies</li> </ul>	
2. Strategy	Select the most important arenas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mobilize youth, mass recruitment, ally with NGOs and the opposition</li> <li>• Communicate with a symbol</li> <li>• Stay offensive</li> </ul>	
3. Tactics	Pick battles you can win	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Low-cost but dramatic public actions, street theatre, student strikes</li> <li>• Boycott of official media used by the regime for propaganda purposes</li> </ul>	

Running a campaign is similar to running a business. In order to succeed, you must have answers to two questions: First, “where you are going?” and, second, “how you want to get there?” Your vision answers the first, the Strategy answers the second. During the heat of the campaign, you will be too busy to map out strategy and tactics – instead, you will rely on the plan you created to determine the next course of action. Of course, because campaigns are always changing, your plan is a fluid document. It will, however, provide a great foundation for all of your efforts.



<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ALWAYS	<input type="checkbox"/> NEVER
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• perform realistic assessment</li> <li>• focus on capabilities, rather than intentions</li> <li>• build support for your plan amongst your supporters</li> <li>• decide on your objective</li> <li>• decide on your targets to help you achieve your objective</li> <li>• be flexible and adaptable</li> <li>• profit from opportunities</li> <li>• learn from mistakes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• underestimate the opponent</li> <li>• overestimate your capacities</li> <li>• assume resources are unlimited</li> </ul>

18 Jan 05

Tactics Queue

Unemployment: Very High

Inflation: Very High

90 (26)

29



A. Thomas



B. Freiburg



T. Odo



W. Devigne



L. Lilly



R. Lundgren

View Completed

View **Current/Future**

Tactic Name/Coordinator

Start - End date



Organize Concert - Rocha Town Square  
Beth Freiburg

18 Jan 05 - 26 Jan 05

17

6

Train (Nonviolent Intervention) - Infeliz Bulletin  
Tessa Odo

18 Jan 05 - 28 Jan 05

5

2

Wear Symbol - University of Infeliz  
Winston Devigne

18 Jan 05 - 19 Jan 05

10

5

Publish Website -  
James Brooke

18 Jan 05 - 19 Jan 05

10

2

Recruit Character - Arthur Gillscar  
Anthony Thomas

15 Jan 05 - 20 Jan 05

Charity - Advogado Textile Workers  
Leona Lilly

15 Jan 05 - 26 Jan 05

Postpone

Rush

Delete

Discontinue

Copy

5

Planning Skills:

The Plan Format

A FORCE MORE POWERFUL



Winston Devigne

Occupy Building  
31 Jan 05



Court

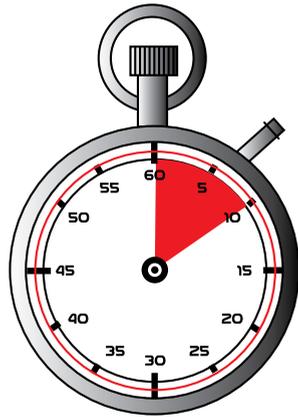


## Planning Skills: The Plan Format

SINCE PLANNING IS THE FIRST AND FOREMOST TACTIC YOUR CAMPAIGN, OR ANY OTHER MAJOR ACTIVITY, NEEDS TO STAY ORGANIZED, YOU WILL NEED A BRIEF AND PRECISE “HOW TO?” INSTRUCTION ON EVERY LEVEL OF PLANNING – FROM STRATEGIC TO TACTICAL. IT IS 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 OR HER TO HAVE IT.” LIKEWISE, IT IS CRUCIAL FOR NONVIOLENT MOVEMENTS NOT ONLY TO KEEP THEIR VARIOUS PROGRAM AND OPERATIONAL DOCUMENTS BRIEF, BUT ALSO TO STRUCTURE THEM IN A STANDARDIZED FORMAT THAT ENSURES CLARITY AS TO PURPOSE, ACTIONS TO BE TAKEN, AND ASSIGNED RESPONSIBILITIES.

### 14. What are the main questions in this struggle?

This “plan format” pattern supports every level of campaign planning. It can be used for both particular actions and a campaign with multiple actions on several fronts. It answers the most important questions that a reader needs to know:



*“No product may be sold, if you cannot persuade the potential buyer within 10 minutes that it is necessary for him or her to have it.”*

- What is the current environment in which your planned actions will take place?
- What is to be done (planned activity/activities)?
- How are you going to achieve it (concept of operation)?
- What tasks and assignment of responsibilities should be identified?
- What information is essential regarding support and communications?
- What is your opponent going to do to stop you?

It should be written clearly, concisely, and using simple language.

### 15. Who will do what, when, how, where and why?

One quality that successful movements share is good organization of their work. The key to good planning is attention to details. For every proposed activity, it is necessary to answer the question: “Who will do What, When, How, Where and Why?”

There are two main benefits of having a clear format for planning that is oriented to those who should execute the tasks – the activists of your movement:

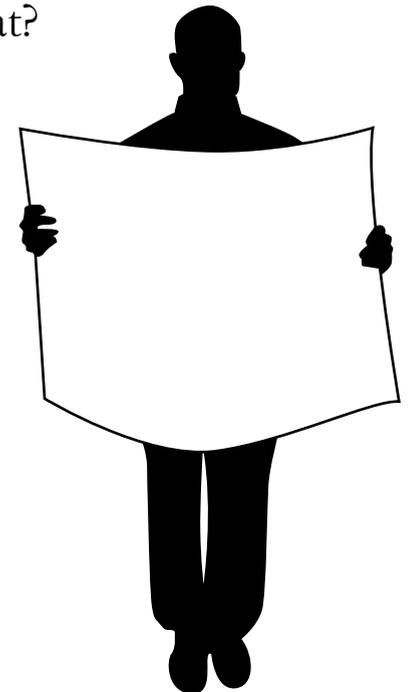
1. A clear plan will be understood by your activists after the first reading and ,
2. With the Plan Format Document, a movement can increase the capability of every single activist to spread the movement’s ideas within their own local community.

Another important benefit to the organization is that a plan serves as a tool for internal control, revealing the present capacities of the organization and what needs to change inside the organization to enhance these capacities.

### 16. How do we use the plan format?

The plan format should have five sections, and each section should be as brief and as clear as possible. Except for documents that describe a whole campaign, the sections should be about a paragraph long and fit on two typed pages.

A template for a plan format document appears below.



## PLAN FORMAT TEMPLATE:

Plan format paragraph:	Content:
I Situation	Describes relevant current activities of the opponent and the nonviolent opposition in the area in which the planned activities are to occur.
II Mission Statement	Concisely and clearly state: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Why</b> the activity is important (e.g., in order to protest media censorship)</li> <li>• <b>How</b> the activity will be done (e.g., public demonstrations)</li> <li>• <b>When</b> and <b>where</b> it will take place (e.g., noon in front of state TV station)</li> <li>• <b>Who</b> will do <b>what</b> (e.g., students will read independently collected news on camera)</li> </ul>
III Execution	Describes <b>how</b> and <b>when</b> the nonviolent campaign or action will unfold from the beginning to the end. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If the objective is a campaign, this section identifies all the phases, including preparation and intermediate objectives. Phases can be either time or event oriented.</li> </ul>
IV Administration and Logistics	Identifies <b>what</b> administrative and logistics support will be available and <b>how</b> to obtain it. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Outlines needed material and human resources (<b>when</b> and <b>who</b>); for example, there may be funding, printed materials, films, speakers and entertainers available to support GOTV events.</li> </ul>
V Coordination and Communications	Explains procedures for: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Who</b> will coordinate between and among the groups participating in the campaign and/or local activities, and <b>when</b> will this be done</li> <li>• <b>What</b> is to be communicated</li> <li>• <b>How</b> that communication is to be accomplished. This could include telephone numbers, email addresses, couriers, etc.</li> </ul>

TIP

Insist that this format be used when planning and when briefing others!

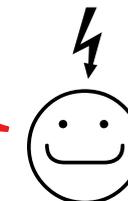


You can think of the plan format as a cycle or a ring.

The situation starts the ring, and leads to defining the mission, which has goals and objectives for each goal. Execution outlines how each goal will be achieved and this leads into administration and coordination. Evaluation closes the ring, and it is not part of the plan format, but it is the component that links across different situations: from each plan we can learn something valuable about our organization and the opponent.

TIP

First brainstorm and then organize all information relevant to your plan!



Mission statement example:

The Committee to Promote Free and Fair Elections, in order to establish a democratic government, initiates a nonviolent campaign on June the 1st 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 opponent in the event election fraud occurs
- Prepare for the establishment of a new democratic government

**CASE STUDY:** Phasing the Execution Using a Plan Format: Planning the Get Out To Vote (GOTV) campaign could be broken into three phases:

**During Phase I** (preparatory phase): tasking the training element of the organization to prepare a curriculum to train a cadre to conduct a Get Out To Vote (GOTV) campaign in each voting district.

**During Phase II** (intermediate phase): GOTV training in each voting district will be conducted by the trained cadres.

**During Phase III** (execution phase): trained activists provide direct assistance to get voters to the polls, perform exit poll services, and report results periodically throughout the day, and announce final election results at midnight.



TIP

Break your plan into phases!

OTPOR’s GOTV campaign for the September 2000 presidential elections consisted of these three phases. Having the infrastructure in place to launch the preparatory phase quickly proved decisively important. Unlike most of the proreform parties in Serbia, OTPOR invested in the continual upgrading of the skills of its volunteers (see Chapter 14), and had established working relations with domestic and international NGOs that could provide valuable training and expertise, such as how to conduct exit polls and what were domestic and international legal standards for fair voting. A similar approach, but under less repressive circumstances, proved successful in the GOTV campaign in Slovakia, OK ’98, which mobilized enough citizens to get Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar voted out. In both Georgian in 2002 and the Ukraine in 2005, GOTV campaigns succeeded.



**DON’T FORGET:**

If a plan calls for a national boycott of regime media, but the organization only has activists in a few provinces, then either the plan has to be modified or the organization needs to develop a plan for recruiting supporters across the country.

The movement can bring reality in line with the plan, or bring the plan in line with reality.



**6**

**Targeted Communication:  
Message Development**

## Targeted Communication: Message Development

THERE IS AN OLD ENGLISH SAYING THAT GOES: "THE PEN IS MIGHTIER THAN THE SWORD". IF THOSE WORDS WERE WRITTEN TODAY, THEY WOULD PROBABLY COME OUT AS "THE WORD IS MORE POWERFUL THAN ARMIES". TARGETED COMMUNICATION CAN ATTRACT PEOPLE TO YOUR MISSION AND, EVENTUALLY, INSPIRE THEM TO ACT FOR SOCIAL CHANGE. EFFECTIVE TARGETED COMMUNICATION REQUIRES FOUR ELEMENTS: TARGET IDENTIFICATION, A MESSAGE, A MESSENGER, AND A FEED-BACK MECHANISM.

YOU MUST BE THE CHANGE YOU WISH TO SEE. • MAHATMA GANDHI

### 17. How do we plan communications?

Thus far we learned how power operates through pillars of support, and covered how to assess capabilities of the movement and the opponent, and to develop a plan of action based on that assessment (Chapters 4 and 5). Making a plan for communications is very similar to making a plan for a campaign or a public action.

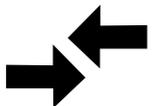
If we want to mobilize the public against an repression, our communication with the public should be carefully planned and very precise, that is targeted. The goals of targeted communication include:



- CHANGING PUBLIC OPINION ABOUT AN ISSUE
- CHANGING THE HABITS AND BEHAVIOUR OF THE PUBLIC IN RELATION TO THAT ISSUE

To achieve these goals, you need to decide who 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 what effect your message and messenger are provoking, so you can adjust accordingly (**feedback**).

### 1. TARGET      2. MESSAGE      3. MESSENGER      4. FEEDBACK



### 18. What is our target audience?

Experience shows that if a nonviolent movement communicates with four main target audiences, then it greatly increases the chances of gaining support for its goals.

GROUP	MEMBERS INCLUDE:	YOU WANT THIS GROUP TO:
Membership and supporters	People who support your organization either actively or passively	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Be Bold, Motivated and Ready to act</li> <li>• Accept risks in pursuit of movement goals and objectives</li> </ul>
Wider Audience	A broad spectrum, ranging from your opposition and its supporters, to student unions and groups who may share your movement's values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Be receptive to your message so you can attract as many individuals as possible, including supporters of your actual opponent</li> </ul>
Potential Allies	"The rest of the opposition," including every single socially active group which has similar values, a similar commitment to the nonviolent approach and any noticeable kind of infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Become active allies in a wide coalition capable of reaching compromises and staying together until each group's strategic goal is achieved</li> </ul>
International Audiences	International NGOs promoting human rights, foreign media, and other governments and business community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Promote and support your mission</li> <li>• Limit and sanction repressive actions of your opponent</li> </ul>

Each target audience has its own rules, and the individuals within these groups have their opinions, interests, and wants. You should use these to attract individuals to your movement, and also appeal to the audiences' values, which are socially defined ideas about what is good or desirable.

## 19. What is a message?

The National Democratic Institute, an independent organization linked to the US Democratic Party, uses the following definition in its trainings: “A message is a limited body of truthful information, that is consistently conveyed by a candidate, party, or nonviolent movement in order to provide the persuasive reason for an audience to choose, and act of behalf of that choice” (David Good, “Message Development.”)

Messages must be based on verifiable facts, otherwise they lose credibility! Your message states the facts as you see them. At some point you may “spin” those facts to create impressions that may not naturally occur to the target audience. For example, undue importance may be given to an event or a story to encourage the target audience to reach the desired conclusions about an issue.

Our message should promote action or should condition people to respond to a later call for action. The message should relate to your “Mission Statement” (see Chapter 5)



### REMEMBER:

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



This Is The Face of Serbia  
*Poster in which the image of a beaten  
Otpor activist showed the repressive side of the op-  
ponent, the Milosevic regime.  
Serbia, 2000.*

## 20. How do we develop a message?

For the purposes of message development you will once again refer to the SWOT analysis, first introduced in Chapter 4; this assessment can serve as a useful starting point for message development.

### EXAMPLE: SWOT Message Box:

Nonviolent Movements  
VS  
Authoritarian Rulers

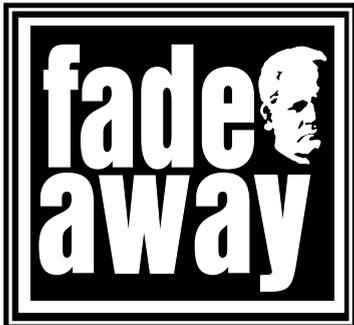
STRENGTH: We about Ourselves	OPPORTUNITIES: We about Them
Democratic Honest Popular Progressive	Dictatorial Illegitimate Corrupt Ruthless
THREATS: Them about Us	WEAKNESS: They about Themselves
Traitors Weak Manipulative Terrorists	Patriotic Invincible Responsible Guardians

This model helps us create the right message, and prepares us for the opponent's propaganda attack, which is likelier as the movement becomes perceived as a growing threat. The model works by helping you create a frame for the message: like for a building, the frame structures the ideas conveyed by the actual words in the messages.

George Lakoff, a respected cognitive linguist, shows how “framing” issues has a powerful influence in political debates. When the opponent calls the movement traitorous, do not argue against that frame – negating a message actually reinforces it as true by framing you as someone on the defensive. Instead, change the frame and introduce your frame of, for example, “being patriotic”, which should include values that are considered positive in your society but violated by your opponent.

Using the results of Message Box, create a message by:

- Outlining the key values of your audience: Facts are important, but they are more likely to motivate people to support the movement when they are connected to values
- Relating these values to the Situation: The Message follows from the Situation just like the Mission does in planning an action. The Situation can be very specific (arrest of activists) or broad (media censorship), but it must be well defined
- Generate the Message from the SWOT frames: Define the opponent's position about the Situation with using the frames developed, and contrast it with the movement's position



*Keep your message clear!*

*This Otpor sticker, made in early 2000, communicated to the youth in simple way what the goal of the campaign was for Milosevic and his regime to disappear, to "fade away."*

*OTPOR Sticker, Serbia 2000.*

### EXERCISE:

#### Message, Messenger and Feedback

Select the right solutions in the right column. Design a proper message, then messenger for different target groups.

