Waging Nonviolent Struggle

- The Importance of Having a Strategy
Abstract

This is a theoretical study of the importance of adopting a strategy when waging a nonviolent struggle on governmental oppression. It serves as a preparatory study for future research about the method of non-violent struggle.

It is written to illuminate the difference between conducting a nonviolent struggle in a passive manner and conducting it in an active nonviolent manner, based on planning, structuring, discipline and hard work. Hence, the primary aim with this study is two-fold. First, it is to discern the advantages that come with developing a strategy when using non-violent action to pursue a struggle. Second, the aim is to construct an analytical framework for future studies of non-violent action. To reach the aim with this thesis, the following questions were asked:

- Why should a strategy be used in non-violent action?
- What similarities and differences are there between planning and structuring a nonviolent struggle, compared to an armed one?
- Is there any core principles to follow and how is a clear strategy developed?

This theoretical study is based on an argumentative method of research. A critical literature approach has been made and the material derives only from secondary sources like books and the Internet.

The study outlines in an analytical framework that is developed to be applied in future research of non-violent cases. The outcome of this study indicates that to have a clear strategy is as crucial in a nonviolent struggle as in an armed conflict. It is of highest importance to have a detailed strategy if the struggle is going to be successful and to be able to utilize one’s resources and forces in a maximum way. When used to its maximum capacity, nonviolent action is a force that seems to be a fruitful alternative to bring about societal change.

Key words: Power, Conflict, Nonviolence, Strategy, Objective
Preface

This thesis is a preparatory study for my personal progress of knowledge concerning the field of conflict resolution and primary non-violent action. It serves as a foundation for my future studies that hopefully will contribute to the development of nonviolent action as a mean of solving conflicts. It is also meant to give the reader a good theoretical perspective of the subject non-violent action.

Many things that I stipulate in my study have been concluded before. However, Gene Sharp, one of the foremost researchers in the field of non-violent action, once said to Robert Helvey, the president of the Albert Einstein Institution¹ and prominent researcher in the field of strategic non-violent conflict, that this is a subject worth spreading as much as possible. When Helvey expressed to Sharp that he had already written “the bible” on strategic nonviolent conflict, Sharp responded “How many books have been written about the bible?”² This made it obvious to me that creating a study is not always about establishing something new, but convey and develop an important message and that is to some extent what I want to achieve with this study.

The importance of having a strategy when using non-violent action is not satisfactorily recognised. Therefore, I have concentrated this study to discuss and highlight the fundamentals of strategic nonviolent struggle and the simple use of it.

¹ Albert Einstein Institution- A non-profit organization advancing the study and use of strategic nonviolent action in conflicts throughout the world.
² Helvey (2004) p. vii in intro
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"Bring your opponent to his senses, not to his knees"
Mahatma Gandhi

1 Introduction

1.1 Background and Presentation of the Problem:

In extreme situations, many people tend to believe that political power requires the strongest physical force of power possible in order to achieve its object. In many conflict situations, these are also the fundamental thoughts of super-military powers and terrorists through time. The underlying assumption is that there are no realistic alternatives to such violence. However, to reach a political object or achieve political change, there are another fruitful alternative to armed conflict or mere passive resistance—namely nonviolent action.

An important fact to recognise here is that this method is actually based on action or activity—nonviolent activity, hence not passive resistance as many people tend to believe non-violent action is all about. Nonviolent action actually seems to be an underestimated method of solving conflicts. There is a slight prejudice tied to the method of it and historians through time tend to ignore its importance even though it has a long background and many outcomes of success.

Nonviolence is a fully functional alternative to war and armed conflict according to Gene Sharp. This statement is becoming more evident as the method is being used to an ever-increasing extent. In recent years, we have for example seen it in the October revolution in Serbia 2000; the Tulip revolution in Kyrgyzstan 2005; the Orange revolution in Ukraine 2004-2005 and most recently in Nepal. According to Robert Helvey3, this increase is due to that knowledge of how this method works is spreading all around the world. Books and texts about how the method is used written by experts are being translated into more languages than ever before.

In his books, Sharp emphasizes the importance of developing a strategy and clear planning in this method. The lack of this in previous non-violent struggles is the major reason why nonviolence has been underestimated and sometimes even failed.4 The nonviolent method, when formerly used in some occasions, has to some extent been quite unorganized, lacked

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3 The president of Albert Einstein Institute
4 Sharp (1973) intro
planning, and therefore not been very successful. “The conduct of war must be controlled by reason if its object is to be fulfilled [...] the better your strategy, the easier you will gain the upper hand, and the less it will cost you”\textsuperscript{5} said the well-known warfare strategist Sir Basil Liddell Hart. These facts are of great importance and cognizance to warlords and strategists when waging armed battles, but in nonviolent struggles, they are often neglected.

Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler\textsuperscript{6} stipulate the same thing - most nonviolent conflicts to date have been largely improvised.\textsuperscript{7} The army knows the importance of planning and structuring their battles and warfare, and so it should be for exercisers of nonviolent action. The problem is that there is too little knowledge, written facts and systemizing of the method of nonviolent action, especially when it comes to technique and structure. Nonviolent action has mostly been reactive and spontaneous and been used when there are no other alternative of means to pursue ones goal. I want to bring forth that nonviolent action could be a perhaps even more viable alternative to pursue a resolution of a conflict than the use of heavy arms and violence. With strategy, knowledge and planning it could become a very fruitful method to resolute a conflict.

I therefore intend to stress and clarify the importance of having a clear and calculating strategy in order to utilize this technique to its maximum capacity. I also intend to clarify the foundation of non-violent action as a mean to reach a political purpose.

\textbf{1.2 Disposition}

In the opening chapter, the reader is introduced to the subject. Since the study is of pure theoretical nature, the background, purpose, questions and limitations are presented in the opening chapter and thereafter the method used is described in chapter two. The third chapter contains theory and debate, which makes up the greater part of this study.

To give some empirical evidence and illustrate the arguments of the debate, short examples of situations, actions, events and incidents that have occurred in different nonviolent struggles will be given frequently in the study. In chapter four, the conclusion will be presented by referring to the questions asked and I will also present my own reflections in that chapter. The analytical framework will also be outlined in chapter four.

\textsuperscript{5} Lidell Hart (1954) p.369
\textsuperscript{6} Two prominent researchers within the area
\textsuperscript{7} Ackerman, Kruegler (1994) p.21
1.3 Purpose

By bringing up different theories of the importance to plan and make up strategy to reach a goal, and further applying them on different discussions about nonviolent actions, I want to illuminate and argue that it is as important to plan a nonviolent struggle as an armed one. The primary aim with this study is two-fold. First, it is to discern the advantages that come with developing a strategy when using non-violent action to pursue a struggle. Second, the aim is to construct an analytical framework for future studies of non-violent action. The analytical framework is developed to be applied in future research of non-violent cases, and perhaps to plan one.

1.4 Questions

To reach the aim with this thesis, following questions were asked:

- Why should a strategy be used in non-violent action?
- What similarities and differences are there between planning and structuring a nonviolent struggle, compared to an armed one?
- Is there any core principles to follow and how is a clear strategy developed?

1.5 Delimitation

This study is only a minor and preparatory one, which forced me not to go to any further conceptual research and leave out some discussions that perhaps would have been necessary to bring a complete comprehension of the phenomenon, non-violent action. Since it is a study made in a limited frame of time and has a limited size frame that needs to be followed, I have not made an empirical research study as that would be too ambitious for this kind of minor study.
2 Method and Material

Method is the tool one use to reach the purpose with the study. I will in this chapter present the method I have used to reach my purpose and why I chose to use it. Furthermore, I will present the material, criticism of sources and how I have tried to reach objectivity.

