



A FORCE MORE POWERFUL

A CENTURY OF NONVIOLENT CONFLICT



COMMUNITY RESOURCE AND DISCUSSION GUIDE

A Force More Powerful, a new public television documentary series, shows how nonviolent power overcame oppression and authoritarian rule in conflict after conflict during the last 100 years. Two 90-minute programs — to be broadcast on September 18 and 25 at 9:00 p.m. ET (check local listings) — show how popular movements using nonviolent sanctions toppled tyrants, shook governments, thwarted occupying armies, and shattered ruling parties.

The series recounts Mohandas Gandhi's civil disobedience campaign against the British in India; the sit-ins and boycott that desegregated downtown Nashville, Tennessee; the nonviolent campaign against apartheid in South Africa; Danish resistance to the Nazis in World War II; the rise of Solidarity in Poland; and the momentous victory for democracy in Chile.

A Force More Powerful also introduces several extraordinary, but largely

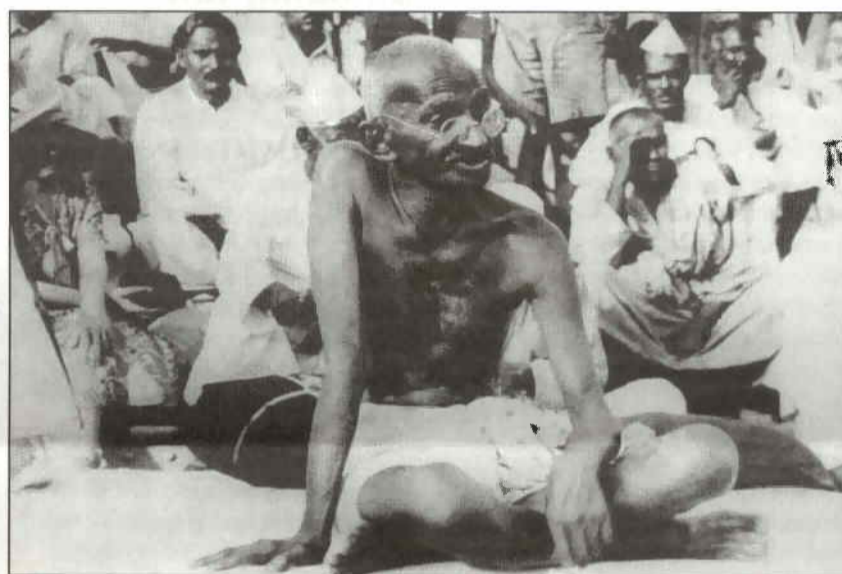
unknown individuals who drove these great events forward, and lets them tell what happened.

The phrase "a force more powerful" actually comes from Mohandas Gandhi, notes series producer/director/writer Steve York. Echoing these words in the series, Bernard

Lafayette, one of the student leaders who participated in the sit-ins in Nashville, described their nonviolent strategy: "We believed that it was a power more forceful than their dogs, their billy clubs, or their jails."

At a time when violence is still too often used by those who seek power, **A Force More Powerful** dramatizes how ordinary people throughout the world, working against all kinds of opponents, have taken up nonviolent weapons — and prevailed. ■

Mohandas Gandhi meets with villagers during the Salt March, asking for volunteers to break the law and go to jail.



Dinodia/The Image Works

"A FORCE MORE POWERFUL is eloquent testimony to the power of people's desire to be free."

Timeout New York

PRODUCER STEVE YORK TALKS ABOUT THE MAKING OF A FORCE MORE POWERFUL

How difficult is it to show history?

York: One of the problems with historical documentaries is that when it's all over and you are watching it on TV or at the movies, it has a tendency to appear foreordained. Things click along from one event to the next, as if somebody had written it as a script. You have to remember that Gandhi in India really didn't know what kind of an effect he was going to have when he set out on the Salt March. Certainly the people involved in the resistance movements in places like Poland or Chile

or Denmark had no way of knowing in advance how the story was going to end. There was no guarantee that they were going to succeed, and yet they did. That takes something extraordinary. People had to *make* it happen. That quality that you find in individual people shows on film.

The other problem I encounter when making historical documentaries is finding footage of things that are important. The most important moments from nonviolent struggles are seldom photographed. The real problem here is that nonviolent

campaigns begin with people sitting around a kitchen table late at night in a remote township in South Africa, or in an attic room in Warsaw, or in a church basement in Nashville. It's a few people having ideas and exercising what is not very dramatic, i.e., discipline, clear thinking, and all the mundane nuts and bolts of making phone calls, printing flyers, going door-to-door, and so on. What you find in the video record is a deluge of footage of people marching in the streets, demonstrating, or

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I N B R I E F

Premiere PBS Broadcast: 9 p.m. ET, September 18 and 25, 2000 (check local listings)
Program 1: Nashville (1960), India (1930), South Africa (1984)
Program 2: Denmark (1940), Poland (1980), Chile (1988)
Educational Off-Air Recording Rights: one year from initial broadcast
Narrator: Ben Kingsley
Written, produced, and directed by: Steve York

Series Editor and Principal Content Advisor: Peter Ackerman
Managing Producer: Miriam A. Zimmerman
Original music composed and conducted by: John D. Keltonic
Executive Producer: Jack DuVall
WETA Executive-in-charge of Production: Dalton Delan

Book: *A Force More Powerful—A Century of Nonviolent Conflict* by Peter Ackerman and Jack DuVall (St. Martin's Press)

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Video Distributor: For information about ordering videocassettes of the two 90-minute programs for home use or the six 30-minute modules for educational/institutional use, please contact: Films for the Humanities & Sciences, P.O. Box 2053, Princeton, New Jersey 08543-2053. Telephone toll-free: 1-800-257-5126; Fax: 1-609-275-3767; Web site: <http://www.films.com>

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

The Possible Dream

Often lost amid the cacophony of the 20th century's cannon roar and bomb explosions are the stories of people and movements that used nonviolent resistance against all odds to defeat ferocious opponents — to oust a tyrant in Chile, to thwart the Nazi's designs on Denmark, or to transform a South African political system that had denied rights to people of color. Entire societies from the Philippines to Poland have been radically transformed, suddenly or gradually, by those who refused to submit to arbitrary rule.

Each of these campaigns used nonviolent sanctions — strikes, boycotts, sit-ins, walk-outs, demonstrations — active measures that punished opponents and produced political change. Their ultimate goals were to overturn brutal regimes (South Africa), obstruct invaders (Denmark), or compel rights to be honored (Nashville). All had fewer guns than their opponents. But their cause, in many cases, won the day.

Irrevocably altered were basic ideas about the nature of power. Brutality and violence may enable a corrupt or pernicious regime to intimidate people for a time, but

its very existence would not be possible without the acquiescence of the population. When people unite and decide that they *want* to be free, then the opportunity comes for real change, and when they withdraw their active cooperation from a government, it cannot long stay in power.

