

Training Manual for Nonviolent Defense Against the Coup d'État



A Nonviolence International Publication

By Richard K. Taylor

Introduction by Hardy Merriman

TRAINING MANUAL FOR NONVIOLENT DEFENSE AGAINST THE COUP D'ÉTAT

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In August 1991, a group of plotters in the former Soviet Union attempted a coup d'état against the government of Mikhail Gorbachev. Massive nonviolent action by the Russian populace defeated the coup. Russian activists formed the group "Living Ring," its name based on the large numbers of people who "ringed" one of Moscow's main government buildings, putting their bodies between armed troops and the legitimate government.

Fearing a repetition of the coup, "Living Ring" invited a group of North American trainers from Nonviolence International to come to Moscow to do workshops on how to defeat future coup attempts. I met with these trainers—David Hartsough, Peter Woodrow, Diana Glaskow and Philip Bogdonoff—before their departure. We discussed in detail what should be covered in an anti-coup nonviolence training workshop. Since the manual you have in your hands is an extensive revision of the manual I wrote for them in 1991, my thanks goes to them for their inspiration and creative ideas.

My thanks also goes to the courageous Russian people, who demonstrated so clearly the power of nonviolent struggle against the coup d'état.

I also want to thank Dr. Gene Sharp, of the Albert Einstein Institution in Cambridge, MA, who has devoted his life to the study of nonviolent struggle. I consulted with Gene while working on this manual and read and re-read a number of his pertinent writings. Anyone familiar with Gene's work will see how deeply his concepts have shaped this manual.

My thanks also to Mubarak Awad for founding Nonviolence International and for making resources such as this manual available to people around the world who are struggling for justice through nonviolent action.

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(Revised Introduction)

**INTRODUCTION TO
TRAINING MANUAL FOR NONVIOLENT DEFENSE
*AGAINST THE COUP D'ÉTAT***

Over the last century, in diverse parts of the world, nonviolent action has proven to be a remarkably effective means for people to struggle for democracy, rights, justice, freedom, self-determination, good governance, and accountability from governments and corporations. Those who study nonviolent action have long known—based on theoretical models, historical case studies, and more recent quantitative studies—the advantages that nonviolent action used by civilians (also referred to as “civil resistance”) has over violence.¹ The ability of a civil resistance movement to withdraw societal support from an oppressor, and to induce defections from the oppressor’s own supporters, is documented historical fact. As I remember the scholar Gene Sharp telling me, “If the people do not obey, then the ruler cannot rule.” It is in this way that nonviolent movements wield power and struggle victoriously against even the most repressive of opponents, who ultimately have no power if their commands are no longer obeyed.

The use of nonviolent action to win rights, freedom, and democracy has received the bulk of researchers’ attention in this field in recent decades, while the use of nonviolent action to deter and defend against coups d’état has received relatively less focus. Therefore, Richard K. Taylor has done a service for all who have been or will be affected by coups by laying out, in clear language, a framework for civil society to think about how it can engage in nonviolent anti-coup resistance. I see this manual as a starting point in the effort to develop further an understanding of the potential that nonviolent action has to deter and collapse coups d’état—and in so doing, to prevent one of the most common ways that authoritarian governments are established and perpetuated.

This manual is designed to be used for a two-day training workshop, which, if at all possible, should be given *before* any suspected coup takes place. As Taylor notes, once a coup is underway, it is extremely important for anti-coup opposition to become active as quickly as

possible. The success or failure of coups can sometimes hinge on delays of hours, or even minutes (as in the case of Russian President Boris Yeltsin's narrow escape from arrest during the 1991 coup in Moscow), during the first few days when the coup plotters are struggling to consolidate their grip on power. Hence, once a coup has taken place, there is little time available at that point to hold training workshops on defense against coups.

Therefore, Taylor's work is best used by people who want to make advance preparations before any possible coups d'état, especially in societies in which there is a general history of coups, or where conditions (such as political instability and splits between the military and civilian leadership) make a coup more likely. Pro-democracy activists and civil society groups will want to familiarize themselves with the ideas in this book, as may government personnel who would like to make sure that their government is less vulnerable to the threat of coups. In addition, any long-term civil resistance movement that is struggling for democracy will want to review this manual, because there is always a risk when a movement is making progress against a dictatorship that a coup will take place, potentially setting back the movement's gains.

If you find this manual useful, one additional resource bears mention. In 2003, Gene Sharp and Bruce Jenkins of the Albert Einstein Institution published a monograph titled *The Anti-Coup*, which has a similar strategic perspective to Taylor's *Training Manual*, but is organized more as a reference for scholars, members of civil society and NGOs, and people in governments.² Sharp's and Jenkins' book also includes two sets of specific preparations that governments and civil society organizations can take to prevent coups d'état.

In addition, in the event that a coup takes place and is able to consolidate its rule and establish a dictatorship, an appendix has been added at the end of the *Training Manual* listing additional resources that may be useful to people as they prepare for a longer-term struggle against the dictatorship.

It is my hope that this manual will provide valuable information and hope to those facing coups and struggling for a more peaceful, just, and free world.

Hardy Merriman

March 2, 2010

¹ Two exciting new quantitative studies have been released in the last several years.

A 2008 study by Maria J. Stephan and Erica Chenoweth evaluated 323 violent and nonviolent resistance campaigns from 1900 to 2006 and found that “major nonviolent campaigns have achieved success 53 percent of the time, compared with 26 percent for violent resistance campaigns.” They account for this by pointing out that nonviolent movements tend to have more domestic and international legitimacy than violent movements and therefore tend to get more participation by the domestic population and support by international actors than violent movements. They also found that government repression against nonviolent movements is far more likely to backfire against the government than government repression against violent movements.

A 2005 study by Adrian Karatnycky and Peter Ackerman examined 67 transitions from authoritarianism between 1972 and 2005. They found that transitions driven by nonviolent resistance resulted in greater increases in freedom than transitions driven by violence. In 64% (32 out of 50) of the cases in which nonviolent civic resistance was a key factor, the transitions from authoritarianism led to political systems that had high levels of respect for political rights and civil liberties. In contrast, in the cases in which opposition groups used violence, only 20% (4 out of 20) led to governments with high levels of respect for political rights and civil liberties.

Sources: Stephan, M. J., and Chenoweth, E. (2008) “Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict”. *International Security* 33 (1), 7-44.

Karatnycky, A. and Ackerman, P. (2005) *How Freedom is Won: From Civic Resistance to Durable Democracy*. Washington, DC: Freedom House.

² Sharp, Gene and Jenkins, Bruce (2003) *The Anti-Coup*. Boston, MA: The Albert Einstein Institution.
Available for download at: <http://aeinstein.org/organizations/org/TAC.pdf>

ORIGINAL INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE OF THE MANUAL IN THE CONTEXT OF WORLDWIDE COUP D'ETATS

The purpose of this manual is to help trainers run well-designed workshops to prepare citizens in effective nonviolent methods of defending their governments and their institutions against coup d'états.

The phrase "coup d'état" is from the French, "blow against the state." It refers to the sudden, forcible overthrow of a government by a group plotting against it. Governments have been shaken or forcibly brought down since time immemorial. Our era is no exception.

In the famous "beer-hall putsch" of 1923, Adolf Hitler attempted to depose the republican government of Bavaria. Within a decade, the world was embroiled in a cataclysmic war between totalitarianism and allies espousing freedom and democracy.

Seventy years later, on November 17, 1993, General Sani Abacha and his military confederates ousted the civilian government of Ernest Shonekan in Nigeria. The next day, the general announced that he was installing himself as ruler, dissolving virtually every democratic institution in Nigeria, forbidding any political gatherings, banning political parties, replacing civilian officials with military commanders and running the country as a police state. With one stroke, he effectively dismantled a decade of Nigerian progress toward a system of elected government.

