Where are we now? What avenues are open to us?

ANALYSIS means thinking about these things and planning how we'll get from here to there . . . .

STRATEGY

VISION — Where do we want to go? and by when?

ACTIVISTS

LEADING ACTIVISTS
ACTIVE ALLIES +
PASSIVE ALLIES +
FRIENDLY NEUTRALS
OBLIVIOUS NEUTRALS
HOSTILE NEUTRALS
PASSIVE OPPONENTS
ACTIVE OPPONENTS
LEADING OPPONENT −

DECISION MAKERS

+ Increase cohesion and activity within Proponents camp

o Win over or at least neutralize third parties

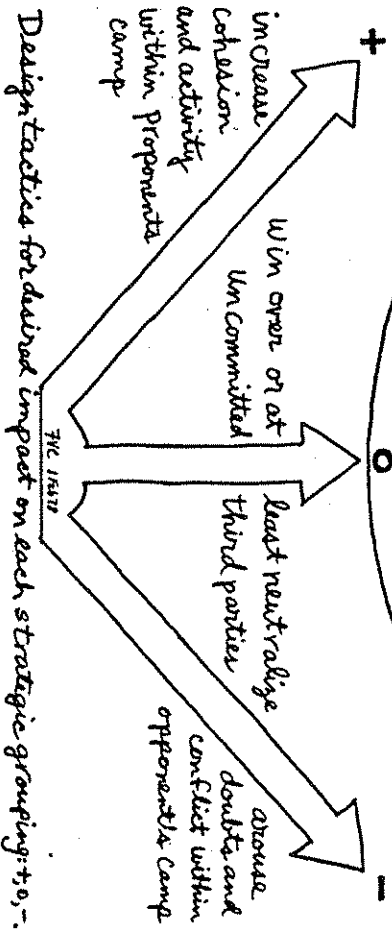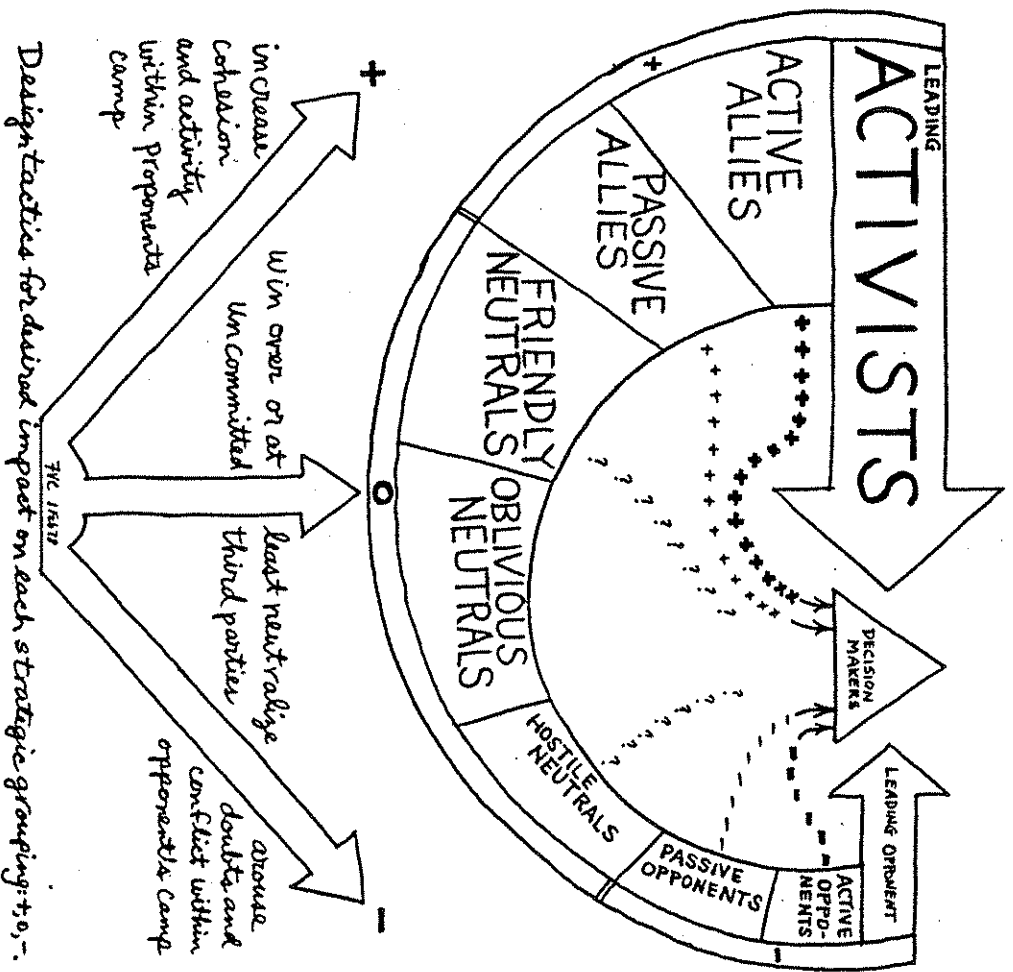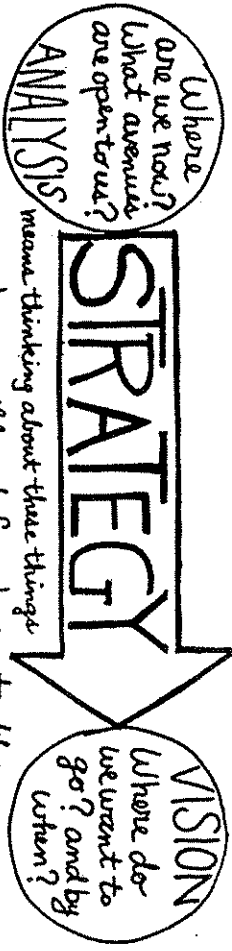− Arouse doubts and conflict within opponent's camp

