Appendix:
Summary of Factors Determining the Outcome of Nonviolent Struggles

The factors which determine the outcome of nonviolent struggles may be grouped in four classes: the factors associated with the social system, the opponent group, third parties and the nonviolent group. Those associated with the social situation are the most stable ones, within the limitations of which nonviolent action must usually operate. Long-run changes in these are possible, but within the time span of a nonviolent action struggle they cannot be relied upon, except in certain circumstances (item A.4, below). The remaining factors in the other three groups are mostly highly variable during the course of the struggle. The very nature of the dynamics of nonviolent action not only depends upon such changes but produces them, probably to a much greater degree than in comparable violent struggles. Almost all of these will constantly vary during the struggle; the only question is whether the changes will strengthen relatively the nonviolent actionists or their opponent.

A. Factors in the social situation.
   1. The degree of conflict of interest between the two groups.
   2. The social distance between the groups.
3. The degree to which beliefs and norms are shared by the two groups.
4. The degree to which the grievance group (and in some cases the opponent group) consists of atomized individuals with most social and political power concentrated in a center, or of social groups and institutions (loci of power) capable of wielding and withholding power.

B. Factors associated with the opponent group.
1. The degree to which the opponent is dependent for his sources of power upon those withdrawing their cooperation and obedience.
2. The degree of noncompliance which the opponent can tolerate without his position being seriously endangered; the less nonconformity and dissent normally allowed, the greater challenge it will be when it does occur.
3. The degree to which the opponent and the opponent’s usual supporters are convinced of the rightness of their views and policies and/or their necessity in the situation.
4. The degree of conviction among the opponent and his usual supporters in the rightness of and justification for the means of repression used against the nonviolent actionists.
5. The means of control, including repression, which the opponent may use in an effort to defeat the nonviolent challenge.
6. How long the opponent can continue to maintain his position and power in face of the nonviolent action.
7. The degree to which the opponent’s agents of repression, administrators and other aids serve him efficiently or refrain from doing so, whether by deliberate inefficiency or by mutiny.
8. The degree and type of support or opposition within the opponent group for the opponent’s policy and repression of the nonviolent group; this refers to the general population as distinguished from special agents, aides, etc.
9. The opponent’s estimate of the future course of the movement, the chances of victory or defeat, and the consequences of either.

C. Factors associated with third parties.
1. The degree to which third parties become sympathetic to either the opponent or the nonviolent group.
2. The degree to which the opinions and good will of third parties are important to the opponent and to the nonviolent group respectively.
3. The degree to which third parties move from an involved position to active support for, or to noncooperation with, or obstruction of, either of the contending groups.
4. The degree to which either of the contending groups will be assisted by such support or hindered by such noncooperation or obstruction.

D. Factors associated with the nonviolent group.
1. The opportunity and ability to organize nonviolent action or to act spontaneously on a group level in accordance with the requirements of nonviolent action.
2. The degree to which the nonviolent actionists and the general grievance group are convinced of the rightness of their cause.
3. The degree of confidence in nonviolent action among the nonviolent actionists and the general grievance group.
4. The choice of the methods of nonviolent action, especially whether these are symbolic or involve noncooperation and intervention, and whether they are within the capacity of the nonviolent actionists.
5. The degree of soundness of the strategy and tactics chosen or accepted for the struggle.
6. Whether the demands of the nonviolent group are within their capacity to achieve them.
7. The relative ability of the nonviolent actionists to practise the technique as influenced, for example, by their past experience or their understanding of it.
8. The degree of voluntarily accepted discipline within the nonviolent group, so that the plans are carried out effectively, with a maximum of clarity and unity of action.
9. The numbers of nonviolent actionists, seen within the context of the quality of the movement and the mechanism by which change is sought.
10. The degree to which the nonviolent actionists are aided or hindered by the general grievance group, on whose behalf they may be acting.
11. The balance between the degree of terror the opponent is able and willing to use and the degree of determination to act (regardless of sanctions), due to fearlessness, courage or willingness to accept suffering as the price of change.
12. The length of time that the nonviolent actionists are able and willing to continue their course of action.
13. The ability of the nonviolent actionists to keep the struggle nonviolent.
14. The capacity of the nonviolent actionists to maintain openness and nonsecretiveness in their actions in normal circumstances.
15. The presence and quality of some type of effective leadership, formal or informal, or the ability of the actionists to act with unity, and discipline, and wisely chosen strategy, tactics and methods without a significant distinguishable leadership group.
16. The degree to which the nonviolent actionists can demonstrate the attitudes and actions which may help convert the opponent.
17. The degree to which the nonviolent actionists and the general grievance group control their own sources of power or to which these are subject to control by the opponent.