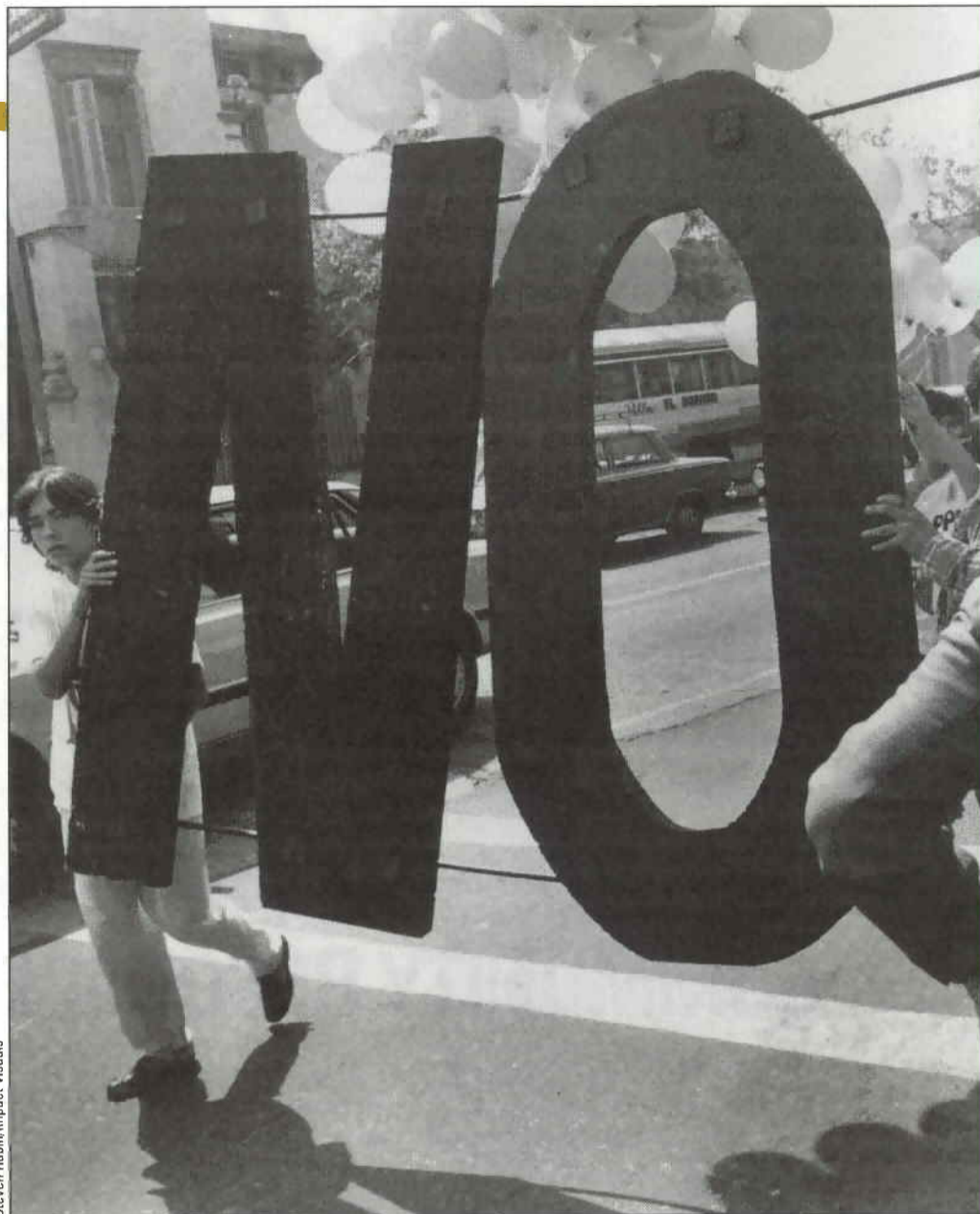
Standing Tall

Nonviolent resistance is not for the impatient. Self-discipline was essential to the black college students

whose persistent defiance of local laws and customs effectively paralyzed the city of Nashville. Boycotts may inflict economic pain on an oppressor, but they ask as much of those who launch them. This was never more true than in South Africa, where already desperately poor black citizens opted for self-reliance rather than subsidize an unjust system that depended on their buying power.

If sacrifice and perseverance are the bricks of nonviolent resistance, courage may very well be the mortar. In Argentina in the 1970s, courage was personified by mothers who stood in the central plaza of Buenos Aires

"A Force More Powerful is a veritable manual on how to mount a successful nonviolent resistance movement."
The Los Angeles Times



In 1988, Chileans take to the streets and the airwaves to oppose General Augusto Pinochet. (Program 2)

demanding to know who was responsible for their children's disappearance at the hands of the state. During World War II, gentle wives of Jewish men being rounded up for the Holocaust sat down in front of a city detention center in Berlin and demanded their husbands' release. Incredibly, they succeeded. In the skewed standoff between storm troopers using terrorism and women with no weapons, the rewards of history were with the women.

For some, nonviolence is a personal choice borne of religious belief or moral conviction. For many who have challenged oppression but had no access to the instruments of war, it was the only practical alternative. Danes forced to submit to Nazi occupation during World War II, for example, could never hope to meet the military might of Hitler's henchmen.

Not only is using violence to seek power a high-risk strategy, it also forgoes opportunities that past conflicts have taught us are created through the use of nonviolent sanctions. Underdogs who take up arms risk losing world sympathy. In a boomerang effect, regimes that might otherwise lose credibility can survive by rallying support for quelling violence.

Movers and Shakers

From the gregarious and decisive (Lech Walesa), to the slight and unassuming (Mohandas Gandhi), to the relatively youthful and inexperienced (Mkhuseli Jack), those in the vanguard of popular uprisings may differ in personality and stature, but almost all lead perilous lives, forced to stay one step ahead of the enemy. What Gandhi lacked in physical size, he made up for in relentless organization, calm intelligence, and highly tuned political skills. Jack

worked to rein in volatile supporters of the anti-apartheid effort and make the struggle pay off for thousands of his countrymen.

Conversely, impulsive leadership can prove lethal to promising nonviolent campaigns. The 1989 student democracy movement in China that simultaneously amazed and inspired the world collapsed because its leaders acted rashly. They were slow to recognize just how threatening their demands (freedom of the press, anti-corruption, etc.) were to Communist Party officials. The failure of the democracy movement to fully recover from the Tiananmen Square massacre may say less about the viability of nonviolent action in China than it does about the inadvisability of concentrating people power at a vulnerable point and expecting repressive governments to look the other way.

As Gandhi discovered in India, knowing when to consolidate gains and save the fight for better times is as crucial as knowing when the last traces of power can be kicked over. Action without strategy may be sensational, but it is rarely successful.