Design tactics for desired impact on each strategic grouping +, o, −.

THC 11610

A STRATEGY ANALYSIS AND DEVELOPMENT PROCEDURE FOR PROTRACTED NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE

II. Investigate, analyze, define situation.

A. Understand the status quo of injustice.

1. Investigate the facts of the case. Be as accurate and fair as possible. Include opponents' point of view and that of decision-makers and other involved parties.

2. Define the grievances.

(a) Distinguish primary issues from secondary ones. (NOTE: Individuals can brainstorm and prioritize then share in small core groups to achieve preliminary consensus; p. 312 Reality Games to achieve a compromise solution.)

(i) Which issues are most important to you?

(ii) Which do you think are most important to the social universe of the conflict?

(b) Sort out grievances by scope -- larger ones include smaller ones, etc.

(c) Define groups/categories of people affected. (NOTE: Use of Web Chart Game may help to sort out specificity and inter-relationships of many grievances and issues.)

(d) Consider which issues or way of presenting the issues would be most appropriate in addressing each of the particular audiences you must deal with (message design).

3. Research and analyze why the injustice continues.

(a) Locate the specific organizations and individuals maintaining and perpetuating the injustice.

(b) Identify the specific laws, rules, traditions, etc. which rationalize, protect and enforce the injustice.

4. Myths and Secrets Analysis -- refer to Table of Secrets, Myths, Values & Goals.

(a) Analyze the social institutions and politico-economic dynamics behind the injustices (little secrets to big secrets).

(b) How does this injustice relate to the big societal secret; that the system operates to distribute wealth, power, status and trouble unequally and to perpetuate that inequality?

(c) Big myths - little myths -- How are the big myths rationalizing social inequality, etc. manifest in the pervasive social misconceptions about this particular injustice?

5. Describe the problem simply and clearly. Explain the basic conflict in one sentence.

B. Define ideal solution.

1. What do you feel should be done to end the injustice?

(a) How should the legitimate human needs in the situation and what are not?

(b) How should the legitimate human needs be met?

2. How does this injustice and your proposed solution relate to moral and ethical values and beliefs.

(a) Publicly stated by involved parties.

(b) Widely and commonly held within this national society.

(c) Cross-cultural, universal human values and beliefs.

(d) Wider-than-human Perspective, including other species on this planet, human generations yet unborn, God's will, etc. (NOTE: Transcendence in planning and conflict resolution. pp. 290-296 Reality Games.)

3. What general aim seems to unite or has the potential to unite us and the general public in acting to resolve the injustice?

4. What might be our long-range (revolutionary) goal for a movement to correct this injustice? (This grows out of both our immediate-felt needs for change AND our comprehensive strategy for social change based upon an analysis of the roots of the problem in the status quo and our vision of a new way of life/ideal social order.)