Most of these factors, especially in the last three groups, it is emphasized once again, are potentially subject to considerable and constant variation during the course of the nonviolent action struggle. The outcome is then determined by the direction and extent of these changes. The degree to which these factors, directly or indirectly, are subject to the control of the members of the grievance group is disproportionately high in nonviolent action as compared with the factors influencing the outcome of struggles using violent techniques.
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BIBLIOGRAPHY
Index

Introduction
For discussions on major topics, the reader is asked to consult also the detailed table of contents. Individual cases of nonviolent action are generally not indexed by title, but by the specific method of action, key participants, organizations, city or country. Books and the like are indexed by author, not title.

Aarhus, Denmark, 275.
Abolitionists, Garrisonian, 199, 412.
Abolitionists (U.S.), 204, 391-392, 396, 398, 399, 412. See also Abolitionists, Garrisonian.
Abuse, verbal, 538.
Abusinia, See Ethiopia.
Academy of Arts, Russia, 166.
Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, 121, 122, 668.

Action Critique Nonviolent, 419.
Adams, Henry, 245-246.
Adams, John, 287.
Adams, Samuel, 553.
Aesthetic display, 445 n. 301.
African Civilization Society, 411.
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, 399.
African National Anthem (Nkosi Sikelel’i Afrika), 150.
INDEX
Dickenson, John, 798.

Dictators (also dictatorship), 5, 29, 38, 71, 75, 90, 91, 92, 97, 298, 423, 482, 483-484, 493, 495, 744, 748, 749, 760, 806, 809. See also Tymian, Totalitarianism, Oppression.

Diefenbaker, Prime Minister John, 140.

Diels, Rudolf, 330.

Diem, Ngo Dinh, 151, 660-661.


Diet, Finland, 131.

Dillon, John, 603, 632.

Dimitrov, Georgi, 369.

Direct action, 537, 543, 544, 551, 797.


Directives of 1937, Netherlands, 422.

Directorate of Civilian Resistance, Poland, 188.

Direct physical violence, 539-540.

Disarmament conference, 1933, 345.

Discipline: general, 34 n. 51; 333, 763, 782, 787; necessity of in nonviolent action, 615-620. See also Nonviolent discipline and Self-discipline.

Disobeying orders of secret agents, 418.

Discontentment, 185.


Disguised disobedience, 306-308.

Disobedience, 46, 285, 576; withdrawal of obedience, 12, 20, 21; and sanctions and repression, 27, 28, 32, 35, 58 n. 122, 58 n. 123, 204, 681; relationship to obedience and enforcement, 15, 35; and self-confidence, 23; always exists, 25; and self-interest, 27; potential and limits of, 32, 35, 45, 82, 84; perceived threat of, 45, 61-62 n. 261; ethical justification of, 45; resistance by, 47, 84; disintegrates political power, 63, 434, 753; by ruler's agents, 77, 667, 675, 753. See also specific methods sub-classed as "Action by Government Personnel," and Fraternalization, 146. See also Fraternalization, to military system, 204-205; judicial, 329. See also Judicial noncooperation; and leadership, 426. See also all the following particular methods: Social disobedience, Non--obedience, in absence of direct supervision, Popular nonobedience, Disguised disobedience, Refusal of an assembly or meeting to disperse, Sitdown, Noncooperation with conscrip-

tion and deportation, Hiding escape and false identities, Selective refusal of assistance by government agencies, Blocking lines of command and information, Stalling and obstruction, General administrative noncooperation, Judicial noncooperation, Deliberate inefficiency and selective noncooperation by enforcement agents, Mutiny, Quasi-legal evasions and delays, Noncooperation by constituent governmental units, Disclosing identities of secret agents, Seeking imprisonment, Civil disobedience of "neutral" laws, Work-on without collaboration, Dual sovereignty and parallel government.

Display of flags and symbolic colors, 135-136, 522.

Displayed communications, 126.

Displays of portraits, 143.

Disputes and Trade Union Act of 1927 Britain, 133.