Problem	Write in Your Answer:
Do we want to send the same message to different groups? Example: rural farmers	Sample <b>message</b> for rural farmers :  Sample <b>message</b> for students:
Example: students	
Should the students and rural farmers get the same message leaflets, or there are better messengers for each of them?	<b>Messenger</b> for rural farmers:  <b>Messenger</b> for students:
What are the ways to obtain some feedback from our messages? (Government reactions, international attention growth of movement, etc).	Sample <b>feedback</b> tools:

EXAMPLE Right and wrong use of a messenger:

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> RIGHT	<input type="checkbox"/> WRONG
Using an English language internet site to communicate with international organizations like Human Rights Watch and the United Nations.	Using the same website to communicate with rural population within our country who do not speak English and have never heard about the internet.



*The World Wide Web – a powerful tool for communicating with the international audience, but also with parts of the domestic audience!*



ПОСТАВЉАЋЕМО  
И МИ ПИТАЊА

**7**

**Let the World Know Your Message:  
Performing Public Actions**

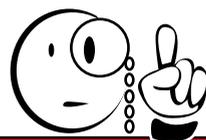
## Let the World Know Your Message

TO LET A WIDER AUDIENCE KNOW ABOUT YOUR MISSION AND HEAR YOUR MESSAGES, PERFORMING PUBLIC ACTIONS AND STAGING EVENTS HAS PROVEN TO BE EFFECTIVE TOOLS IN NONVIOLENT STRUGGLES. CAREFUL PLANNING, ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT OF PUBLIC ACTIONS MAXIMIZES BENEFITS OF THE ACTIONS AND FORCES THE OPPONENT TO RESPOND, WHICH IN TURN INCREASES THE VISIBILITY OF THE STRUGGLE AND CAN INCREASE THE MOVEMENT'S AUTHORITY.

### 21. What is a public action?

Public actions, or events, are the first tool to pick among the vast arsenal of methods of nonviolent struggle for most of the movements worldwide for three good reasons:

- Individual public actions may be performed with limited time and human resources
- Public events may be organized even under increased levels of repression, and in very narrow political space
- They attract media attention, which allows for a powerful, and virtually free possibility to present your message visually to a large audience: one picture posted in a visible place is worth more than a thousand words



#### IMPORTANT:

Learning to plan, perform, and evaluate public actions effectively is a “must have” for a movement!



Birthday cake for Milosevic, Serbia 1999. *Otpor* activists offer President Milosevic a birthday cake (20 August 1999). Each slice has a label with a major crime that he committed

### 22. How do we plan a public action?

Public events should be planned using the following “study planner” format, which takes its name from a well established tool used by teachers to prepare their students for tough exams:

#### STUDY PLANNER-PUBLIC EVENT

##### 10-15 DAYS BEFORE PUBLIC EVENT

- Pick an issue connected to the movement mission
- Design an action, create a name and connect them to the message
- Decide on the time and place that maximize visibility
- Draw a calendar and post it in a the visible place
- Create a budget
- Prepare printed material (if required)
- Consider legal requirements.  
*(This does not mean that an “illegal” event will never be conducted. As a rule, more planning will be required for any action where arrests are possible.)*

##### 7-3 DAYS BEFORE PUBLIC EVENT

- Meet with the participants and, explain tasks, agree on tasks
- Distribute printed leaflets and other promotional materials
- Plan detailed scenario of event
- Analyze possible pitfalls, and plan for surprises

##### 48 HOURS BEFORE 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 incorporating the selected message
- Hold a press conference (if necessary)

##### 24 HOURS BEFORE 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 the journalists

##### 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

*The detailed planning of public events should always incorporate flexibility (unexpected weather conditions, actions by your opponent) and your plan should be regularly updated.*

## 23. How can we put our opponent in a dilemma?

Dilemma actions place the opponent in a situation where any response made will result in a negative outcome for the opponent. Nonviolent strategists attempt to create a “lose-lose” framework for the opponent, and a “win-win” framework for the movement.

Dilemma actions can be tactical or strategic, and have three major components:

- 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 contradict widely held beliefs and values.
- 2) Designing the Action: Use the Study Planner format, making sure to assess capacities of the movement and the opponent (see Chapter 4).
- 3) Performing an action and benefiting from possible outcomes.

PRESENT GOVERNMENT 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 mourn and celebrate together
Curfews	Defy the curfew in groups	People have the right to be outside their homes at any time



### EXERCISE:

#### Design a Dilemma Action:

The first and most difficult step is to identify the most pressing and immediate problems that people are facing directly due to government policies.

Then, in a column on the right side of the page, write down the widely held beliefs and values of the people in your community, and not just those that you share with your supporters.

In the middle of the page, insert the “DILEMMA ACTION” column and place the action which divides the people from the government policy. Draw a wedge and write down the action.

The government is left to respond: Do nothing...or engage in sanctions. In either case the government loses, because doing nothing means allowing its policies and laws to be disobeyed, and reacting with sanctions means violating what most of the population sees as important beliefs and values. It's important to note that many dilemma actions, can plant the seeds of alternative institutions and organizations run by the opposition or nonviolent movement, such as a publishing house. Identifying issues takes a little practice, but doing a SWOT analysis and a message box (Chapters 4 and 6) have proven as valuable aids for identifying issues.



*Gandhi marching to the sea, 1930.*

**CASE STUDY:** Identifying an Issue: Gandhi's Salt Campaign (Spring 1930)

An example of an ingenious issue around which a dilemma action was designed was the Salt March campaign, launched by Mohandas Gandhi during the Indian independence struggle against British colonial occupation. Making salt only required the boiling of seawater and collecting of the salt residue. The production of salt was controlled by the British and was a source of tax revenue. Since all people - poor and wealthy, men and women, Hindu and Muslim - needed salt on a daily basis, prohibitions on its production symbolically showed the subjugation of all Indians. The British were faced with a dilemma about how to respond. If the British occupiers arrested Gandhi and other salt lawbreakers, they would look ridiculous and make heroes out of the activists. If they did not take action, they would not only lose the salt monopoly and tax revenues, they would also lose authority in the eyes of the millions of people they ruled.

Section Outline:

## Running a Nonviolent Campaign

The exercise of political power through key pillars of support reveals the strengths and weaknesses of the opponent. A well-organized movement has a clear message, a comprehensive understanding of its capabilities, and a commitment to spread that message through public actions. But, how does a movement relying on nonviolent struggle actually use its strengths and the opponent's weaknesses to win? This section answers this question.

First, the tools from the previous section, "Starting Out," are combined into a whole. Actions become a campaign. A campaign is a strategically planned and executed set of nonviolent actions aimed at a targeted group. The actions, according to Gene Sharp, fall into three broad categories, including protest and persuasion (marches, displays of symbols, vigils, etc.), noncooperation (boycott of products, strike, refusal to pay taxes, etc.), and intervention (sit-in, picketing, hunger strikes, etc.). Every public action should be a part of some larger effort, or campaign, and your strategy should explain why specific types of actions are performed as building blocks of a campaign.

Next, the management of three strategic resources in campaigns is discussed:

- Material resources, like money, communications equipment, and office space
- Human resources, activists involved in the campaign
- Time spent by activists utilizing material resources

Lastly, you will learn to use the inverse planning model to maximize the effectiveness of the campaign. Taken together, this section shows the main requirements of going from individual actions to a comprehensive campaign of nonviolent struggle. Experience shows that a special challenge emerges during this phase – repression. The following section, "Working Under Repression", describes how the movement can respond to the opponents use of repressive measures.

Chapter 8:

### Building a Strategy: From Actions to Campaigns

Chapter's outline questions:

- What is a strategy?
- How do we create linkages between campaign strategies?
- What are the main resources in all campaigns?

Main themes include:

- Strategy and levels of strategy
- Strategic sequencing and tactical capacity building
- Three key resources: human resources, material resources, and time

Chapter 9:

### Managing a Nonviolent Campaign (Part 1): Material Resources

Chapter's outline questions:

- Why are material resources important?
- What types of material resources might we need?
- What are potential sources of material support?

Main themes include:

- Material resources and the importance of fundraising and security culture
- Assessment of needs for material resources
- Four sources of material resources:
  1. Supporters; 2. Potential Allies; 3. Business Community;
  4. International Organizations.



Chapter 10:

**Managing a Nonviolent Campaign (Part 2):  
Human Resources**

Chapter's outline questions:

- Why are volunteers important?
- Why do people join groups?
- How do we recruit new supporters?
- How do we use and preserve new human resources?

Main themes include:

- Public versus private section action
- Support pyramid: 1. Activists; 2. Volunteers; 3. Supporters; 4. Future Supporters
- “Level upgrade” as strategy for preventing attrition of volunteers

Chapter 11:

**Managing a Nonviolent Campaign (Part 3):  
Time as a Universal Resource**

Chapter's outline questions:

- What is time?
- What makes time unique in nonviolent struggle?
- How do we utilize time in a campaign?
- How do we write a campaign calendar?

Main themes include:

- Time pie chart
- Backward planning
- Template for a campaign calendar

Chapter 12:

**Building the Real-Field Campaign and the Inverse Planning Model**

Chapter's outline questions:

- How do we build the real-field campaign?
- How do we keep campaigns organized?
- Why should the campaign plan be flexible?

Main themes include:

- Key campaign functions:
  1. HR; 2. Analysis; 3. Communication; 4. Logistics
- Organizational design
- Campaign Plan Cycle Template:
  1. Strategy; 2. Situation; 3. Mission; 4. Execution; 5. Evaluation

**8**

# **Building a Strategy: From Actions to Campaigns**



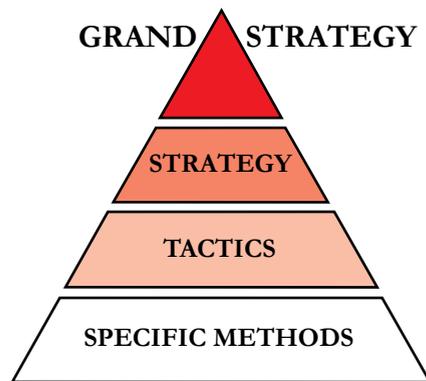
## Building A Strategy: From Actions to Campaigns

BUILDING THE RIGHT STRATEGY, IDENTIFYING CAMPAIGNS, AND CHOOSING DIFFERENT TACTICS HAVE BEEN CRUCIAL FOR THE OUTCOMES OF ALL KINDS OF CONFLICTS IN HISTORY. BUILDING AND MANAGING A NONVIOLENT MOVEMENT OR CAMPAIGN ARE COMPLEMENTARY, MUTUALLY REINFORCING ACTIVITIES. THE MORE YOU BUILD THE MOVEMENT, THE MORE YOU WILL NEED TO UNDERSTAND THE PRINCIPLES OF HOW ITS KEY RESOURCES FUNCTION.

### 24. What is a strategy?

A strategy is the conception of how best to act in order to achieve objectives, given limited resources and conditions of uncertainty. Strategy is concerned with determining 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, strategy, tactics and specific methods (See Chapter 4).

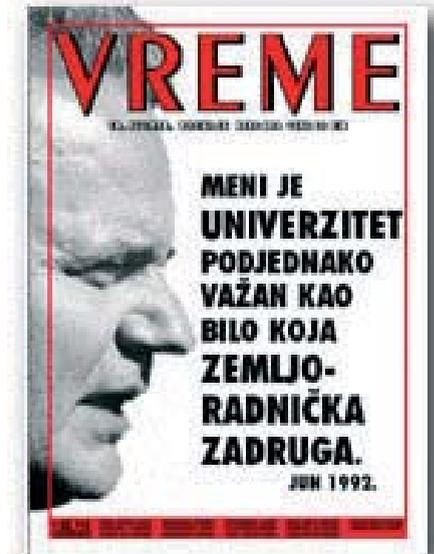
The grand strategy aims at achieving the overall objectives of the struggle through effective mobilization of the strengths of your supporters against your opponent. Strategies for individual campaigns guide how particular conflicts are to be waged during the struggle and within the scope of the grand strategy. Campaign strategies will need to be linked and designed to achieve and reinforce the objectives of the grand strategic.



Level	Grand Strategy	Strategy	Tactics	Specific Methods
Explanation	How do we elect our representatives?	What is the most effective way to get to the future state given the movement's limited resources?	How are specific objectives defined by the strategy achieved given limited resources and the opponent's actions?	What is the best way to accomplish specific tasks with available resources and time in the present environment?
Example	Free and fair elections	Monitor elections to prevent fraud	Organize independent monitoring during next elections	Place monitor teams in all voting precincts.

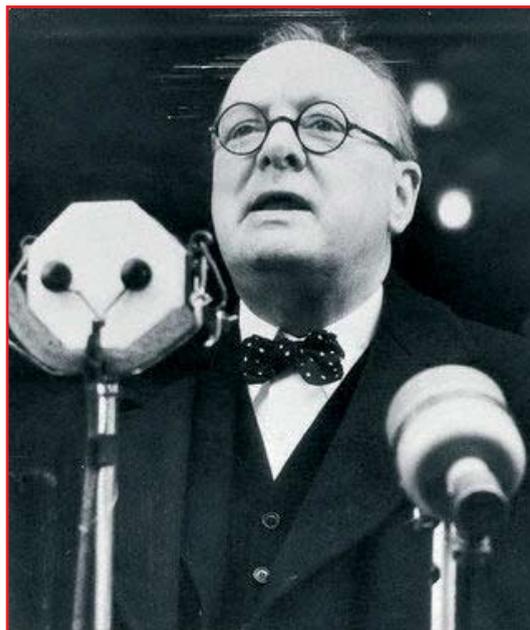
#### CASE STUDY:

In 1968, student protests occurred across the world. Similarly, the Tiananmen Square protests in Beijing, China in 1989 started at the university as did protests in Tehran, Iran in 1999. Since many movements cluster around universities, a summary of how university authorities suppressed the student unrest of the 1960's remains quite useful for nonviolent movements interested in mobilizing student support (adopted from Cornelius Lammers "Tactics and Strategies Adopted by University Authorities").



'To me, the university is as important as any farmers' cooperative.'  
June 1992, Slobodan Milosevic president of Serbia.

Goals	Eliminate student movement	Calm movement	Avoid emergence of movement	Cooperate with movement
Strategy	Repressive	Concession	Preventative	Experimental
Tactics	“fight off”	“buy off”	“stand off”	“join in”
Specific Methods	Preventive measures	Channel and manage confrontation	Alter conditions that could spark emergence	Keep administration flexible
Pattern of interaction with students	Conflict	Negotiations	Cooperation	Competition



However beautiful the strategy, you should occasionally look at the results

*Sir Winston Churchill*

In the case of Beijing and Tehran, the authorities followed a repressive strategy. In other cases, like in the US and Western Europe during the 1960s, the authorities saw that one strategy did not work, and changed to another; in most cases a combination of strategies were used. Now that you know the basic strategies devised by university administrations, you can use SWOT analysis (Chapter 4) to position your movement to take advantage of the university's tactical responses, and targeted communication (Chapter 6) to bring your message to the wider audience.

## 25. How do we create linkage between campaign strategies?



Contrary to the impression you may get from watching the news, successful strategic nonviolent movements and campaigns are not organized spontaneously: Black bus riders in Montgomery didn't just decide to boycott segregated buses, workers in Poland didn't just decide to go on strike in August 1980, nor did thousands of protesters just appear on the streets of Belgrade in 2000, Tbilisi in 2002 and Kiev in 2004. Behind each of these stand concerted and meticulous planning. These successful campaigns show two principles of strategic planning:

### 1. STRATEGIC SEQUENCING OF TACTICS

The strategic selection and sequencing of a variety of nonviolent tactics is essential. Tactics should be directly linked to intermediate goals which in turn flow from the movement or campaign's grand strategy. There are over 198 documented types of nonviolent tactics, and each successful movement invents new ones. (See annex: Methods of Nonviolent Action)

### 2. 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, such as encrypted emails, short-text messaging, underground press, and alternative web sites. This also involves detailed campaign and tactical planning, and efficient time management. Time is perhaps the most important resource of a struggle.