In the seven decades between Hitler and Abacha, plotters have organized successful coups in over half of the world's sovereign states. In a few cases, democratic forces have used coups to put an end to repressive regimes. In many others, however, nascent democracies have been snuffed out and replaced by military dictatorships or other un-democratic cabals. Some examples of countries experiencing post-World War II coups are:

Algeria Ethiopia Panama	Honduras Sudan Chile	Turkey Egypt Nicaragua
Argentina Greece	Indonesia Soviet Union	Uganda El Salvador
Paraguay Azerbaijan	Ceylon Cuba Iraq	Nigeria Venezuela
Guatemala Poland Burma	Czechoslovakia Lebanon	Ecuador Pakistan Vietnam
Haiti South Korea Bolivia	Thailand Dahomey Liberia	Laos Syria Tanzania

Here in the mid-1990's, the movement towards democracy seems to be gaining strength. However, shaky new democracies around the world are threatened by anti-democratic forces. Supporters of these fledgling democracies want to know how to defend governments "of the people, by the people, and for the people" against the forces that would sweep them aside.

The good news is that powerful nonviolent means of resisting coups are available. In significant instances, supporters of democracy have used nonviolent methods effectively to resist

attempted take-overs by usurpers. This manual attempts to learn from this important experience and pass it on to others.

ADVANTAGES OF NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE IN BUILDING DEMOCRACY

In using nonviolent action, one is able to build and defend democracy within institutions. It is a way to fight for democracy with democratic means. The means are inherent in the ends. This gives nonviolent ways of resisting coups a strong advantage over military methods. In the latter approach, centralized, top-down decision-making by the military hierarchy trains people in authoritarian mentalities rather than participatory democracy. Military means can undercut democratic ends. Nonviolent struggle also contributes to a democratic spirit by its refusal to kill opponents and its commitment to building community. This basic attitude mirrors democracy's profound respect for human dignity. It contrasts sharply with the military approaches that necessarily depend on killing or threatening to kill enemies. After the battle for control of government is over, the two sides, which normally are part of the same nation or state, have to find a way to live together. If they have been trying to physically destroy one another, the hatred set loose can undercut the task of building a common civil society. If, on the other hand, one side has been stressing goodwill, non-retaliation, and the goal of what Dr. Martin Luther King called "the beloved community," then that community of mutual respect becomes more attainable.

THE NEED FOR KNOWLEDGE AND TRAINING

Often nonviolent defense against coups has been spontaneous and not rooted in careful study and preparation. The success of such ad hoc defense gives hope that a more careful and systematic approach can provide even stronger resistance against the coups. As people learn the methods of effective nonviolent struggle, they will make it increasingly difficult for plotters to smash their hard-won democratic gains. If citizens worldwide grow in their knowledge of nonviolent means of defense and become competent in its methods through training, the time may come when coups against democratic governments will be a thing of the past. This manual is one attempt to spread this knowledge and promote this training. It is a working document, not the final word. Please give the author and/or Nonviolence International feedback on how you think it can be improved. We plan to publish revised editions over time.

Author

Dick Taylor

HOW THE MANUAL IS ORGANIZED

The rationale behind the manual is that participants must first understand what a coup is and how it operates. Only then can they organize to defeat it. Therefore, the manual begins by describing the nature of the coup d'état (Session II), then deals with how to organize nonviolent resistance to defeat it.

NOTE TO TRAINERS WHO USE THIS MANUAL

The manual has a logical flow, with the information in the early chapters laying the basis for the latter. However, there is nothing sacrosanct about the manual's organization or its contents. It is written as a general guide, knowing that you may need to modify it. Please feel free to use those parts that are most appropriate to your local reality and to put aside what does not seem helpful. Since you may not be familiar with all the training methods or exercises used in the manual, I strongly suggest that you read it carefully from beginning to end before trying to use it in a real-life training session. You also will find it helpful, I think, to tryout some of the exercises on a smaller group before using them in a larger training context. If the training is done by a training team (which I strongly recommend) rather than by an individual trainer, then that team, along with a few sympathizers, would be a good group to use for a "test run" of the exercises and training methods. Good luck, and let us know your experience in using the manual.

SESSION I

THE PURPOSE AND IMPORTANCE OF TRAINING

PURPOSE OF THIS SESSION: (1) To introduce trainers and participants to one another; (2) To get participants to understand the purpose and importance of training.

MATERIALS NEEDED: (1) Flip-chart stand; (2) Magic markers; (3) Pad of newsprint.

ESTIMATED TIME FOR THE SESSION: 1 hour, including the Question and Answer period. The session may go longer if the group is large and/or if trainers use a long process to introduce participants.

INTRODUCTIONS (Time: Variable, depending on group's size)

1. Introduction of Trainers

- a. Trainers introduce themselves, giving their names and highlighting any experience they may have had in nonviolence training and action.
- b. Point out that participants in the training have important practical experience that will be extremely valuable for the training. "We trainers will expect to draw upon your experience and insights."
- c. Therefore, this is a two-way learning experience, rather than a series of lectures by "experts."

2. Introduction of Participants

- a. Trainers organize a "creative introductions exercise" to help workshop participants get to know one another.
- b. This could be a simple exercise, like having participants give their names, what they do, and why they are interested in the training. Or trainers can design a more complex exercise, using small groups, dyads, etc.

AGENDA AND LOGISTICS REVIEW (10 minutes)

1. Trainers explain briefly what the training will entail. (A summary of the workshop agenda could be written on the newsprint or could be handed to each participant on a paper.)

2. This is also a time for announcements about logistics for the workshop, e.g., locations of meeting rooms, meals, sleeping arrangements, etc.

THE IMPORTANCE OF TRAINING (Talk by a Trainer – 20 minutes)

Trainer discusses the value of training. Some of the following points might be made:

1. Although unprepared actions have sometimes accomplished great feats, it rarely makes sense to rush into action without preparation. People have scaled mountains without readying themselves, but success is more likely when one has a plan and the necessary equipment.

2. Training helps us to anticipate crises or problem situations we may encounter in the actual struggle. It helps us think carefully about the best response, away from the heat of the battle. It is a place to test strategies and tactics, to weed out those that will not work and to emphasize those that will.

3. Training confronts people's fear and anger. People worry that they may not be able to stay nonviolent in the face of opponents' hostility. They worry that they will lose their courage and run away. Or that they will respond to antagonists with anger or counter-violence. Practicing nonviolent responses to hostility in training exercises gives people confidence that they can remain nonviolent even in the face of belligerent opposition in a real conflict situation. "We made it clear," said Martin Luther King, "that we would not send anyone out to demonstrate who had not convinced themselves and us that they could accept and endure violence without retaliating."

4. Training gives time to think through the many roles that need to be played and the functions that need to be fulfilled to make a nonviolent campaign well-organized.

5. Training develops solidarity among participants and confidence in companions, the organization, and its leadership.

6. Training reminds us of the long history of nonviolent struggle, in all its many forms, from which we can draw inspiration and strength.

7. Preparation gives time to develop an organizational structure and leadership based on democratic decision-making, whereas leadership in unplanned actions tends to go to the most charismatic person or to those seeking power.

8. Nonviolence training has been an essential part of many of history's most powerful nonviolent movements. It is said that Gandhi trained 100,000 Indians in his campaign against British colonialism. Such training was crucial in the black power civil rights movement in the U.S. It had a prominent place in the movement against the war in Vietnam. More recently, it played a vital role in the "People Power" movement, which overthrew the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines.

QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD (15 minutes)

Trainers solicit questions from the participants by asking questions such as –

“Do people have any questions about what we've said so far?”

“Do people have anything they would like to add from their own experience of training?”

Session II

UNDERSTANDING THE COUP D'ÉTAT

PURPOSE OF THIS SESSION: (1) To gain understanding of the dynamics of a coup. (We have to know what we are facing in order to know how to combat it.); (2) To explore the weaknesses of a coup and how it can be defeated; (3) To begin to think about how even the best organized coup can be resisted effectively through nonviolent struggle.

MATERIALS NEEDED: (1) Flip-chart stand; (2) Magic markers; (3) Pad of newsprint; (4) Newsprint page with list of "COUNTRIES WHERE COUPS HAVE TAKEN PLACE SINCE WORLD WAR II" (see page 8).

ESTIMATED TIME: 1 hour, 45 minutes, including break; 3 hours (optional if small group exercise on pages 16-17 is added.)

INTRODUCTION TO SESSION II (Talk by trainer/discussion – 20 minutes)

1. The purpose of our workshop is to prepare you to use effective nonviolent methods to resist and prevent coups.

2. What we will do in Session II:

a. In order to prevent a coup, we first have to understand what a coup is.

b. In this session, therefore, we will do 4 things:

1) Define the word "coup d'état."