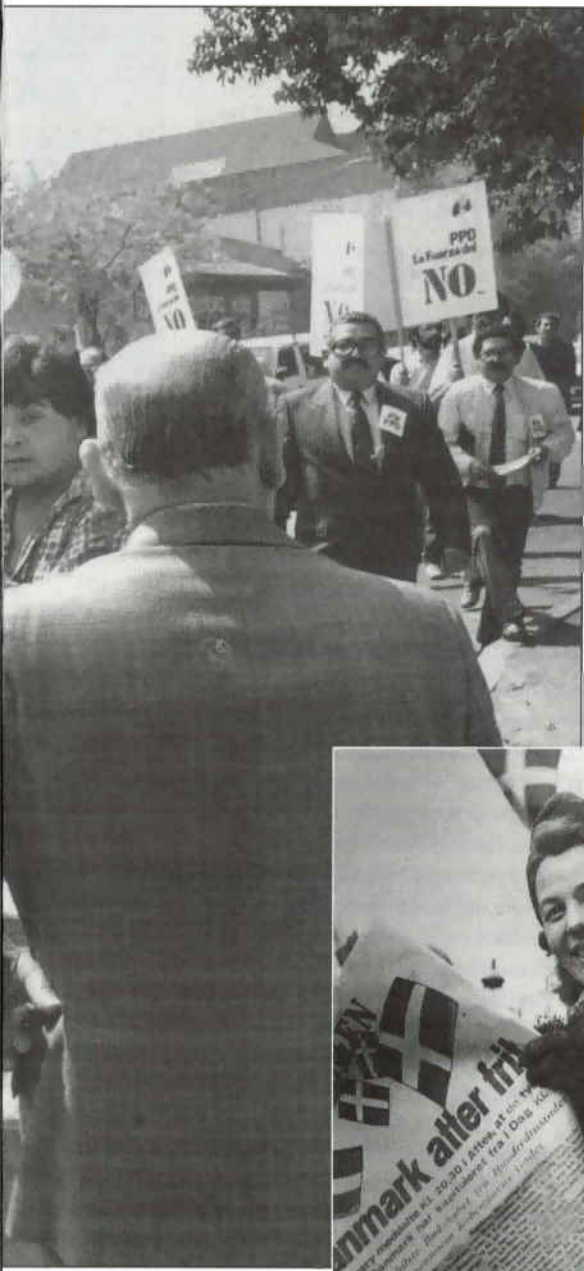
The Road Less Traveled

The record of the 20th century disproves the myth that violence facilitates political change. In fact, outside of the context of war, no major 20th-century struggle that intentionally used violence to unseat an authoritarian or unpopular regime has paved the way for a government that delivered equal justice and honored civil rights.

Fortunately, victories without violence in Chile, South Africa, and other places correct the misconception that only violence can overcome violence, or that the crucial struggles in history have to be settled by force of arms. When people refuse



Communist Party officials in Poland arrive to negotiate with striking Gdansk workers. (Program 2)



Eastern Province Herald



A.B. Reportagebild

Numerous strategies were used to encourage blacks in South Africa's Port Elizabeth to support the boycott of white-owned businesses. (Program 1)

After five long years of courageous and often dangerous resistance, Danish citizens rejoice at the news of Nazi Germany's surrender. (Program 2)

to obey unjust laws, when industry grinds to a halt because people stop working, when armies are no longer feared, the violence that governments use ceases to matter — their power to make people comply disappears. Just as the Russians could not shoot every railway worker who went out on strike in 1905, the Burmese junta today cannot murder every dissident who communicates over the Internet.

Tomorrow

In 1905, challenging absolute rulers like Russia's Tsar Nicholas II without brandishing firearms was regarded as either futile or foolish. But as the 21st century dawns, a new global economic and information system may hand opposition movements an advantage. Within a state, opportunities for nonviolent disruption and non-cooperation increase as information resources, communications, and economic leverage become more accessible.

Similarly, because nongovernmental organizations and the inter-

national news media have become more pervasive and forceful in rallying sympathy for many opposition movements, and because governments cannot afford to lose international legitimacy and the economic privileges that come with it (loans, credits, access to foreign markets), authoritarian regimes may be less inclined to use repressive measures against their own people. Further, as leading nonviolent strategists do their part by providing direct assistance to people in conflicts, nonviolent movements are no longer confined to their own native resources.

If the 20th century has taught us anything, however, it is that developing and applying nonviolent skills stand little chance of success without knowing *how* they have been used before. Those who struggle for justice and human rights in the 21st century will have **A Force More Powerful** and other written and audiovisual materials and resources to confirm the value of nonviolent sanctions. ■

DISCUSSION GUIDE

If You Are the Facilitator

If you are the group facilitator, prepare by watching the programs yourself. Decide whether the members of your discussion group should see the programs before coming together or if they will screen the programs as a group and then discuss them. The series has two programs. Each program is 90 minutes long and has three segments, the beginnings of which are easily identified.

Among the choices you might consider are the following:

- Schedule two discussions — one for each of the two programs.
- Schedule six discussions — one for each of the six segments.
- Schedule one discussion — for the entire series.

If you screen and discuss a complete program on the same evening, you will want to schedule a session of at least two-and-a-half hours for each film. Before starting the program, it is helpful to give group members an idea of what to look for. You might, for example, ask each group member to track the actions or opinions of a specific person in the program.

The decision about whether to screen separately or together also will affect when and how you schedule the discussion groups. If you choose to screen and discuss together, confirm the broadcast time (and repeats) with your local public television station and sched-

ule your group accordingly, or arrange to tape the programs off the air at the time of broadcast.

Before the group meets, you might want to assign "experts" for each segment. Before the discussion, ask the chosen "expert" to present a brief factual synopsis of the incidents depicted. Other pre-discussion assignments might be to read the background information in this guide, to select and read some of the related readings identified below and with each segment profile, or to research current news stories that might have implications for the discussion.

The Discussion

You may find that your group is stimulated enough by the program that a discussion will take off on its own. You do not need to set many ground rules, but you should make sure that only one person speaks at a time so that everyone who wants to speak is heard. A good way to get people involved in the discussion is to ask them if they agree or disagree with others' statements. Also ask "Why?" As group members react to various comments, make sure they are reacting to the ideas and not to the people in the group.

To lead a more structured discussion, select from among the key themes those that you think might particularly interest the group. Then select from among the questions that follow those that you think would most stimulate members of the group to a good discussion. Feel free to rephrase the questions in your own words. Note that

additional questions that are more pertinent to specific situations appear with each segment profile.

1. In the *Politics of Nonviolent Action*, Gene Sharp, Senior Scholar, The Albert Einstein Institution, categorizes 198 methods of nonviolent action under six main headings: nonviolent protest and persuasion; social non-cooperation; economic non-cooperation (e.g., boycotts and strikes); political non-cooperation; and nonviolent intervention. As you view **A Force More Powerful**, take note of the various sanctions depicted and try to categorize them using this system. Discuss which seem to be most effective and under what circumstances each works best.

2. **A Force More Powerful** profiles several seemingly ordinary individuals who by their courage, sense of strategy, and decisiveness in conflict, produced significant changes in their societies that affected millions of people. What characteristics did these people have in common? What propelled them out of their everyday lives to become activists?

3. The six stories told in the series reflect change in both democracies and military dictatorships. Which form of government is harder to change? Why?

4. Each of the movements profiled in **A Force More Powerful** was galvanized by strongly felt injustices or an outrageous act of repression. What circumstances do you think

would impel you to disobey the law and resist the government?

5. What parallels do you find among the six stories featured in **A Force More Powerful**? What major differences do you find?