### CASE STUDIES: Combating Election Fraud in Serbia

In November 1996, prodemocratic parties in Serbia won local elections. Unwilling to surrender power, the Serbian dictator, Slobodan Milosevic, annulled results of local elections and announced new ones. After three months of protests that took place across 50 cities, and under the pressure of the international community, the results were finally accepted in the spring of 1997. The strategic campaign of proreform parties was implemented on several levels:

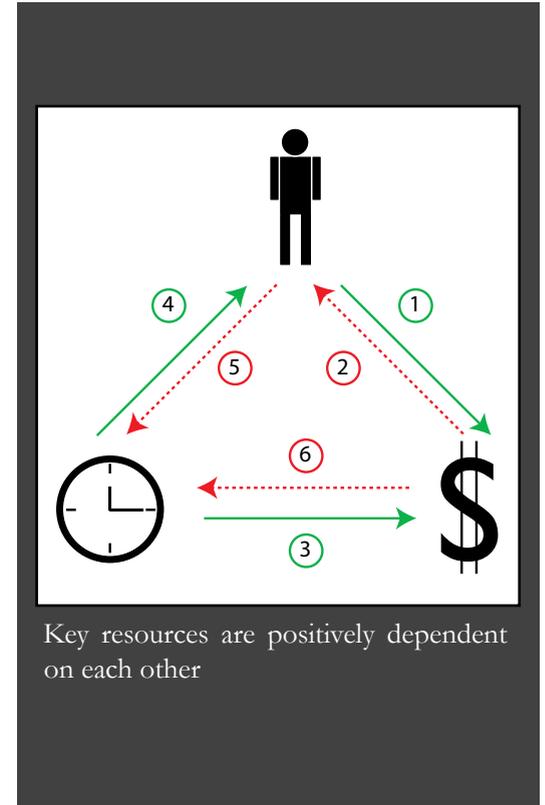
1. Mobilizing the citizenry: Sporadic small-scale protests in several urban centres soon spread nationally and took place every day.
2. Student protests: Thousands of students demanded during daily protests that the votes of citizens should be respected.
3. Advertising campaigns: From leaflets, to posters, billboards, radio and TV ads, the opposition informed the public about the elections and the subsequent protests.
4. Campaigns of “allies”: NGOs and the local independent media boycotted representatives of the government, thus isolating government supporters through the use of social sanctions.
5. Campaign for mobilizing international support: This resulted in the arrival of representatives of an expert group from the European Organization for Security and Cooperation.



## 26. What are the main resources in ALL campaigns and how are they related?

There are three main groups of resources in the campaign:

- **Human resources** consist of the people who support the movement or campaign, specifically, their collective labour. Human resources are also crucial to obtain mass numbers of supporters, and people bring invaluable skills and knowledge to a movement.
- **Material resources** include tangible assets such as money, supplies, communication equipment, property, and modes of transportation. Needs assessment and planning for the most effective allocation of material resources will enable a movement to function operationally even under severe repression.
- **Time** itself is a finite resource. It must be carefully planned and used, in order to gain the maximum efficiency of human and material resources.



These three key resources (Human, Material, and Time) are interdependent. For example, the recruitment of new activists for a movement increases the possibility for access to critical skills and 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 material (3) and human resources (4). However, this also has its costs both in terms of engaging people (5) (working hours) and of the material resources used (6) (from coffee for meetings to travel expenses, etc.).

TIP

Time is valuable: it is a finite and “nonrenewable” resource.

**REMEMBER:**

- A strategy is a plan of how your goals and your vision will be achieved
- Tactics and specific methods must follow from the strategy and be based on a realistic assessment of available resources
- Three key resources are time, human and material resources

The Inverse (Backward) Planning process - in which you plan an action by working back from the end to the beginning in terms of activities and dates – is a useful tool for minimizing the waste of this precious resource as well as for insuring that key tasks are not overlooked (see Chapter 7).

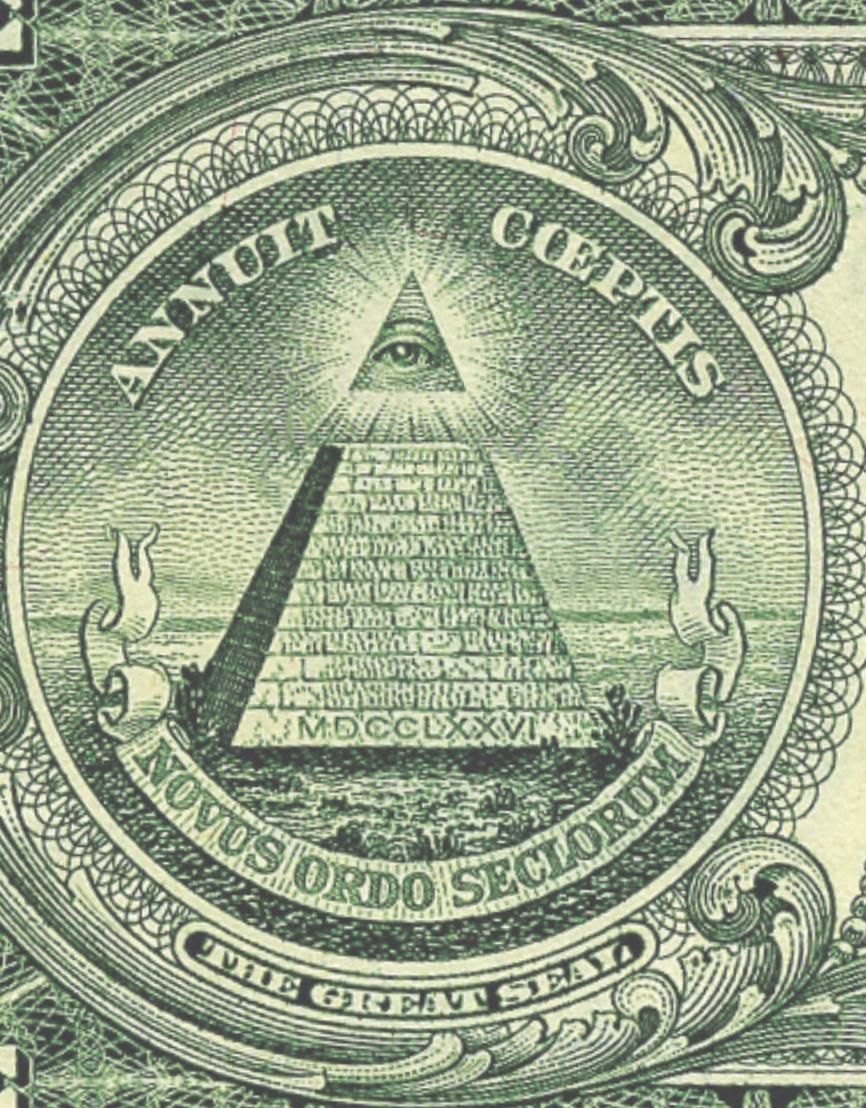
The growth of each of the key resources has a positive impact on the other two. Similarly, a crisis in one resource adversely affects the others as well.



*Meticulous planning and record keeping enabled the almost complete reconstruction of the urban core of London consumed by blazes in the September 1666 Great Fire of London.*

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THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



IN GOD WE TRUST

ONE

9

Managing a Nonviolent Campaign:  
**Material Resources**

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## Managing a Nonviolent Campaign: Material Resources

IT IS SAID, AND NOT WITHOUT A GOOD REASON THAT “MONEY IS THE MOTHER’S MILK OF POLITICS.” WE SHOULD ALSO REMEMBER THAT MATERIAL RESOURCES ARE ONE OF PRIMARY SOURCES OF POWER WITHIN A SOCIETY. IN ORDER TO RUN A SUCCESSFUL NONVIOLENT CAMPAIGN, YOU SHOULD KNOW HOW MUCH AND WHICH KIND OF MATERIAL RESOURCES ARE REQUIRED TO FULFILL THE GRAND STRATEGY, AND DISCOVER WAYS TO FUNDRAISE IN ORDER TO KEEP YOUR MOVEMENT ON A PERMANENT OFFENSIVE.

### 27. Why are material resources important?

Two key reasons account for the importance of material resources. First, in terms of the three main resources (see also Chapters 10 and 11), the resource gap between the opponent and the movement is typically the largest. The opponent has a competitive advantage over the movement that is very difficult to overcome, since the opponent may have access to thousands of buildings, tens of thousands of vehicles, the print and electronic media, and the event entire national budget at its disposal, or access to valuable natural resources or foreign support. Second, in terms of security (see Chapters 14 and 15), material resources are among the most sensitive areas of the organization. The opponent will go right after your fundraising and financial officers, and information about the funds and how they are spent must be kept secure at all times!

It may seem surprising, but one of the most common similarities among successful nonviolent movements have been their high fundraising potential, combined with effective management of material resources.

**TIP**

Raise money early, and raise it often!



### 28. What types of material resources might we need?

In order to conduct a successful campaign, various material resources need to be obtained.

Material resources are needed for at least four indispensable functions:

**TIP:**  
Make needs assessments for each upcoming activity!

Essential Function	Examples
SURVIVAL AND MAINTAINING MORALE	Food, clothing, medical aid, funds for victims and out-of-work people
COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORT	Computers, mobile phones, transmitters, supplies, vehicles, gasoline, airplane tickets
FIXED OPERATING COSTS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Office space</li> <li>• Telephone, fax, copying machine, computers</li> <li>• Postage (both for newsletters and general correspondence)</li> <li>• Office supplies</li> <li>• Coffee</li> <li>• Officers’ expenses (these should be low!)</li> </ul>
DIRECT NONVIOLENT ACTIONS (CAMPAIGNS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Flyers, brochures or other recruitment material</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, meal, promotion)</li> <li>• Rewards or incentives for workers</li> <li>• Political action projects, such as Student Union elections or issue campaigns</li> <li>• Travel and registration expenses for delegates to provincial or federal conventions and seminars</li> </ul>

You also need to keep an ongoing inventory of available resources, prioritize the use of those resources in accordance with strategic plans, and maximize the effectiveness of their use.

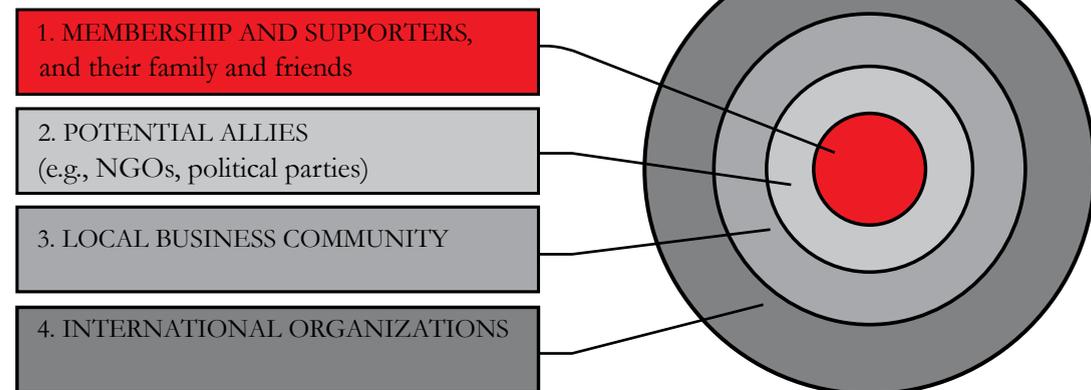
## 29. What are potential sources of material support?

Nonviolent struggles always face the challenge of getting enough support for acquiring essential. Sometimes the support is entirely domestic, other times the campaign or movement also garners recognizable amounts of international assistance.

Domestic support generally comes from local civil society groups and non-governmental organizations, religious institutions, businesses, unions, and professional organizations. Youth groups have also tapped that age-old source – their families!

Nonviolent movements can also seek as-

There are four levels of potential sources for material support:



sistance from the international community, such as multilateral organizations, non-governmental organizations, foundations, organizations or aid agencies supporting democracy, human rights, and civil liberties, unions, and religious institutions. Nonviolent strategists must exercise care that international support does not hinder or disrupt the homegrown movement’s goals or activities. International organizations are often encumbered by slow bureaucracies, rigid mandates, or “experts” who either think they know more than the “locals” or, even worse, that they know best!

POTENTIAL SOURCE OF MR	MATERIALS THEY COULD SUPPLY	STANDARD METHODS
Membership and supporters, and their family and friends	Food, clothing, medical aid, computers, mobile phones, vehicles	Mobilization of the membership, charging membership fees
Potential allies (e.g., NGOs, political parties)	Telephone, fax, copying machine, computers, office space, postage	Participating in a broad coalition in which the movement critically contributes to satisfying important interests of the allies
Local business community	Flyers, brochures or other recruitment material, posters, gasoline, medical aid, food, coffee, refreshment	Informational campaign that convinces the community that reforms serve their interests (since entrepreneurs and businesses pay attention to the bottom line).
International organizations	Various resources	Networking with international actors through “grant” programs

As these groups are diverse, your representatives who approach them will be more effective if they have strong language, negotiation and “grant-proposal writing” skills.

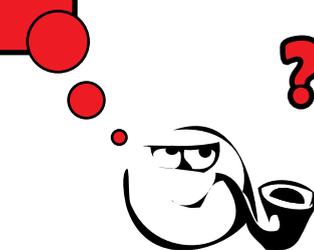
CASE STUDY: “Not all that shines is gold”:

During three months of everyday students’ protests in 1996-1997, money accounted for less than 20% of the material resources needed for this huge operation in Belgrade. University buildings served as office space, as did homes of parents of well-off students. Cab drives provided transportation for free to students, and they got gasoline from anti-regime gas stations for free. Print shops provided over half million flyers and informational material free of charge. Volunteer firefighting brigades provided students with loudspeakers, while a popular music club provided key communications equipment by allowing the students to use their speakers for student meetings.



QUESTIONS TO ASK YOUR SELF:

- What are your funding needs?
- How much money do you hope to raise from your fundraising campaign?
- Approximately how many people will be involved in the fundraising campaign?
- What specific skills, such as negotiating, language, grant-writing skills, do they need?
- When will it start?
- How long will you have your fundraiser?
- Do you have enough volunteers to help with the fundraising?
- Who is the person in charge of fundraising and budget management?
- Can you trust this person?



**10**

**Managing a Nonviolent Campaign:  
Human Resources**



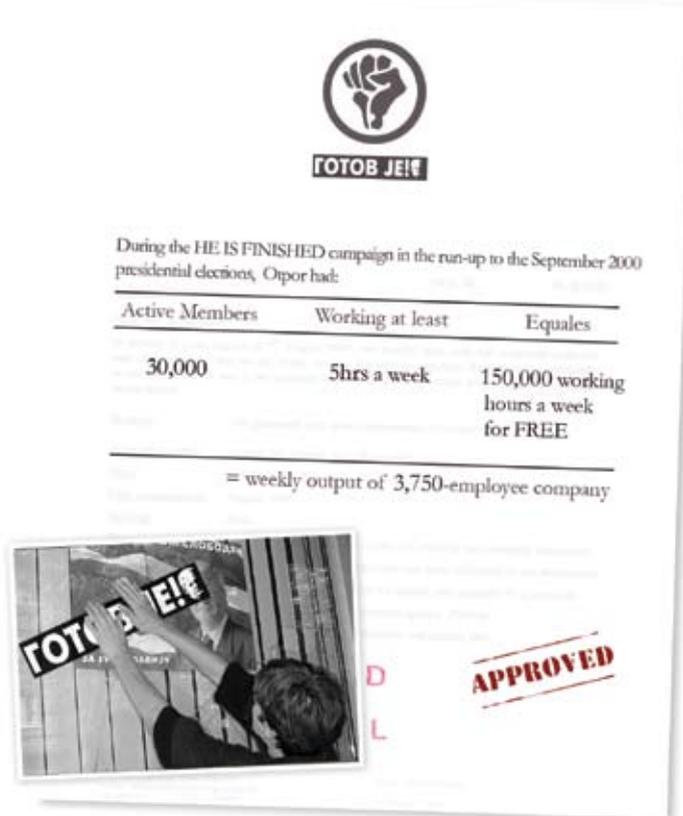
## Managing a Nonviolent Campaign: Human Resources

VOLUNTEERS ARE A CRUCIAL SOURCE OF POLITICAL POWER FOR ANY MOVEMENT. THEY PROVIDE THEIR SKILLS AND KNOWLEDGE TO YOUR MOVEMENT AT BASICALLY NO COST, AND INCREASE THE SIZE OF THE MOVEMENT. ACTIVISTS, OR VOLUNTEERS ARE THE INFANTRY AND FIELD POWER OF YOUR NONVIOLENT MOVEMENT; THEY ARE THE WARRIORS THAT ULTIMATELY WIN THE WAR.