2) Discuss the threat that coups represent.

3) Describe how a coup happens.

3. What is the definition of a "coup d'état"?

WRITE ON NEWSPRINT the words "STROKE OF STATE." Then explain that the phrase "coup d'état" comes from the French and means "stroke of state" or "blow against the state." It refers to the sudden, forcible overthrow of a government by a group plotting against it.

DISCUSSION: Any questions? Is this definition clear?

4. What kind of threat do coups represent? How dangerous are they? How often are they successful?

a. When Adolf Hitler wanted to come to power in Germany, he first founded the Nazi Party in 1920. Three years later, he tried to overthrow the republican government of Bavaria by means of a coup d'état.

b. In the 80 plus years since Hitler tried his coup, plotters have organized successful coups in over half of the world's sovereign states. In a few cases, democratic forces have used coups to put an end to repressive regimes. In many others, however, nascent democracies have been snuffed out and replaced by military dictatorships or other nondemocratic cabals. Some examples of countries experiencing post-World War II coups are →REFER TO NEWSPRINT PAGE WITH THE COUNTRIES LISTED BELOW:

COUNTRIES WHERE COUPS HAVE TAKEN PLACE SINCE WORLD WAR II:

Algeria Ethiopia	Honduras Sudan	Lebanon Thailand
Panama Argentina	Chile Indonesia	Dahomey Liberia
Greece Paraguay	Soviet Union	Turkey Egypt
Azerbaijan	Ceylon Iraq Syria	Nicaragua Uganda
Guatemala Poland	Cuba Laos	El Salvador Nigeria
Burma Haiti South	Tanzania	Venezuela Ecuador
Korea Bolivia	Czechoslovakia	Pakistan Vietnam

5. We should take this as a warning:

a. Coups are a major threat to democracy. Very often they are used by a country's military or by an authoritarian group to pull down a democratic government.

b. Many coups have been successful. Citizens have not been able to defeat them.

c. Often citizens feel powerless to do anything in the face of a coup.

1) They are silent or submit passively because they do not know what else to do.

2) Their sense of powerlessness is aggravated by the fact that they have not prepared themselves to fight coups though advanced planning or training.

d. Therefore, it is a real challenge for us to understand how coups work and citizens can prepare themselves to defeat them.

IT IS HARD TO ORGANIZE AN EFFECTIVE COUP (Trainer talk – 10 minutes)

1. It is sobering to think that governments in over half the world's sovereign states have been overthrown by coups since World War II.

2. On the other hand, it should be noted that it is hard to organize a coup. It is hard to overthrow a government. Many attempts at a coup are unsuccessful. There are many more failed coups in history than successful ones.

3. It is especially hard to carry out a successful coup when the following three conditions exist:

WRITE ON NEWSPRINT: The 3 conditions listed below: (a) "The existing government is well established"; (b) "The populace generally supports the government"; (c) "Other nations are ready to become involved." Then talk about the points under each condition.

a. The existing government is well established if it:

- 1) Is democratically elected or has some other basis for legitimacy.
- 2) Shows it cares for the people and is responsive to their needs and concerns.
- 3) Has many regional centers of power, rather than having all power concentrated in one place.
- 4) Is supported as legitimate by a range of political forces in the society, such as political parties and regional, ethnic, and religious groupings.
- 5) Has strong support in the armed forces, the police, and the security agencies.

b. The populace generally supports the government if it:

- 1) Feels the existing government and its leaders are legitimate.
- 2) Is not passive. Political participation and interest by the populace is relatively high.
- 3) Has some experience with democratic participation and values freedom and democratic means of change.
- 4) Is well-educated; has many sources of information.
- 5) Has a history and experience of saying "No" to illegitimate power.
- 6) Feels that its physical needs are being met.

c. Other nations are ready to become involved if they:

1) Believe the government in question is legitimate and has the support of its people.

2) Are willing to bring pressure against attempts to change it by extra-parliamentary means.

4. When these above conditions exist:

a. The existing government will cling strongly to power.

b. The population will rise up spontaneously to resist the coup.

c. Other nations will use diplomatic or other means (e.g., embargoes) to bring pressure against the coup planners.

5. If you add to the 3 favorable conditions a populace that has some EXPERIENCE in combating coups, is TRAINED in resisting coups, and has a well-thought-out PLAN for resisting any attempt at a coup, then you have made it extremely hard for even the best-laid plot to succeed.

6. Our task together is to add these elements of TRAINING and advance PLANNING. With these, you will have not only the capability to defeat a coup, but to DETER schemers from trying a coup, knowing the opposition they will face.

7. Now we will look at how coups happen.

HOW DO COUPS HAPPEN? (Trainer's talk – 20 minutes)

1. We have mentioned that the dictionary definition of “coup d'état” comes from French, “blow against the state.” It is defined as “the sudden, forcible overthrow of a government.”

a. Purpose of the coup: To replace the current ruling group with your own and to seize governmental power.

b. Interesting point: Often accomplished by a relatively SMALL group of conspirators and with little or no violence. For example:

1) SOUTH KOREA 1961: General Park Chung Hee seized power with 3,500 troops out of an army of 600,000.

2) GHANA 1966: a mere 500 troops out of an army of 10,000 overthrew the single-party government of President Kwame Nkrumah with hardly a shot fired.

c. Rather than a slow building of force, with many battles and a final clash (as in revolution), the coup usually is QUICK and requires careful timing. Examples:

1) Nigeria: In just one day November 17, 1993, military strongman General Sani Abacha ousted the civilian government of Ernest Shonekan in Nigeria. The next day, the general announced that he was installing himself as ruler and would dissolve virtually every democratic institution in Nigeria. With one quick stroke, he dismantled a decade of Nigerian progress toward a system of elected government.

2) ARGENTINA: The Anti-Peron coup of 1955 was foiled because of a 10-minute delay in the appearance of warplanes, fog preventing the seaborne landings, and the last minute failure of political arrangements.

3) USSR: In August 1991, plotters quickly arrested Russian leader Mikhail Gorbachev. However, they missed arresting Boris Yeltsin by 40 minutes. This allowed him to get from his house to his office, from which he called for and helped lead the resistance, which thwarted the attempted coup.

2. Mechanics of the coup - how does a coup take place?

a. Five key elements:

1) Plotters form a small inner group, which supports the coup. This small core group plans and carries out the coup in complete secrecy.

2) Plotters build a reliable force beyond the inner group who can be positioned to implement the coup. They persuade key people to join the coup without tipping off those who might oppose it.

3) Before, during, and after the coup, the conspirators neutralize those forces that oppose the coup.

4) Once the coup is initiated, the intriguers use maximum speed in the transition so that opposition does not have time to build before they have consolidated their power.

5) Once power is taken, the conspirators work to convince the populace that the take-over was necessary and the new order is legitimate.

b. Armed forces often are relied upon. Why?

1) Army, police and/or security forces give the plotters means of coercion to overwhelm or neutralize their opposition.

2) Perceived advantages of using armed forces:

a) Units are located throughout the society.

b) Quick mobilization of large numbers possible.

c) They follow orders from the top down.

d) Are feared when they use or threaten force.

e) Are well-organized to carry out the many operations of the coup that have to be done almost simultaneously.

3) Plotters' strategy in approaching the armed forces

a) Turn a few elements of the armed forces into ACTIVE PARTICIPANTS in the coup. Identify and recruit key individuals, usually officers who command units that can intervene directly and effectively at the time and place of the coup.

b) NEUTRALIZE the other elements. Rather than have to fight them, assure their neutrality so as to prevent their intervention during the limited time span of the coup.

c. The process of neutralizing potential opponents

1) Neutralizing the armed forces

a) Assess which elements will "ride out" the coup. No need to contact them. (Many will take a "wait and see" attitude, worrying about endangering their careers under their future employers if the coup is successful.)

b.) Assess which elements are "on the fence." Persuade them to not intervene against the coup, if they will not join it.

c) Assess which elements are likely to oppose the coup actively. Be prepared to make lightning arrests of their leaders. Troops are less likely to move if commanders are under arrest. Prepare to disrupt their communications and close airports, railways, and city entry points to their forces.