6. What role should the United States play in supporting and encouraging nonviolent citizen movements for human rights or democracy?

7. Every movement has both costs and benefits. Select several stories featured in **A Force More Powerful**, and analyze them from the perspective of the costs and benefits of nonviolent action and violent repression. Factor in the differences between short-term gains and long-term gains, and discuss which movements seem to be most successful.

8. What conflicts are going on today in which nonviolent methods could be effective?

Additional Reading

Ackerman, Peter and Christopher Kruegler. *Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: The Dynamics of People Power in the Twentieth Century*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1994.

Sharp, Gene. *Politics of Nonviolent Action*. Boston: Porter Sargeant, 1973.

Tarrow, Sid. *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collection Action and Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

NASHVILLE: WE WERE WARRIORS (1960)

In 1960, young black college students face a dilemma. While their schools teach the constitutional right of equality under the law, their off-campus surroundings in the heavily segregated city of Nashville starkly refute that premise. State-sponsored "Jim Crow" laws govern many aspects of life, and Nashville's black and white communities are kept apart.

Enter James Lawson, a young black minister from Ohio who understands Gandhi's nonviolent legacy and gives the students the

organization, discipline, and strategies they sorely need. Very few people take Gandhi as seriously as Lawson does. Growing up in the 1930s and 1940s, he follows the work of Gandhi in the newspapers. After spending several years in India studying with Gandhi's disciples, he returns to the United States in 1956, determined to share Gandhi's methods with African Americans.

Echoing Gandhi's attack on the salt tax as an emotional rallying point, Lawson turns his attention to Nashville's segregated lunch counters, typically situated in department stores and five-and-dimes that sell goods to black patrons but draw the line at serving them a cup of coffee. After months of rigorous training to help students withstand the taunts, slurs, and blows of the city's staunchest segregationists, Lawson's students descend on the lunch counters, prompting white businesspeople to

shut down rather than serve them.

At first, the townspeople dismiss the sit-ins as a passing fad. When it becomes apparent that the students are in for the long haul, they begin to incur the wrath of racist vigilantes. Outraged by the city's heavy-handed treatment and incarceration of peaceful, well-dressed young men and women, Nashville's rank-and-file black citizenry boycott the city's white-owned businesses, delivering a profound economic blow. White customers, repulsed by the atmosphere generated by segregation extremists, also stay away, adding to the mounting losses.

Coming to grips with the futility of mass arrests, a deluge of negative national publicity, and a shocking attempt on the life of a prominent black attorney, Nashville Mayor Ben West relents, asking the city's department stores to desegregate the lunch counters immediately.

To Discuss

1. One of the students seen in the film remarks that nonviolence is a form of fighting back. What does this mean?
2. Television as a mass medium was in its infancy during this period and played an important role in this story. Given today's range of public media and instantaneous reporting, do you think it would be easier or more difficult to rally public opinion to a particular cause? Why?
3. Economic costs may have pried more whites away from segregation than appeals to conscience. How did the students' actions trigger this?

Additional Reading

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- Kapur, Sudarshan. *Raising Up a Prophet: The African-American Encounter with Gandhi*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1992.
- Lewis, John. *Walking with the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998.

INDIA: DEFYING THE CROWN (1930-31)

With a campaign to win rights for Indians in South Africa behind him, Mohandas Gandhi returns to his native India in 1915 to find a country growing increasingly restless under the century-long colonial British rule called the "raj." While the British are not as brutal as most occupying forces, they limit basic liberties wherever the power of the raj is threatened. And, although Britain has granted self-rule to Canada and Australia, it drags its heels on self-rule for India. British viceroy Lord Irwin ignores most of the demands of the Indian National Congress.

By 1930, Gandhi decides that the time is right for civil disobedience directed at the heart of British interests. Recognizing the need for a unifying issue that speaks to all Indians, he finds one in the colony's Salt Act, which forbids citizens from collecting or selling the vital mineral. The colonizers, he argues, are stealing a dietary staple from the people and then making them pay to get it back. By processing their own salt, millions of Indians can readily flout British rule.

In a shrewd preemptive move, Gandhi sends a public letter to Lord Irwin announcing his intent to break the British salt monopoly at the conclusion of a long people's march to the sea where ordinary citizens will collect salt. At the same time, he implores Indian local officials to resign their posts, to drive a wedge between the raj and one of its key supports. He further advocates a boycott of imported British cloth in favor of homespun cotton — a strategy that is of added significance for Indians who have been thrown out of work by imports of British textiles.

These actions invite brutal reprisals. A mass of demonstrators approaching a salt depot in Dharasana is viciously beaten; thousands are arrested, the number of participants swells, and resistance stiffens. Overcrowding the country's jails is part of Gandhi's strategy to put a strain on British civil services, and the barbarism at Dharasana elic-



In 1960, Nashville college students confront the city's segregated society with civil disobedience, leading to the desegregation of lunch counters and other venues of public accommodation. (Program 1)

OTHER RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS OF THE 20TH

Russia (1904-06)

Georgii Gapon, a St. Petersburg priest, organizes Russian workers to petition Tsar Nicholas II for an eight-hour workday, constitutional government, and freedom of speech, press, and religion. On January 9, 1905 — "Bloody Sunday" — more than 150,000 hymn-singing Russian workers marching toward the Winter Palace to present the petition are attacked by the Tsar's cavalry. When a general strike immobilizes the country later that year, the Tsar announces plans for a new representative assembly, or Duma, while cracking down on violent revolutionaries.

The Ruhr (1923)

The Treaty of Versailles, which ends World War I, requires Germany to make reparations of cash, coal, and other resources to the nations on whom it waged war. By 1921, Germany has made less than half its first payment. France, growing impatient, moves its army into Düsseldorf, Duisburg, and Ruhrort, and in January 1923, French, Belgian, and Italian regiments take Germany's industrial heartland by force. German president Friedrich Ebert counsels "passive resistance." Local officials and German citizens disobey the occupiers and block coal shipments. Flustered, the French begin to try ordinary civilians and imprison Germans for minor

offenses. Nonviolent resistance unravels, however, when harsh French countermeasures are triggered by German extremists' violence.



When a defeated Germany falls behind in its reparation payments following World War I, French soldiers occupy the Ruhr and Germans offer "passive resistance."

El Salvador (1944)

After General Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez assumes the presidency in 1931, he begins to assume authoritarian powers. Although the Salvadoran constitution forbids a third presidential term, Martinez decides in 1939 that he is not ready to retire and suspends the constitution. An opposition develops, but its cause is nearly lost in 1943, when a violent insurrection is quickly put down, ushering in martial law and firing squads. On May 5, 1944, a nationwide civic strike organized by university students unites taxi and bus drivers, bank employees, meat cutters, physicians, lawyers, and merchant women, bringing "business as usual" to a halt. When the general's



In 1930, Gandhi takes his first step in attacking the legitimacy of the British raj. As a dietary necessity, salt is a potent symbol that cuts across class lines. (Program 1)

its worldwide support for the Indian cause. With India's infrastructure under strain, and world opinion turning against the Crown, Lord Irwin agrees to one-on-one negotiations with Gandhi in February 1931. While the social and legal concessions that he grants (i.e., withdrawal of repressive laws and promises not to prosecute resisters) are more symbolic than concrete, the great Indian resistance of 1930-31 mobilizes the nation as never before to pursue independence, which it finally achieves in 1947.