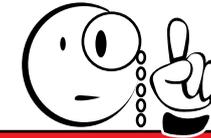
### 30. Why are volunteers important?

Volunteers are crucial for a strong movement. Building a base of passive and active supporters is essential to the success of any long-term campaign, as the example below shows.

Volunteering differs from working in a company, a farm, or at other jobs. Say the current election laws in your country do not conform to international standards and that your activist friends volunteered for a public campaign to reform the laws. Once your friends volunteer, what's the incentive to make you volunteer, especially if you know that there is no way for them to exclude you from the benefits of their volunteering?



When election laws change, everyone benefits, including those people who did not lift a finger. This shows the problem of free-riding, or enjoying the benefits while others do the hard work. Of course, other than free-riding people don't volunteer for other reasons, including the lack of free time or the fear of sanctions (adopted from Lee Freedman, *Microeconomics*.)



#### IMPORTANT:

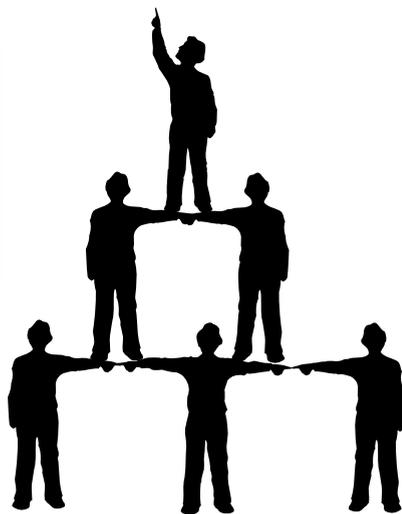
1. Continually recruit those interested in your group or issue, and
2. Constantly reach out to potential supporters who might not become able to be directly involved.
3. Find a way to keep people active, motivated and attached to your group.

### 31. Why do people join groups?

People like to be a part of something they consider important, and a proreform struggle that will change their community may sound important to them. Participation in movement activities also represents a change that allows you to avoid routine and boring activities of regular, everyday life. Also, volunteering satisfies the need for contact and closeness with other people. The possibility of influencing even the smallest things in the work of an organization can present a special type of motivation because it helps the activist feel being a part of the organization, and as someone who can influence the organization's transformation.

TIP

People join nonviolent movements because they want to be a part of something important, an important part!



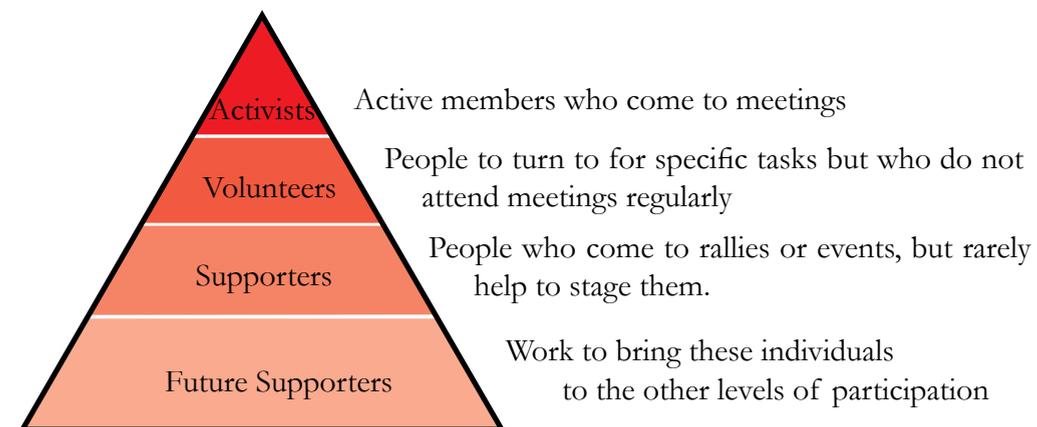
### 32. How do we recruit new supporters?

Recruiting and mentoring of new activists is essential for a nonviolent movement, and should be going on at all times. All of your events and activities should include outreach and recruitment action! You should provide opportunities for people to become informed about issues and show their support. Allow people who are just curious to take the first step towards becoming supporters. Often, new people need some extra encouragement before they decide to get more involved.

Once you register new supporters, the next very important step is building an activist base. The most effective model is to compile all the names of people who have signed in at your activities into a master list. This list should be divided into three sections:

1. Active members who come to meetings
2. Volunteers for specific tasks who do not attend meetings
3. Supporters who will come to rallies or events

Over time, the list will probably look like a pyramid:



### 33. How do we use and preserve new human resources?

To understand the nature of the constant flow of activists, nonviolent movements must understand the relations between recruitment, training, and permanent involvement of new human resources. Without being permanently involved, new activists will tend to leave the movement, so remember that lot of unused human resources will be lost for you a within month of their recruitment!

TIP

Keep your new members informed, and try to keep them busy!



New activists in your movement must have opportunities to take on greater responsibilities at every single level of the movement. These are called level upgrade possibilities, and they require that the master list contain at least the following information:

- **SKILLS AND KNOWLEDGE:**

What special talents can this person bring to the movement?

- **INTERESTS:**

What types of activities are most interesting?

- **AVAILABLE TIME:**

How much time for these activities, and when during the week?



✓ ALWAYS	✗ NEVER
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Offer a chance to prove him/herself at gradually more difficult tasks</li> <li>• Define the term activist or new member</li> <li>• Define what he or she can do for the organization</li> <li>• Understand the needs of the activists and the organization</li> <li>• Create a good method of recruiting</li> <li>• Organize general information meetings</li> <li>• Provide description of the work for activists</li> <li>• Support and supervise activists</li> <li>• Create a system for recognition of activist work</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Forget about the activists</li> <li>• Underestimate their potential</li> <li>• Make them feel unneeded</li> <li>• Blame them for the mistakes of the leadership and decision makers</li> <li>• Keep them uninformed</li> <li>• Miss a chance to recruit</li> </ul>






One of the greatest recruitment posters in history, “Uncle Sam wants you!” was first used in WWI (1917) and again in WWII.



“We need you!” (Serbia, 2000). An Otpor recruiting poster used a similarly direct appeal.



**11**

*Managing a Nonviolent Campaign:*  
**Time as a Universal Resource**

# Managing a Nonviolent Campaign: Time Management

HOWEVER DIVERSE THE CONDITIONS FOR EACH NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE, CAREFUL TIME PLANNING HAS BEEN ESSENTIAL TO SUCCESSFUL NONVIOLENT MOVEMENTS. WHATEVER THE DIFFERENCES IN CULTURAL, SOCIAL, HISTORIC AND POLITICAL FACTORS BETWEEN YOUR MOVEMENT AND PREVIOUS ONES, YOUR MOVEMENT NEEDS TO CAREFULLY PLAN HOW IT USES THIS PRECIOUS AND UNIQUE RESOURCE. THIS IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT WHEN YOUR STRATEGY INVOLVES A MAJOR PUBLIC CAMPAIGN.

## 34. What is time?

Time is something we live with everyday of our life. It is on your watch, on the calendar on your wall, in the school timetable of a 7 year-old children. But how often do people understand that time is also a valuable resource, particularly in a nonviolent struggle?

In the strategic planning for nonviolent struggle, as in the world of business, how you use time can be divided into four categories:

- |                              |
|------------------------------|
| 1. TIME FOR PLANNING         |
| 2. TIME FOR ONGOING PROJECTS |
| 3. TIME FOR ROUTINE TASKS    |
| 4. TIME TO LOSE              |

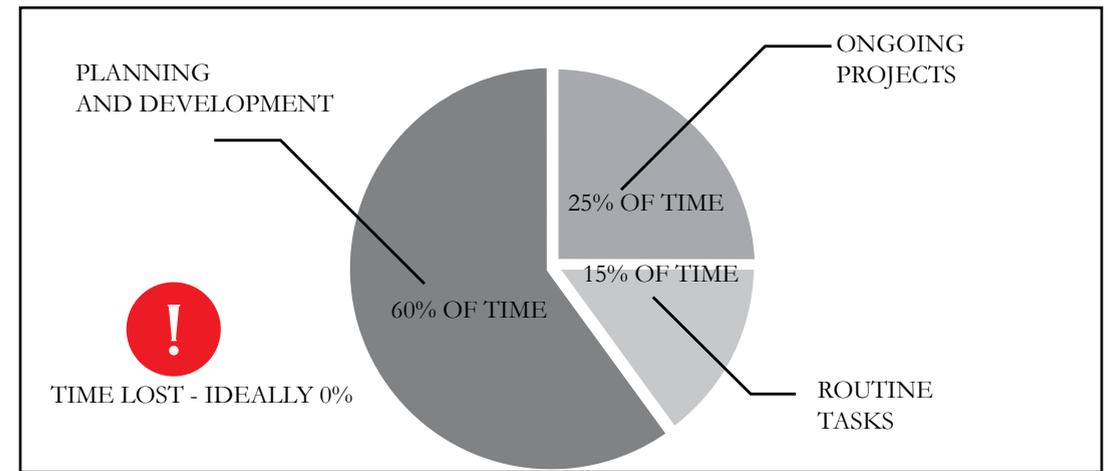
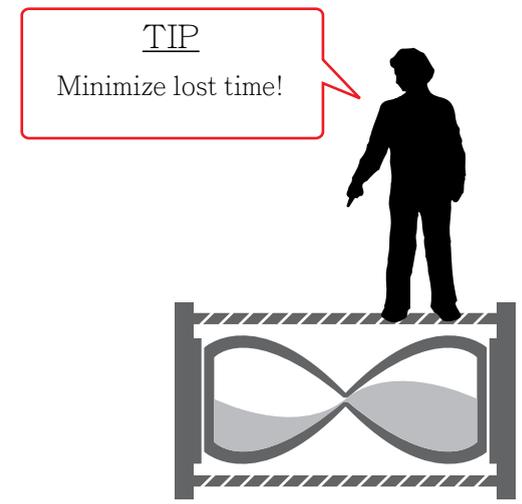


*Serbian President Milosevic pours sand into an hourglass, knowing that time has run out for him and his regime*

1. Time for planning of future activities and development of the movement's resources - these are the most important tasks for strategists.
2. Time for ongoing projects - tasks related to the management of the movement's ongoing activities, including organizational and operational tasks.

**TIP**  
Time is a precious resource in your campaign!

3. Time for routine tasks - though they can be very important, these "trivial" tasks frequently occupy too much of people's time.
4. Time to lose - all the time spent not doing any of the above activities, and 80% of this time in the movement comes from "waiting for somebody else". A person 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 of those who had been waiting and losing their time.

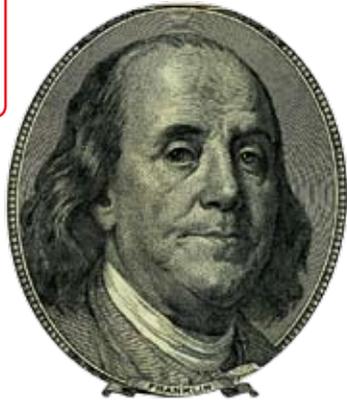


## 35. What makes time unique in nonviolent struggles?

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 your movement and the opponent. 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 a little less than 5.2 million seconds to use...or to waste.

TIP

“Lost time is never  
found again”  
(Benjamin Franklin)



### 36. How do we utilize time in a campaign?

Given this unique property of time, the question becomes, how do you utilize time to maximize the likelihood of success of your grand strategy? Time, as a universal resource, should be carefully planned and used, in order to gain maximum efficiency of human labour and of the available material resources. This is especially important during a campaign, when planning will be needed so that your movement stays organized.

Without proper planning, a campaign is just a “list of nice wishes,” and success is only related to luck. Every aspect of a nonviolent campaign should be planned before it is implemented, from the communication strategy to fundraising to grassroots organizing and campaign management.

Successful campaigns have a beginning, middle and end (see Chapters 5 and 7). A “launch” event affords the opportunity for media activity and a spurt of campaigning work. Escalation of the campaign may be focused on grass-roots level activities like public events and door-to-door campaigns. 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.

So, your campaign needs a precise and realistic calendar of events and activities. “Planning backwards” from the end of campaign towards the first activity is a useful tool of keeping your campaign organized.

Backward planning is a time management tool designed to maximize effectiveness of time use. It works like this:

#### STEPS IN BACKWARDS PLANNING:

1. On a monthly calendar, write down all of the deadlines for your campaign.

The image shows a monthly calendar grid with days numbered 01 through 31. The days are arranged in a 5x7 grid (with the last row having only 6 days). The days are shaded in alternating light and dark gray. A silhouette of a person is standing on the right side of the calendar, pointing towards the 31st. A red speech bubble next to the person contains the text: TIP Plan your last activity first!

2. On the study planner write down each assignment and course of action, and then list the steps that you must follow to complete the assignment (see the Study Planner from Chapter 7 for examples).
3. Then, plot those steps BACKWARDS on the calendar, assigning the LAST step to the day before the assignment is due. 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 assignment and repeat step #3.

## 37. How do we write a campaign calendar?

Putting plans on paper is the first step for creating a usable campaign calendar. Here are three principles that will help you to create an effective campaign calendar:

1

Break down a campaign into small and concrete tasks: Backward planning forces you to break down a campaign into small, realistic tasks. Working towards achievable tasks motivates people to complete them. If the subject of planning is a public event, the first task should not be to “write a draft” (too broad), but rather “pick an issue”. Likewise, “organize media coverage” is too general – and should be clarified as: “send a press release inviting journalists to the event”. Consider exactly what tasks are involved in preparing for each assignment (see Chapter 7).

2

Plan in advance: Backward planning also allows you to plan ahead. Ideally, strategists should plot out the steps for an overall campaign. Knowing how a plan helps achieve the Grand Strategy and connects the challenges faced by your movement now and in future campaigns.

3

Be realistic: Don’t set up a poster campaign on a Friday night when you know that your posters must be ready “by the end of the week”. Allow extra time to accomplish the necessary tasks.



Backward planning works because it forces strategists to create internal deadlines, and because it only asks that the bare minimum is done each day in order to complete an assignment. It is the difference between trying to jump on to the seventh floor unsuccessfully, and using stairs instead.

(Adopted from Walter Pauk, *How to Study in College*.)

### PRACTICAL EXERCISE:

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

Mr John Doe is my friend from elementary school. He is divorced and has two small children. He is in his middle age and teaches at the university. At the end of the day, he likes to have a gin and tonic in a local bar. He doesn’t like loud parties in public spaces, but likes classical music and ballroom dancing. His favorite food is Chinese chicken and spring rolls.

Make a plan based on the available resources, including the house you can use for the party, the appropriate music, who will bring the cake, wash dishes, and which preparations should be make when.

WEEK	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thur	Fri	Sat	Sun
1							
2							
3					Party Day		



**12**

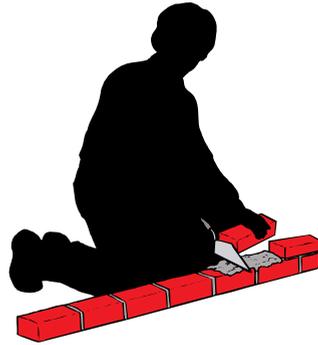
**Building the Real-Field Campaign  
and  
the Inverse Planning Model**

## Real-Field Campaign and the Inverse Planning Model

A GREAT MANY EXTERNAL ACTIVITIES OF A NONVIOLENT MOVEMENT INVOLVE PARTICIPATING IN SOME TYPE OF CAMPAIGN, WHETHER TO SUPPORT A REFORM CANDIDATE, ORGANIZE NONCOOPERATION WITH THE OPPONENT, OR ARRANGE A NONVIOLENT INTERVENTION, SUCH AS A SIT-IN. WHATEVER THE METHODS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION THAT YOUR MOVEMENT IMPLEMENTS, IF THESE ARE STRATEGICALLY PLANNED AND EXECUTED, THEN THEY ARE A PART OF A CAMPAIGN. CONSEQUENTLY, A SUCCESSFUL NONVIOLENT MOVEMENT HAS TO PARTICIPATE EFFECTIVELY IN A MAJOR CAMPAIGN.