Djawakar, Ranganath R., 85.

Doane, Don, 675.

Dobrulovub, N.A., 163.

Dolci, Danilo, 363, 402.

Domestic embargo, 244.

Dominican Republic, 248.

Donbas, U.S.S.R., 150.

Donetsk region of Russian empire, 324.

Dorr's rebellion, Rhode Island, 426-430.

Dorr, Governor Thomas Wilson, 427-430.


Doukhobors, 140, 141.

Dracy, France, 327.

Draft card burning, 142.

Drags, Queen of Serbia, 344.

Drake, St. Clair, 411.

Dresden, Germany, 80.

Drill Hall, Johannesburg, 150.


Dubéck, Alexander, First Secretary, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, 98-99, 130, 111, 121, 122, 143.

Dubéck regime, 98, 100, 122, 173 n. 19, 402.

Dubéck shift, 402.

Dubéck's Sunday, 402.

Dublin, Ireland, 161, 227, 300.

Duç, Venerable Thich Quang, 138.

Dühring, Eugen, 684.

Duisburg, Germany, 610.

Dulany, Daniel, 76, 412.

Dulles, John Foster, 248, 343.

Duluth, Michigan, 372.

Duma of Imperial Russia, 152, 160, 191, 238, 242, 290, 291, 519 n. 132, 533, 799.

Dumbarton Oaks conversations, 436.

Dumping, 411.

Dunmore, Governor John Murray, 137, 425, 613-614.

Dunn, North Carolina, 372.

Dunn High School, North Carolina, 372.

Duplicating Printing Co. 221.

Durban, South Africa, 200, 167.

Dutch, See Netherlands.

Dutchess County, province of New York, 226.

Dutch Reformed Church, 122.

Duy Tan Clinic, 363.

Dylan, Bob, 129.

Earthwriting, 130.

Eastern Railroad, Massachusetts, 376.

Eastern Transvaal, South Africa, 223.

East Europeans, 42-43. See also individual countries.

East German Peace Council, 172.

East German rising, 1933, 5, 93, 125, 143, 172, 277, 298, 405, 463, 474, 484, 515 n. 30, 519 n. 132, 533-534, 550, 597, 596 n. 21, 665, 669, 675, 676, 688, 708, 745-746, 753.

East Germany, 97, 121, 125, 136, 148, 153, 170, 172, 213, 242, 303, 529, 545, 566 n. 21, 675-677, 688, 745.

East India Company, 224-225, 361, 507, 685.

East Indies, 221.

East Prussia, 213.

Eberhard, Prof. Wolffram, 350 n. 88, 359.

Ebert government, Germany, Weimar Republic, 4, 40, 80, 81, 339, 766.

Ebert, President Friedrich, 80, 170, 679.


Eccleston Square, London, 574.