To Discuss

1. Gandhi used several complementary sanctions in this campaign. How did they work together and how might the outcome have been different if any one had been omitted?
2. What role did women play in this movement and how was their role critical to its success?
3. In today's consumer-driven society, how easy would it be to boycott a particular product for any length of time? What causes might propel citizens to observe a boycott?
4. Gandhi's unorthodox strategy of announcing his intentions to the enemy removed the element of surprise and dared the authorities to crack down on a peaceful procession. What other advantages does this tactic offer?

Additional Reading

Brown, Judith. *Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
 Dalton, Dennis. *Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.
 Low, D.A. *Britain and Indian Nationalism: The Imprint of Ambiguity 1929-1942*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

SOUTH AFRICA: FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME (1984-86)

In 1984, a wave of unrest against apartheid begins to sweep across the black townships in South Africa. Security forces try to control the unrest via a provocative containment policy that incites dangerous confrontations. Impatient youths and others initiate sporadic violence. Black leaders are routinely harassed and imprisoned.

In the city of Port Elizabeth, Mkhuseleli Jack, a charismatic 27-year-old youth leader, understands that violence is no match for the state's awesome arsenal. Jack stresses the primacy of cohesion and coordination, forming street committees and recruiting neighborhood leaders to represent their interests and settle disputes. Nationally, a fledgling umbrella organization, the United Democratic Front (UDF), asserts itself through a series of low-key acts of defiance, such as rent boycotts, labor strikes, and school stayaways.

Advocating nonviolent action appeals to black parents who are tired of chaos in their neighborhoods. The blacks of Port Elizabeth agree to launch an economic boycott of the city's white-owned businesses. Extending the struggle to the white community is a calculated maneuver designed to sensitize white citizens to the blacks' suffering. Beneath their appeal to conscience, the blacks' underlying message is that businesses cannot operate against a backdrop of societal chaos and instability.

Confronted by this and other resistance in the country, the government declares a state of emergency, the intent of which is to splinter black leadership through arbitrary arrests and curfews. Jack and his compatriots, however, see the repression as evidence of their success. Apartheid has been cracked.

Undaunted by government reprisals, the UDF continues to press its demands, particularly for the removal of security forces and the



South African boycott leader Mkhuseleli Jack inspires his peers at a 1986 memorial service. Jack's presence and composure belie his relative youth and sway thousands to join the anti-apartheid fight. (Program 1)

release of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela. White retailers, whose business districts have become moribund, demand an end to the stalemate. The movement also succeeds in turning world opinion against apartheid, and more sanctions are imposed on South Africa as foreign corporations begin to pull out many investments. In June 1986, the South African government declares a second state of emergency to repress the mass action that has paralyzed the regime.

By 1989, the stand-off between the black majority and the government impels the new prime minister F.W. de Klerk to lift the ban on political organizations and free Mandela, who succeeds him in 1994 following South Africa's first truly democratic national election.

To Discuss

1. Since oppressive, totalitarian regimes are not limited to the African subcontinent, why do you think the international community took a special interest in South Africa's travails? Why did the conflict resonate so strongly with U.S. college students during this period?
2. How was the movement able to thrive despite thousands of arrests that included key UDF personnel?
3. Why did Mkhuseleli Jack find it imperative to target the township's black elders? Can youth protest alone bring down a government?
4. Why do you think the black South Africans were able to sustain their boycotts for so long? What preparations would you make if you were facing a long struggle like this?
5. How much credit for the final

outcome should be extended to white reformists such as F.W. de Klerk, who chose conciliation over the hard-liners' bunker mentality? Do you think he simply realized that refusal to give ground was unsustainable or did he truly think the time for change had come? What factors do you think led to his decision?

Additional Reading

Edwards, Audrey. "The Leaders of the Movement," *Essence*, October 1997. An examination of the role that women played in the anti-apartheid movement.
 Frederickson, George M. *Black Liberation: A Comparative History of Black Ideologies in the United States and South Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
 Lodge, Tom and Bill Nasson *et al.* *All, Here, and Now: Black Politics in South Africa in the 1980s*. New York: The Ford Foundation, 1991.
 Marx, Anthony. *Lessons of Struggle: South African Internal Opposition, 1960-1990*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
 Mayekiso, Mzwanele. *Township Politics: Civic Struggles in the New South Africa*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1996.
 Price, Robert M. *The Apartheid State in Crisis: Political Transformation in South Africa, 1975-1990*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
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 Welsh, Frank. *A History of South Africa*. London: HarperCollins Publishers, 1998.

CENTURY

ministers of defense and internal security abandon him, Martinez capitulates and leaves the country.

Argentina (1977-83)

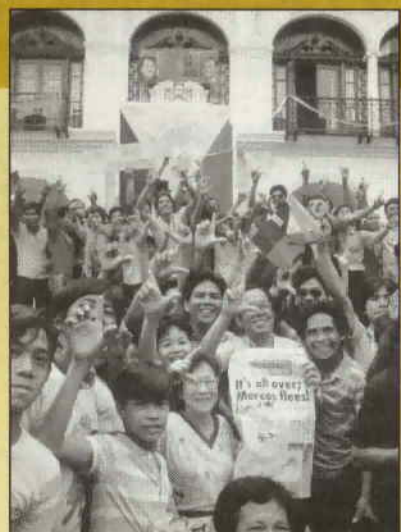
On March 24, 1976, a military coup unleashes a multiyear wave of terror. The junta browbeats the press, the judiciary, the Church, and trade unions. As kidnappings of civilians mount, mothers of "the disappeared" join together. In April 1977, 14 mothers — Las Madres — begin a vigil in front of the presidential palace in Buenos Aires. Their numbers growing, the women continue to gather despite beatings, arrests, and the disappearances of nine of their members. Las Madres also cir-

culate petitions, take out newspaper advertisements, and hold prayer services for the missing. A severe economic crisis in the early 1980s and the disastrous invasion of the Falkland Islands in 1982 further discredit the junta, ending the timidity of religious, business, and labor leaders. Demonstrations that begin in 1982 eventually succeed in forcing the junta to hold elections and cede power to a civilian government.

Philippines (1986)

After the assassination of Benigno Aquino, a popular opponent of President Ferdinand Marcos who has held power via rigged elections for over a decade, a new coalition

between the moderate and liberal opposition takes shape. Under pressure from the United States, Marcos calls for presidential elections in February 1986, with Benigno Aquino's widow, Corazon, as his opponent. Although the National Assembly declares Marcos the winner on February 14, it is clear that the election has been stolen. When leading military officers mutiny, millions of Filipinos flood the streets to protect their camp. With his military rendered unreliable, Marcos also loses U. S. support and flees the country.



In 1986, a jubilant Corazon Aquino avenges her husband's death and overcomes massive electoral fraud to win the Philippine presidency from Ferdinand Marcos.