2) Neutralizing the social/political sectors.

a) Prior to coup:

(1) Convince key leaders of important sectors (e.g., trade unions, political parties) to support the coup and encourage their members not to oppose it.

b) Upon initiation of coup:

1) Monopolize the means of communication. Communicate a credible message justifying the coup and call on the populace to support it. (For example, the Soviet putschists of August 1991 occupied the radio and TV stations and the newspapers and used them to broadcast their version of the coup. They also ordered all fax and copying machines and all video equipment to be turned over to them.)

(2) Have leading figures (union leaders, respected intellectuals, political figures, etc.) come out publicly in support of coup and ask their members to support it. Isolate, arrest, or assassinate leaders who might oppose the coup.

(3) Announce appointment of interim government with members chosen for widest possible public appeal (as well as loyalty to the coup).

3) Other key steps once the coup is initiated:

a) Use pre-arranged teams designed to move quickly to specific targets.

(1) Teams accompanied by the coup member associated with that target, e.g., the prospective new police chief goes with the team taking over the police station; the chief spokesman for the coup goes with the team hitting the TV station.

(2) Alert each team individually, with only as much advance warning as required to perform its particular task.

(3) Have one or more teams present a public show of force to demonstrate that the plotters are in control. (For example: the Soviet conspirers of August 1991 not only had military units and police occupy key facilities, but also ordered elite tank units into the streets.)

b) Arrest and assassinate key leaders of pre-coup government, especially those most dangerous in terms of likely opposition to the coup and ability to rally forces against it. (For example, the Soviet coup planners of August 1991 put Gorbachev under house arrest and tried to arrest Yeltsin.)

c) Impose a strict curfew to prevent street demonstrations or other signs of public opposition.

d) Seize, sabotage, or neutralize facilities. Have the military, police and/or security forces occupy key positions such as:

(1) Means of mass communication (radio, TV, print media)

(a) Need to achieve monopoly and means of communication.

(b) May mean seizing one particularly authoritative voice and sabotaging or "temporarily" closing the others.

(c) Impose strict censorship.

(2) Telecommunications (telephone, telex, telegraph, independent networks, etc.)

(a) Paralyze existing government communications system so they cannot speak to allies and rally forces.

(b) Keep popular opposition forces from communicating with one another.

(3) Transportation: city entry/exit road links, airports, railroads

(a) Station forces at all city entry/exit road links and at railroad facilities.

(b) Close airports and cancel all flights.

(c) Control prevents unexpected arrival of loyalist or unaffiliated forces.

(4) Government center and public buildings (parliament, leaders' residences, ministry of defense, military HQ, etc.)

Purpose:

a) Enables arrest of key leaders.

b) Provides protection for coup leaders and their allies.

c) Tanks in center give evidence of coup's power.

d) When coup controls buildings that symbolize the center of government, many people will assume its leaders now have political power.

d. Timing of the coup

1) Take advantage of favorable circumstances, e.g.

a) The temporary absence of political leaders from the capital. The Soviet conspirators of August 1991 timed their coup for when Gorbachev was on vacation outside the capital.

b) Riots or civil disturbances expressing dissatisfaction with the current government (e.g., food riots, marches of the unemployed.)

2) Move with maximum speed once the coup is initiated so that opposition does not have time to build.

BREAK (30 minutes)

DISCUSSION (10 minutes)

Trainer asks if there are any questions or comments from the previous session. Is everyone clear about the dynamics of coups, how coups take place?

OPTIONAL SMALL GROUP EXERCISE: BASED ON WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS' KNOWLEDGE OR EXPERIENCE OF COUPS (1 hour, 15 minutes)

The following exercise may be used if participants have some direct knowledge or experience of coups. For example, there may have been one or more well-known attempts at a coup against the government of their own country or that of a country nearby.

1. Trainer explains the exercise

a. The purpose of the exercise is to draw on your own knowledge or actual experience of coups in order to deepen our understanding of how coups happen.

b. The focus of our exercise will be on the (attempted) coup which took place in (country) on (month/year).

c. We will divide into 4 small groups, each with a question to discuss about the coup.

d. After discussion in the small groups, we will come back together to hear reports from each group and have a general discussion.

2. Trainer divides the participants into 4 small groups.

3. Trainer's instructions to the small groups.

a. Each group will have a question to answer about the coup.

b. Each group will have ½ hour to discuss the question.

c. Each group should name a recorder to write down the discussion and report back to the full session.

4. Questions for the small groups. (Trainer can write these questions on the newsprint)
- a. Group #1: What were the goals and objectives of the coup planners? What were they trying to accomplish? Why did they say they wanted to overthrow the existing government? What was their political program, if any?
 - b. Group # 2: What methods did the conspirators use to try to carry out the coup? What strategies and tactics did they use in pursuit of their goals and objectives?
 - c. Group # 3: What were the strengths and weaknesses of the coup? Did it succeed? If so, why? Did it fail? Why?
 - d. Group # 4: How did citizens respond to the coup? Did they resist it? If so, how? If not, why not?

5. Small group discussion (30 minutes)

6. Session of the full group (30 minutes)

- a. Each of the 4 small groups reports back to the full session.
- b. Trainers write a summary of each report on newsprint.
- c. Trainers lead a general discussion of the reports. Some questions they might ask to stimulate discussion are:
 - 1) Are the reports clear? Do you have any questions for the recorders about their reports?
 - 2) How do these reports increase our understanding of how coups happen?

WEAKNESS OF THE COUP (Trainer's talk: 5 minutes)

1. As the above discussion of the coup makes clear:
 - a. The coup's leaders need two things for success:
 - 1) Legitimacy: The population's acceptance of their moral and political rights or authority to rule.
 - 2) Cooperation: The active assistance or passive cooperation from many elements of society to carry out their purpose.
 - b. A small group of military officers or other schemers cannot bring off the coup by themselves. They need active or passive cooperation from many sectors of society. For example, they need:

1) Units of the armed forces to support them, follow orders to make arrests, jail protestors, and, if necessary, to shoot into crowds, and carry out assassinations. They also need the other units to remain passive and not intervene to try to stop the coup.

2) Journalist and broadcasters to follow censorship; not disseminate unauthorized news, not be critical of coup or its leaders. Media technicians keep everything running normally.

3) Members of the telecommunications and transportation systems to follow their orders or at least not oppose them.

4) Key leaders of important sectors to support them or at least to be neutral.

5) The population to obey the coup leaders' curfews, not to demonstrate against them, not to go on strike or commit other acts of civil disobedience.

c. If this cooperation and submission is not forthcoming, then coup backers cannot achieve their objectives.

d. The conspirators live in fear of defiance and repudiation:

1) That someone will rally the population into mass resistance to the coup.

2) That key sectors (e.g., the media, telecommunications) will not cooperate and will in fact use control of their technical means against the coup.

2. This defiance is exactly what happened in Russia in August 1991 and in other parts of the world where the population has successfully resisted coups.

a. In these instances, people simply refused to cooperate with the new order and instead defied it.

b. Power, therefore, does not lie in the conspirators' guns and tanks. Power lies in the refusal of the people to submit.

c. Defiance and refusal to submit to injustice or to cooperate with oppressive rule is the essence of nonviolence, as we will see in our next session.

OPEN DISCUSSION (10 minutes)

1. Trainers ask the group: Do you have any reactions to what has been said so far? Can you see how power lays not so much in guns as in people's refusal to submit to the guns?

2. Back and forth discussion between trainers and participants.

Session III

DEFEATING COUPS THROUGH NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE

PURPOSE OF THIS SESSION: (1) To understand what nonviolent struggle is; (2) To explore the advantages of using nonviolent struggle to combat a coup d'état; (3) To understand the “weapons” of nonviolent struggle that people can use to combat coups.

MATERIALS NEEDED: (1) Flip-chart stand; (2) Magic markers; (3) Pad of newsprint; (4) Enough copies of “198 Methods of Nonviolent Action” to hand out to all participants.