5. Express the aim of the activists in one sentence, so clearly that no one could possibly misunderstand it.

C. Survey social universe of social conflict -- assess powers of involved parties.

1. Identify social universe of the conflict.

2. (a) Immediate parties to conflict:

(i) Activists/challengers

(ii) Decision-makers

(iii) Opponents

(b) Active allies:

(i) Challengers allies

(ii) Opponent's allies

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(c) Passive supporters:

(i) Passive sympathizers -- friendly to challengers

(ii) Passive antagonists -- hostile to challengers

(d) Neutrals - Audience:

(i) Favorably neutral

(ii) Simply neutral

(iii) Unfavorably neutral

3. Review social universe by social class and economic sector. (See Juda Hill - Analysis of Class in the U.S. in the 1970's.)

(a) By relation to means of production.

(b) By nature of occupation.

(c) By economic strata.

(d) By major social group:

(i) National minorities and oppressed nations

(ii) Convicts and other social failures

(iii) Women

(iv) Students and youth

(v) Armed forces

(e) It is easiest to review social universe of the conflict by stages:

(i) Local - (local phone call)

(ii) Regional - (one days' drive)

(iii) National

(iv) World-wide - (whomever you can communicate with)

4. Careful assessment of activists and opponents.

(a) Definition of the conflict.

(b) Stakes in the conflict.

(c) Clarity and accuracy of assumptions.

(d) Aims of conflict (goals and objectives).

(e) Strategy and scenario.

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(f) Leadership:

   (i) Competence

   (ii) Control of organization

   (iii) Realities and concerns of their everyday lives

(g) Organization:

   (i) Structure

   (iii) Routine procedures

   (iii) Cohesiveness/stability

   (iv) Reliability

   (v) Efficiency

   (vi) Discipline

   (viii) Morale

(h) Resources (human and material):

   (i) At party's disposal

   (iii) Degree of mobilization

(i) Public image — Legitimacy of power in the eyes of:

   (a) Decision-makers

   (b) Allies and passives

   (c) Neutrals (general public)

5. Decision Makers.

(a) What official authority and responsibility do they have?

(b) What codes of ethics, principles of conduct do they adhere to?

(c) To whom are the decision-makers accountable:

   (i) Formally?

   (ii) Informally?

(d) To what extent does the decision-maker depend upon staff for:

   (i) Information?

   (ii) Recommendations?

(e) What are the options among which the decision-makers choose?

(f) What relative values do they assign to the options?

(g) What social realities generate the values decision-makers assign to these options, which options they may ignore, etc.

(h) How could the activists influence or alter:

   (i) Values assigned to options

   (ii) Which options are considered

   (iii) Social realities and pressures which condition the decision-making process

6. Active allies.

(a) View of conflict and issues.

(b) Stake in conflict.

(c) Degree of cohesiveness.

(d) Their powers in conflict.

(e) Degree of mobilization.

(f) Current type of activity.

(g) Vulnerabilities in conflict.

(h) Degree of solidarity with other allies:

   (i) Community of stakes or interests

   (ii) Mutual images and evaluations

   (iii) Degree of communication-coordination

   (iv) History of cooperation/conflict

7. Passives.

(a) View of the issues.

(b) Image of involved parties.

(c) Potential stakes.

(d) Potential powers.

(e) Probable circumstances of likelihood of involvement.

8. Neutrals.

(a) Percent of universe in this category.

(b) Degree of awareness of conflict.

(c) Definition and fixity of opinion.

(d) Political stake in the conflict.

9. (NOTE: This assessment may be precise in the case of an individual or corporate entity, or more general, as for a sector of the public.)

10. What is the relation between the public images of the involved parties and the myths?

D. Clarify activists' goals. (NOTE: "Vision to Project" tool, p. 271 RMLR.)

1. Primary objective -- achievable and important.

2. Secondary objectives.

3. Action by or impact on each involved party.

(a) What decisions or actions we want from this party?

(b) What changes do the activists want to create in this party's circumstances?

4. List overall demands of campaign.

(a) Minimum demands.

(b) General demands. (Note: Must be within the power of the decision-maker to grant the demand.)

(c) What do we demand from each of the particular decision-makers?

E. Draft statement (to opponents and decision-makers and public) calling for an end to the injustice.

1. Be objective in stating the facts.

2. Be specific as to the source of the injustice.

3. Say what you feel should be done about it.

4. List your demands.

5. Evaluate whether the activists' immediate demand would seem (a) reasonable to the general public and (b) in harmony with widely-accepted beliefs and moral/ethical principles.