2.1 Choice of Subject

The subject I have chosen is within the field of conflict resolution, which has interested me for a long time. I read a book about nonviolent action by Gene Sharp, the foremost researcher within the subject, in which he mentioned the importance of having a strategy when conducting nonviolent struggle. This seemed quite logic to me and so I decided to give some research to the area and found out that very little had been written about the interrelation between strategy and nonviolence. I therefore decided to dedicate my Bachelor Thesis to this subject.

2.2 Choice of Method

Concerning this thesis I have chosen a positivistic approach primarily and my ambition is to remain completely objective despite the focus of the thesis is to interpret and make conclusions out of studying different, and so far quite unrelated, theories. However, the interpretation is not of the sort refer to as “reading between the lines” as hermeneutic approach suggests. The hermeneutic approach suggests interpretation which might result in that my values and believes affects the outcome of the research, which is not my objective. My ambition is to compare theories and in a straight-forward way make conclusions from them. In order to do this, a critical literature approach has been made.

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8 The positivistic approach to research has the same goals as natural sciences when it comes to objectivity, i.e. the researcher must keep his or her distance and maintain impartial towards the research objective. If research is conducted according to these principles the results can be considered genuine, precise, and as exhaustive laws for human behaviour. This implies that it is possible to generalise the results from one observation so that statements can be made about the population as a whole. Lundqvist (1993)
2.2.1 Qualitative and Quantitative Method of Research

My thesis is based exclusively on a qualitative approach as it is a theoretical study. A quantitative approach demands statistical analysis, which I chose not to conduct in this thesis since the thesis is concentrated more on qualitative data and is of theoretical nature. This is mainly a study where I am discussing and comparing what different important researchers in the field of nonviolent action and strategy have stipulated in their studies. Therefore, it is an eclectic theoretical study deriving from an argumentative method of research. My purpose is a purely intellectual one of discussions around the subject and following the argument of the importance of having a strategy in a struggle.

2.2.1 Pre-comprehension, Inter-subjectivity and Objectivity

A positivistic approach to a subject requires the researcher to differ between his or hers person and science. To have personal experiences of the study subject is not considered an advantage as the researcher must remain completely objective. However, this might be very hard as at some level the researcher’s interpretation of the world has to derive from moral or political basis. How facts are interpreted is crucially dependent on who is reading them. People use knowledge in many different ways, and it is always depending on pre-comprehension of whoever is using it. A study of this kind in the social realm can never be entirely value-free. However, one way of avoiding this problem is for the researcher to explicitly present how his or hers set of values influences his or hers choices made in the progress so that the reader are able to neutralize them in his or hers evaluation of the result.

I have tried to scrutinize the material and present the result so the same result can be reconstructed by the reader. The reader should understand how and why I reached my conclusions and thereby be able to evaluate whether my procedure has been correctly performed. I have thoroughly presented my arguments and discussions and made extensive reference to my sources. Thus, I hope the reader find that a fair level of inter-subjectivity has been reached.

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9 Lundquist (1993) p.103
10 Svenning (2000) p.11
11 Lundquist (1993) p.46
12 Lundquist (1993) p.52
I am an advocate of nonviolent action and, having in mind the importance of staying objective in the study, I therefore have been extremely careful when selecting my data and arguments. I have tried to treat criticism to nonviolent action and sought to derive my arguments and discussions from the criticism and confront it. I decided what I needed to achieve with this study and what discussions to treat in it by trying to understand nonviolent action, also from a critic’s point of view. It further made me aware of the critique and misconceptions that exist of this method and I have tried to bring up aspects of it.

A study of this kind could be questioned as to which level it reaches a satisfactorily level of inter-subjectivity and objectivity. As the study is not containing any operational indicators, the level of validity and reliability is hard to measure. However, I have now explained my motives with the study and how I have preceded it. My intention is to make the study as comprehensible and sensible as possible which I hope is evident throughout the study and hence alters the study to a fair level of credibility.

2.3 Material

The material derives only from secondary sources such as books and the Internet. The books I have used are mainly written by prominent researchers and thinkers within the field of non-violence, conflict and strategy to ensure the relevance of the theories. The use of secondary data demands a critical attitude against the information used.

2.3.1 Criticism of Sources

Criticism of sources is a set of methodological rules that needs to be taken in consideration when scrutinizing a text in order to assess its veracity and credibility.\(^{13}\) There are four criterions that the material needs to fulfil; these are truthful, contemporary, independent, and non-tendentious.\(^{14}\)

This means that the researcher is to ensure that the material is genuine and not forged, which I tried to do with all the material I used. The risk of falsification is greater among Internet sources as it might be difficult to assess the genuineness, origin and author of the material. I therefore only used web pages from well-known organisations and institutes, which increase their credibility. To further assess whether the material I used fulfil the four criterions, I examined and compared the sources as thoroughly as possible and sought that the facts were

\(^{13}\) Esaiasson et al (2004) p.303
\(^{14}\) Esaiasson et al (2004) s. 304ff
verified by more than one author. I have used the results from different studies, conducted by different authors and thinkers, as well as theoretical analyses. Since I have described the material I have used for this study, it hopefully increases the credibility of the study.
3 Theory and Academic Debate

To understand the method of nonviolence and its basis, there are some theories that need to be scrutinized. The first theory is that of power.

3.1 Power

“If an authority enjoys power, he enjoys power to the extent to which obedience is rendered. But the moment the obedience goes off, the moment the laws are disobeyed, the moment the command of the powerful are not obeyed, their power vanishes”\(^{15}\)

The word "power" derives from the old French word "poeir," which means "to be able to act."\(^{16}\)

To understand the principle of nonviolent action, it is as important to know about its close connection to the concept of power on which the method is based. Power is a complex and highly discussed phenomena of which there is no absolute general definition. What there is to conclude, however it seems, by most philosophers and scientists discussing it is that the most inclusive meaning of power is that power is the potential for change.\(^{17}\)

A classical view of power is the one coined by Robert A Dahl that A has power over B in the sense he can get B to do something he otherwise would not do.\(^{18}\) Bacharach and Barratz goes even further by describing power with two faces- on Dahl’s “A and B” theory they add a second face in which power is “non-decision-making” i.e. to decide what is to be decided about on the political agenda is also an important aspect of power. If people cannot affect what is to be decided about by the politicians, they cannot make changes. Thus, in this dimension, power is not just exercised upon participants within the decision process but also an exclusion of certain participants and issues.\(^{19}\)

An even deeper and thorough approach is the three-dimensional one, developed by Steven Lukes. Apart from the two other dimensions discussed, there is a third more deeper and serious reason for obedience and possession of power. This dimension explains that the quiescence and apathy among people is because people from birth are socialised into a certain view of society.

\(^{15}\) Film "A Force More Powerful"
\(^{16}\) Internet 4 www.aau.dk
\(^{17}\) Boulding (1990) p.203
\(^{18}\) Gaventa (1980) p.8
\(^{19}\) Gaventa (1980) p.9f
and their own living situation, which is sometimes a wrong and an unfair situation but which they are unaware of or think that there is nothing that can be done about it. Hence, they accept this view of society because of that very reason—because they are unaware of the inequalities and develop a form of apathy towards politics and their own situation. In other words, one could call this dimension “the power over thought” or even a form of “brainwashing”.

According to Kenneth E. Boulding, a researcher in the subject, power can be divided into three categories: Destructive power; Productive power; and Integrative power. The world, as stated in the introduction, tends to focus on the Destructive power as being the most powerful power of the three. However, Boulding claims that without Integrative power, neither Destructive nor Productive power can exist because it is the only category that can yield legitimacy. Legitimacy is the main source of a ruler’s power, with which the people he rule provides him. This view of power is called a pluralistic view.