INTRODUCTION (Trainer’s talk- 5 minutes)

1. Plotters of coups want to make two things happen:
 - a. Bring off the coup QUICKLY so the opposition does not have time to mobilize.
 - b. NEUTRALIZE OPPOSITION so that no one blocks their way to establishing effective control over the state apparatus and society.
2. To defeat a coup, resisters must make two contrary things happen:
 - a. Move QUICKLY to oppose the coup so that it cannot become consolidated. • Inspire WIDESPREAD OPPOSITION rather than letting opposition be NEUTRALIZED.
3. In simplest terms, the resisters need to find quick, effective ways to say “NO!” to the coup. The essence of opposition can be expressed in one word: “NO!”
4. How can resisters say “NO!” most effectively?
 - a. One way is through armed struggle, violence.
 - i. If this were a workshop on VIOLENT opposition to coups, we would be studying MILITARY MEANS of resistance.
 - ii. We would be discussing what weapons would be needed to counter the weapons of the plotters, where to store them, and how to set up a military command structure. How to organize for violent battle.
 - b. But we believe NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE is a more effective and more morally consistent way to resist and defeat coups.
 - i. We assume you agree, since you invite us to lead a workshop on NONVIOLENT means.

- ii. Therefore, we will be talking about how to utilize NONVIOLENT WEAPONRY and how to organize for NONVIOLENT BATTLE.

WHAT IS NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE? (Trainer's talk and group exercise - 40 minutes)

1. GROUP EXERCISE

- a. Trainer asks groups: "What comes to your mind when you hear the word "nonviolence"?"
- b. Other trainer writes replies on newsprint. Some possible comments from participants may be: "Not being violent" "Passivity" "Pacifism" "Non-resistance"

2. What is nonviolent struggle? (Trainer's talk)

- a. Many misconceptions about nonviolence. Many people think it implies:
 - i. Passivity
 - ii. Simple lack of violence
 - iii. Weakness
 - iv. Cowardice
- b. We see nonviolent struggle differently. Here are two possible definitions of nonviolent struggle: (Trainer writes the following definitions on the newsprint):
 - i. Philosophical or Religious: A MEANS OF STRUGGLING FOR HUMAN LIBERATION WHICH, WITH GOD'S HELP, RESISTS AND REFUSES TO COOPERATE WITH EVIL OR WRONG OR INJUSTICE, WHILE STRIVING TO SHOW GOODWILL TOWARDS ALL OPPONENTS, AND BEING WILLING TO ACCEPT SUFFERING RATHER THAN INFLICTING SUFFERING OR VIOLENCE ON OTHERS
 - ii. Pragmatic or Sociological: A MEANS OF WAGING CONFLICT TO ACHIEVE AN OBJECTIVE BY DOING UNEXPECTED ACTIONS OR REFUSING TO DO EXPECTED ACTIONS IN RESISTANCE TO ILLEGITIMATE AUTHORITY WITHOUT THREATENING OR INFLICTING DIRECT PHYSICAL HARM ON HUMAN BEINGS
- c. Note the elements of the definitions.
 - i. It is a means of STRUGGLE, as is armed struggle.

- ii. It is not PASSIVE - it resists.
 - iii. UNLIKE violent struggle, however, it shows goodwill toward opponents and does not respond to their violence with counter-violence.
- d. Religiously or sociologically based?
- i. For many great practitioners, such as Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King, their nonviolence came out of a deep RELIGIOUS FAITH.
 - ii. For other great practitioners, it was simply the MOST EFFECTIVE way to struggle and had nothing to do with religion.
 - iii. If you are a person of faith you may find great strength by seeing nonviolence in relation to your faith. For example, Jesus, who taught, "Love your enemies" is perhaps the greatest practitioner of nonviolent struggle.
 - iv. If you are not a person of faith, you may find great strength in seeing nonviolent struggle as part of a long history of people who used this method as the most effective means of fighting for their liberation or the liberation of others.

3. GROUP EXERCISE

- a. Trainer tells group to reflect on discussion about coups so far. What are some examples of nonviolent methods that citizens have used to resist coups?
- b. Other trainer writes answers on newsprint under the following categories (taken from the first definition of nonviolence above):
 - i. "RESISTS AND REFUSES TO COOPERATE" or "RESISTS"
 - ii. "WHILE STRIVING TO SHOW GOODWILL" or "GOODWILL"
 - iii. "BEING WILLING TO ACCEPT SUFFERING" or "SUFFERING"
- c. When the group has listed all the examples it can think of, the trainer:
 - i. Compliments the group for its examples.
 - ii. Notes that, as we have alluded to earlier, Russian citizens organized effective nonviolent resistance against the attempted coup of August 1991. The trainer writes examples from this resistance on the newsprint:

- iii. Instructions: On the newsprint write only the underlined phrases below, but read and explain the idea of each sentence.

TRAINER'S EXAMPLES FROM SOVIET RESISTANCE:

1) "RESISTS AND REFUSES TO COOPERATE"

- a) Citizens carried signs ridiculing the coups' leaders.
- b) People distributed leaflets calling for civil disobedience.
- c) TV personnel refused censorship orders. They allowed Mayor Sobchak in Leningrad to get on TV and call for a national political strike and an all-city protest meeting in Palace Square.
- d) An enormous protest meeting was held in Leningrad's Palace Square.
- e) Some newspapers published with blank spaces, protesting censorship.
- f) When the coup leaders tried to impose a curfew on Aug. 20, ordinary citizens violated it by appearing on the streets and drivers of public transportation kept their vehicles running.
- g) When the coup leaders issued an order prohibiting strikes, workers in various parts of the country held protest work stoppages.
- h) When the coup leaders sent tanks and armored personnel carriers in the direction of Yeltsin's "White House" office, citizens massed on the streets in front of them. They threw up barricades and linked arms, standing in front of the tanks in spite of the danger of being shot and though soaked with rain.
- i) Boris Yeltsin stood on a tank and called for a general strike.

2) "WHILE STRIVING TO SHOW GOODWILL"

- a) People approached tanks, knocked on them, and tried to talk to the soldiers. Yeltsin climbed up on the tanks and shook the soldiers' hands.
- b) Women gave soldiers cakes, food, kisses, and cigarettes and asked them not to kill their mothers, brothers, and sisters.
- c) One person brought a lot of roses and distributed them to soldiers with a hug saying, "Don't shoot, be kind to people."
- d) People encouraged one another: "Don't hurt the soldiers; they are our sons and brothers; we are trying to win them over, not hurt them."

e) An orator in front of the White House told the crowd: “Our only weapon is kindness, words, and smiles.”

3) “BEING WILLING TO ACCEPT SUFFERING”

a) Leaders like Yeltsin and various pacifist, democratic, and religious groups called on people to refuse violence.

b) People climbed on the barricades and faced tanks even though they believed an attack was coming and that they might well be killed.

c) Women linked arms and created a “sisters and mothers chain” in front of the tanks with placard saying: “Soldiers, don’t shoot at your mothers.”

d) Three people were killed in confrontation with tanks.

4) Trainer notes that the above discussion helps us begin to understand the nature of nonviolent struggle and how it can be used effectively to counter coup d’etats. After the break, we will ask the question: “Why choose nonviolent resistance?”