III. Strategizing.

A. Anticipate dynamics of power conflict between activists and opponents. Read: CRISIS by Coell & Lovering. Refer to rainbow pressure chart. Note: Roots to Develop, Test and ReEvaluate Strategy RMLR, p. 31.

1. Do force field analysis* of pressures on the decision makers.

(a) Customary.

(b) Actual, in present conflict.

(c) Potential, in present conflict.

* pp. 256-257, Resource Manual for Living Revolution.

2. Analyze the opponents' basis of power. S-e. Gene Sharp, Politics of Nonviolent Action, Ch. I, and relevant ways in which the opponents' power can be undermined. Chapter 13, Sharp.

3. Force field analysis of pressures on opponents.

(a) Actual.

(b) Potential.

4. Force field analysis of pressures on activists/challengers.

(a) Actual.

(b) Potential.

5. Consider repression and resistance. (Note: PNVA Ch. 10, 11.)

(a) Likely sources (opponents, third parties and agents).

(b) Probable and possible forms and severity.

(c) Activists' means and ability of resisting.

6. Identify probable dynamics of success (Conversion, persuasion-accommodation-coercion) in relation to involved parties.

(a) Decision-makers.

(b) Leading opponents.

(c) Opponents' active allies.

(d) Activists' allies.

7. Blocking opponents' chosen path.

(a) What are the vulnerable points in the opponents' scenario and strategy?

(b) How can the activists/challengers effectively disrupt and foil the opponents' strategy?

B. Set clear goals which the activists can have reasonable confidence of achieving.

C. Write a Strategic Plan (see Richard Taylor, Blockade, Part II), which includes:

1. Assumptions.
   Clarify and check validity of assumptions.

   (a) Theory of nonviolent change:

       (i) Moyer, A Nonviolent Action Manual (ANAM)

       (ii) Levering & Noell, Crisis, Ch. II also Should to Support, feeth As Devea Section II and III (SASGAD)

       (iii) Resource Manual for Living Revolution, Part I (RMLR)

       (iv) Sharp, Politics of NV Action, Book III

   (b) Analysis - RMLR, pp. 25-26.
       "Politics of Nuclear Power" - Alan Roberts
       "Poverty of Power" - Barry Commoner
       "Small is Beautiful" - E. F. Schumacher

   (c) Vision - RMLR, pp. 27-28.
       Soft Energy Paths - Amory Lovins, esp. Ch. 2 "Energy Strategy"
       Neighborhood Power, Hess, et al., Ch. 13 "Neighborhood of the Future"

   (d) Strategy - RMLR, p. 28.

   (e) Review your web chart (RMLR, p. 250-253) analysis of the issues in the conflict. Compare activists' views with those of:

       (i) Opponents

       (ii) Decision-makers

       (iii) Allies on both sides

2. Goals and Objectives.

3. Strategy.

   (a) Develop strategy in terms of steps and stages of nonviolent campaign.

       (i) Develop core group.

       (ii) Investigate, analyze, define situation.

       (iii) Strategize: set goals, plan campaign.