Economic boycotts: general characteristics, 219-221; methods of, defined with examples, 221-248; general, 4, 7, 77, 86, 95, 118, 185, 196, 258, 338, 461, 503, 538, 580, 667, 695, 737, 750, 789; relation to selective patronage, 412-413; laws and other countermeasures against, 540-541, 685; and smuggling, 612; American colonies, 580-582, 667, 750; See also American colonies, Britain-American.
INDEX
INDEX
INDEX
Mushiru 'd- Dawla, 209.
Music, American, 129. See also performances of plays and music, and singing.
Muslims, 155, 156, 368, 432, 433, 790.
Musolmi, Benito, 88, 326, 404.
M.V.D., Ministry of Internal Affairs, U.S.S.R., 94.
Myers, J., 318, 413.
Mysklin, Ippolit Nikitch, 368.
Nage, Premier Imre, 200.
Naïdi, Sorojini, 311.
Nalirni, Korea, 385.
"Naming," 581-582.
Nantucket, Massachusetts, 375.
Napoleon I, Emperor of France, 93, 452, 499.
Nashville, Tennessee, 223-224, 632, 689.
National Socialist, 193-199, 351-332, 691.
National Academy of Sciences, Hungary, 398.
National Agrarian Institute, Venezuela, 408.
National Antislavery Standard, 387.
National Assembly, France, 241.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 378, 383.
National Association of German Industries, 697.
National Buddhist Institute, Vien Hoa Doa, 385.
National consumers' boycott, 228-230.
National Farm Workers Association, U.S., 263.
National Labor Relations Board, U.S., 404.
National Land League, Ireland, 227.
National Liberation Front, Vietnam, 296, 342, 381.
National Museum, Czechoslovakia, 143, 260.
National Palace, Guatemala City, 91.
National Protective Union, Hungary, 398.
National Theatre, Hungary, 398.
National University, Guatemala, 197, 268.
National Wages Agreement of 1924, Britain, 233.
"National Week," Indian, 498.
Nationalist Party, Germany, 697.
Nationalist Party, South Africa, 525.
Nationalistic Revolutionary Movement, Bolivia, 407.
Nationalists, Irish, 160, 366. See also Ireland.
Nationalists, African, 785. See also individual countries.
Nationalists, Indian, 135, 187, 295. See also India.
Nationalists, Puerto Rican, 291.
Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) South Africa, 542.
Natural Resources, 11.
Nazis: general, 172, 397, 545, 562; nonviolent resistance in countries occupied by; and cooperation of populations, 42-43; Hitler's regime, 45; Norwegian occupation by; 5, 47, 74, 88, 126, 149, 626; Polish occupation by, 127, 188, 399; Danish occupation by, 150; Czechoslovakian occupation by, 163; occupation of Soviet Union by, 322; struggles against, 87-90; methods used by; public speeches, 119-120; protest against propaganda campaigns of, 127-128; illegal newspapers, 129; performances of plays and music, 149; singing, 150; political mourning, 158; homage at burial places, 163; social boycott, 188; producers boycott, 252; revenue refusal to pre-Nazi leaders, 242; limited strike, 274; resignation, 293, 295; boycott of government departments and agencies, 296; disguised disobedience, 306-307; noncooperation with conscription and deportation, 312; escape, 314; selective refusal of assistance by government aids, 320-321; blocking of lines of command and communication, 321-323; stalling and obstruction, 323-327; deliberate
inefficiency and selective noncooperation by enforcement agents, 330-332; reverse trial, 369; nonviolent interjection, 386; alternative social institutions, 399; alternative communication system, 400-401; tactically motivated counterfeiting, 410; general strike, 532, 536; openness and secrecy in resistance against, 484, 485; provocation by, 588-590; persistence against, 549; repression by, 553; moblie in struggle against, 630-631; susceptible to public opinion, 662; defections from, 669; internal disputes of, 675, 676, 749; resistance spurred by repression by, 682-683; less severe repression urged by, 691; influence of Gandhi on resistance against, 98; swastika of, 126; domestic embargo used by, 244; interest payments refused by, 239; anti-Semitic measures of, 325-326; attitude toward Jews, 713; Labor Front of, 296; investigation of, 469. See also Germany, Hitler, Colonization and Invasions.

Nehru, Sergei, 365.

Necator, Jacques, Minister of Louis XVI of France, 54 n. 51.


Negroes. See Afro-Americans.

Nehru, Jawaharlal: general, 42, 555, 776 n. 206; on power of noncooperation, 41; on length of struggles, 763; advocate of violence, 86; on nonviolent method of Gandhi, 87; on openness and lack of secrecy, 487, 499-491; halting submission, 522, 524; on timing of tactics, 497; on initiative in nonviolent action, 500; on repression, 537; on British perception of nonviolence, 528, 529; ineffectiveness of repression, 545-546, 585, 598 n. 2; beaten by police, 559, 783; on agents provocateurs, 593; effect of nonviolence on terrorism, 624; hactiv  used to protest imprisonmen of, 638; reducing fear through nonviolence, 783; on nonviolence and self-respect, 786; nonviolent struggle brings satisfaction, 787; on nonviolent conversion, 720; on effect of defeat on later success, 757-758; photograph displayed, by supporters, 143.

Nehru, Motilal, 554-555.

Nekrasov, Nikolai A., 645 n. 79.

Neo-Gandhian struggles, 510.

Nepzabadsag, 289.

Netherlands: general, 129, 386; and nonviolent resistance, 87; resistance to Spanish rule 1563-1576, 4, 7, 287, 294; resistance to Inquisition, 684, 748; Nazi repression of strike in, 553; methods used in, 87, 758; letters of opposition and support, 120, 122; wearing of symbols, 136; vigil, 147; student strike, 197; industry strikes, 267; general strike, 277; producers' boycott, 233; seizure of assets by, 410; work-on without collaboration, 422; hiding, escape and false identities, 313-314; alternative communication system, 422; parallel government, 423; Commander of the Wehrmacht in, 683; repression brings solidarity in, 758; government-in-exile, 267, 422. See also Occupation, German of Netherlands.