Without legitimacy, power is non-existent. Even the strength of power of a dictator is dependent on the sources of power in the society. The important point to be stressed is that since the people provide the ruler with the sources of power in a form of “social contract” they are also able at any time withdraw their consent to this contract by refusing their obedience to him. Sharp describes these sources of political power in his book:

- **Authority** - Sharp defines authority as "right to command and direct, to be heard and obeyed by others";

- **Human Resources** - The number of people obeying the ruler and helping him is of great importance when it comes to gaining legitimacy;

- **Skills and knowledge** - A ruler is dependent of the skills and knowledge the people obeying him possesses that is needed by the regime;

- **Material resources** - Economic system, financial resources, natural resources, property and means of communication etc. The degree to which the ruler controls these is of great importance in terms of limitations of his power;

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20 Gaventa (1980) p.11ff
21 Gene Sharp describes and discuss in his book "The Politics of Nonviolent Conflict: Part One- Power and Struggle" the difference between a monolithic and pluralistic view of power. Monolithic being a view in which the advocates believes political power to be self-perpetuating and that the people depend on it. The pluralistic model is what he concludes as the viable model of what political power actually is; that the governments depend on the obedience of the people and not reverse.
22 Sharp (1973) p.8
23 Sharp (2003) p.11
• **Sanctions** - The ability to make sanctions (punishments—whether carried through or threatened) towards the people to ensure submission and cooperation, and;

• **Intangible factors** - Factors such as psychological and ideological that may make the people obey and help the ruler.

These sources in turn depend on the cooperation, obedience and submission of a multitude of institutions and people as well as of the ruler’s functionaries and agents, a cooperation that may or may not continue i.e. all these sources are voluntarily. People always have a choice, whether to cooperate or not. Political power is thus very fragile and depends solely upon the society over which it is applied. This dependence is the key to nonviolent control of power. Thus, the prime factor for the ruler is the one of obedience of his people. The next phenomenon to explain would then be the cause of obedience, i.e. why do people obey? Sharp discuss this in his book and he identifies several reasons for obedience: habit; fear; moral obligation; self-interest; psychological identification with the leader; zones of indifference; absence of self-confidence among the subjects.

These sources of power are expressed through different organisations and institutions that Robert Helvey identifies as “pillars of support”. Without these pillars, a regime would collapse. Until the primary pillars of the regime are undermined, neutralized or destroyed, there is little prospect of political reform or regime change. To wage a strategic nonviolent struggle one must take these institutions and organisations that functions as the pillars of the regime in consideration. I will explain this further down in the text. There are nine pillars and these are in the shape of:

1) Police  
2) Military  
3) Civil Servants  
4) Media  
5) Business Community

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24 Bergfeldt (1993) p.39  
26 Bergfeldt (1993) p.39  
27 Sharp (1973) p.19
The sources and pillars of support are the fundament for the possession and wielding of power and the knowledge of this is what nonviolent action is built upon.

To fully comprehend the importance and meaning of nonviolent action we must understand what a conflict is and how it arises. The next theory therefore is about conflict.

### 3.2 Conflict

Conflict is “opposition between at least two parties wanting incompatible goals”. Generally, a conflict is at stake when two or more parties at the same time want the same limited values or resources that simply cannot be distributed between them. A conflict arises when resources are insufficient in relation to the aims and goals of the parties involved. Conflict can arise on many levels and spheres of society, also between two people or even states. No conflict is the other alike, however, many scientists within the field has tried to identify similarities. Professor Johan Galtung, one of the foremost peace researchers has with his illustration of the conflict triangle concluded that there are some elements of process and structure that all conflict situations have in common. This triangle includes *Attitudes, Behaviour* and *Structure* at the points. The triangle is meant to illustrate that the elements depend on each other.

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28 Internet 9 www.ne.se
29 Ibid.
“Attitudes” signifies the perception one has of one’s own party and of the opponent. These are the attitudes, which may be wrong or correct that exist in our heads. Psychologists claim that conflicts always start in the brains and minds of people. In violent conflicts, parties involved tend to come up with stereotypes, or dehumanize the other party or parties. This category is more or less built upon knowledge, feelings and emotions towards the opponents, such as hatred, bitterness, prejudice and fear. These factors are determined by learning and communication. Communication and learning are thus two of the most important factors, which help us to create a social network. Behaviours (or conduct) - include any type of action or behaviour- cooperation or coercion, gestures of hostility or conciliation. Structures refer to the "political mechanisms, processes and institutions that influence the distribution and satisfaction of security, recognition and identity needs."\textsuperscript{30}

These elements are all interrelated. They are constantly changing and affect each other and it is the dynamic process of this triangle that conceptualises conflict.\textsuperscript{31} The conflict behaviour is the most central in a nonviolent action. To change the attitudes, the most functional and durable way is to change the behaviour. This is what the method of nonviolent action is built upon as behaviour affects the attitudes.

In several cases, the pillars of support have been conversed because the nonviolent activists have approached them in a friendly and constructive manner. Once they realise that the people is not against them and not are doing acts of hostility they can change their attitudes about them and little by little, the nonviolent activists succeed with their method. For example, In the

\textsuperscript{30} Internet 5 www.brad.ac.uk
\textsuperscript{31} Knapp de Aguilar, Manuela, Lecture on Conflicts. 2005-02-22.
Portuguese revolution in 1974, called the Carnation Revolution, the nonviolent activists gave the soldiers of the regime flowers and put flowers in their gun pipes, which urged the soldiers to act friendly to the activists as well.\textsuperscript{32} In Serbia in the nonviolent movement against Milosevic’s regime, the nonviolent actors gave the military presents, talked to them in a friendly and joyful manner and by that technique easily made the soldiers realise that they actually had something in common: they lived under a repressive regime. When nonviolent actors then were to occupy Milosevic’s presidential residence neither the police nor the military intervened.

Gandhi had a theory about conflicts that they are something that ought to be resolved through cooperation as it is a problem that both sides in a conflict has to deal with i.e. the conflict is a mutual problem.\textsuperscript{33} He said it is better to deal with a conflict together than deal with a problem in two different ways against each other. Otherwise, it might lead to devastating consequences for both parties. A mere instinct reaction to a problem on behalf of attitudes, the outcome will most likely be destructive. Once the behaviour of a conflict becomes destructive, it is very hard to change the attitudes and minds of people. The attitudes become polarised. However, when the parties behave in a friendly, constructive manner, a change in attitude may come about and they can start talking and make compromises.

3.2.1 External (or Third) Actor

In conflicts, there is usually a third party involved that can vary in shape. However, most often the third actor is in shape of the international community. The support of a third party is an important component. The reason why it may intervene or take part in a conflict could be due to a sense of sympathy towards one of the parties involved in the conflict. The support of a third actor can increase one’s chances to achieve one’s goals drastically. Therefore, it is necessary for nonviolent actors to make symbolic acts and expose the violent behaviour of the opponent to influence the external audiences. In most cases, a nonviolent struggle waged for democracy will have the moral high ground, placing the opponent on the defensive in the international arena. Therefore, it is beneficial for the nonviolent party as the international community rather condemn violence than support it.

The international community can contribute to the success of a nonviolent movement in a variety of different ways, with political, economic and moral help. However, they should be

\textsuperscript{32} Bergfeldt, Lennart. Lecture on “Power, Conflict and Nonviolence” 2005-12-08
\textsuperscript{33} Bergfeldt (1993) p.32
careful whom they receive help from. Helvey claims that very often there are other pragmatic interests behind those interests presented to the public by third actors. Therefore, it would be advisable to gather as much information as possible about the interests and “modus operandi” of the third party before accepting any help from it. Otherwise, it might be very costly for the whole movement if the third party does not have the displayed interest of the affected people in mind and then there might arise a new conflict in time between the movement and the third party. To be effective, the relationship between the nonviolent movement and the third party should be based upon compatibility of interests, mutual respect and honesty. The use of media is one of the most important links to the external actor. The use of it can be a successful way but does not always work out as it should.

Now light has been brought upon the basis of nonviolent action- power and conflict. Now these concepts will be applied to the theory of nonviolent action.