       (iv) Educate the public, generate cause-consciousness

       (v) Build an organization capable of implementing strategy (core group become organizers).
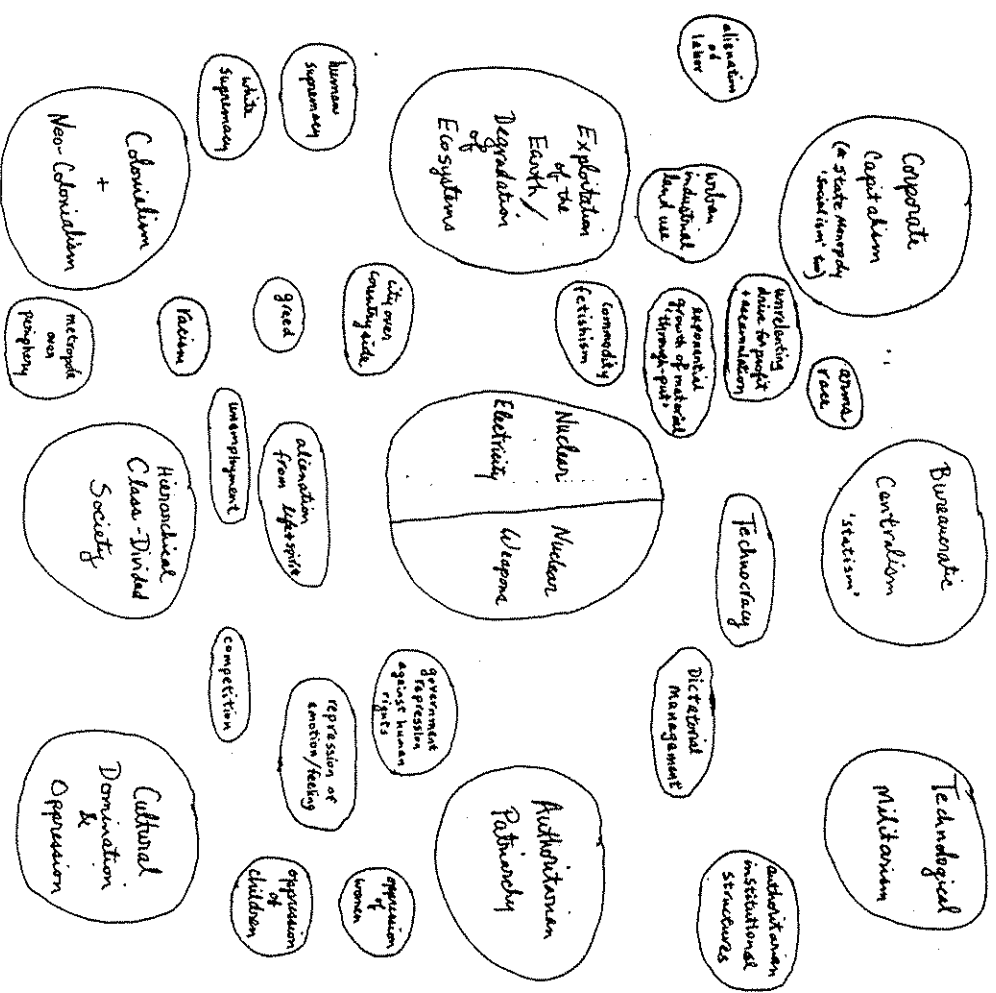
(vi) Negotiation with opponent.

(vii) Agitation and outreach (mobilizing supporters and allies).

(viii) Purification (examine own motives and readiness to accept suffering with nonviolent discipline).

(ix) Appeal/ultimatum.

(x) Symbolic action - especially socio-drama/dilemma demonstrations.

(NOTE: If the "show of force" is not enough to persuade opponent to negotiate in good faith, stronger pressure will have to be generated and applied. In laying the groundwork for the long-term struggle to follow, it may be helpful to briefly review and recapitulate some of the preceding steps.)

(xi) Expand organization. Extend alliances.

(xii) Mass social action: noncooperation and constructive program.

(xiii) Transition of power: intervention and parallel institutions supplement status quo.

(b) Put this in context of general strategy for fundamental social change (pp. 31-33, RMLR; pp. 17-24, Manifesto for Nonviolent Revolution; or in more detail, Strategy for a Living Revolution by George Lakey).

    (i) Conscientization.

    (ii) Organization building. Should to Sospects, feeth or Devea III (p. 48-54

    (iii) Confrontation - propaganda of the deed.

    (iv) Mass non-cooperation - alternative institutions.

    (k) Intervention and parallel institutions.

4. Tactics.

   (a) See "Laying the Ground Work for Nonviolent Action", Ch. 9, in PNVA.

   (b) Review Encyclopedia of Tactics in Part II, pp. 109-423, PNVA.

   (c) Give special attention to socio-drama/dilemma demonstration and campaign tactics.

       (i) A Nonviolent Action Manual, Wm. Moyer

       (ii) "De Developing the US Thru Nonviolence", Wm. Moyer

5. Tasks.

   (NOTE: Index cards are an efficient way to keep the myriad of details in view and in order. Individuals and groups can use the method recommended by Alan Lakein in How to Get Control of your Time and your Life., i.e., A-1, 2, 3, ... B-1, 2, 3, ... C-1, 2, 3, ...

6. Estimates of Resources.

(a) Prepare a tentative budget for each phase of the campaign.

(b) Estimate the number of people/hours needed to do the projected tasks.