### 38. How do we build the real-field campaign?

A real-field campaign is built upon two components - planning and management of activities. To successfully implement your campaign plan it is crucial to have a precise calendar of upcoming activities and adequate office space, called the Campaign Center. In the center, tasks and responsibilities are clearly defined so that everyone knows who works on which campaign tasks when, and who must be informed about which developments. Once you understand how to make a campaign plan, and apply the “backward planning model” (see Chapter 11) by breaking complicated activities into a chain of simple tasks, certain structures (e.g. the Campaign Center) are required in order to bring your plan into reality.

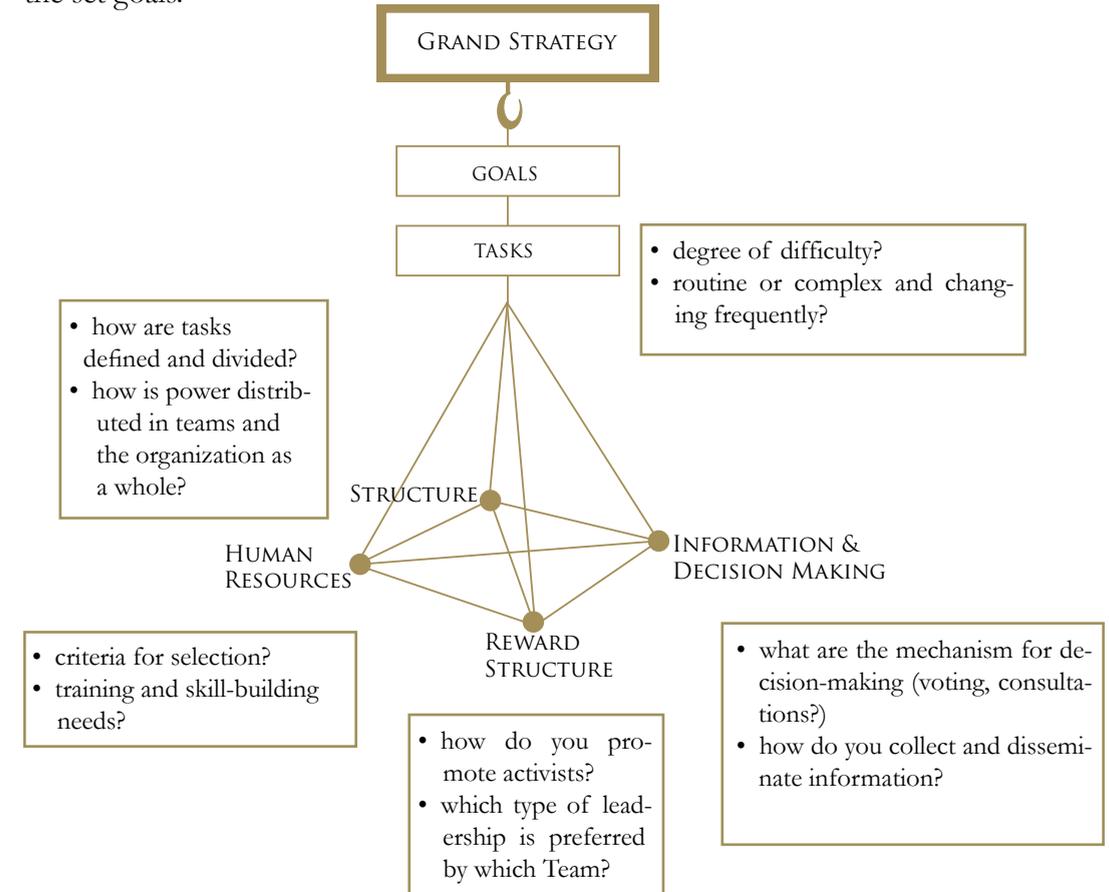


- Administrative and HR functions  
-Team 1
- Intelligence and analysis functions  
- Team 2
- Internal and external communication functions - Team 3
- Logistics and operational functions  
-Team 4

Organizational structure, which logistically supports real-field campaign management project development should be based on principle known as “Form Follows Function” (FFF) and should operate on the following basis:

These four teams should communicate clearly and coordinate regularly. Make sure that this communication has a feedback component. For example, Team 1 knows what resources Team 4 needs to support a national petition for free media.

Classic Approach to Organizational Design: There are many ways to organize your campaign. The model proposed by Jay Galbraith to achieve an organization’s goals uses five categories that should be aligned efficiently. If you can answer the main challenges encompassed by each category individually, and then see how those answers affect the other categories (denoted by lines), then you have a better understanding of two things. First, you see how your organization works and second you see the things that need to change so that the organization’s design or form fits the functions needed to accomplish the set goals.



Sometimes the form cannot change much, because of repression or because the movement needs to grow. This shows in a simple way which goals are realistic based on the movement’s capacities (see Chapter 3).

(Adopted from Jay R Galbraith. *Organizational Design*)

### 39. How do we keep campaigns organized?

After writing your campaign plan and creating teams, the next step is to create a campaign timeline or calendar listing the key tasks that must be accomplished and decide on the dates by when those tasks must be accomplished (e.g., the law requires the registration of independent election monitors at least 3 days before the elections). Distribute this thumbnail sketch of your campaign timeline to the members of your team so they can see where and how the tasks they are working on fit in to the overall campaign calendar.

Make sure that one (and only one) person is responsible for maintaining and updating the campaign calendar and that everyone on your team knows to contact that person to add or to delete individual campaign events and activities.

Your calendar should be visibly displayed for everyone to see. Use different colours to mark the activities of different teams/activities, (e.g. green for Team 3 responsible for communication and media activities, red for logistics of field activities of Team 4).



### 40. Why should the campaign plan be flexible?

The short answer is because you are not the only actor in the field! Usually, a number of actors participate in important national campaigns, including potential allies such as NGOs and proreform political parties fielding candidates, as well as the candidates of the authoritarian opponent and the many organizations supporting the opponent. You can be sure that the opponent and organizations allied with the opponent will work on minimizing the effect of your activities. Because you cannot predict all the ways in which the opponent will act, your plan needs to be flexible, and the Campaign Center needs react quickly to changes in the field – and transform them from liabilities into opportunities.



“Rock the vote ’98,” the slogan for a successful GOTV campaign organized by proreform forces in Slovakia against Vladimir Meciar.



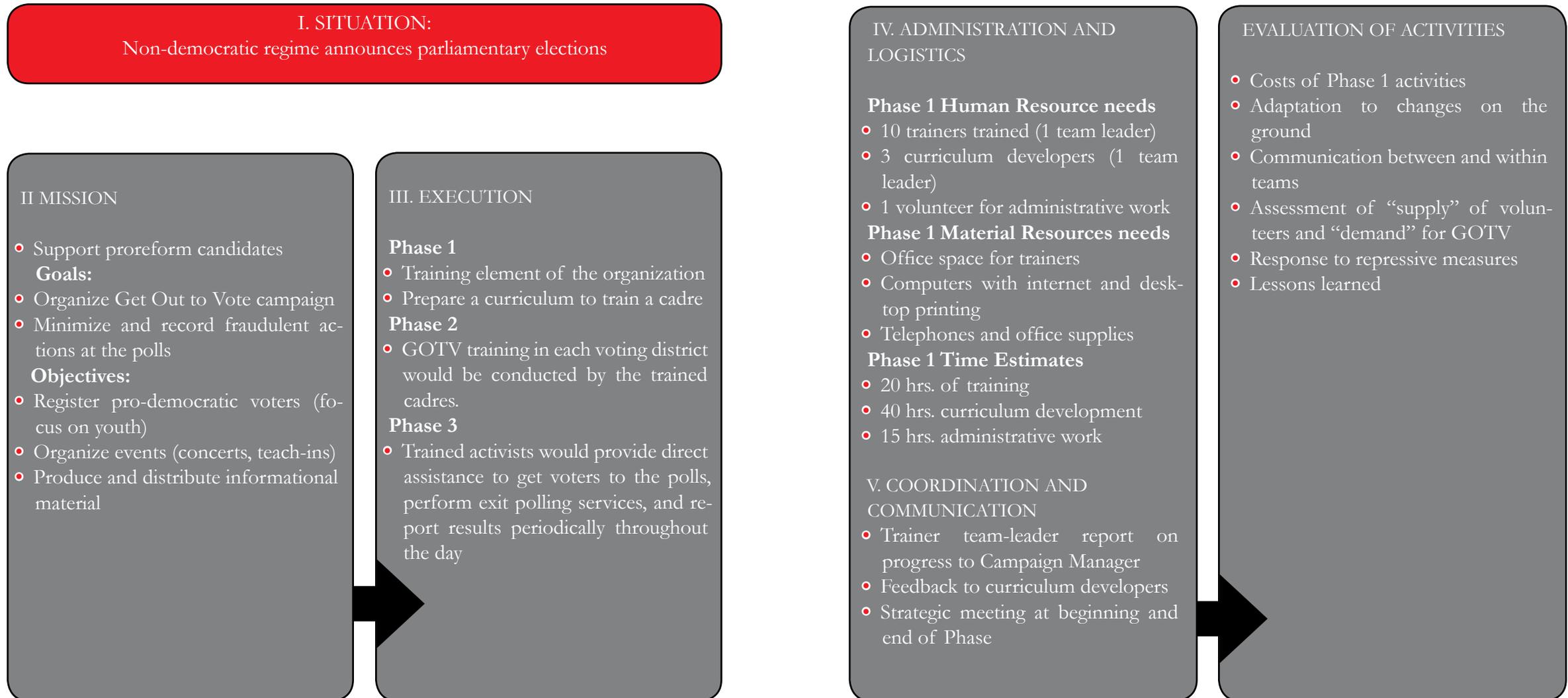
“It’s time!,” the slogan for another successful GOTV campaign, this one organized by proreform forces in Serbia against Slobodan Milosevic.

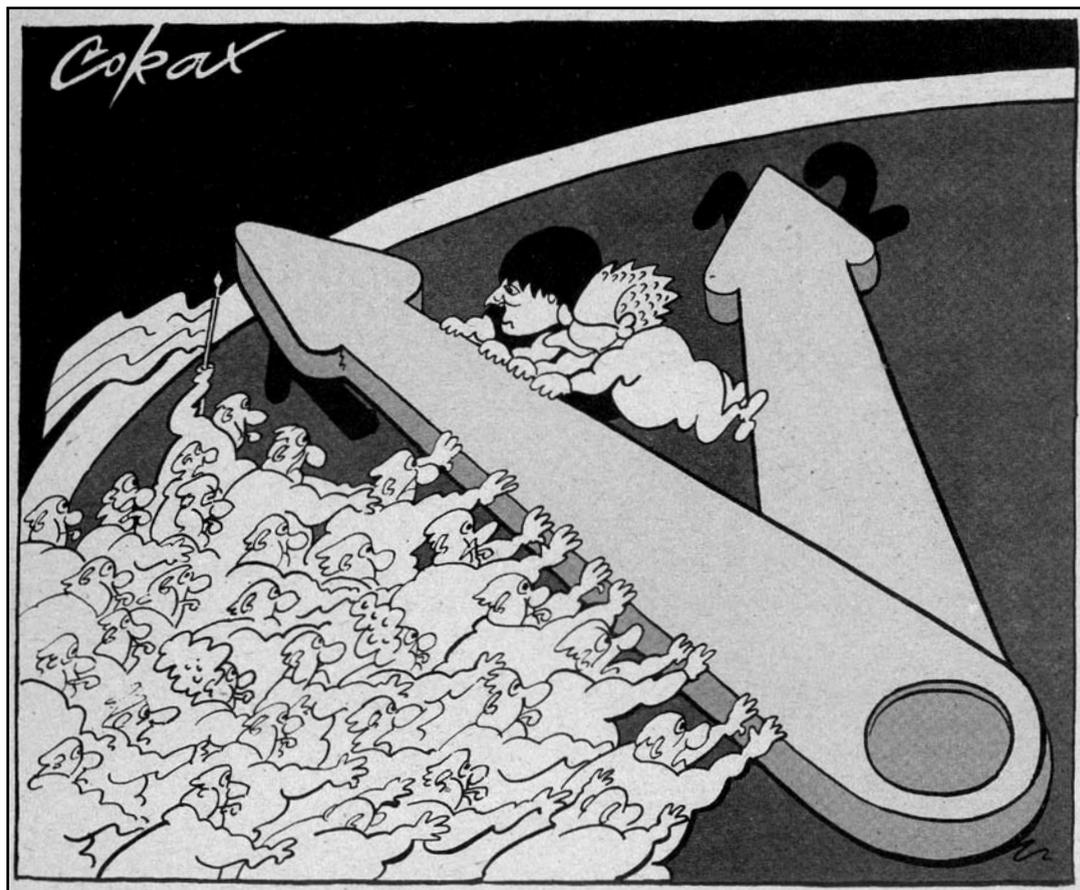
#### EXERCISE:

Simulate a real field Get Out To Vote (GOTV) campaign (refer to Chapter 5), which shall occur under non-democratic conditions on September 23rd this year.

The Simulation should begin with a preparation phase, Phase I. The key objective of Phase I is tasking the training element of the organization to prepare a curriculum and to train new units who will conduct a Get Out To Vote (GOTV) campaign in each voting district. During Phase II, the intermediate phase, the GOTV training in each voting district would be conducted by the cadres trained in Phase I. During Phase III, the activists trained during Phase II would provide direct assistance to get voters to the polls, perform exit polling services, and report results periodically throughout the day.

Below is a schematic of how the whole campaign looks like:  
CAMPAIGN PLAN:





*Time is running out for the Milosevic regime. With a mobilized public strategically working towards the same goals, the once powerful regime cannot hold on for long.*

#### CAMPAIGN EXECUTION:

Using the “Form Follows Function” principle, create teams (see previous page) in order to manage main groups of activities in your campaign. While you can create a number of teams, the following four are crucial to the campaign:

- **Team 1** - Administrative and HR function
- **Team 2** - Intelligence and analysis function
- **Team 3** - Communication function
- **Team 4** - Logistics and operational function

#### EXERCISE:

Using the inverse planning sequence (refer to Chapter 11), identify the critical specific tasks to be accomplished and assign responsibility for each. Here are a few examples:

Responsibility/task (What is to be done?)	Team in charge (Who is responsible for this?)
• Collect data on first time voters in voting district	• Team 2 Intelligence and analysis function
• Recruit volunteers for future training cadre	• Team 1 - Administrative and HR function
• Develop curriculum for future educational activities	• Team 3 - Communication function
• Rent a office	• Team 4 – Logistics and operational function
• Design a slogan and logo of the campaign	• Team 3 - Communication function
• Fundraise and prepare realistic budget	• Team 4 – Logistics and operational function
• Train a cadre of trainers	• Team 1 - Administrative and HR function
• Print and distribute materials	• Team 4 -Logistics and operational function
• Analyze a possibilities for election fraud	• Team 2 - Intelligence and analysis function
(Add)	
(Add)	
(Add)	
(Add)	

	Week1	Week2	Week3	Week4
Mon				
Tue				
Wed				
Thu				
Fri				
Sat				
Sun				

Based upon previous analysis, create a four-week campaign calendar, starting backwards from Election Day, September the 23rd.



**DON'T FORGET  
"MURPHY'S LAW":**

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."

Section Outline:  
**Working Under Repression**

As you run a nonviolent campaign by managing your material and human resources and time, and by using inverse planning you must also prepare for your opponent's sanctions. Though the methods used to repress movements are numerous, they focus heavily on the capacity of the movement to act effectively. You will learn how to minimize your opponent's ability to disrupt and monitor your movement's internal and external communications and to degrade your morale: if spirits are low and every action in the campaign seems to be known in advance, then the capacity of your movement to implement a nonviolent strategy is seriously decreased.

Another related method is creating an atmosphere of pervasive fear. Since fear is a natural response to certain circumstances perceived by the mind and body as threatening, using fear is an especially effective tool for degrading the movement's capacities. You will learn what fear is, how easy it is to secure confessions, as well as how to decrease negative effects of fear through preparation and building trust.

These are serious topics so remember that there is no shame in being a prisoner who has fought on the side of freedom and democracy. Every person in the movement has placed themselves, voluntarily, in harms way. That is a demonstration of courage!