Neues Deutschland, 597, 676.

Neumann, Franz, 18, 270-271, 283 n. 89.

Neurath, Foreign Minister, 295.


Newark, New Jersey, 379.

New Bedford, Massachusetts, 375.

New Bedford Railroad, 375-376.

Newbern, North Carolina, 318.

Newbury Church, Massachusetts Bay Colony, 140.

New Delhi, India, 290, 294, 367.

New England, 376, 379, 574, 794. See also individual colonies and states.

New Forward, 306.

New Hampshire, 186, 199, 225, 275, 430.

New Haven County, Connecticut, 633.

New Jersey, 157, 225, 374.

New Jersey Civil Rights Bill of 1949, 374.

New Orleans, Louisiana, 166, 377, 694.

Newport, Rhode Island, 158, 221, 380, 426, 428, 625, 630.

New Republic, 416.

New signs and names, 143-144.

Newsletter, National Strike Information Center, 198.

Newspapers, 128-129, 188, 306, 369, 377, 400, 542, 799. See also names of individual newspapers.

Newweek, 690.

Newton, Isaac, 73.


New York Herald Tribune, 671.

New York, Province of, 225, 226; General Assembly of, 337.

New York State, 230, 236, 379, 386, 429.


New Zealand, 312.

Ngo Dinh Diem, President. See Diem, Ngo Dinh.

Ngo Dinh Diem (Most Vietnamese names are, however, here listed in the standard way by the first name of the series).

Ngo Dinh Nhu, 660.

Nguyen Thanh Le, 342.


Nicolson, Harold, 344.

Nicholas, Robert Carter, 362.

Nicolas II, Tsar of Russia, 4, 79, 131, 156, 186, 191, 238, 312, 334, 530, 532, 533, 534, 542, 659, 668, 672-74, 707, 713, 732; as problem for opposition, 528, 532, 546-547, 747, 753; laws against, 540, 542; as defensive moral action, 501; when most effective, 494; action against refusal to engage in, 580-582; as substitute for war, 647; government-sponsored, 337, 604; effectiveness depends on organization, 480; and nonviolent coercion, 742-743, 754, 755; and withdrawal of human resources, 746; altering power relationships through, 696; and withdrawal of skills and knowledge, 748; sensing power of, 739, 780, 781; and firmness, 548; discipline needed for success of, 631; increasing the use of, 638, 642, 780; increasing fearlessness through, 783; and self-image, 784; and relationship of nations, 795-796, 797; in absence of leadership, 803; and third parties, 818; and settlement, 760; Gandhi on, 84-85, 454, 480, 707, 748, 796; Gandhi's use of, 82, 84; Shelley on, 35; Nehru on, 41; by American colonies, 352 n. 169, 553, 580, 582, 600, 602, 611, 633, 636, 647, 685, 740, 743, 750, 781, 794, 797, 798; during American Revolution, 77, 337; in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 198, 747; in Guatemala, 194, 97; in Germany, 604; and...
German generals’ plot 1939, 322; against Kapp regime, Germany 40-41, 80, 696, 748; during the Ruhrkampf 1923, 82; in Egypt 1919, 97; in 1930-31 Indian campaign of Gandhi, 504, 682, 760; Noncooperation Committee in India 1920, 631; in Ephesus, Second Century A.D., 540; in Russia 1905, 797. See Economic boycott, Strikes, Social noncooperation, and specific methods within those categories.

Noncooperation Committee, India, 631. Noncooperation, general administrative. See General administrative noncooperation.

Noncooperation, judicial, 329-330.

Noncooperation with conscription and deportation, 311-313.

Noncooperation with social events, customs and institutions, 192.

Nonexportation, 186, 229, 239, 425, 507, 513, 609, 611.


Non-Importation Act, U.S., 246.

Non-intervention, U.S., 246.

Nonobedience, 350 n. 88. See also Popular nonobedience.

Nonobedience without direct supervision, 304.

Nonparticipation, economic, 431.

Nonrecognition, 72-74.

Nonresistance Society, 139, 375.

Nonsecret, in nonviolent struggle, 481-492.