### 3.3 Nonviolent Action

“This technique has not been based on turning the other cheek, but on the ability to be stubborn and to resist powerful opponents powerfully.” Gene Sharp

In the power- chapter it was stipulated that “the technique of nonviolent action is built on the belief that the exercise of power depends on the consent of the ruled.” Power can only be obtained by a legitimate consent between the ruler and the ruled; however, the ruled can at any time withdraw their consent and hence eliminate the power of the ruler. It is the highest importance to make the people in a repressive regime aware of these facts.

It may seem absurd that a whole nation consisting of millions of people can be enslaved under a small number of rulers. This happened in India, for over a century, when the

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34 Modus Operandi- Latin phrase, approximately translated as "mode of operation". It is used in police work to describe a criminal’s characteristic patterns and style of work. The term is also commonly used in English in a non-criminal sense to describe someone’s habits. Helvey (2004) p.124


36 Ibid

37 Sharp (1973) p.15

38 Sharp (1973) p.4
30 000 Britons subdued over nearly 200 million Indians against their actual will. Tolstoy wrote about the phenomena: “It seems as if it is not the English who have enslaved the Indians, but the Indians who have enslaved themselves.” 39 This is why it is crucial to make the people aware that they legitimize the ruler to rule and provides him with power. As Lukes stipulates in his discussions stated above in the power chapter, people are often socialised into a certain perception of their own living situation. A living situation they sometimes believe they cannot do anything about no matter how unfair they know it is. Therefore, they submit to a bad regime and accept the rules of it. However, once they achieve to understand the pluralistic principle of power, they can organise themselves and try to do something about it by withdrawing their consent. “Obedience exists only when one has complied with or submitted to the command”. 40 Thus, the consent between the ruler and the ruled is voluntarily.

That is what nonviolence is about and the method of nonviolent action. Its origins need to be understood in order to be able to maximize the chances of achieving change. It has been fought through time by psychological, social, economic, or political methods, or a combination of these. It is a technique used to apply power in a conflict and fight without the use of physical violence.

In contrary to what most people believe of this method to be a completely passive one, it is in fact based on the activity of the group performing the struggle. It is action that is nonviolent. It is a technique people use that has rejected to either submit or act passively towards unfairness. The behaviour of nonviolent action differs from the mere principle and it is important to separate these. 41 Furthermore, it is a method used by people who actively wants to participate in struggle and sees struggle as essential, and can wage conflict without violence. The technique is designed to operate against violence when necessary. The technique has been used to: dismantle dictatorships; blocked coups d’état; defend against foreign invasions; expel foreign occupation; provide an alternative for violence in extreme ethnic conflicts; challenge unjust social and economic systems; develop, preserve and extend democratic practices, human rights, liberties and freedom of religion; resist genocide.

39 Sharp (1973) p.30
40 Sharp (1973) p.27
41 Bergfeldt (1993) p.30
Most of those who have used nonviolent action have not used it because of a desire to be true to a principle. They wanted to fight for their rights but had to choose another method than violence as they did not have access to violent weapons or because they had seen and experienced violence as ineffective. Thus, sometimes the technique has been used when there are no other alternative to respond to e.g. a repressive regime. Only the mere will of a social change has sometime existed and people has act upon the sole belief that they are “right”. Even though the people are socialised into the belief that nothing can be done about their situation, they have carefully structured and organised themselves through the different mechanisms of nonviolence and succeeded.

For example, in Montgomery, Alabama the United States, during the black movement for equal rights in 1952 people realised that weapons would only strike back on them hard if they used violence to achieve their aim. Instead, they persistently organised a bus boycott that inspired the whole country and made them untouchable for the law and the pillars of support. In Denmark during the Nazi-occupation in 1941-1945 they, through careful organising and communication through a anonymous leadership, withdrew their obedience and made the Nazis incapable of ruling over them and saved themselves from being destroyed, or brutalised to such an extent that weapons ever would have accomplished for them.42

It is not passive in any aspect. Gandhi called nonviolent action “the greatest and most activist force in the world.” When a strategy of nonviolent action is followed, the people are striving to undermine the “pillars of support” by eliminating the loyalty of the military and police towards the regime, and the chances of victory increases drastically. That kind of action is not passive.43

Realist school says that violent conflict is an inherited phenomenon in human nature in the international system. Every nation wants secure its interests and therefore conflict is inevitable. Hence, their perception that conflict solution will always come in the shape of war.44 Clausewitz claims that when conflicts are taken from the level of irrationality and instinct response, they are solved through rationality, which leads into a constructive manner of resolution. Hence, when conflicts are taken to the level of rationality and reason, most people would agree to solve conflicts when thinking about following facts:

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42 Bergfeldt (1993)
43 Internet 6 www.nonviolent-conflict.org
44 Andersson, et al. (2004) p.4
• In contrast to war, nonviolent action brings a technique that reduces tangible costs substantially.\textsuperscript{45}

• Organised violence could also make the situation even worse by provoking the government to greater brutality “and fostering a protracted war between state and guerrilla armies on the battleground of cities and across the countryside”.\textsuperscript{46}

• A nonviolent mean instead of a violent would increase the sense of moral and solidarity amongst the people. This would automatically lead to the sense of being a participant in the process and having something to say about it, which in turn leads to a feeling of making greater purpose. This will further increase the faith and allegiance towards the ruler.

• “Violence bares violence”. Since violence most often leads to a “win-lose” situation, there is always one part that most likely only suffers from the outcome which sometimes could lead to a bloody retaliation. In contrast to this, the aim of nonviolent movement is to “pull” the opponent down rather than to “push” them down.\textsuperscript{47} As the quote by Mahatma Gandhi in the beginning of this study says: “bring your opponent to his senses, not to his knees”. This method would increase the chance of having a “win-win” situation.

Comparing benefits and detriment between nonviolent action and armed conflict, the conclusion is that nonviolent action seems to have a substantial lower cost than violence. It might be an answer to a process that would yield an optimal society.

\textbf{3.3.1 Mechanisms and Methods of Nonviolent Action}

To be able to make the idea become reality, one need to identify how one should change the attitudes and behaviours of the opponent. The processes used to influence these are called mechanisms. Sharp identifies in his three volume book four mechanisms for change in power relationships. These are:

\textsuperscript{45} Rude (2003) p.44
\textsuperscript{46} Internet 2 http://www.usip.org
\textsuperscript{47} Helvey (2004) p.39
- **Conversion** - changes of attitudes that leads to the opponent to make concessions voluntarily because it is right to do so;
- **Accommodation** - withdrawal of different kinds of cooperation forces the opponent to agree to a compromise;
- **Coercion** - when defiance or noncooperation are so successful that the opponent’s power have been weaken to the extent that they are left with no other option than capitulate;
- **Disintegration** - when the defiance and noncooperation has been successful enough to withdraw the sources of power so that the regime has fallen apart.\(^{48}\)

To be able to reach a goal one should choose a method suitable in order to be able to reach it, a method for the ruled to withdraw their consent of the ruler. Different methods can be used in order to maximise the probability to pursue a goal. There are three broad types of behaviour which can be sub classified even further. These are:

- **Protest and Persuasion** - the people can engage themselves in symbolic protests, e.g. demonstrations, distributing leaflets and marches, wearing same colours to show their support or opposition to some objective.
- **Noncooperation** - taken by social, political and economic forms. Such as: refusal to participate in observances or celebrations or attend meetings that support their opponents; discontinue economic cooperation by refusing to supply or transport goods and services or by refusing to sell or buy products or materials; labour strikes in various forms and political noncooperation as boycotts of rigged elections, rejection of legitimacy of a regime, noncooperation by government employees and civil obedience of immoral laws. As Gandhi said: “Nonviolent refusal to cooperate with injustice is the way to defeat it”.
- **Intervention** - intervention and disruption of normal operations of the system. Also taken in different forms; psychological, economic; social; political and; physical. E.g. occupation of offices, hunger strikes, sit-ins, sit-downs on the street, nonviolent invasions, seeking imprisonment, parallel government, overloading of administrative facilities, establishments of new economic institutions.\(^{49}\)

\(^{48}\) Sharp (1973) p.4  
\(^{49}\) Helvey (2004) p.39
nonviolent actions has been mass action as e.g. boycotting stores which force them into bankruptcy and sit-ins to illustrate the injustice by making the absurdity obvious of not being served in e.g. restaurants.