DENMARK: LIVING WITH THE ENEMY (1940-45)

In 1940, during the earliest stages of World War II, Adolf Hitler's army of darkness tightens its grip over most of continental Europe, including its northern neighbor Denmark. The Nazis, who seek to exploit other countries' agriculture and industry for the broader war effort, occupy Denmark in a swift and surgical operation. Peter Munch, the minister of foreign affairs, is handed an ultimatum: cooperate with the Third Reich or else. He does.

Under a unified government, Munch initiates a "negotiation under protest" strategy with the Germans that is designed to protect Danish lives and salvage cultural identity. Operating under the assumption that the war will be short, the Dane's goal is to buy time with the Germans while projecting the appearance of cooperation.

The challenge lies in creating inventive ways to undermine German objectives without provoking direct confrontation. Subtle tactics such as work slowdowns, for example, hinder the German effort to extract resources. To contest German dominion over Danish life, the country engages in a sudden renaissance of Danish culture and a swelling of national pride, manifesting itself in public songfests and a festival commemorating King Christian's birthday.

Not all the resistance is exclusively nonviolent. Sabotage by an aggressive Danish underground invites harsh reprisals from the Germans. In the spring of 1943, however, Danish workers strike for higher wages, and in August, strikes against German countermeasures

take place in 33 Danish cities and towns. This form of resistance proves more effective than sabotage in challenging Germany's ability to control the country.

When the Danish government refuses direct orders to prohibit public meetings or impose curfews or press censorship on its own people, Germany puts it out of business and quickly places troops at railroad stations, power plants, factories, and other key facilities.

In September, word leaks out that the Nazis are about to round up Danish Jews for exportation. This galvanizes Danish citizens into active and potentially life-threatening resistance. To evade their pursuers, most Jews are funneled to neutral Sweden by Danish resisters. In a testament to human determination, only 472 out of roughly 8,000 Danish Jews are lost to Hitler's "final solution."

In 1944, a watershed year for the resistance, more than 11 million copies of underground newspapers are published. That June, following a declared state of emergency, the entire city of Copenhagen goes on strike. Infuriated, Germany floods the city with troops, cuts off water and electricity, and establishes a blockade. By July 2, 23 Danes have been killed and more than 203 are wounded. But the dauntless Danes persevere. Exasperated, the Germans abandon these punitive measures by July.

Later that fall, when the Germans try to deport Danish police officials whom they believe are turning a blind eye to sabotage and disorder, Copenhagen goes on strike again, joined this time by 58 other cities and towns. Unintimidated by Gestapo arrests, civilians flock to the resistance movement; enrollment exceeds 45,000 at its highest point. In May 1945, war-ravaged Berlin succumbs to advancing Allied forces, prompting Germany to abandon Denmark altogether. Thanks to the civic unity and non-cooperation, the



The Museum of Danish Resistance 1940-1945

Shortly after Germany's invasion of Denmark in 1940, government broadsides ask Danish citizens to "cooperate." Instead, Germany's plan to plunder Denmark's resources and workforce is blunted by wildcat strikes, industrial sabotage, and a rejuvenation of civic pride. (Program 2)

Danes have denied the Germans much of the value of occupation and emerge largely unscathed from the war.

To Discuss

1. Collaborating with the Nazis (as many did in France) would have offered the path of least resistance, yet most Danes took an opposite approach. Why do you think they chose this path?
2. Many Danes compounded the danger by volunteering to hide persecuted Jews or ferry them out of the country. Imagine that it is 1943 and you are asked to help with this cause, fully aware of the penalties if you are caught. What would you do? What factors would influence your decision?
3. There is a saying that "pride goeth before a fall." Yet national pride sustained many Danes throughout the humiliating occupation, blunting the Nazi propaganda machine. Compare how hypernationalism and psychology were employed to entirely different ends in Germany and Denmark.

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POLAND: WE'VE CAUGHT GOD BY THE ARM (1980-81)

The Soviet forces that liberated Poland from the Nazis at the end of World War II have installed a client communist regime, under which workers cannot organize or represent themselves before the state-owned enterprises that employ them. By the 1970s, frustration with 30 years of one-party rule begins to surface, as workers all over Poland twice protest price increases. The regime responds with only temporary concessions that are quickly followed by renewed repression.

By the late 1970s, the Polish economy is on the brink of collapse. Prime Minister Edward Gierk eases press constraints and opens a dialogue with the Catholic Church. A visit by Pope John Paul II in 1979 — highlighted by an outdoor mass for three million people — draws Poles together on a scale far larger than anything workers and dissidents had dreamed of. In July 1980, when the government more than doubles meat prices, a series of nationwide strikes ensues. Workers realize that they can escape reprisals by taking their own shipyards and factories hostage.

While many strikers are bought off with higher wages, striking employees at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk remain adamant in their demands.

Lech Walesa receives a hero's welcome when Solidarity triumphs in its quest for free trade unions. (Program 2)



Polska Agencja Informacyjna S.A.O.

OTHER RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS OF THE 20TH

Burma (1988-99)

In 1987, a pro-democracy movement against Burma's military regime is sparked when police brutally crack down on student protests. By early August 1988, nearly a million people have marched in opposition in Rangoon and other large towns. On August 8, soldiers open fire on an unarmed demonstration, killing at least 1,000 people. Aung San Suu Kyi, the daughter of the man who led Burma's 1948 liberation from British rule, defies martial law and helps establish the National League for Democracy (NLD). In 1990, despite Suu Kyi's lengthy

house arrest, NLD wins a landslide victory. Burma's military government, however, refuses to transfer power and a decade-long worldwide nonviolent campaign is mounted via financial sanctions and boycotts, constricting the regime's means of support.

China (1989)

When Hu Yaobang, a former Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leader sympathetic to reform, dies in April 1989, thousands of college students pour into the streets of Beijing in a spontaneous act of mourning that evolves into an organized protest. Spearheaded by a democratically elected autonomous student union, the demonstrators issue a number of demands, including an end to corruption, recognition of their organizations, and freedom of the press. Students seek to pressure the CCP through hunger strikes, sit-ins, boycotts of classes, and, eventually, the

fateful occupation of Tiananmen Square. But the student leaders antagonize top party officials and miss an opportunity to compromise and consolidate their gains. When CCP hardliners reassert control and declare martial law on May 20, calls by some student leaders to adopt a more defensive stance go unheeded. On the night of June 3-4, the government orders the 27th Army to clear Tiananmen Square, and the ensuing confrontation leaves more than 1,000 dead.

In 1989, Chinese college students occupy Beijing's Tiananmen Square and demand democratic reform.

The regime threatens to smother the strike by sealing off Gdansk. Shipyard workers fan out across the city, and sympathetic students and professionals slip through roadblocks, bringing news of the strike to other regions. Vesting ultimate authority in the Gdansk-based Inter-factory Strike Committee (MKS), the workers elect Lech Walesa, a shipyard electrician, as its head. By late August, the MKS represents 400,000 workers. Bulwarked by a wave of support from foreign trade unions and intensified media coverage, the MKS soon presents 21 demands, with free trade unions the highest priority. But the committee wisely does not threaten the regime politically by asking for free elections. Ignoring rumblings from the Soviets and squeezed by growing economic pressures, the regime bows to expediency and agrees to free unions, wage increases, and limits on censorship.