BREAK (30 minutes)

WHY CHOOSE NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE? (Trainer’s talk and group exercise-25 minutes)

1. GROUP EXERCISE

- a. Trainer asks group to call out: “Everything you can think of IN FAVOR of using nonviolent methods to resist a coup, and everything you can think of AGAINST using nonviolent methods to resist a coup.”
- b. Other trainer divides newsprint with a line down the middle and writes the answers under the words: “IN FAVOR OF” “AGAINST”

2. Advantages of nonviolent methods (Trainer talk)

- a. Trainer affirms the points the group has made.
- b. Trainer will add his/her own ideas on the ADVANTAGES of nonviolent means of struggle, including answering any “against” comments that have been made. Trainers undoubtedly will have their own best arguments for the advantages of nonviolent methods. The following way of organizing the arguments is simply to give trainers a possible way to present the advantages of a nonviolent approach.
- c. Advantages

i. Advantages of resistance and non-cooperation

1. Nature of power

- a. Power to govern rests to a significant degree on the cooperation - willing or coerced - by the governed.
 - b. The film, "The Sorrow and the Pity," shows how most of the French population cooperated with the German occupation after the Nazis defeated the French army. Marshall Petain's collaborationist government kept the bureaucracy running smoothly. French police helped the Gestapo track down and arrest French resisters. Some French actors even went to Germany to make films.
 - c. People wishing to wield governmental power must be able to direct the behavior of other people, draw on large resources (human and material), apply sanctions, and direct a bureaucracy to administer their policies. • They depend upon the cooperation and obedience of many groups and institutions, special personnel, and the general population they wish to rule.
 - d. To the extent this obedience and cooperation is withdrawn, the rulers', or aspirant rulers', power is diminished. Total non-cooperation leads to total disintegration of rulers' power.
2. In nonviolent resistance willing collaboration is withdrawn. In a thousand different ways throughout the whole society, people defy the coup, refuse its legitimacy, dramatize their disapproval, and maintain allegiance to their pre-coup way of life.
 3. Even if the plotters punish people with arrest, torture, or death, they remain firm.
 4. They will NEVER obey the plotters.
 5. The plotters NEED millions of people who make the society work. They cannot run the society by themselves. Through nonviolent resistance, the resisters REFUSE this necessary acquiescence, and make it impossible for the plotters to gain

legitimacy or to consolidate their rule. f) Support for this view of the relationship between power and obedience was found after the failed Soviet coup of August 1991. Two months after the attempted coup, First Deputy Chairman Anatoly Oleinikov released an internal KGB investigation which stated: “[The coup planners] counted on the factor of obedience...but the people who were supposed to implement it refused.” (As reported in Associated Press, 10/26/91)

ii. Advantages of rejecting violence and showing goodwill

1. Coup is relying upon soldiers and soldiers know how to deal with violence.
2. Nonviolent struggle is different:
 - a. Seeks to disarm the opponent, not by overwhelming him with superior firepower, but by making him unwilling and unable to use his.
 - b. There are hundreds of historic instances where well-armed soldiers or police have refused to fire on nonviolent crowds. (During 1917 Russian Revolution, the Volynsky Regiment was one of several which, at first, fired at unarmed demonstrators, then mutinied and refused to fire.)
 - c. It is much easier for soldiers to kill if they believe others hate them and want to kill them. It is much harder to kill unarmed people who are showing you goodwill, as did the Russian mothers at the tanks in August 1991.
 - d. "Moral jujitsu" - A soldier is thrown off balance when he does not meet the violence he has been trained to expect, does not feel threatened, and does not see comrades falling around him. He may find it hard to justify violence when it does not seem brave or manly to kill defenseless people. He may develop respect, even sympathy, for people who are willing to suffer for their beliefs, and may begin to doubt the propaganda he has been fed by the plotters.

e. Nonviolent resistance may give resisters the power to undermine soldiers' morale, make them mutiny, or at least not follow orders.

f. This happened in Russia, August 1991:

i. At the Moscow Military Institute of the Ministry of Defense, 101 students barricaded themselves in their barracks, refusing to participate in the coup.

ii. Six tanks ordered to seize the White House defected, hanging Russian flags on their antennas and turning their gun turrets 180 degrees away from the White House.

iii. Troops flown in from Odessa to put down street resistance sat down and refused to proceed to the city upon being told in Moscow airport of their mission.

iv. When ordered to attack the crowd in Moscow, the KGB unit that attacked the TV tower in Vilnius and killed 13 civilians, refused, saying: "We were formed as an anti-terrorist unit. In Vilnius we killed innocent people. We won't do it again."

iii. Advantage of Mass Involvement

1. If resisters choose VIOLENCE to fight the coup, their numbers are LIMITED by the number of people willing and able to use guns, Molotov cocktails, etc.

2. In NONVIOLENT resistance, nearly EVERYONE can have a role. The whole population can practice non-cooperation and say "No!"

3. Nonviolent methods can be used by old and young, men and women, city and rural dwellers, educated and uneducated, the strong and the weak, factory workers, farmers, bureaucrats.

4. Thus the possible number of resisters is vastly increased.

iv. Advantages of building democracy

1. Military means of struggle typically require centralized, top-down decision-making by military leaders and unquestioning obedience by followers. This structure trains people in authoritarian mentalities rather than in participatory democracy.
2. By contrast, nonviolent struggle is based on large-scale, voluntary, democratic participation of the populace. Although it requires leadership, it allows and encourages a much wider participation in decision-making by participants than does the military. Those using it find that it can build democracy among the people while fighting to defend democracy in the people's institutions. It is a way to fight for democracy with democratic means. The means are inherent in the ends. This gives nonviolent ways of resisting coups a strong advantage over military methods.
3. Nonviolent struggle also contributes to a democratic spirit by its attitude of goodwill toward opponents, its refusal to kill them, and its commitment to building community. This basic attitude mirrors democracy's profound respect for human dignity. It contrasts sharply with military approaches that necessarily depend on killing or threatening to kill enemies. After the battle for control of government is over, the two sides, which normally are part of the same nation or state, have to find a way to live together. If they have been trying to physically destroy one another, the hatred set loose can undercut the task of building a common civil society. If, on the other hand, one side has been stressing goodwill, non-retaliation, and the goal of what Dr. Martin Luther King called "the beloved community," then that community of mutual respect becomes more attainable.

DISCUSSION AND QUESTIONS (10 MINUTES)

Trainers take any questions or comments on the above presentations. Is everything clear so far? Does anyone have anything to add, especially from his or her own experiences?

THE "WEAPONS" OF NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE (Trainer' talk and handout - 10 minutes)

1. Trainer's talk

- a. We have been talking about the power of nonviolent methods to undercut the power of those plotting the coup. We have mentioned various methods of nonviolent action that people have used.
 - b. If workshop was on military means of resisting coups, we would talk about an array of weapons available to resisters. Many people do not realize that non-violent struggle also has an array of weapons.
2. Handout Trainers hand out the paper, “198 Methods of Nonviolent Action” (click [here](#)).
Then:
 - a. Review for the group the main categories of “Nonviolent Protest and Persuasion,” “Social Non-Cooperation,” etc. Comment on some of the specific methods that have come up in the above discussion.
 - b. Tell the group to keep this sheet. We will be discussing it in future sessions.

SESSION IV

HISTORICAL EXAMPLES OF SUCCESSFUL NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE TO COUPS

PURPOSE OF THIS SESSION: (1) to examine in detail two historical examples of how nonviolent struggle was used to defeat coups; (2) To underline the point that nonviolence provides effective methods for thwarting coups; (3) To give concrete illustrations of nonviolent methods that workshop participants could use to frustrate coups.

MATERIALS NEEDED: (1) Flip-chart stand; (2) Pad of newsprint; (3) Magic markers

ESTIMATED TIME: 40 minutes unless “Other Historical Examples” Section is added at the end

INTRODUCTION (Trainer’s talk - 5 minutes)

1. Helpful to learn from history. Gives confidence that, if others have triumphed over attempted coups, we can too.
2. Have often mentioned the Russian resistance to the attempted coup of August 1991 because it was recent and so well-documented.
3. Useful to look at a couple of other examples where nonviolent methods defeated coups. What more can we learn?
4. Will look at 2 historical examples, the 1961 attempted coup against French President Charles deGaulle, and the 1920 attempted coup against the Weimer Republic in Germany.
 - a. Both illustrate that legitimate government can be saved by the action of ordinary people acting nonviolently.
 - b. Both were spontaneous responses to an attempted coup.
 - i. No planning or training prior to the coup.
 - ii. You, therefore, have the great advantage of being able to prepare yourselves ahead of time.

THE KAPP PUTSCH, GERMANY, 1920 (Trainer’s talk - 10 minutes)

1. Political situation in Germany
 - a. 1919- National assembly establishes a democratic government known as “The Weimer Republic.”