These are the weapons of nonviolent conflict. What is most important is that these are actions that are not unjust and destructive in any way as violent most often is. The motives and beliefs of the people applying the method of the conflict do not identify or categorize the methods of nonviolent actions. They are identified and categorized by the type of action applied. Every conflict is unique and a viable general template to put on each case does not exist. Dr Gene Sharp lists 198 different methods of nonviolent action, however, these can and have been mixed in many varieties therefore it is impossible to make a definite description of all methods used. These are further only methods that have been used in history and as we know, history can change dramatically through time. Moreover, there is also no limit of methods that can be used in the future.

The method or mean to reach the goal is very important and cannot be waged without the considering of the objective or purpose. The purpose forms the path that should be taken to reach it. This will be explained further down in the text.

3.3.2 Strategy in Nonviolent Action

The concept “nonviolent action” is not synonymous with pacifism. In fact, nonviolent action resembles armed war in many ways. It is a form of warfare and it is very important to think about it in terms of war. Dr. Lennart Bergfeldt shows this in his doctoral dissertation “Experiences of Civilian Resistance: The Case of Denmark 1940-1945” by listing 8 ways in which nonviolent resistance resembles war based on Richard B. Gregg's book "The Power of Nonviolence":

1) it has a psychological and moral aim and effect;
2) It is a discipline of a parallel emotion and instinct;
3) It operates against the morale of the opponents;
4) It is similar in principles of strategy;
5) It is a method of settling great disputes and conflicts;

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50 Sharp (2003) p.8
It requires courage, dynamic energy, capacity to endure fatigue and suffering, self-sacrifice, self-control, chivalry, action;

7) It is positive and powerful

8) It affords an opportunity of service for a large idea, and for glory.

It does not avoid hardships, suffering, wounds or even death. In using it, men and women may still risk their lives and fortunes and sacrifice all. Nevertheless the possibilities of casualties and death are greatly reduced under it, and they are all suffered voluntarily and not imposed by the nonviolent resisters.”51

Robert Helvey also discuss in an interview that nonviolent action is a form of warfare and it more or less has the same principles of war that apply to a military struggle. I will discuss these principles further down in the text.

Some nonviolent actions has been fruitful in spite of lacking planning and structure in the movement, however, when used it has often been merely reactive. How much we can make nonviolent action a viable alternative to violence depends on how we can develop and make the methods effective. To have knowledge, a clear structure and strategy increases the effectiveness of the nonviolent struggle. Strategic nonviolent action is not as well documented as violent struggles so people will have to improvise, elaborate, and make up the method repeatedly since there is no advanced strategy to guide it.

Historically, nonviolent action has a longer history than history books tell, as historians tend to concentrate on armed conflicts.52 Historians tend to focus on the violent means of achieving conflicts, mostly because of all documented suffering and damage caused by it, rather than nonviolent means in conflict.

3.4 Emotions in Struggle

It is mentioned earlier in this study that conflicts tend to become destructive when too much emotions are put into it. This can be explained by examining the psychological dimension of the state of fear. By this I mean how our own bodies react when we get frightened. It is known that the body reacts by preparing itself for “flight or fight” in a natural response to threat. It is in

51 Bergfeldt (1993) p.29
52 Sharp (1973) intro. p.4
shape of adrenaline in our bodies, making our muscles stronger preparing for physical combat.\footnote{Discovery 2004-09-08} However, in the civilised world we live in today, we are most often taught in an early age how to deal with these emotions and solve conflicts by verbal means in a constructive way rather than use violent, physical means on the opponent in the dispute.

Von Clausewitz discusses in his book that violence is in the nature of the human being and that emotions are the foundation for destructive behaviour. He further claims that when war is taken away from everything that has to do with emotions, it is solved by constructive thinking. He stipulated that it was a trend toward letting reason characterize the warfare instead of handling it through raw instinct even at that point and the book is published in 1832.\footnote{Von Clausewitz (1832) p.30} And warfare is still developing. That was advanced thinking by that time. The world has developed and has become what most people of today would describe as civilised one.

Robert Helvey has done a great deal of research of the impact of emotions in active struggle and stresses the importance of not letting the fear have an impact on one’s duty or performance of tasks in nonviolent struggle. Influenced by Martin Luther King, Helvey gives a tangible solution on how to overcome that fear and how it should be trained. He stresses the importance of finding ways to overcome damaging effects of fear. First - do not be alone and stay close to each other. Secondly - to take away the attention from the clicking of the weapons, of e.g. military or police officers or other frightening sounds, the demonstrators should chant or make noise. Third - place banners so the people in the back rows cannot see what happens. E.g. looking at military with rifles pointing at the crowds does more harm than good. These are all actions that divert the instincts of fear.

What is more, it is crucial to give tasks to everybody participating in the demonstration. This increases the peoples’ sense of being of a larger purpose. Furthermore, they will concentrate on doing their task if they are told how important it is to do so for the outcome of the struggle.\footnote{Helvey, (2004) p.55}

Common discipline and training is necessary for the whole outcome of the movement. Nonviolent actions are not spontaneous but systematically. Therefore, it is also important to rehearse people on how to act in different situations so they will not get frightened or surprised and act in a manner of instinct to that. One has to be prepared that it is likely that participants in
the movement will be subjects of repressive violence, harassment, imprisonments, torture and solitary confinement by the regime.\(^{56}\)

Thus, with enough training advocates in the field of nonviolent action and strategy, as Martin Luther King, Carl Von Clausewitz and Robert Helvey claims that it is necessary to put away emotions such as fear in a struggle in order to make the level of rationality as high as possible. Critics of nonviolence claim that violence is a necessary accompaniment to revolutionary change, or that the right to self-defence is fundamental. Malcolm X clashed with civil rights leaders over the issue of nonviolent. He claimed, "Concerning nonviolence, it is criminal to teach a man not to defend himself when he is the constant victim of brutal attacks."\(^{57}\) However, for a minority to use violence on an oppressive regime can be even more destructive than not using it. An instinctive response of irrationality, built on fear, leading to a violent action could be very damaging to the whole movement. Therefore, we will now examine why it is important not to use violence in nonviolent action.

### 3.5 Violence in Nonviolent Action

The use of violence as a complement in a nonviolent action is one of the causes of “contamination” of the struggle.\(^{58}\) When fear sets in, as explained above, the body prepares itself for a fight and prepares to act in an often irrational and destructive manner. It is the prevention of this behaviour that the action of nonviolent struggle is built upon. The technique is to overcome that fear since it has a high possibility of bursting out through a violent action, which would be very damaging for the struggle. First, Robert Helvey explains that to give into violence will justify the use of violence by the opponent, which in the shape of a regime often is their strongest mean. To face the opponent where he is the strongest is not a fruitful or clever approach. It justifies repression and it is basically to “invite the enemy to fight on his terms”.\(^{59}\)

Moreover, if violence becomes accepted, the struggle may lose its moral high ground, which might have been the reason for many people to join the movement in the first place. This eventually leads to the withdrawal of these people and discourage civilians from joining the ranks.\(^{60}\) In Chile Pinochet came to power through a military coup and through his reign he

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\(^{56}\) Internet 2 www.usip.org  
\(^{57}\) Internet 8 www.psychcentral.com  
\(^{58}\) Helvey (2004) p.50  
\(^{59}\) Internet 7 www.aeinstein.org  
\(^{60}\) Internet 6 www.nonviolent-conflict.org
continued to rely upon the military to execute atrocities against people who opposed him. As the regime continued to torture and harass the people, many of the people opposed and most of them in a violent manner but most people chose not to participate. However, when a nonviolent movement began and cleared out the objective with the movement - create a better Chile - many civilians were given another opportunity to participate in the opposition. Once it became clear that most people did not want to keep Pinochet as their leader, his military army split and he had to give the power away. If the people had indulged into violence, the movement most likely had lost most of its participants.  