Nonviolence: general, 47, 70, 83, 94, 111, 141, 147, 587, 594, 790; and political behavior, 65; and nonviolent action, 68, 71; and nonviolent coercion, 774 n. 161; and violence, 72, 77, 187, 528, 543, 552, 553, 655, 622; sometimes promulgated, 5; association with effective action, 321; and power of actionists, 110, 526, 781; and splits in opponent’s group, 676; opponent’s response to, 531, 557; repression of brings out rage, 657; and third parties, 660; produces unity, 794; and conversion, 719, 720; and element of surprise, 530; and increased self-esteem, 792; and Gandhi, 751-752, 771 n. 66; Gandhi on, 187, 229, 522, 563, 622, 725, 781; Nehru and ethic of, 87, 720; and Indian Cam-}

paign, 1930-31, 85; and anti-apartheid movement, 123; and anti-slavery protests, 370; and anti-segregation protests, 375-376.

Nonviolent action, technique of. See Table of Contents.

Nonviolent air raids, 381-382.

Nonviolent Blitzzüge, 776 n. 219.

Nonviolent coercion: general, 193, 455, 501, 709, 725, 737, 738, 769 n. 1; defined, 69, 706, 742-744; mechanism of change, 69, 71, 502, 597, 706, 732, 733, 734, 766, 767, 769 n. 1, 807; factors influencing, 754-755; economic boycott as form of, 220; linked to non-violent intervention, 358; linked to conversion, 708, 752, 733; and numbers, 498; violence, 586, 601; and refusal to hate, 634; and negotiations, 767; alters power relationships, 768; and Gandhi, 769 n. 4.

Nonviolent discipline: general, 93, 101, 130, 264, 466, 573-642, 703 n. 154; necessary part of nonviolent technique, 455, 648 n. 99; need to maintain, 485, 537, 545, 549, 583, 638, 639; related to planning action, 462, 466; role of organization, 479, 480; and secrecy, 484; codes and pledges of, 481, 619, 631-632, 654 n. 254; and numbers 476, 478, 498, 501; and leadership, 638, 639, 817; possible without training, 620, 653 n. 216; and repression, 113, 537, 583, 585, 587, 591, 594, 657, 711; and nonviolent intervention, 501, 502, 508; prerequisite for shifts in power, 70, 545, 657; as test for future action, 504, 640; tested by tactical changes, 508; undermines opponent’s support, 61, 566; promoting, 620-633; impact of, 565, 620, 710-711; and political futures, 697; as self-reliant weapon, 803; voluntarily accepted, 817; in Czechoslovakia 1968, 130; urged by Cesar Chavez, 264. See also Discipline, Codes of.

Nonviolent harassment, 369-371, 418.

Nonviolent interjection, 310, 382-387, 580, 582.

Nonviolent intervention: general, 64, 67, 321, 347, 494, 504, 528, 817; defined, 69; as class of methods, 188, 537, 545, 455, 807; compared with other classes of methods, 117, 118, 119, 310, 358, 501-502; physical, 358, 371-390; political, 416-433, 461; psychological, 358, 359-371, 522; social, 358, 390-401; economic, 401-416; method of indirect confrontation, 453; when most effective, 494; and openness, 482; creates difficulties for opponent, 557, 739; responsibility assigned to particular group for, 508; and third party action, 664; and power shifts, 696; and suffering, 711; against Kapp Putsch, 81.

Nonviolent invasion, 69, 140, 378, 382, 388, 694.

Nonviolent land seizure, 388, 401, 405-408, 441 n. 192.

Nonviolent militants, 526.

Nonviolent obstruction, 69, 310, 320, 396-398, 397, 508, 816.

Nonviolent occupation, 378-388, 390.

Nonviolent protest and persuasion: defined, 68-69; and nonviolent action, 67; as class of methods, 114-115, 117-182, 502, 763-764, 807; protest and persuasion compared, 173 n. 1; functions of, 118; related to methods of noncooperation, 118, 119, 193, 258, 277, 501; related to methods of intervention, 119, 357, 360, 369, 501; as weapons of choice, 501; as initial form of action, 502; impact of varies, 118-119; may provoke inclination, 531; relation to violence, 624-625; need for openness, 492.

Nonviolent raids, 380, 497, 508, 564, 576, 641, 687, 762, 775 n. 169.