Chapter 13:  
**Working Under Repression:  
 Morale and Communications**

Chapter's outline questions:

- How does repression work?
- What are the most common techniques of the repression?
- What is security culture?
- How do we protect our communications?

Main themes include:

- Passivity does not mean security from sanctions
- Techniques:
  1. Repression of activities and individuals;
  2. Creating an atmosphere of fear
- Techniques for upgrading the security culture

Chapter 14:  
**Working Under Repression:  
 Responding to the Opponent's Sanctions**

Chapter's outline questions:

- What is fear?
- How do we overcome the effects of fear?
- How do we deal with opponent's sanctions?

Main themes include:

- Defining fear
- Dealing with fear through preparation and during actions
- Prisoner's dilemma and sanctions





**13**  
**Working Under Repression:**  
**Morale and Communications**

## Working Under Repression: Morale and Communications

SOONER OR LATER YOUR MOVEMENT WILL BE CHALLENGED TO RESPOND TO THE OPPONENT'S COUNTERMEASURES. TAKEN TOGETHER, THESE MEASURES ARE PART OF THE OPPONENT'S TOOLKIT FOR REPRESSION. THIS CHAPTER OUTLINES HOW YOU CAN DEVELOP YOUR OWN TOOLKIT THAT REDUCES THE EFFECTIVENESS OF REPRESSION. AS A START, THINK OF REPRESSION AND SANCTIONS IN GENERAL LIKE ANYTHING ELSE THAT HAS A PRICE, LIKE FOOD OR CLOTHING: IN GENERAL, THE HIGHER THE PRICE, THE LESS YOU CAN AFFORD TO BUY. CREATING A "SECURITY CULTURE" THAT MINIMIZES THE ABILITY OF THE OPPONENT TO INFILTRATE THE MOVEMENT AND DISRUPT COMMUNICATION SHOULD BE A BASIC PART OF YOUR TOOLKIT.

### 41. How does repression work?

As your movement gains strength, your opponent will tend to feel that he is growing weaker. Generally, the opponent will try to neutralize a movement by destroying the morale of its members and take other actions that decrease the social and individual demand for change. Also, the opponent may attempt to increase the costs of running an effective movement. Disrupting communication is one of the most effective ways to increase the costs to the movement. By clamping down on the movement's public activities, arresting its activists, and creating an atmosphere of fear, the costs to the movement and to

you personally, as an activist, increase; the opponent calculates that if the costs are high enough, then the supply of the movement's activities will decrease and eventually disappear. Sanctions have two effects (see Chapter 2). The smaller effect is punishing the "guilty" individuals.



The larger effect, and the main purpose of sanctions, is not to punish individuals, but to prevent others from also disobeying. By "setting the example" of you being punished, the opponent sends the message that the price for non-cooperation with your opponent will be high.

Sooner or later, your movement will confront some form of sanctions. Experience shows that convincing activists and supporters that the movement can respond to sanctions requires considerable skill. The messages that needs to be accepted by activists before dealing with sanctions are:

- Passivity is not a guarantee for avoiding sanctions
- The more violent the resistance, the likelier the opponent will use overwhelming force

From these follows a strategy that uses the opponent's sanctions to strengthen, not weaken the movement:

- Violence and repression should not be legitimated in any way by showing that they are effective means for stopping the movement
- Do not delegitimize the nonviolent struggle by resorting to violence and sabotage because these actually serve as a justification for repressive action and decrease the movement's authority

### 42. What are the most common techniques of repression?

#### 1. REPRESSION OF ACTIVITIES:

This includes a package of measures, often codified in an unusual legal framework that prohibits certain behaviours. For example, the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) in Zimbabwe defines that every gathering of five or more people as a public and political meeting, which requires special police authorization to be legally carried out. The purpose of these measures is to decrease the political space available to the movement, and to increase various organizational and operational costs to the movement.



## 2. REPRESSION ON INDIVIDUALS:

Threatening individuals, tapping their phones, arresting and imprisoning activist, as well as beating, torturing and, sometimes even killing activists serves a different purpose than repressing activities – it serves to scare off any additional people who would have joined the resistance and helps break apart the leadership of the movement. More than most opponents', nondemocratic regimes have specialized in specifically targeting key individuals, with the hope that their fate will have a demonstration effect on others. Frequently this includes targeting family members, including children.



## 3. CREATING AN ATMOSPHERE OF FEAR:

Nondemocratic regimes tend to invest heavily in creating an atmosphere of fear around those activities they perceive as threatening their hold on power. With careful planning, these regimes repress individuals and activities, and use relentless regime-sponsored propaganda to create a “siege atmosphere.” In this environment, everyone with a different point of view than the regime is a terrorist and a traitor.

By combining repressive measures with propaganda, undemocratic regimes try to create an atmosphere where ordinary citizens are afraid to talk about topics that could be interpreted as being anti-regime. In these conditions, the demand for



change can be controlled and the supply of activists willing to work for change decreases because the price of resistance and of changing the status quo appears high.

The efforts of secret agencies have a special place in implementing the policies of the opponent. Experience shows that these agencies, sometimes legal but frequently extralegal, go to considerable lengths to spy on and intimidate activists, and they can do so because the security apparatus has the function to maintain the rule of the opponent, not to protect public safety.



## 43. What is security culture?

Security culture is the behaviour you should adopt and follow in order to minimize effects of your opponent's counter-intelligence activities. It is based in two main principles:

1. NEVER ASSUME YOUR OPPONENT'S INTELLIGENCE AGENTS HAVE NOT INFILTRATED YOUR MOVEMENT

Plan and act accordingly. Work to discover if your opponent's supporters are willing to change their loyalties, because frequently they will see repression of your movement as illegitimate or just ineffective. Follow a “need to know” rule. If someone doesn't need to know the names of other members, 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?

2. NEVER CALL ATTENTION TO YOURSELF BY CHANGING NORMAL ACTIVITIES OR ACTING DIFFERENTLY.

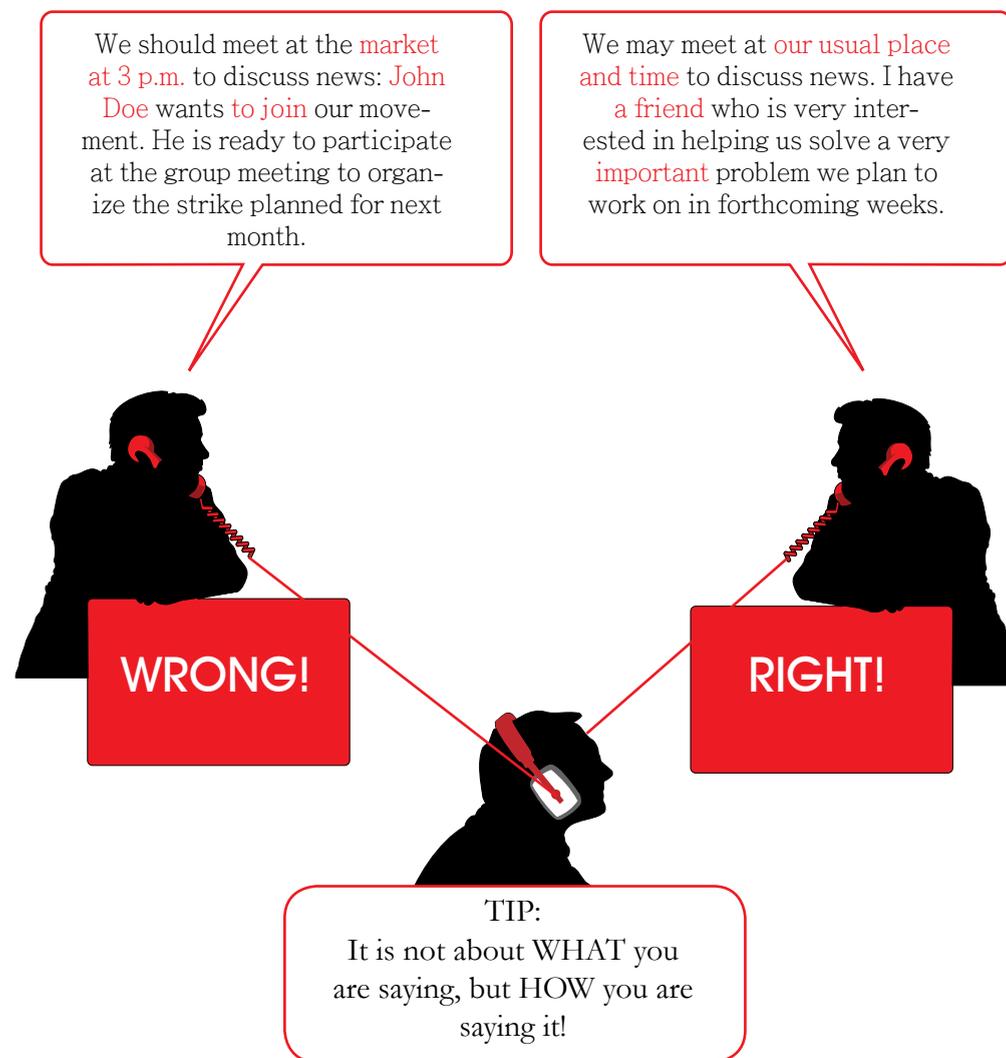
For example, if the regime knows that the majority of the people do not support it, pretending to support it may attract attention and expose movement members. Do not limit your contacts solely to other nonviolent struggle activists. Expand your friendships and contacts. When you always assume that you are being watched, then you never need to worry if you're watched or not, and you can focus on minimizing behaviours that tip-off the opponent.

#### 44. How do we protect our communications?



As a nonviolent movement becomes more effective, harassment and security activities will increase. You must create secure communication channels within your movement. This is more than merely educating movement activists about the opponent and his capability to infiltrate the movement. It also includes acting in solidarity with one another. The best protection is to train activists what to say, what not to say, and more importantly, how to say things. In order to prevent your opponent from obtaining sensitive information about movement's plans, NAMES, DATES AND NUMBERS should never be discussed in vulnerable environments, including during communication over the phone and the Internet. Not all Internet communication is insecure, but regular email is.

EXAMPLE: How do you tell a fellow activist working on recruitment of volunteers that you have a friend who would like to join the movement?



Creating and upgrading a “security culture” in order to minimize chances of the movement being infiltrated by your opponents’ agents is crucial. This keeps costs of operation for the movement low and costs of participation to individual activists bearable, but also maintains the demand for change among your supporters by showing the “ugly face” of the opponent and the ineffectiveness of repression.



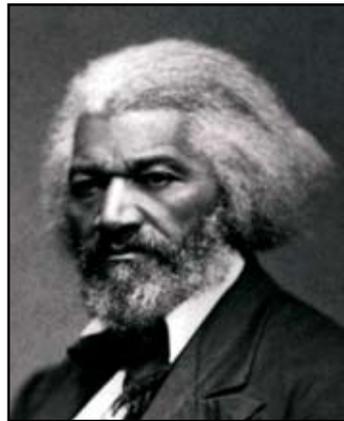
**14**  
**Working Under Repression:**  
**Responding to the Opponent's Sanctions**

## Responding to the Opponent's Sanctions

ONE OF THE DRIVING MOTIVATORS OF OBEDIENCE IS FEAR OF SANCTIONS, WHICH CAN INCLUDE ANYTHING FROM BEING BEATEN BY INTERROGATORS TO LOSING YOUR JOB. CONSEQUENTLY, YOU MUST UNDERSTAND THE NATURE OF FEAR, AND LEARN METHODS AND TECHNIQUES TO OVERCOME FEAR'S ADVERSE EFFECTS. THE FIRST STEP IS TO ACCEPT THE FACT THAT FEAR IS A NATURAL STATE FOR OUR BODIES AND MINDS. ONCE YOU UNDERSTAND HOW IT IS PHYSICALLY AND MENTALLY EXPRESSED, YOU CAN STOP FEELING ASHAMED AND CASTIGATING OTHERS FOR RESPONDING TO IT.

### 45. What is fear?

Fear is an emotion experienced by all human beings during their life. A primary reason that people obey the regime is fear of sanctions for disobedience, which can include anything from being beaten by interrogators to losing your job. What some fail to understand, is that fear is a normal response to a perceived threat. In fact, fear is an instinctive response observed in the entire animal kingdom and therefore we should be careful when attaching moral judgments to fear.



*Those who profess to favour freedom and yet deprecate agitation are men who want crops without plowing up the ground.*

Frederick Douglass

The physiological characteristics of fear result from an increased firing of neurons from the sympathetic part 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 harder. The respiratory rate increases. A 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.

The reason for this is simple: Mother Nature is preparing our body for a normal reaction to a perceived threat – to fight or to flee!

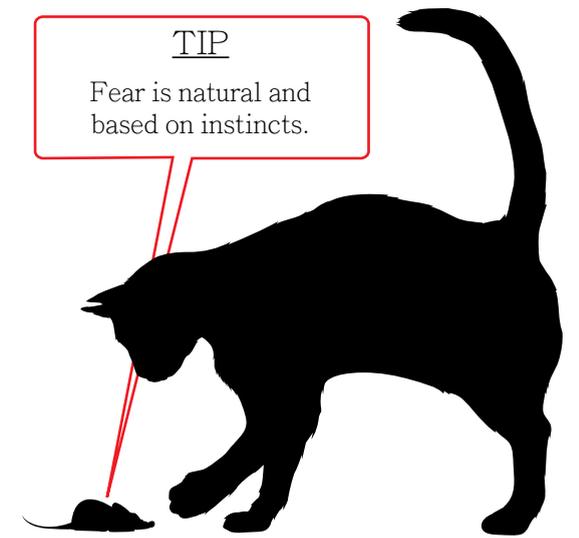
### 46. How to overcome the effects of fear?

Techniques for overcoming the effects of fear can be classified in two groups: preparation techniques and techniques during a nonviolent action. These techniques are most successful if:

- You and all other activists are systematically educated about your opponent's use of repression and on appropriate counter-strategies. Remember, do not resort to violence and always reward discipline!
- Remember, do not resort to violence and always reward nonviolent discipline!
- Many activists have the skills and knowledge for all jobs in your organization (this includes training both an alternative leadership and having a list of spare administrative assistants)
- Activists exposed to repression must set a good example for others in your organization and systematically share their experience (again, this holds for all parts of the organization, from the leader to the new volunteers)

#### TIP

Fear is natural and based on instincts.



#### PREPARATION TECHNIQUES

Before a fearful event occurs, focus on avoiding surprises and fearful stimuli, by paying attention to physiological and emotional involvements. People will be less afraid if they know what is being expected of them once they reach the zone of risk. Humor is also an effective technique for reducing fear within a group.

#### TECHNIQUES DURING AN ACTION

“On site” leaders should focus on minimizing confusion and panic, and maximizing the event's intended outcome. Keeping people busy during the demonstrations will prevent them from being afraid.

## EXAMPLE:

## Organizing and Staging a Demonstration

Staging demonstrations has been a part of many successful nonviolent campaigns over the last century, and best-practices that your movement should follow include:

- Explain and train activists for likely repressive actions, including teargas, arrest and beating.
- Increase solidarity and confidence by developing a sense of community and belonging, by motivating people to wear the same symbols, chant slogans, hold signs, and march in unity.
- Keep people busy by meticulously planning and dividing responsibilities: certain teams should be responsible for first aid, others for providing water and snacks for the marchers, making sure the group keeps moving in a straight and orderly fashion, scouting ahead and behind the group, and for keeping signs and banners strategically positioned.
- Activists should not “see” and hear the opponent, to decrease fearful stimuli. Huge banners at the head of the column are thus important, as is making noise with drums or singing louder than the noise the opponent can generate (using loudspeakers to deliver threatening warnings, getting police to hit their batons against their shields, and so on).



## 47. How to deal with the opponent's sanctions?

Once we accept that fear is a natural state of our body and mind, and we understand how it is physically and mentally expressed, we can stop castigating others or feeling ashamed of ourselves. On the other hand, if your movement intends to succeed you must understand the methods and techniques used to overcome fear's adverse effects. Removing or reducing fearful stimuli and anticipating surprises, have proven to be effective.

Trust and confidence in the movement's leadership and goals also help to allay fear among people taking part in nonviolent actions. So does a strong belief that one's own best interests are on the side of democratic changes.