Furthermore, what might be even more crucial, it distracts the media and the public from the injustices that the movement wants corrected. The support of the international community then, which might be in shape of moral, political, and even financial support, might be taken away since it seldom finds it in their interest to support violent action and rather condemn it.

It will cost the movement credibility and dramatically escalate the conflict. By avoiding or preparing for violence, the violence of the opponent will be muted.

Now we have cleared out the meaning and basis of nonviolent action, why one should use it and why it is important to be rational when using it. In the next chapter it will be explained how to use the method of nonviolent action and how a clear strategy is outlined.

### 3.6 Planning and Structuring

What so far is stipulated is that any type of action, especially nonviolent action, needs to be taken to a level of rationality, to alter the behaviour of the conflict. The further away the conflict gets from mere instinct behaviour, as closer it gets to a constructive and thought through conduct and resolution as Clausewitz stipulated already in the 1800’s. This leads us in to the importance of structuring the behaviour of the conflict i.e. of having a strategy. In military warfare, the need for a strategy is an essentiality for effectiveness and military strategy has been refined through time by different thinkers, e.g. Clausewitz, Lidell Hart and Sun Tzu. All people would agree that a plan of how to reach one’s goals would definitely increase the chances of actually achieve it. If one not plans, it can lead to:

- “one's energy can be deflected to minor issues and applied ineffectively;

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61 Internet 2 www.usip.org
62 Internet 7 www.aeinstein.org
opportunities for advancing one's cause will go unutilized;
- the opponents' initiatives will determine the course of events;
- the weakness of one's own side will grow and have detrimental effects on the attempt to achieve the goal;
- The efforts to reach the goal will have very little chance of being successful."63

To plan a strategy means to “calculate a course of action that is intended to make it more likely to get from the present to a desired future situation”64. Strategy is taking advantage of the battle in the purpose of the war. Thus, the strategist must assess a goal for the war - a purpose. The strategy form the plan of the war and the purpose of the war decides the specific acts of war that will lead to the final- or long- term goal.65

3.6.2 Principles of Nonviolent Strategy

A nonviolent strategy is, as well as strategy in armed struggle, useless if there are no means undertaken to implement it. The method of implementing strategy according to Clausewitz is battle. The “battle” of nonviolence is organised, trained and skilfully led people. Some people think that merely a defined goal, and a belief of actually achieving it would be enough reach it if only they remain true to their principles. However, this is not enough to bring about change and reach the desired situation one wants in the future. In some cases, people do not even try to make a strategy to reach their goal, because they do not think that their goal is possible to achieve. They think they are helpless victims, perhaps socialized into a view of society where they think that all they can do is to witness, assert or die in their belief that they are right but society is the way it is and nothing can be done. Hence, they do not even try to think of a strategy in order to achieve their goal.66

If one not strategically plans how to achieve one’s goals, the chance of achieving it is reduced drastically, or even non-existent. The military forces are well aware of this and plan their warfare minutely. This is not the case in most nonviolent movements, however, it ought to be. Little research has been made on strategic nonviolent conflict. Most principles of strategy of

63 Sharp (2003) p.19
64 Sharp (2005) p.448
65 Von Clausewitz (1991) p.140
nonviolent action actually derive mainly from military strategy. However, some principles come from the history of nonviolent action, including case studies from the campaigns that follow them. The authors of the book “Strategic Nonviolent Conflict” Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler identify 12 principles of nonviolent conflict where each principle addresses factors that contribute to success or failure in nonviolent struggle. These concur very much both with the words and discussions of Helvey as well as Clausewitz.

Ackerman and Kruegler identify three types of principles: principles of development, -engagement and -of conception. These are meant to help the strategist in a nonviolent movement to analyze their situation, plan their approach, and pursue the conflict with greater clarity and precision. In their book they use the principles to identify opportunities and pitfalls on the six cases applied. Helvey has also made a similar conclusion on principles to follow in a strategic nonviolent struggle. He defines his principles as a Strategic Estimate. A strategic estimate is a “calculation and comparison of the strengths and the weaknesses of the nonviolent struggle group and that group’s opponents, as seen within the broad social, historical, political, and economic context of the society in which the conflict occurs”

In their book, Ackerman and Kruegler found strong correlation between the occurring of the principles and the success of the six cases they analysed. Hence, a strategy in a nonviolent struggle increases the chances of achieving one’s purpose and makes the struggle more effective. Other researchers than Ackerman, Kruegler and Helvey have discussed these principles. There are some general principles of strategy and key issues involved in the conduct of nonviolent action upon which most advocates and researchers of the method agree. To be able to evaluate non-violent actions and struggles in my future studies, I will discuss the key elements for a strategy that have been identified by these researchers. These will later be of high relevance when outlining my analytical framework. These are:

3.6.3 The Decision

Do I want that change? Further, do I want that change, i.e. reach the objective, bad enough to make risks? Are the risks worth it? Those are the questions the people have to ask themselves before they start a movement. Once that is decided and that the chosen method should be active,

67 Ackerman, Kruegler (1994) p.21
68 Sharp (2005) p.449
but without weapons, the principles are the same as in armed conflict.

### 3.6.4 The Objective

The most important task is the “identification of the nature of the difference between where one is and where one wants to be”\(^{69}\) i.e. to make a clear objective, a purpose of what one wants to accomplish. Strategic planning begins with a clear objective that derives from policy goals.\(^{70}\) In their list of twelve principles in nonviolent struggle, Ackerman and Kruegler emphasize the importance to formulate functional objectives. “Loading on too many goals may lead to fragmentation within the movement”\(^{71}\) and therefore there need to be simple, realistic and clear goals at an early stage so the supporters know how to behave.

A goal should not be too ambitious, however, not too timid either.\(^{72}\) A “positive” goal is better than a “negative”, i.e. instead of looking back, for example on what atrocities the people have been put through they should focus on how they want their future to be. For example, during the Chilean “No” campaign an increase in participation by the people occurred when the coordinators of the movement changed the people’s attitudes by telling them how they could create a better future for Chile by voting instead of focusing on the past time of the regime which did not gain them anything.\(^{73}\)

Clausewitz identifies the difference between the direct object of the battle and the indirect ones. The direct goal is what I sometimes define as “the vision of tomorrow” in this thesis. The final form of society one hopes to achieve with the struggle. Indirect are the factors that come along as the war proceeds, so called intermediate objects or tactics. That is, the factors that forces themselves upon the people participating in the struggle and becomes the object of the battle itself. It is the immediate object but never the final object. These objects are just means to reach a higher superiority to finally challenge the enemy to battle in such a situation where he cannot possibly meet the challenge. These objects are steps in an operative principle, but never an operative principle in itself.\(^{74}\) There is a necessity of clear objectives that all the time can be reminded to the people performing the struggle and to be enlightened so that the people find it

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\(^{69}\) Sharp (2003) p.19  
\(^{70}\) Helvey (2004). p.76  
\(^{71}\) Ackerman, Kruegler (1994) p.24ff  
\(^{72}\) Sharp (2005) p.448  
\(^{73}\) Internet 1 http://www.natcath.com  
\(^{74}\) Von Clausewitz (1991) p.148
worth carrying the struggle through. The people must understand that their struggle is the mean
(the indirect goal) to reach their political goal (the direct goal).

Both Helvey and Clausewitz agree upon the fact that means and methods cannot be
decided without the direct object. They have to be outlined from the final purpose. To define a
clear object is thus the most essential task before waging a conflict. This is important as it makes
it easier for all people to participate as they have a clear, common goal and therefore are able to
work together.