- b. Government faces severe economic and political problems due in part to Germany's defeat in World War 1. Severe unemployment, government having to pay high reparations.
2. Coup attempt in 1920
- a. Organized by Dr. Wolfgang Kapp, an extreme Right-wing nationalist, and Lt. Gen Walter von Luttwitz.
 - b. Coup backed by Gen. Erich Ludendorff, who in World War I, had been chief of staff of Field Marshall Paul von Hindenburg. (Von Hindenburg was regarded as Germany's greatest war hero because of his victories on the Eastern front.)
 - c. Most of the German Army remained neutral, neither backing nor opposing the coup. • 5,000 ex-soldiers and civilians, organized into "Freikorps" units, occupied Berlin on March 12.
 - d. Legal government under President Friedrich Ebert fled Berlin, eventually setting up in Stuttgart.
 - e. Kapp declared himself Chancellor of the Reich and made von Luttwitz commander of the armed forces.
3. Resistance to the coup
- a. The deposed Ebert government
 - i. Declared it was still the legal government and that all citizens have a duty to obey it.
 - ii. Directed the states to refuse all cooperation with the coup.
 - iii. Social Democratic Party issued proclamation, under the names of President Ebert and other party leader called for a general strike. Appeal read in part:

"The strongest resistance is required. No enterprise must work as long as the military dictatorship of the Ludendorfs reigns. Stop working! Strike! Strangle the reactionary clique...The whole economy must be paralyzed. No hands must move. No proletarian must help the military dictatorship. The total general strike must be carried through."
 - b. Sparked widespread nonviolent resistance to the coup.
 - i. Workers in Berlin spread strikes against the coup.

- ii. Insurgents seized two Berlin newspapers supporting the Ebert government, but the printers struck.
 - iii. Leading civil servants refused to run the ministries under the insurgents and the government administration as a whole refused cooperation.
 - iv. Qualified people refused to accept posts in the new regime.
 - v. People in all sectors refused cooperation.
 - vi. Leaflets entitled, "The Collapse of the Military Dictatorship," showered on Berlin by airplane.
4. The plotters' response:
- a. Repression - Some strikers shot to death.
 - b. However, found to their dismay that they could issue orders and decrees, but these were not being acted upon.
 - c. Story told that Kapp at one point found himself wandering up and down the corridors of power, looking in vain for a secretary to type up his proclamations.
5. Developments
- a. March 15: Ebert government refuses to compromise with the usurpers.
 - b. March 17: Berlin Security Police demand Kapp's resignation. Kapp resigns and flees to Sweden. Many of his conspirators flee Berlin in civilian clothing.
 - c. "Friedkorps" units resume obedience to the democratic government and march out of Berlin.
6. Weimar government still had grave problems.
- a. In 1933, all traces of democratic government were removed with the appointment of Adolf Hitler as Chancellor.
 - b. However, in 1920 the Weimar government showed that it could withstand the frontal attack of a coup through the nonviolent non-cooperation of its leaders and important sectors of the German people.

THE GENERALS' COUP, FRANCE, 1961 (Trainer's talk- 10 minutes)

1. Political Situation

- a. France had invaded Algeria in 1830 and declared it a colony in 1848.
 - b. War for independence broke out in 1954. Generals loyal to the legal government and capture DeGaulle ministers who were visiting Algeria.
 - c. Seven years of bitter fighting -10,000 French soldiers 100,000 Algerians killed.
 - d. Early in April, 1961 President Charles de Gaulle announced he was abandoning the attempt to keep Algeria French.
 - e. This outraged large sections of the French officer corps, who were still rankling under defeats suffered in Indochina. They didn't want to face another defeat in Algeria. They saw De Gaulle's policy as an intolerable sellout and determined to replace him.
2. Coup attempt
- a. April 21-22: French First Foreign Legion Parachute Regiment rebels and captures city of Algiers from legitimate French officials. Troops occupy government buildings.
 - b. Rebels arrest three French Generals loyal to the legal government and capture De Gaulle ministers who were visiting Algeria.
 - c. April 23: Four colonels who had organized the coup receive public backing by prominent French Generals, including head of air force. Most armed forces take a "wait-and-see" attitude.
 - d. Rebels seize control of newspapers and radio in Algeria.
 - e. Coup in Algeria at this point successful. Next step: move to replace the De Gaulle government in France.
3. Problem for de Gaulle government
- a. A half-million French troops in Algeria - few operational units left in France and loyalty of some of them in doubt. Even forces loyal to De Gaulle were doing nothing to actively oppose the rebels.
 - b. Powerful parachute units gave the rebels a tough, battle-hardened force for intervention. The bulk of the armed forces were either with them or neutral.
 - c. Fear that a parallel coup would be attempted in Paris or that the Air Force would transport rebel troops to invade France and oust de Gaulle.
4. Resistance to the coup

- a. April 23: French political parties and trade unions hold mass meetings, calling for one hour symbolic strike to demonstrate opposition to coup. De Gaulle broadcasts appeal to the nation:

"In the name of France, I order that all means - I repeat all means - be employed to bar the way everywhere to these men until they are brought down. I forbid every Frenchman, and in the first place every soldier, to carry out any of their orders."

- b. Prime Minister Debre, fearing an airborne attack, closes the Paris airports, and appeals by radio to the people:

"The authors of the Algiers coup...have planes ready to drop or land parachutists on various [French] airfields as a preliminary to a seizure of power...As soon as the sirens sound, go [to the airports] by foot or by car, to convince the mistaken soldiers of their huge error."

- c. Broadcasts were picked up in Algeria via transistor radio. Troops began to question their orders. Pilots pretended mechanical failures or flew their planes out of Algeria, making them unavailable for the invasion.
- d. April 24: 10 million French workers take part in a symbolic general strike, showing massive support for the legitimate government. People prepare to place vehicles on runways to block planes. Financial and shipping blockade on Algeria.
- e. Civil servants in Algeria hide documents or go into hiding in order not collaborate with the rebels.
- f. Police in Algeria declare support for De Gaulle government. Army units start to declare their support.
- g. Night of April 25-26, rebels withdraw from Algiers, a leading coup General surrenders and other go into hiding.

5. Results

- a. Coup defeated with only three people killed and several wounded.
- b. Leaders of coup arrested or exiled. First Foreign Legion Parachute Legion disbanded.
- c. De Gaulle remained President, heading his legal government.
- d. Algeria became independent in 1962.

LESSONS FROM THE HISTORICAL CASES (Group discussion, trainer comments - 15 minutes)

1. GROUP DISCUSSION

- a. Trainer asks group what lessons they draw from these cases.
 - b. Trainer writes group's comments on newsprint.
2. If the group doesn't bring up the following lessons, they should be mentioned by the trainer:
- a. Relation between civilians and military forces.
 - i. Non-cooperation by civilians can defeat well armed dedicated tough military forces.
 - ii. Military units often will take a "wait-and-see" attitude. Their decision to support the coup or not can be decisively influenced by the coup or not can be decisively influenced by how the civilian population reacts.
 - b. Leaders of legitimate government have a key role:
 - i. Insist that people continue to recognize their legitimacy and authority
 - ii. Call for massive resistance- rally the people.
 - c. However, nonviolent resistance can be done by ordinary civilians acting apart from government leaders.
 - d. Civil servants and bureaucrats can undercut the rebels' power by refusing to follow orders, delaying, etc.
 - e. Role of strikes in the economic sector:
 - i. Usually do not DIRECTLY undercut the rebels' power, since the rebels are initially seeking POLITICAL, rather than economic, objectives.
 - ii. However, strikes have great value symbolically to send a message of mass resistance. (The French strike, though symbolic and brief, involved 10 million people. Sent string message to the rebels.)

OTHER HISTORICAL EXAMPLES

Trainers might want to add other cases to illustrate the power of nonviolent resistance - "People Power" in the Philippines, Norway's resistance to the Nazis, the Baltic States' campaigns against the Soviets in the early 1990's, etc. These need not necessarily be from an historical case of

resistance to a coup. However, if a non-coup example is used, the trainer should make it clear that this is to show how a specific nonviolent strategy or tactic can effectively counter or defeat a specific method likely to be used in a coup.

SESSION V

DEVELOPING STRATEGIES TO DEFEAT COUPS

PURPOSE OF THIS SESSION; (1) To learn about the role of strategy in planning nonviolent defense against coups; (2) To give participants some practical experience in planning anti-coup strategy.