To fulfil the grand strategy, many nonviolent actions will be required, and from each action the movement should learn how the opponent and other actors respond (see Chapters 4, 9, and 10). Accordingly, avoid taking actions that are likely to pro-

voke a response from the opponent that are beyond the capacity of most activists to endure. If most activists in your movement have never been arrested, then don't organize a provocative series of rallies that will lead to a crackdown and mass arrests; instead, try a series of concerts or similar protests that are strategically designed to increase support for the movement without leading to many arrests. For the strategy, campaign, and actions to succeed, the endurance and discipline of activists in your movement must be proportional to your opponent's likely response.

One very daring and dangerous action can provoke a massive reprisal and attract significant attention from local and international media, the population, and others. While it is very difficult to predict the opponent's response even in democratic societies, experience reveals that use of violence and especially acts of sabotage tend to provoke disproportionately harsh reactions.



*Dealing with tear gas, October 5th, 2000, Serbia.*

### PRISONER'S DILEMMA:

In the course of all struggles, activists face arrest, interrogation, trials and many other types of official actions. While in established democracies, activists generally find it easier, and less expensive and dangerous to assert their rights under the law, interrogators have developed effective methods that intimidate even the bravest and most experienced activists. A common strategy is known as the prisoner's dilemma; understanding its dynamics, outlined in a hypothetical example below, can help you and the movement.

Suppose your friend and you got arrested while posting fliers announcing a nonviolent action. The interrogators put you in separate rooms, inform you that inciting disorder (calling for an action) leads to at least three months in prison, and offer you the following deal: If you confess and give names of other activists, you will spend only a week in jail; if you don't, then you'll spend three months in prison. The interrogators make a similar offer to your friend, because they know the most likely outcomes: both of you refuse to confess, both confess, or just one does.

The possible outcomes would be:

- If both confess, then both spend a week in jail and give names
- If both refuse to confess, then both spend just that night in jail
- If you confess and your friend does not, then you spend a week while your friend spends three months in jail, and vice versa

The safest strategy for you is – confess, because if your friend confesses and you do not, you spend months, maybe more in jail. This is also the safest strategy for your friends, with the net result that each spends a week in jail and the interrogators get a lot of very useful information!

The best outcomes for you, your friend, and the movement materializes if neither confesses. Of course, the interrogators can start to use physical force and other methods. Experience shows that the less activists trust each other, the less the regime needs to do to secure confessions and other useful information from activists.

The prisoner's dilemma shows how easy it is to secure confessions and the importance of developing trust and cooperation between activists.

The insights also hold if you get arrested alone, since the interrogator will tell you that others have been or will be arrested so you should confess and avoid going to jail.

(Based on Robert Axelrod. *The Evolution of Cooperation*.)



Section Outline:  
**Next Steps**

The previous sections outlined the nature and sources of power in a society, the basic skills you need for develop and deliver your movement’s message to the public, and some of the more advanced skills you need in order to transform lone actions into a strategic nonviolent campaign, even when your opponent uses repressive measures. In this section, you will learn how you can begin to teach this material to others and some of the resource you can access to learn more about strategic nonviolent struggle.

The steps you take after reading these final pages, however large of small they may be, are up to you – just make sure that these steps are not only non-violent but strategic, and let the world, and not just your community, know what these steps are!

Chapter 15:

**How to Use This Book:  
 The “Act-Recruit-Train” Model of Multilevel Knowledge Transfer**

Chapter’s outline questions:

- Why do people join groups?
- What is Multi Level Marketing (MLM)?
- How can we use this book and the “MLM” model in our struggle?

The main themes include:

- Recruit-Train-Act (RTA) schema
- Level of presentation of the material to different groups depending on their experience

Chapter 16:

**How to Use This Book:  
 Online Learning and Support**

Chapter’s outline questions:

- How do I expand my knowledge?

**ANNEX**

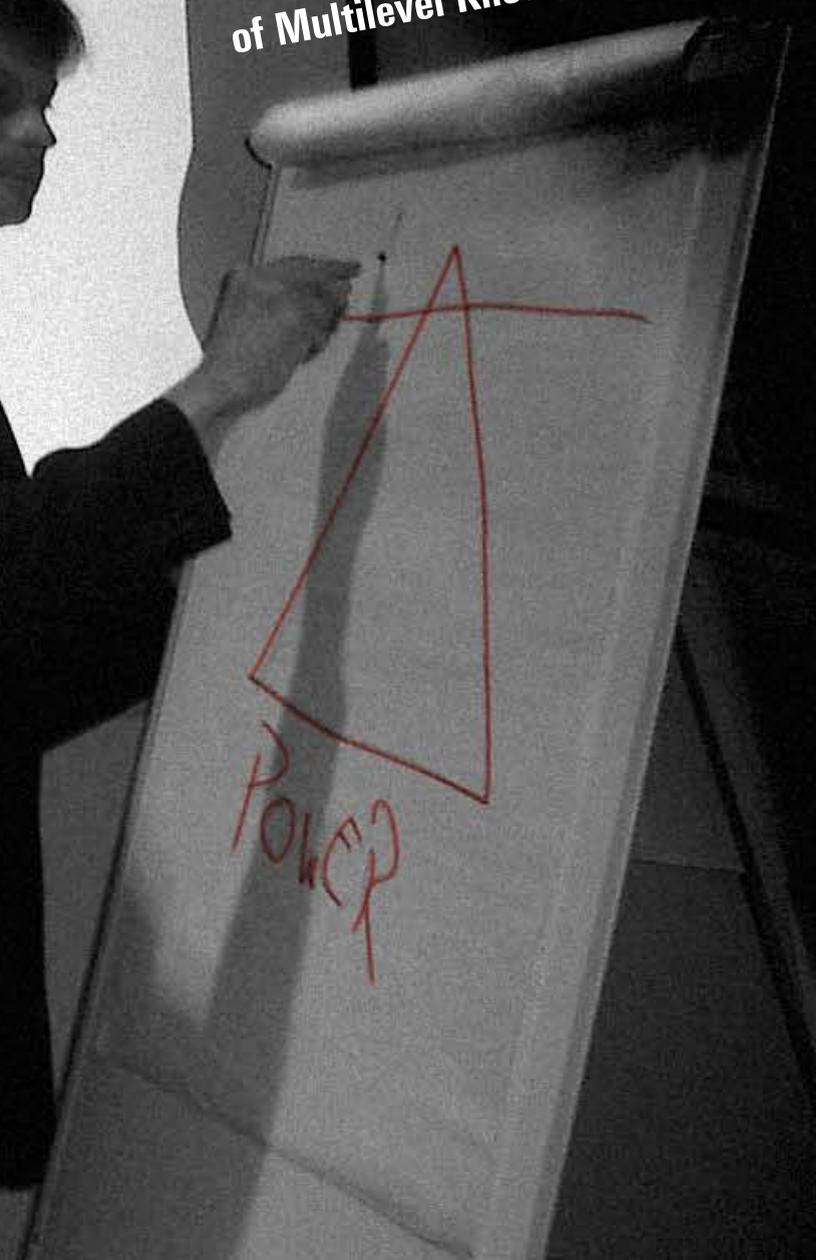
- I Methods of nonviolent action
- II 10 Years of Nonviolent Struggle in Serbia

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**



15

How to Use This Book:  
The **"Act-Recruit-Train"** Model  
of Multilevel Knowledge Transfer



## How to Use This Book: The “Act-Recruit-Train” Model

AN IMPORTANT PART OF BUILDING A MOVEMENT OR CAMPAIGN IS KEEPING SUPPORTERS ENGAGED AND INTERESTED WHILE AT THE SAME TIME INCREASING VOLUNTEERS’ SKILLS AND AREA OF RESPONSIBILITY. THIS PROCESS IS CALLED HUMAN RESOURCE UPGRADE. THE UPGRADE SHOULD BE A PART OF THE MOVEMENT’S WORK AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE.

PAST EXPERIENCES SHOW THAT WITHIN THE FIRST MONTH OF RECRUITMENT, THERE IS A TENDENCY FOR ACTIVISTS TO LEAVE THE MOVEMENT. A HUGE LOSS FOR THE MOVEMENT’S HUMAN RESOURCES – UNLESS THESE NEW SUPPORTERS ARE CONTINUOUSLY TRAINED AND ENGAGED. TO PREVENT THIS HUGE LOSS, THIS CHAPTER OUTLINES A USEFUL MODEL, THE “ACT-RECRUIT-TRAIN” MODEL. THE MODEL CAN BE ESPECIALLY EFFECTIVE WHEN COMBINED WITH THE EXPERIENCE OF THE MULTI LEVEL MARKETING (MLM) MODEL FROM THE WORLD OF BUSINESS.

### 48. Why do people join groups?

Before discussing the Multilevel Marketing model, you need to understand why people join groups. After all, we spend most of our time in groups: some are very intimate like our family, others are more formal like our office, or professional or sports association.

When membership to a group is involuntary, the power of authority, fear of sanctions, or the desire to conform tends to maintain group cohesion. In closed societies, once cohesion begins to break-down, nondemocratic regimes commonly try to increase solidarity by presenting an enemy, such as a nonviolent movement that is threatening the national group’s survival. In groups based on voluntary membership, other forces are at work to maintain cohesion, which are important to understand in order to increase the effectiveness of the group, such as your movement.

People join groups for various reasons. Some of us like to be a part of something we consider important, and a struggle against repression and to win rights and justice always sounds important. Participation in a movement’s activities also represents a change that allows people to avoid routine and boring activities of their everyday life. If you examine these reasons more closely, you may notice that being an activist also satisfies the 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 it helps people feel like they are a “part of the team.”

“Investment” in new activists, such as trainings and workshops, as well as supplying them with different materials (e.g., copies of this

book) will persuade them that the movement “counts on them”, and motivate them to invest even more of their time and energy to your mission.

Getting people to voluntarily participate also establishes a boundary between movement members and others, which is important for building trust and cooperation, and maintaining a security culture.

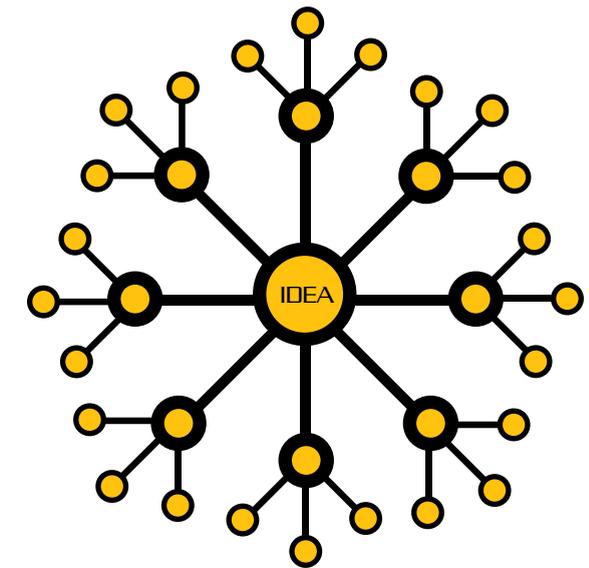
Sociologists teach us that larger groups are better at achieving tasks with a concrete solution that require a large number of skills, while

smaller groups are more stable, members communicate better, and are better at achieving tasks with a complex solutions but requiring relatively fewer skills. For instance, a communications team for developing a campaign message should be done by a small group, but a large group should be used for distributing informational material for that campaign.

### 49. What is Multilevel Marketing (MLM)?

Multilevel Marketing (MLM) is system of marketing which puts more emphasis upon the recruiting of distributors than on the selling of products. MLM is very attractive, however, because it sells hope and appears to be outside the mainstream of business as usual. It promises wealth and independence to all included in your network, and treats your activists as an important part of the network. One of the most successful MLM scheme is Amway. It has millions of distributors worldwide with sales in the billions. (Adopted from Paul Klebniov, “The Power of Positive Inspiration”).

The idea behind this book is that knowledge on strategic nonviolent struggle may be “sold” (“marketed”) to thousands of new people in your community by using this model.



## 50. How can we use this book and the “MLM Model” in a struggle?

The amount of information in this book is sufficient to raise the skills and knowledge of activists in your movement, and so raise the overall capacity of your movement. Human resource upgrade is necessary at every level of the movement, from the leadership to the grass-roots level. If you want to keep the momentum, planners need to give volunteers not only simple tasks that lead to small victories; planners also need to show volunteers that the movement “invests” in its activists.

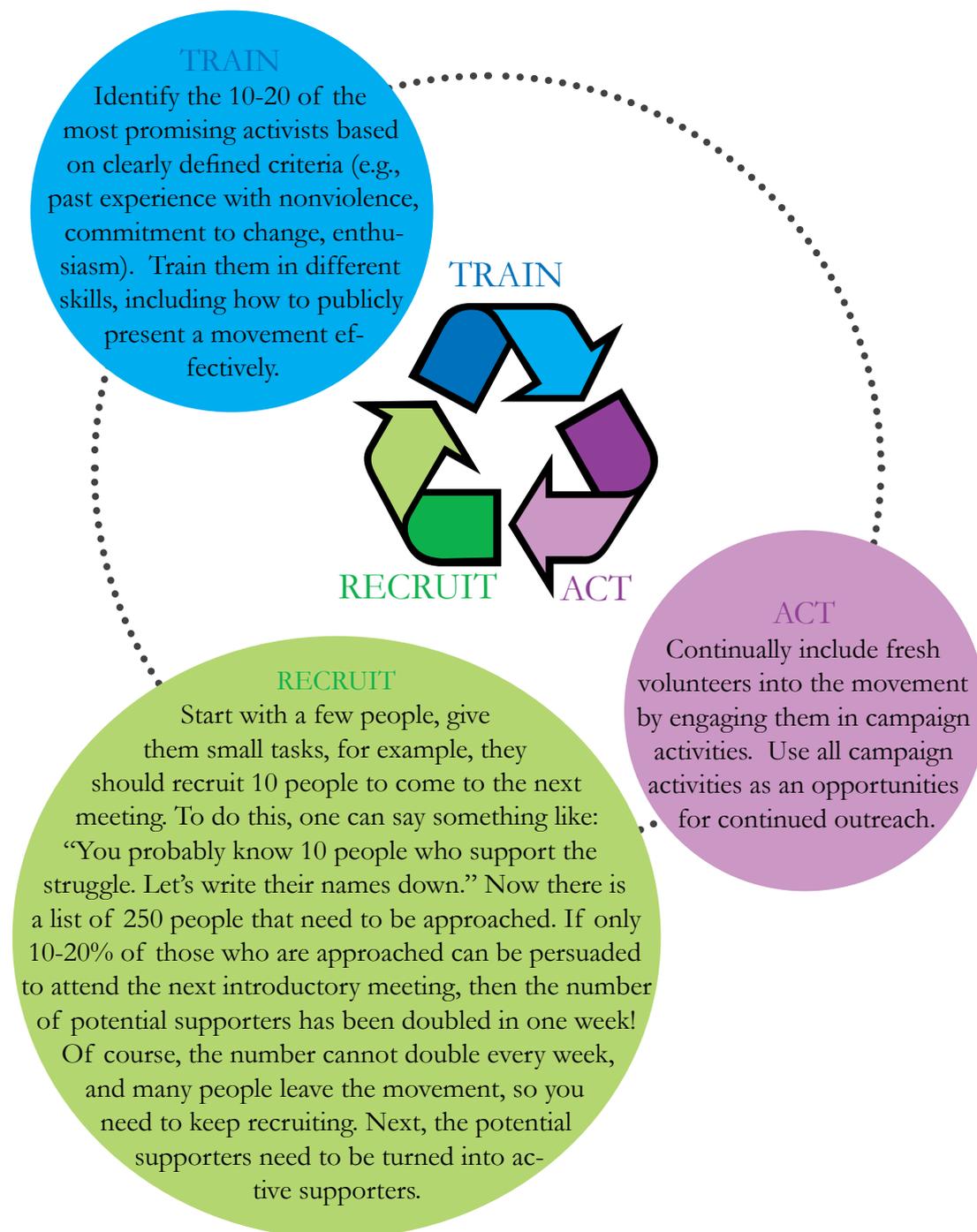
In order to keep new supporters engaged and increase their skills and broaden their areas of responsibilities, it is often necessary to conduct educational workshops that involve knowledge and skills transfer in such areas as: engaging in nonviolent direct action, organizing events, strategic analysis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

The best way is to make a template agenda, so that each group of new activist is screened for their interests, level of commitment, and areas of expertise while they are being educated about the mission and workings of the movement.