3.7.1 Identify the Whole Context of the Struggle

Strategy can only be developed in the context of a particular conflict and its background and
circumstances. Therefore, “an accurate sense of the whole context in which the struggle is to be
waged” is one of the first things that need to be identified according to Gene Sharp.\(^75\) Clausewitz
also stresses the importance of obtaining as much information as possible in order to grasp the
context as accurate as possible because they are the factors that direct the exploitation of the
battle in different shapes.\(^76\) All these factors are significant to have information about, as they can
be crucial for the intermediate goals. It is very important to get as much information as possible
about the features of society and conditions in which the conflict is setting out in.\(^77\) Clausewitz
states that one have to take each of these elements in consideration to discern their importance to
the whole process.

3.7.2 Assessment of Resources

Another important charge is the assessment of the resources that might help achieving the goal.\(^78\)
The work of the supporters and money are always the most obvious resources but there are other
that are as important as that. For example: leadership with integrative power skills, technical
means of communication, external alliances etc. This is important factors to know, as it makes it
easier to choose tactics that are practicable.\(^79\)

Moreover, it is important to identify these resources of both parties in order to be able to
calculate how one may accomplish to control the economic and life-support resources of the

\(^75\) Sharp (2005) p.525
\(^76\) Von Clausewitz (1991) p.150
\(^77\) Internet 2 www.usip.org
\(^78\) Sharp (2003) p.19f
\(^79\) Internet 2 www.usip.org
opponent and reverse- to what extent the opponent might be able to control these of the resistance group.  

3.7.3 Identification of Abilities of Contending Parties and Possible Third Parties

This point is close connected to the former point is this one. To have an accurate understanding of the regime and its vulnerabilities and a clear identification of the “pillars of support” is crucial for the whole movement. By identifying the vulnerabilities, it is easier for the movement to make strategies that will erode the key support of a regime, by outdistance the pillars of support from the regime. The nonviolent activists have to understand why it is in the peoples’ interest to obey since it is decisive in forming the strategy. Once they get around that, it is important to focus at the objective. To overthrow the ruler by taking away the sources of power by making the people refuse cooperation with him, is always just an intermediate objective and the real objective is “the vision of tomorrow” which e.g. could be democracy.

Helvey discuss the importance of analyzing the pillars of support individually and thoroughly in order to identify their strengths and weaknesses to further be able to know how to deal with them. The importance is also to “pull” them down rather than “push” them down. Otherwise, they might turn against the nonviolent movement and damage the struggle. The aim is to get them “over” to the nonviolent side or get their “approval”.

To refer to Galtung’s conflict-triangle, the aim is to change the attitudes of the opponents by affect their behaviour by behaving in a friendly manner towards them. It is more likely to have them behave in line with the nonviolent movement if their attitudes are influenced by the nonviolent actions rather than deterred by them.

The role of a third party on each side is also important to identify and assess. A third party may help in various ways as discussed above in the conflict chapter and it may be very crucial to the whole outcome of the movement to get the support from it. However, it can be very useful for the resisting party to have as much information as possible about who the potential third party might be, which side they will take, and how they may assist or act in the coming conflict.

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80 Sharp (2005) p.453
81 Helvey (2004) p. 72
82 Internet 2 www.usip.org
83 Internet 7 www.aeinstein.org
3.7.4 Backup Plans

Supporting plans are needed because nothing always stays the same. Swiftly changes can happen quickly and to facilitate the decision-making, which needs to be quick sometimes, it is necessary to have backup plans. This is true in the intermediate or indirect goals as they ought to be quite flexible, however, the direct goal (long-term goal) always has to be a staying goal. As military struggles, nonviolent movements often take place in highly unpredictable environments, and organisers need a variation of tactical actions to chose from in order to be able to support strategic objectives. It is a real danger to rely on a narrow range of methods.\(^{84}\)

These points discussed serve as the background for the outlining of the grand strategy for the nonviolent struggle group and specific strategies for individual campaigns within the grand strategy. This estimate is crucial for the whole struggle as it sometimes reveals that the nonviolent group is weaker than required for a major struggle and therefore needs to wait before launching the struggle in order to gather the requirements it needs to fulfil their task.\(^{85}\)

3.7.5 Discipline and Leadership

The need of a charismatic leader in order to make nonviolent action to succeed is one of the most common misconceptions of the method. However, a good leader with skills such as boldness, intellectual, ability to make quick decisions is needed in order to make decisions and produce order and discipline. Leadership is essential for a nonviolent movement, but it depends on clear strategic thinking and wise decisions in the course of a conflict and not only the charismatic skills of the leader. For example, Gandhi did not become a successful leader because of his personal charm or rhetorical skills, but on his steady campaigns, which urged Indians at all levels of society to take control over their own lives and then gradually separate the British from the country.

Martin Luther King was widely known as a talented and inspiring speaker, but that talent had had little meaning if he had not with his co-workers figured out clever ways for the Afro Americans to put pressure on the system of segregation and undercut its’ economic and political support. Moreover, the leaders of the Danish underground resistance to the Germans in World

\(^{84}\) Ackerman, Kruegler (1994) p.xi in foreword

\(^{85}\) Sharp (2005) p.454
War II were entirely anonymous. Thus, leadership is very important to the success of the movement but that is due to cunning strategic moves and not on the charismatic skills of the leader. For example, the Chinese students who led the protest in Tiananmen Square had extraordinary personalities, but their movement collapsed when they failed to organize broadly to negotiate intelligently with the regime.\textsuperscript{86}

The leader in a nonviolent struggle has mainly two tasks- to make primary decisions that will shape the conflict, and to serve as a role model in order to give inspiration, courage and clarity of purpose.\textsuperscript{87} It is important that he distributes tasks to everyone and make sure they are aware of the direct objective in order for everyone to fulfil their task as good as they possibly can. If people understand that their task, their piece of the puzzle, has such an importance for the whole objective to be completed it has a greater chance of being fulfilled and not abandoned because of fear etc.\textsuperscript{88} Individual leaders should be evaluated according to their performance as decision makers and motivators of people.\textsuperscript{89}

\textbf{3.7.6 Initiative}

Finally, it is crucial to maintain the initiative in a nonviolent struggle. It will not be a very fruitful struggle if one solely concentrates on the defence.\textsuperscript{90} Mahatma Gandhi once said that the most important thing to remember in a nonviolent struggle is never to remain completely passive. Always stay active and provocative and he stressed the importance of seizing and maintaining the initiative.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{86} Internet 6 www.nonviolent-conflict.org
\item \textsuperscript{87} Ackerman, Kruegler (1994) p.27
\item \textsuperscript{88} Helvey (2004) p.104
\item \textsuperscript{89} Ackerman, Kruegler (1994) p.27
\item \textsuperscript{90} Internet 7 www.aeinstein.org
\end{itemize}
Now the meaning and basis of nonviolent action, the importance of organising it, how to build up a clear strategy and how to apply it on a nonviolent struggle has been thoroughly described. Now remains how this information can be used into further research. To reach the second aim with this thesis and capture how this study will serve as a theoretical basis for future studies, an analytical framework will be presented. From this theoretical approach to the method of active strategic nonviolent struggle, an analytical framework focusing on evaluation of nonviolent action has been outlined:

4 Analytical Framework

An analytical framework is used to systematize the measurement of the variables and operational indicators. In order to analyse the outcome, success and method of nonviolent action in the future, this analytic framework will serve as a guidance of measurement.

From this essay, the main ingredients for a nonviolent action to be successful have been identified. The means and basis of the method of nonviolent action has been thoroughly described and clear-cut guidelines for how to utilize the method in its maximum capacity have been outlined.

To measure the outcome and success of a nonviolent movement can be very difficult. In order to do so, we can primary analyze the parties involved. To examine whether they have succeeded with their purpose of the conflict there are three factors to analyze, these are strategy, means and function.