Calling itself "Solidarity," the movement decides to expand its charter. At its first national congress in the fall of 1981, it agrees to promote "self-management" in all areas of society including the establishment of democratic local governments, independent judges, and equal protection under the law. Against Walesa's advice, Solidarity calls for a national day of protest, coupled with an inflammatory referendum amounting to a vote of "no confidence" in General Jaruzelski and the Party. Under Soviet pressure, the state imposes martial law, arrests Walesa and most of Solidarity's national commission, and gags the media.

A new generation of striking workers accelerates the final breakdown. After several years of underground resistance by Solidarity, the communists are forced to invite Solidarity to help them reconstruct the Polish nation on the basis of a different, multiparty democratic model.

To Discuss

1. By refusing to play a "zero-sum" game with the authorities or present grandiose demands, Solidarity was initially able to win concessions without creating the impression of a serious threat to the state. When should "incremental" strategies be used against a repressive regime?
2. Poles were greatly inspired when one of their own, Pope John Paul II,

assumed leadership of the Roman Catholic Church in the late 1970s. Though not a part of the everyday activities of Solidarity, how did he influence the movement?

3. In the 1970s, dissident intellectuals paved the way for Solidarity by organizing self-help committees for workers' families and teaching and publishing underground. In what way would such activities prepare the way for a more overt movement?

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CHILE: DEFEAT OF A DICTATOR (1983-88)

On May 11, 1983, the capital city of the South American nation of Chile explodes in protest. Santiago citizens march in the streets, blare their car horns, and clang pots and pans from apartment windows. The day marks an end to the decade-long acquiescence to the rule of General Augusto Pinochet, who had seized power in 1973 from the elected socialist government of Salvador Allende. The junta had declared the entire nation

to be an emergency zone, imposed a state of siege that limited the rights of citizens, and augmented the military's powers. The government had closed three of the country's newspapers, placed universities under military administration, and prohibited singing in public.

In the ten years prior to the national protest, Pinochet's anti-communism and free-market economic policies won him the support of some moderate politicians and middle-class Chileans, while his use of terror (3,000 supporters of the Allende regime were killed or missing) managed to all but silence his opponents. In the early 1980s, however, a recession — spurred by declining copper prices — sapped the country's prosperity. Working-class and middle-class citizens, in concert with leftist and moderate leaders, rallied behind a strike by the powerful copper miners' union and projected dissent into the promenades and avenues of Santiago. For the next three years, an eclectic mix of opposition groups join to organize monthly "days of protest" and demand a return to democracy. Human rights organizations, unions, student groups, women's groups, and traditional political parties all take part, using a range of tactics that include strikes, work slowdowns, and school boycotts. By 1986, however, the radical left adds violence to the anti-Pinochet protest, discouraging middle class participation and justifying the dictator's continued repression.

When Pinochet decides to go ahead with a plebiscite (ordained by his own constitution) on whether he should remain in office, the opposition decides to challenge him at the polls. It deftly organizes a determined and sophisticated campaign to defeat Pinochet. Led by Gennaro Arriagada, the "Command for No" movement coordinates an army of volunteers to register voters and persuade fearful citizens to participate. Also crucial is an influx of foreign funds that pays for opinion polls, media consultants, poll watchers, and computers, which allow the opposition to conduct its own vote count and circumvent electoral fraud by the regime.

Despite relentless harassment against "No" campaign operatives, on October 5, 1988, 55 percent of voters cast ballots to end Pinochet's reign of terror. Victorious, the "Command for No" movement



Cindy Karp/Black Star

In 1988, Chileans of all ages rally to unseat President Augusto Pinochet after the general proceeds with a plebiscite that will determine the fate of his regime. (Program 2)

evolves into a multiparty coalition that wins parliamentary elections the next year, completing the restoration of democracy in Chile after 15 authoritarian years.

To Discuss

1. Pinochet's initial appeal, which stemmed from his restoration of stability to Chile, was negated by his ensuing reign of terror. What other 20th-century examples can you think of where the use of terror destroyed a regime's ability to retain or rally popular support?
2. Had Pinochet not gone ahead with a national plebiscite, the elderly general might still be in power today. Why do you think the general — unlike most despots — felt the need to "legitimize" his government?
3. Series producer Steve York contends that domestic or international "sympathy" for downtrodden underdogs is not typically sufficient to bring down a particularly ruthless or entrenched regime. Instead, the opposition has to find ways to apply real pressure. Besides economic measures such as boycotts, how might this be accomplished?

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CENTURY



Erica Lansner/Black Star

Czechoslovakia (1989)

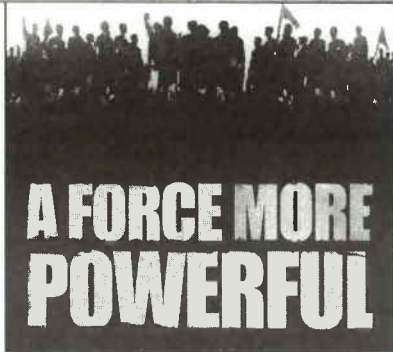
In the Soviet bloc state of Czechoslovakia, two organizations — Charter 77 and the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted — demand that the government abide by the human rights guarantees in its own constitution. These small groups face steady police harassment and struggle to expand their membership beyond dissident intellectuals. By the mid-1980s, resurgent Catholicism combines with a pervasive disaffection toward the Communist Party to provide the impetus for more large-scale demonstrations of social solidarity.

On November 17, 1989, 30,000 defenseless Czech students are beaten by riot police in Prague, sparking the "Velvet Revolution." Motivated students fan out across the country to persuade industrial workers to join a general strike, showing them videotapes of the beatings. Enormous crowds convene for demonstrations in Prague's Wenceslas Square, and a two-hour strike draws widespread participation. By early December, overwhelmed by the united front that the working class and intellectuals present, the ruling communists step down, and a noncommunist coal-

ition government takes power — as other communist governments in Eastern Europe fall to similar popular movements..

For more information, visit the series Web site at:

www.pbs.org/forcemorepowerful



PRODUCER STEVE YORK TALKS ABOUT THE MAKING OF A FORCE MORE POWERFUL

continued from page 1

scuffling with cops. Even though some of that footage is quite dramatic, if you see too much of it, it just becomes monotonous and boring. So the challenge really is to find ways to get inside the heads of people who were thinking these things up, who were planning and plotting and strategizing and organizing, without having any actual footage of it. The way we ultimately did it was to find people who could talk to us and say, "Here is what we were thinking, and here is why we did it."

What did you learn about the connections among various nonviolent movements?