An agenda could include the following:

1. **Introductory Meeting**, including a presentation of the movement’s program, goals and a basic screening of new volunteers.
2. **Follow-up Meeting** where new activists are grouped into specific clusters based on their interests and skills (e.g. organizing actions, external communication, work with new activists)
3. **Introductory Workshop** for interested activists, where three sections of this manual may be presented.
4. **Follow-up Workshop** for separate clusters. For example, one cluster particularly interested in working with activists would go through this chapter and additional exercises that will train them how to spread skills and knowledge down to grass-root level.

These multiple steps can be summarized in the Act-Recruit-Train (ART) model of building a movement and managing human resources, which was developed by OTPOR’s Human Resource Centre. The recycling sign symbolized the ART model:



**REMEMBER**

When volunteers begin to train new volunteers, this becomes a powerful mechanism for group cohesion, and defines the character of your movement. When you learn skills and knowledge useful for peacefully changing the actions of your opponent, you can bring about the change you want more effectively, and you can teach others to the same. When you do this, you become a part of the destiny of nonviolent struggle!



PROCEED TO CANVAS... YOUR WE STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT DISPLAY HAS... YOU HAVE NOW ENTERED A ZONE OF FREE... OF THIS... PLEASE PROCEED WITH... CONTACT US... THESE PAGES ARE FOR YOUR...  
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NONVIOLENT ACTION  
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**LATEST UPDATES & NEWS**

**15 June 2005** - Three new articles are now placed at Zimbabwe Articles section.  
**30 May. 2005** - Additional articles are now available at Battlefield Live > Zimbabwe > Reports.  
**29 Apr. 2005** - Eleven new articles were added to Battlefield Live - Zimbabwe Articles section.

[>> more news](#)

**SPECIAL**

- Activity plan for CANVAS support network to be made until end of January.
- Experts of CANVAS included into transition process in Georgia.

[>> details](#)

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**16 How to Use This Book:**

**Online Learning and Support**

## How to Use This Book: Online Learning and Support

ONCE YOU HAVE LEARNED 50 CRUCIAL POINTS ABOUT STRATEGIC NONVIOLENT CONFLICT YOU MAY WANT TO UPGRADE YOUR LEARNING IN ORDER TO HELP YOUR MOVEMENT, OR SIMPLY EXPAND YOUR KNOWLEDGE.

CANVAS AND USIP HAVE ENABLED A FREE E-COPY OF THIS BOOK, WHICH IS AVAILABLE FOR YOU OR YOUR FRIENDS AT [WWW.CANVASOPEDIA.ORG](http://WWW.CANVASOPEDIA.ORG)

### ? How do I expand my knowledge?

#### TOP FIVE WEB-SITES:

1. [www.canvasopedia.org](http://www.canvasopedia.org)  
Valuable resource with more than 400 free downloadable tools for nonviolent struggle practitioners
2. [www.nonviolent-conflict.org](http://www.nonviolent-conflict.org)  
Excellent resource providing written materials in many languages, as well as news, useful links and multimedia
3. [www.aeinstein.org](http://www.aeinstein.org)  
Perfect website offering valuable materials in dozen world languages
4. [www.yorkzim.com](http://www.yorkzim.com)  
Best movies ever recorded related to the issue
5. [www.usip.org](http://www.usip.org)  
News, reports, analysis and links related to the issue

#### TOP FIVE WRITTEN RESOURCES:

1. **Gene Sharp.** *From Dictatorship to Democracy.* Boston, MA: The Albert Einstein Institution, 2002. and 2003. (downloadable in 20 languages from [www.aeinstein.org/organizations98ce.html](http://www.aeinstein.org/organizations98ce.html))
2. **Robert L. Helvey.** *On Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: Thinking About the Fundamental.* Boston, MA: The Albert Einstein Institution, 2004. (downloadable from [www.aeinstein.org/organization-s1c31.html](http://www.aeinstein.org/organization-s1c31.html))
3. **Peter Ackerman & Jack DuVall.** *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict.* New York: St Martins Press, 2000.
4. **Gene Sharp.** *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential.* Boston, MA: Porter Sargent Publishers, 2005.
5. **Jacques Ellul.** *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes.* New York: Vintage Books edition, 1973.

#### TOP MULTIMEDIA RESOURCES:

1. "A Force More Powerful" [www.aforcemorepowerful.org](http://www.aforcemorepowerful.org)

A three-hour documentary television series recounting major strategic nonviolent campaigns of the 20th century: India's struggle for independence from Britain, the U.S. civil Rights movement, South Africa's struggle against racial apartheid, the defeat of Augusto Pinochet in Chile, Danish resistance to German occupation, and the Poland's Solidarity trade union movement. Languages available: English, Spanish, Russian, Arabic, Farsi, Chinese, Italian, Indonesian, Burmese. ([www.aforcemorepowerful.org](http://www.aforcemorepowerful.org))

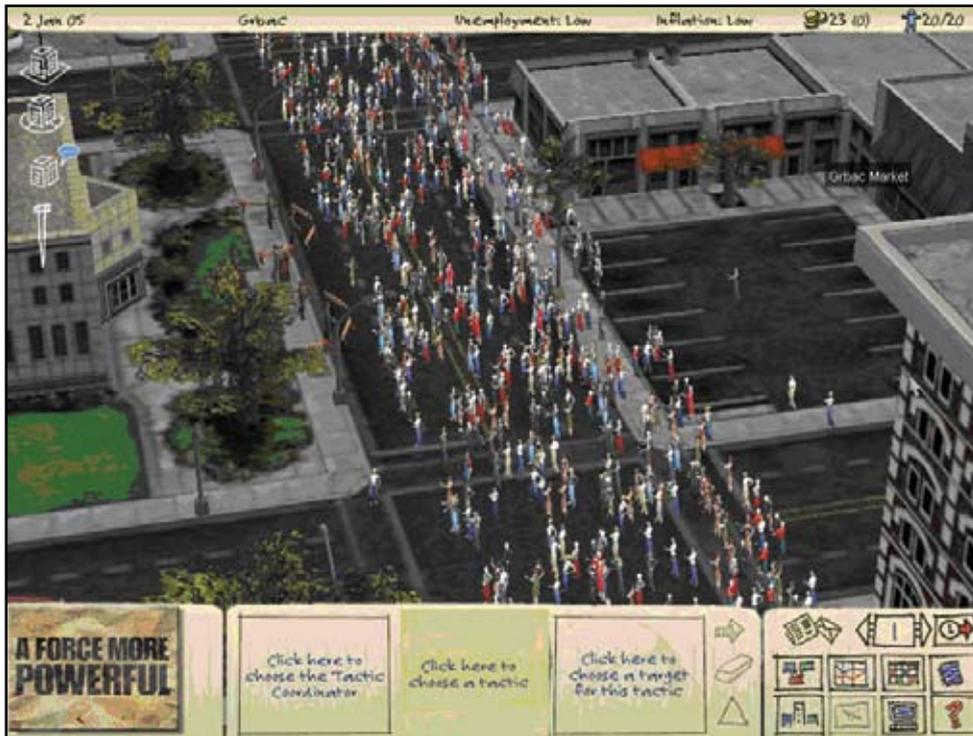


2. "Bringing Down The Dictator" [www.yorkzim.com/pastProd/bringingDown.html](http://www.yorkzim.com/pastProd/bringingDown.html)

One-hour documentary chronicles the successful strategic nonviolent campaign waged by OTPOR in Serbia during 1999 and 2000. Same languages as above. (<http://www.yorkzim.com/pastProd/bringingDown.html>)



3. “A Force More Powerful”: the first and only game to teach the waging of conflict using nonviolent methods.



Destined for use by activists and leaders of nonviolent resistance and opposition movements, the game will also educate the media and general public on the potential of nonviolent action and serve as a simulation tool for academic studies of nonviolent resistance. Learn more at [www.afmpgame.com](http://www.afmpgame.com)

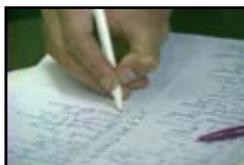
You may find that many key points in this book relate closely to “AFMP game” concepts – and you can check this for yourself when you face artificial intelligence which represents your nondemocratic opponent!



# ANNEX I

**METHODS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION  
ACCORDING TO GENE SHARP**

THE METHODS  
OF NONVIOLENT  
PROTEST AND  
PERSUASION



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 earth writing
  - 12a. IT messaging - Mass SMS and e-mailing  
[This method was developed in Serbia 2000 by OTPOR (Resistance) during 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
19. Wearing of symbols
20. Prayer and worship
21. Delivering symbolic objects
22. Protest disrobing
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. Fraternalization
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



THE METHODS  
OF SOCIAL  
NONCOOPERATION

69. Collective disappearance
70. Protest emigration [hijrat]

#### Actions by Consumers

71. Consumers' boycott
72. Non consumption 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"

#### 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

THE METHODS  
OF ECONOMIC  
NONCOOPERATION:  
ECONOMIC  
BOYCOTTS



THE METHODS  
OF ECONOMIC  
NONCOOPERATION:  
THE STRIKE



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 Strike

- 99. Peasant strike
- 100. Farm Workers' strike

Strikes by Special Groups

- 101. Refusal of impressed labour
- 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 place marks
- 131. Refusal to accept appointed officials
- 132. Refusal to dissolve existing institutions



THE METHODS  
OF POLITICAL  
NONCOOPERATION





133. Reluctant and slow compliance
134. Non obedience in absence of direct supervision
135. Popular non obedience
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
176. Stall-in
177. Speak-in
178. Guerrilla theater
179. Alternative social institutions
180. Alternative communication system

#### THE METHODS OF NONVIOLENT INTERVENTION





#### 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 prodemocratic movement came after a decade long strategic nonviolent conflict. During that period, Milosevic 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 prodemocratic movement in Serbia.*



*“The violence is the last  
sanctuary for the weak”  
J.L. Borges*

## ANNEX II

10 YEARS OF NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE IN SERBIA



#### OVERVIEW ON 10 YEARS LONG CONFLICT IN SERBIA:

*May 14, 1989*

The first independent radio station, “Youth Radio - B92,” founded in Belgrade.

*March 8, 1990*

The first issue of the Demokartija (Democracy) newspaper, the official bulletin of the Serbian opposition, appears.



*June 13, 1990*

The first anti-government protests in front of 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 for increasing hostility. The meeting is held in the Bosnian capital, Sarajevo, and leads to no results.

*March 9, 1991*

First opposition demonstrations take place in Belgrade, on the main city square, and are led by the Serbian Renewal Movement and Democratic Party. Protesters demand the immediate cessation of state censorship on Radio Television Serbia, the national TV and radio stations, and for fair elections. Police forces respond violently. One of the protesters and a policeman lost their lives in the street conflicts.



The country's leadership calls for a military intervention. Late in the evening, the army “restored order” in the streets of country's capital, Belgrade.

*March 10th, 1991*

Nonviolent protest of Belgrade students at Terazije Square. More than 10,000 students perform a “nonviolent occupation,” led by the “Terazije Students’ Parliament”. They blocked the central streets of Belgrade with a 24 hour sit-in and did not move until the army withdrew from the streets of national capital.

*February 1992*

Large petition appealing for withdrawal of Slobodan Milosevic is signed by more than 500,000 citizens of Serbia. Milosevic did not even comment the petition.

*Spring 1992*

Massive student protest start at Belgrade University, spreading on campuses in Novi Sad, Nis and Kragujevac. Students demanding for University independence and democratization of Serbia proclaimed a “free territory” on Belgrade's Students' Square, a large city area with 11 University buildings. Major opposition parties joined with their own protest, which is finished unsuccessfully at the beginning of the July.

*May 1992*

Federal and local elections boycotted by Serbian opposition parties, claiming that unfree electoral and media conditions prevented fair electoral competition.

*May 31 1992*

Security Council of the United Nations voted to impose an economic embargo on Serbia, for its role in the military conflicts in neighboring Croatia and Bosnia.





*June 28, 1992*

More than 100,000 people, led by opposition parties, organized two week long demonstrations in front of the Federal Parliament building (“Vidovdanski Sabor”), increasing the pressure for better electoral conditions.

*Autumn 1992*

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic accommodated the opposition parties by organizing the series of negotiations with opposition leaders, and finally called for early elections.

*December 19, 1992*

At the early parliamentary and local elections, the opposition wins for the first time majority of the local assembly seats in 11 municipalities, including parts of Belgrade. Milosevic’s Socialist Party won the majority in Serbian Parliament, though.

*June 2, 1993*

After a violent incident between the MPs, in which Branslav Vukic of the Serbia Radical Party, an ally of the ruling Socialist Party, assaulted one of the opposition leaders from the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), SPO organized 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 was shot, and died the same night. Hours later, police broke inside the premises of Serbian Renewal Movement, arresting and beating SPO’s leader, Vuk Draskovic.

*Late June 1993*

Under increasing pressure of the opposition parties and the public, Milosevic decided to release Draskovic from prison.

*December 1993*

Milosevic’s Socialist Party lost its parliamentary majority in early elections. After a short crisis, Milosevic re-established a government with the support of minor opposition party, New Democracy (ND).



*March 9th 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 was made during a huge rally, organized to mark the fifth anniversary of the first opposition demonstration in Serbia.

*November 1996*

On November 17th, 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 20th, the Electoral Commission calls for a recount in most of the areas won by the opposition. On November 25th, Milosevic annuls the election results, prompting massive demonstrations, mostly nonviolent. On November 27th, Milosevic holds new elections, 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 27th, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe tells Serbia to reinstate the winners of the original elections or face international isolation.

*January 1997*

Beleaguered 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 14th, the Electoral Commissions in Belgrade and elsewhere call for further seating of elected representatives.



*February 1997*

On February 4th, Milosevic announces he will restore the opposition's victories from the November 17th elections. Demonstrations continue, with protestors 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. The United Nations Security Council threatens air strikes if Milosevic does not withdraw his troops from Kosovo. Once the threat passes, Yugoslav troops reenter Kosovo. The violence resumes. In early October in Belgrade, some dozen university students form a new organization called Otpor! (Resistance!). Initially they work for the repeal of laws putting the University under Socialist Party political control and laws imposing 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 24th, 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 and in spite of a government propaganda initiative to rebuild Serbia. September 21st sees the beginning of rallies in 20 cities urging Milosevic to resign. At the same time, the opposition begins to fragment, and the number of demonstrators dwindles. On September 29th and 30th, the police and army use force to break up separate demonstrations.

*October 1999*

On October 2nd, the police block some 7,000 demonstrators marching to a city hospital to see those who were wounded during previous day's demonstrations. An opposition leader, Zoran Djindjic, vows rallies will continue through mid-October. On October 3rd, 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 14th, 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 22nd, 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 21st, 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 13th. 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 27th, opposition parties come together for a rally, and on May 29th 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, which characterized his enemies as traitors, NATO collaborators, enemies of the state paid by NATO, etc.)

### July 2000

On July 17th, 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 8th, 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 24th. 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 untainted 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. Protestors block streets with barricades and their bodies. When Milosevic sends soldiers to break the strike, tens of thousands of citizens turn out.

By October 5th, the country has come to a virtual standstill. Hundreds of thousands of protestors 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 protestors control the parliament building and the state-run television and radio stations. European leaders call for Milosevic to step down.

On October 6th, Milosevic acknowledges defeat, and the head of the Army congratulates Kostunica on his victory.



#### *April 2001*

On April 1st, 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 28th, Milosevic is extradited to The Hague, to be tried for crimes against humanity.



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## VISUAL RESOURCES

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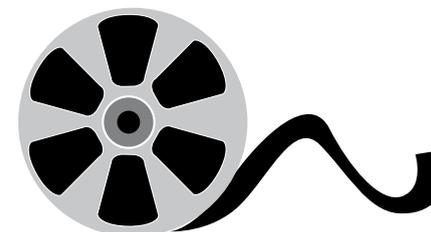
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This book is devoted to the great generation whose courage changed Serbia at the break of 21st century.

Belgrade and Berkeley, June 2006

Srdja Popovic  
Andrej Milivojevic  
Slobodan Djinojic



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