Nonviolent resistance. See Table of Contents for diverse aspects of nonviolent action.

Nonviolent strategy. See Strategy, nonviolent.

Nonviolent struggle: general, 69, 73, 74, 75, 86, 777-778, 783, 799, 803, 806, all of Part Three; by historians, 72; economic. See Table of Contents for economic methods of noncooperation and intervention; expansion of, 76-78, 808; effectiveness of, 82, 523; methods used during 1933, 225, 398, 405, 431, 433, 522; timing of, 521; effect on actionists, 523-524, 781, 782, 784-785, 788, 807; and polarization, 524-525; innovations in, 808; power of ignored, 74, 530; difficulties in dealing with, 537, 698 n. 1; price of, 537; increasing strength during, 526; and leadership, 549, 562, 803, 804; violence detrimental to, 528; must continue de-
against revolutionaries, 646 n. 79; vio-
lence of actionists provides excuse for,
597, 603, 604, 605, 743; agents pro-
vocateurs used to justify, 593, 599; sa-
botage increases, 610, 611; undis-
disciplined action facilitates effective, 618;
oppotist's means of mass use questionable,
665-667; problems in oppop-
ent's exercise of, 596, 665, 676-677,
INDEX
of; 405; means to prevent in nonviolent action, 618-633, 653 ns. 220 and 224, 654 ns. 222, 252, and 254; preventing in February 1973 Russian Revolution, 672; 743; expected by British in India, 528; attributed to nonviolent activists, 573, 583; provocation of opponent to with nonviolent action, 476, 575, 583, 590-594; by resisters causes even rudimentary American colonial cause, 602; nonviolent struggles tinged with, 97, 319, 404, 644 ns. 40, 743; nonviolent struggles mixed with, 87, 94, 101, 146, 223, 235, 354 ns. 1, 326, 405, 424, 466, 519 ns. 128, 380, 610 See also Violent action and struggle, Violent sanctions, Military struggle, Power, Conflict, War, Political violence, Struggle.

Violent action and struggle: and monolith view of power, 849, 678; forms of in conducting conflicts, 3, 34; has received disproportionate attention, 74; qualities and means appropriate to differ from those in nonviolent struggle, 485; defiance by may bring self-respect, 785; harassment of nonviolent activists, 782, replacement in a series of particular nonviolent substations, 805, 808, 809, 810; meaning of success and failure in, 765; (see in compared to nonviolent struggle, 110; motives for substituting nonviolent action for, 67-68; conditions under which nonviolent action substitutes for, 480; incapacity for leads to nonviolent means, 209; rejected for nonviolent means, 77, 98, 101, 318, 475; courageous but hopeless cases (compared to nonviolence), 554; (see bridge social distance), 715-716; threat of may induce concessions, 258; opposition terrorism strengthens regime, 645-646 n. 79; unsuccessful cases idealized, 77; nonviolent action commonly unfairly compared with, 74; practical limitations of recognized, 97; time to achieve results, 70; usual means of repression designed to defeat, 111; enforcement problems against differ from those against nonviolent action, 111; group unity in less than in nonviolent action, 794; and centralization of power, 800-802; population less self-reliant than in nonviolent action, 803; may reduce population's perception of own power, 805; less control over opponent's power sources than with nonviolent action, 817; percentage of combatants lower in than in nonviolent struggle, 460, 682; more soldiers required in than in nonviolent struggle (Gandhi), 478; change in relative strength of protagonists slower than in nonviolent action, 527; used to control rulers, 34, 46, 47; not needed to collapse rulers, 34; weakens lacci of American, 803; and centralization of power, 809-802; maintenance of contrast from in nonviolent action essential, 113, 489; results claimed less permanent and satisfacto


Vi Yen Ouk et Land, 47.

American colonists, 614-615. See also Violence, shift to. As seedbed for future wars, 757; centralizing effect of, 801; not simply uncontrolled outburst of violence, 494. See also Violence, Violent action and struggle, and Military struggle.

"Walter Ulbricht," The (ship), 143.

Warton, Jacob, 632.

Wardle, Lydia, 140.

Warmbrunn, Werner, 267, 282 n. 62, 283 n. 85, 314, 401, 422, 536, 787.

Warner, Dennis, 587, 662.

Warpath, The, 483 n. 131.

Warren, Joseph, 794.

Warrier, Doreen, 407-408.