York: The fact that James Lawson spent time in India and studied Gandhi helped us, and we've tried to point out here and there that these movements do tend to know about each other and do tend to learn about each other. When I was in Chile, I was floored when many Chileans approached me and said, "You know, just as our democratic opposition movement was emerging publicly, a movie started showing in

the theaters here in Chile. The movie was about Gandhi. All of us in the opposition went to see that movie over and over again, and we drew enormous inspiration from it." Similarly, in Chile, people will tell you that one of the reasons they took the risk of attempting to defeat Pinochet in the 1988 plebiscite — which was a very risky thing to do — is that they knew about and were able to point to the example of what had happened in the Philippines just a year and a half earlier. "Marcos was rejected in an election run by his own rules," they'd remark, "and if that can happen in the Philippines, then maybe it can happen here."

There is a lot to be said for the free flow of information as a major weapon, i.e., knowing what has gone on before. Poles in the Solidarity movement referred to Gandhi, as well as to Martin Luther King and the American civil rights movement. Gandhi, in 1905, was living in Johannesburg, reading in the daily newspapers about strikes in Russia, drawing inspiration from them and writing articles in his own weekly newspaper in South Africa about how this was something that the Indians could do to achieve their own freedom. Today, people's ability to organize and communicate ideas to each other has been magnified far beyond that level.

What is the difference between non-violent conflict and conflict resolution?

York: Most any university of any significance these days has a department or part of an academic department that deals with conflict resolution, peacemaking, or mediation. But this documentary is not about resolving conflict, it's about carrying on conflict. There are certain kinds of conflicts that people are unable to resolve just by sitting down and talking to one another. And it's not just a question of being opposed to shedding blood in principle, because I think in South Africa, had more blacks had access to weapons, they probably would have used them. There was no principled

attachment to the nonviolent methods used there. The nonviolent methods were chosen partly for a pragmatic reason — they didn't have other options — but also because they realized that nonviolence would probably get them further.

An interesting person who exemplifies the difference between nonviolence and conflict resolution is James Lawson, an organizer of the 1960 Nashville lunch counter sit-ins profiled in Program 1. Lawson, who is a Protestant minister, served a year and a half in prison as a conscientious objector because he refused to be drafted during the Korean War. Here is a man who, although his primary motivation is principle, probably made the single strongest statement in this entire television series about the need for people who engage in nonviolent methods to be disciplined, to have strategies, to organize, plan, and recruit. "Fierce discipline," he said, "is absolutely necessary." Lawson is steeped in the logic of strategic nonviolent conflict, in spite of the fact that he comes to it motivated by principle. ■

York has been working on *A Force More Powerful* since 1996. This interview took place in the spring of 2000. Among veteran producer-director-writer Steve York's previous productions are *Pearl Harbor: Two Hours That Changed the World*, an ABC News Special with David Brinkley on the 50th anniversary of the Pearl Harbor Attack (winner of the 1991 George Foster Peabody Award); *The Culture of Commerce*, a one-hour episode in the PBS series *Challenge to America with Hedrick Smith*, a case study comparison of American, Japanese, and German competitive strength (1993); *D-Day: The Soldier's Story*, a 90-minute edition of the ABC News Turning Point series with Peter Jennings for the 50th anniversary of the allied invasion of Europe (1994); *Gunpower*, three one-hour programs on the uniquely American culture of firearms (1996); and *The Supreme Court of the United States* (1997).

THE BOOK AND ITS AUTHORS

Peter Ackerman, Series Editor and Principal Content Advisor for *A Force More Powerful*, obtained his Ph.D. from the Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, where he currently is Chairman of the Board of Overseers. His dissertation, "Strategic Aspects of Nonviolent Resistance Movements" explored how civilians could use the tools of their society to resist the control of authoritarian governments and invaders. Eighteen years later, as a Visiting Scholar at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, Ackerman expanded by threefold the basic case histories he first studied at Tufts. The resulting book, *Strategic Nonviolent Conflict* (1994), which he co-authored, outlined a series of principles explaining how nonvio-

lent movements succeed or fail. Dr. Ackerman is also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Executive Council of the International Institute for Strategic Studies.

Jack DuVall, series executive producer and co-author of the companion book, has helped television and nonprofit organizations (such as Turner Broadcasting, The Learning Channel, the British Foreign Office, and the U.S. Department of Education) develop nonfiction documentary programming for more than 10 years. Prior to these assignments he was Vice President for Program Resources at

WETA, and Director of Corporate Relations of The University of Chicago. He also is a former political speechwriter who worked in three presidential campaigns, a former federal regulatory agency official, and a former counter-intelligence officer in the U.S. Air Force. He is a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Colgate University. ■

To order the companion book, *A FORCE MORE POWERFUL — A CENTURY OF NONVIOLENT CONFLICT*, call St. Martin's Press, 1-800-221-7945, Ext. 270. Purchases made with a major credit card will receive a 20% discount.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

The Albert Einstein Institution (www.aemstein.org) is a nonprofit organization advancing the study and use of strategic nonviolent action in conflicts throughout the world. This mission is pursued by encouraging research and policy studies on the methods of nonviolent action and their past uses; by sharing this research with the public through publications, conferences, and the media; and by consulting with groups in conflict about the strategic potential of nonviolent action. Tel: (617) 247-4882 Email: einstein@igc.org

The Foreign Policy Association (FPA) (www.fpa.org) is a national, nonpartisan, non-governmental, educational organization founded in 1918 to educate Americans about significant world issues that affect their lives. FPA provides impartial publications, programs and forums designed to increase public awareness of international matters that shape this country's future, and to foster citizen involvement in those issues. FPA reaches high school, college and university students as well as adults throughout the country who want to keep up-to-date on world events. Adults participate in discussion groups at libraries, Ys, World Affairs Councils, chapters of the American Association of University Women, Rotary Clubs, the League of Women Voters, UNUSA, bookstores, retirement communities and in meetings at people's homes. Tel: (212) 481-8100 Email: webmaster@fpa.org

Nonviolence International (www.nviusa.org) assists individuals, organizations, and governments striving to utilize nonviolent methods to bring about changes reflecting the values of justice and human development on personal, social, economic, and political levels. Since its founding in 1989, Nonviolence International (NI) has provided assistance to individuals, organizations, and governments globally seeking nonviolent means to achieve their social and political goals. The goal of NI is to strengthen the ability of individuals or communities to make decisions about situations affecting their lives and to participate in defining their state's or nation's interest by enhancing leadership and nonviolence skills.

The United States Institute of Peace (www.usip.org) is an independent, nonpartisan federal institution created and funded by Congress to strengthen the nation's capacity to promote the peaceful resolution of international conflict. Established in 1984, the Institute meets its congressional mandate through an array of programs, including grants, fellowships, conferences and workshops, library services, publications, and other educational activities. The Institute's Board of Directors is appointed by the President of the United States and confirmed by the U.S. Senate. Tel: (202) 457-1700 Email: usip_requests@usip.org

The World Affairs Councils of America (worldaffairsCouncils.org) are nonprofit, nonpartisan organizations open to all who wish to join. Started in 1918, the current system has 80 councils and 24 affiliated organizations. The councils have 375,000 members, including 300,000 in the nationwide foreign policy discussion and polling program *Great Decisions*. All councils sponsor speakers programs, and many run business roundtables, travel programs, teacher workshops, school programs, young professionals' programs, festivals, conferences, and local radio and television programs. Tel: (202) 833-4557 E-mail: ncwao@aol.com

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