(c) Consider where/how the organization can acquire these resources.

(d) By when they are needed.

D. Review Strategy in light of dynamics of nonviolent action and elements of strategy.

1. Dynamics of nonviolent action.

(a) CRISIS, Ch. 2, 3.

(b) PNVA, Ch. 12, 13

also Moving Toward a New Society, pp. 273-281 on "criteria for revolutionary reform"

2. Review elements of nonviolent strategy (from Roberts Politics of Nonviolent Action, pp. 495-504) and reflect upon conflict in their light.

(a) Indirect approach, weakening the opponents' power.

(b) Psychological elements.

(c) Geographic and physical elements.

(d) Timing (strategic and tactical).

(e) Participants numbers and strength/discipline.

(f) Sharp definition of issue.

(g) Rational assessment of involved parties and their powers.

(h) Adjust your ends to your means (i.e., don't bit off more than you can chew).

(i) Concentrate your strength against opponents' weakness.

(j) Consider probable consequences of winning and losing each particular engagement.

(k) Sieze and retain the initiative.

(l) Choose tactics carefully.

(m) Advance the campaign through steps and stages.

(n) Follow one line of operation which offers alternative objectives; i.e., keep the opponent in a dilemma.

(o) Insure that both your plans and disposition (i.e., arrangement of forces) are flexible.

(p) Prepare contingency plans.

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3. Consider tactics for each strategic field.

(a) Winning over uncommitted third parties.

(b) Arousing dissent and opposition in the opponents' camp.

(c) Increasing support and participation in the challenger's camp.

4. Consider strategy and tactics in light of moral and ethical principles.

(a) Would you want to be treated the way you are proposing to treat your opponent?

(b) Judged by the moral and ethical values held in the social universe of the conflict, would your strategy and tactics be seen as righteous and appropriate?

E. Write scenario - RMLR pp. 253-254.

F. Play strategy game to test out strategy - pp. 260-268, RMLR.

G. Make flowchart/timeline.
(NOTES: Flowchart - p. 272, RMLR; Timeline - p. 272-273, RMLR. For more details on flow charting of big projects - PERT (a programmed learning book) or Critical Path Method.)

SAS GAP II, p.27-30

H. Review estimates of the resources (human and material) required to carry out strategy. Figure out how to acquire, apply, manage and conserve them.

I. Draft campaign proposal and submit to organization for vote of confidence.

J. Circulate proposal to other groups in the Alliance.

K. Integrate feedback from allies into revised campaign plan; adopt the plan as organization policy.

L. Implement the plan, evaluate periodically and make adjustments based upon learning from experience.

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Cultural Roots of the Problem

- alienation of labor
- Corporate Capitalism (a state monopoly 'socialism' too)
- urban industrial land use
- commodity fetishism
- uncontrolling drive for profit + accumulation
- exponential growth of material "through-put"
- Exploitation of the Earth / Degradation of Eco-Systems
- human supremacy
- white supremacy
- arms race
- city over countryside
- greed
- racism
- metropole over periphery
- Colonialism + Neo-Colonialism
- Bureaucratic Centralism 'statism'
- Nuclear Electricity / Nuclear Weapons
- Technocracy
- unemployment
- alienation from life-spirit
- Hierarchical Class-Divided Society
- competition
- government repression against human rights
- repression of emotion/feeling
- Dictatorial Management
- Cultural Domination & Oppression
- Authoritarian Patriarchy
- authoritarian institutional structures
- oppression of women
- oppression of children
- Technological Militarism

Global Fruits of a Solution

- Social Stewardship of Natural Resources
- Social Ownership of Production Capital
- production for human need
- Flexible Democracy including all affected by decision - Self-Management as local as possible
- Humans in Harmony with Earth — Robust & Balanced Eco-Systems
- preservation of wilderness
- steady-state economy
- golden rule applied to Cetacea and primates
- sibling-hood of all people
- Mutually Supportive Relations among All the World's people
- future generations provided for
- primary concern for human relationships + community
- rational, humble, holistic planning
- Soft Energy Path / No more nuclear fission
- worker/community control of enterprise
- right livelihood
- Egalitarian Class-less Society
- social protection of minority + individual rights
- free expression of emotion + feeling
- cooperation
- Libertarian Androgyny
- nurturing
- respect
- Cultural Pluralism
- Nonviolent Struggle / Transnational Peoples Enforcement