Warsaw, Poland, 126, 143, 157, 314, 399, 553, 585.

Warsaw Treaty Organization, troops of, 98, 121, 122, 127, 128.


Washington, George, 238, 341, 473, 615.

Washington State, Supreme Court of, 319.

Waskow, Arthur, 135, 134, 224, 374, 503, 689, 788.

Watkins, Frances, 376.

Watt, Richard M., 144, 166, 334, 532, 781.


Wearing of symboles, 136.

Weber, Max, 53 n. 33, 56 n. 86.

Webster, Secretary of State Daniel, 384.

Webster Dictionary, 742.

Wechsberg, Joseph, 629.

Wedderburn, Solicitor General, 535.

Weimar Republic. See Germany, Weimar Republic.

Weisse Rose, 126, 128.

Weizsäcker, Baron Ernst von, 325.

Wellhaven, Kristian, 331.

Wenceslas Square, Prague, 136, 142-143, 151, 260.

Wenceslas, Statue of, 136, 143.

Wenatchee, Paul, 611.

Westchester County, New York, 226.

West, I.J., 813 n. 63.


Westmoreland County, Virginia, 239.

Westphalia, Germany, 665.

Wharton, Edward, 549.

Wheelie, John, 317.

Wheelwright-Bennett, John, 321-322, 344.

Whipple, Charles K., 369.

White House, 133, 540, 693.

White Terror, 646 n. 79.

"Wildcat" strike, 258, 261.

Wilhelm II, Emperor, 80, 302.

Wilhelm Zelt, 149.

Wilkes, John, 317.

William, Frederick, 213.

Williams, Robin, 729, 734.

Wilmingston, North Carolina, 159.

Wilson, Edmund, 386.

Wilson, President Woodrow, 126, 133, 141, 247, 342, 344, 540, 693.

Winnipeg, Canada, 275, 432.

Winson, Mary, 787.

Winter Palace, St. Petersburg, 78, 155, 190, 483, 530, 640.

Withdrawal from government educational institutions, 297.

Withdrawal from international organizations, 345.

Withdrawal from social institutions, 199.

Withdrawal from social system, 184, 189-200.

Withdrawal of authority, 424.

Withdrawal of bank deposits, 236.

Withdrawal of cooperation. See Noncooperation.

Withdrawal of economic cooperation. See Economic noncooperation.

Withdrawal of labor. See Strikes.

Withdrawal of obedience. See Disobedience and Civil disobedience.

Withholding of allegiance, 286-288.

Withholding of cooperation, 36, 295. See also Noncooperation.

Withholding of diplomatic recognition, 342-344.

White, Prime Minister, Count S.Y., 431.

Wolle, Bertram D., 430-431.

Wolle, Kurt H., Preface.

Wolman, Leo, 220, 222, 230.


Wood, Amos, 199.

Woodrow Organization, 139.


Woolworth's, 373.

Workingmen's boycott, 230-231.

Work-in without collaboration, 416, 421-422.

"Working-to-rule" strike, 271, 417.

World War I, 74, 125, 314, 341, 739.


Worms, Germany, 192.

Women's Party, U.S., 141.

Wright, General Agent, 199.

Wright, Governor Sir James, 425, 551.

Writers Union, Czechoslovakia, 174.

Wyler, Thomas Christian, 195.

Xu Loi Pagoda, Hue, Vietnam, 587.

Yakinas, 319.

Yang-chow, Kiangsu, China, 235.

Yang-k'iu, Shantung, China, 264.

Yarmolinsky, Avraham, 318, 648 n. 127.


Yeiden, Samuel, 598.

Yoder, Dale, 413.

Yoruba rulers, 411.

Young India, 368, 483, 504, 576, 639, 641, 751.

Young Trudi, 417.

Yugoslavia, 340, 342, 347.

Yulzari, Mattel, 121, 153, 384.

Zandam, Netherlands, 553.

Zaiser, Minister for State Security, Wilhelm, 676.

Zeiss factory, Jena, East Germany, 125, 170.

Zemstvo Congress, Third, 160.

Zengakuren, 155, 161.

Zion, Rabbi Daniel, 153.

Zinn, Howard, 471.

Znamensky Square, Petrograd, 333, 673-674.

Zomba Government House, Nyasaland, 419.

"Zone of Indifference" as reason for obedience, 25, 27.