To discern the strategy used a full evaluation of the situation and conflict is needed. We analyze the parties’ strategic estimate and agenda. To do this, we look at: the objective; their evaluation of the situation in terms of the whole context of the struggle; resources; their knowledge about contending parties and possible alliances third parties; their backup plans; leadership; and further whether they managed to maintain the initiative.

To evaluate the function of the means and actions taken, we look at the current behaviour
of the opponent. If there is a difference in behaviour, the nonviolent actors have, by their own behaviour, been able to change the attitude of the opponent. To change the attitudes and behaviour of the opponent, the processes used are called mechanisms. In order to evaluate the function of the means and actions taken we have to look which mechanisms accomplished. Sharp identifies in his three volume book four mechanisms for change in power relationships. These are Conversion, Accommodation, Coercion and Disintegration.

The Analytical Framework:

Note: This figure will serve as a synopsis of how the analysis gradually will be accomplished.

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91 Remember the Galtung conflict triangle, how attitudes influence behaviour and vice versa and their effect upon institutions.
92 Trilogy by Sharp, Gene “The Politics of Nonviolent Action”
5 Conclusions and Reflections

To analyze the origins of the non-violent method and the components of strategic planning and structuring and to conclude the outcomes of the theories discussed and the debates I want to refer back to the first purpose of this study: to discern the advantages that come with developing a strategy when using this method to pursue a struggle. To fully reach the purpose I will answer the questions asked one by one:

- Why should a strategy be used in non-violent action?

A strategy is used in order to solve a conflict by constructive thinking as the master of strategy Clausewitz states. To solve it by constructive thinking, emotions have to be put aside. Emotions are the foundation for destructive behaviour. When fear and anger sets in, the rational thinking of the human mind disappears and left is the instinctive and reactive will to response to that feeling. The response to this emotion is most often of destructive nature.

Several advantages come with using a strategy in non-violent action. In this study, I listed five advantages: one's energy can be deflected to minor issues and applied ineffectively; opportunities for advancing one's cause will go unutilized; the opponents' initiatives will determine the course of events; the weakness of one's own side will grow and have detrimental effects on the attempt to achieve the goal; the efforts to reach the goal will have very little chance of being successful. To stick to a strategy will mean that one keeps to the original, often more rational plan, which leads to rational acting as one is prepared and know why one should not give in to fear or anger, which often leads to irrational behaviour that might affect the outcome negatively.

The main purpose with a strategy is to make it more likely to reach the objective with the struggle. If a clear objective, a goal is set out, it is easier to gather people and come to an agreement of what needs to be done and actually do it.

- What similarities and differences are there between planning and structuring a nonviolent struggle, compared to an armed one?

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93 Sharp (2003) p.19
The similarities of planning and structuring between non-violent action and armed conflict are in fact quite the same except for the simple fact that the battles themselves differs, as there is no means or use of violence at all in nonviolent struggles. The most common misconception is that nonviolent struggle relies solely upon being true to the principle of nonviolence itself and passive behaviour, which does not always seem to be a very fruitful method. To only use passive means to reach a goal is not what nonviolent action is about and does not achieve its maximum capacity. Just as armed battle, a strategy is useless if there are no means undertaken to implement it. It is far away from being a passive method and the successful of this kind method relies on careful and systematic planning, structuring, discipline, training and persistence just as in armed battle. In its structure, the fundamentals for a strategy are very similar.

- Are there any core principles to follow and how is a clear strategy developed?

Some of the core principles of this method are same as in military armed conflict: To organise the mass; to be aware of the suffering and hardships this kind of struggle brings about; and to have a clear formulated and realistic object for the purpose of gather people. It is easier to organise a movement if people realise they want the same goal. It is also important to have a clear goal in order to develop a strategy and decide what intermediate goals to be achieved and what tactics to use to achieve them. Thus, the core fundament for a good strategy is to have a clear objective- a grand strategy in order to produce a strategy in itself.

Besides having a clear objective in order to outline the intermediate goals, it is also important to identify the whole context of the struggle and assess resources of both one’s own group and the opponent. This will make it easier to create backup plans by consider all the circumstances and possible scenarios that may happen. Finally, it is very important never to remain passive. To have the initiative is crucial in order to make the struggle fruitful. To remain passive and hope for something to change is not beneficial for a movement if it wants to bring about change to a system.

Now we are able to discern the first aim with this thesis: the advantages that come with developing a strategy when using non-violent action to pursue a struggle:
“Those who do not understand nonviolent conflict tend to dismiss its achievements, but millions -- who no longer live under communism, under military dictators, or under other oppressive systems destroyed by nonviolent strategies -- would not agree.”

Nonviolent action is a fighting technique without the use of violence. It is a mechanism for change in which everyone can participate. It is not built upon the same principle of violence which has the simple dynamic of “making you suffer more than me”, but on the struggle of winning, not primarily over the opponent, but to win the larger audience over to one’s side through peaceful means in order to establish societal change.

Nonviolent action is not a guarantee for success, just as the use of violence and armed conflict is not a guarantee for success. However, a nonviolent approach would definitely lead to a better outcome for both parties than in armed conflicts when there is always a win-lose situation, or sometimes even worse. In most cases of nonviolent action, the final outcome has seldom led to a violent retaliation, as history shown us happens a great deal in armed victory.

“Mankind must put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind” as JFK (John Francis Kennedy) said, however, this does not mean that we have to put an end to conflicts. Conflict resolution is to transform violent conflicts into processes of peaceful social change. Not at all to eliminate conflict. However, it is when too much emotions, ignorance and lack of planning the conflict becomes destructive, which in many ways (most often) leaves it to a much more costly outcome than actually necessary. Conflicts ought to be taken away from the level of irrationality and be solved through creative and constructive means. The aim should not be to avoid conflict but to alter the way it is conducted. Nonviolent action might be the answer to this.

An approach in a violent manner most often leads to the situation that whatever that has been imposed through violence must be defended through violence. If we go back to the conflict-triangle by Galtung, it is theoretically more difficult to effect the attitudes and minds of the people in a positive direction through violence as people only see the actions, the behaviour, in a violent manner of the imposer and therefore the imposer do not have a moral authority or

94 Internet 6 www.nonviolent-conflict.org
95 Sharp (2003) p.9
96 Internet 5 http://www.brad.ac.uk
97 Galtung, Johan. Documentary “Johan Galtung”
98 Film “A Force More Powerful”
legitimacy of the people. To gain a positive response from the people is in the end the most important factor to get legitimacy. Without legitimacy, power fails to exist. Therefore, it is necessary to approach the people in a constructive behaviour rather than a destructive behaviour in order to receive a positive attitude and thus behaviour. This might be the essential fundament for democracy as the true fundament for a democracy starts in the attitudes and minds of people. Perhaps it could be a fundament for a true democracy. “The spirit of democracy cannot be imposed from without; it has to come from within” as Mahatma Gandhi once said. A better understanding of the method of nonviolence, perhaps then, could help to bring about an improvement of our world.

Nonviolent action is an alternative to solve conflicts that I believe depends on careful structure, planning, and training to have a maximal win-win situation. Anyone would agree that using a plan or a strategy would definitely improve the odds of reaching one’s goals. This definitely stands for the method of nonviolent actions as well. Just as military troops, nonviolent action organisations need training, discipline, leadership and a strategy to pursue their goals as efficient as possible. The technique of nonviolent action in order to reach goals as democracy or human rights can be refined and improved.

If one not strategically plans how to achieve one’s goals, the chance of achieving it is reduced drastically, or even non-existent. The military forces are well aware of this and plan their warfare minutely. This is not the case in most nonviolent movements, however, it ought to be.

The importance of having a strategy when waging a nonviolent movement cannot be overemphasized as it seems to be crucial for its success. To have a well developed and thought through strategy is the key to make this kind of movement more effective. It is not however a guarantee of reaching the direct objective, but it is a certainty to increase the chances to reach it. Having in mind all the atrocities and disasters that has come out of armed conflict the last century, non-violent action as a mean of conflict resolution might be an idea at least worth considering.

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