MATERIALS NEEDED: (1) Flip-chart stand; (2) Pad of newsprint; (3) markers

ESTIMATED TIME: 1 HOUR, 50 MINUTES

THE MEANING OF “STRATEGY” (Trainer’s talk - 3 minutes)

1. Effective resistance to coups involves not only using specific tactics, like factory workers going on strike, but also following a broad strategy.
2. This session, therefore, focuses on strategy. What we will do:
 - a. We will define the meaning of strategy.
 - b. We will pose some questions about strategy for you to consider. Then we will outline some important principles we think you should have in mind in developing your strategy for defeating coups.
 - c. Finally, we will have you do a group exercise in which you will develop your own strategic action plan for defeating a coup by means of nonviolent struggle.
3. Listen carefully to the presentation because you will be asked later to develop your own strategy.
4. What does the word “strategy” mean?
 - a. Refers to a general plan of action that specifies how best to achieve one’s objectives.
 - b. Example: Playing a game of soccer
 - i. Coach thinks through a strategy before the championship game.
 - ii. His objective: To score more points than the other team and win the game.
 - iii. His strategy: An action plan to achieve that objective. The plan will involve, for example:
 1. His assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the other team.

2. His assumption about what strategies the other team is likely to use.
 3. His thinking about when and how to use his players.
 4. Which plays he will use.
 5. What to do if there are injuries to key players.
- iv. If the coach knows that his team tends to get tired and fade toward the end of the game, his overall strategy might be to score early and build as many points as possible so the other team will not be able to catch up with his team.
- c. The same kind of planning happens in warfare, political campaigns, coup plotting - any area of life where people are seeking the most effective means to mobilize resources to reach objectives.
 - d. In your case, "strategy" tries to answer the question, "What is the best plan to achieve the objective of resisting and defeating a coup in my country?"
5. A warning - expect the unexpected. The unexpected happens. You cannot cover everything in your plan. Therefore:
 - a. See the plan as a tool, but do not be bound by it.
 - b. Use your creativity and ingenuity.
 - c. If you are religious, know that God is with you when you fight for justice and freedom. Let God guide you.

IMPORTANT QUESTIONS ABOUT STRATEGY (Trainer's talk - 2 minutes)

1. Questions about the coup plotters:
 - a. What strategies are plotters of a coup in your country likely to use? What will be their objectives and how will they try to realize them? What will be their targets?
 - b. What will be the strengths and weaknesses of those who plan a coup? What resources might they be able to bring to the struggle? What is likely to be the size of their effort, the prestige of their supporters, their access to technical means like military units, communications, etc.? What weaknesses might resisters exploit?
2. Questions about nonviolent resisters:

- a. Who are our most likely allies? What are the “circles of support” - from our inner core of the most active and dedicated resisters out to general supporters? What can be expected from each circle?
- b. What are the strengths and weaknesses of resisters and potential resisters? How can we maximize our strengths and minimize our weaknesses? How can we undercut the strengths of the plotters and maximize their weaknesses?
- c. What methods can we use that will be the most effective in defeating a coup?

IMPORTANT PRINCIPLES TO HAVE IN MIND IN DEVELOPING STRATEGY TO DEFEAT A COUP (Trainer’s talk - 10 minutes)

1. Quick response is crucial.
 - a. Strategy must enable resistance to begin immediately after the coup is initiated.
 - b. The longer the resistance delays, the more opportunity the plotters have to consolidate their control over the state apparatus and society.
 - c. Coups generally are weakest in their first hours and days. A broad and deep resistance has the greatest likelihood of defeating the coup at this early stage. An early defeat of the coup means the resistance will not have to deal with a long-term struggle against a regime that has become entrenched.
2. Repression is likely to occur.
 - a. Coup plotters may try to crush all resistance ruthlessly through mass arrests, shooting, and torture. They may try to “chop the head off” the opposition by killing the head of state, key political leaders, and members of the resistance.
 - b. The strategic plan should expect repression and prepare resisters to face it with courage and with the determination not to give in, no matter what.
3. Resistance should be developed in every sector of society.
 - a. Mass public meeting and street actions can be important tactics, but they should not be the sole strategy.
 - b. Strategy should identify the key sectors of the society- political, economic, social, religious etc., and develop a resistance plan for each.
4. Resistance usually should defend social institutions, not buildings.

- a. Moscow in 1991: People placed their bodies between tanks and the Russian Parliament building. Sometimes important to defend specifically symbolic buildings.
 - b. However, strategy should focus on defending social institutions rather than buildings because:
 - i. Extreme weather conditions (especially cold or prolonged rain) can make it difficult or impossible to keep a human barricade in place for long.
 - ii. Determined, ruthless military units can crash through civilian defenders and their barricades. If strategy hinges on defending a building, then its loss is a defeat for the resisters. Supporters can become unjustifiably demoralized. They can believe that occupation of the building has put the rebels in control.
 - iii. Social institutions can be defended directly, apart from the buildings that house them. For example:
 1. Seizure of a school building is of no use to someone trying to control education if the teachers, students and administrators have set up shop elsewhere, e.g. in homes.
 2. Seizure of a parliament building has only symbolic value if the members of the legitimate government have moved elsewhere and are continuing to function. (You will recall from session IV that Ebert did this in Germany when Kapp took Berlin.)
 3. Control of a radio station does no good if all the personnel have sabotaged the equipment and "called in sick," while actually setting up clandestine broadcasting facilities elsewhere.
 - iv. Therefore, strategy should plan how specific social institutions can be defended, apart from their physical structures. It should ask:
 1. What are key institutions or social sectors which can be organized for resistance?
 2. What particular form of non-cooperation is most appropriate for each particular sector?
 - v. Each sector and social institution should have a plan appropriate to that sector.
5. Flexibility is very important.

- a. Strategy should be able to shift in order to take account of new and unexpected circumstances, e.g., the plotters change their strategy, unexpected weaknesses are exposed among the defenders, etc.
 - b. Strategy should draw upon a range of nonviolent methods that can be used in different situations.
6. The general population should be able to defend against the coup apart from instructions by a leadership group.
 - a. Leaders play a vitally important role, but people at every level of society and without detailed instructions can practice nonviolent resistance.
 - b. Such capability is important because:
 - i. Leaders may be arrested, killed, or unable to communicate. (Part of the success of the 1967 coup in Greece was that the plotters rounded up all suspected leaders and arrested thousands of potential resisters.)
 - ii. People in their own setting (newspaper, TV station, court, police station, etc.) can build their resistance on their intimate knowledge of their institutions.
 - iii. Freeing people from complete dependence on leaders allows more creativity, initiative and potentially much larger numbers of resisters.
 - c. Strategy, therefore, should prepare people ahead of time for the role they can play in defending their society and its institutions, even if leaders have been arrested, deported or killed.
7. Long-term defense may become necessary.
 - a. If the resistance is not able to defeat the coup quickly, it is still possible to organize resistance as a long term strategy. Failure of a quick defeat of the coup does not doom the society to being ruled long-term by the usurpers.
 - b. The rebels will have established control of certain key facilities and will have established a modicum of legitimacy and acceptance.
 - c. The struggle will then change from simple anti-coup defense to a longer-term conflict with an established dictatorship.
 - d. A long history of successful nonviolent combat against dictatorship may be drawn upon for ideas and inspiration.

- e. Resistance may have to change from massive non-cooperation to defense of “key points” that the plotters wish to control. Examples:
 - i. Norwegian teacher’s struggle against Quisling’s attempt to take over Norwegian education.
 - ii. Poland’s 10-year nonviolent struggle against its communist government.
 - iii. A few illustrative possibilities:
 - 1. Police find themselves “unable to locate” leaders they have been ordered to arrest and they warn people of impending arrests or repressive action.
 - 2. Teachers refuse to introduce plotters propaganda into the schools.
 - 3. Clergy continue to preach about the duty to struggle for freedom.

WRITING A STRATEGIC PLAN (Group exercise - 1 hour, 35 minutes)

- 1. Trainer to group
 - a. We have discussed important questions about strategy and outlined important principles.
 - b. Now, we would like to give you a chance to apply these ideas by writing your own strategic action plan.
 - c. The plans will be very rough, because we have limited time. But this is an exercise to get you thinking. Later, you can refine the plans.
- 2. Trainer instructions to group:
 - a. Divide line into small groups of 8 or fewer. Name a recorder for each group.
 - b. Each group has paper and pencils.
 - c. Will be given 45 minutes to write your strategic plan.
 - d. Your plan can be written in any form you like, but it should cover the following points (which trainer writes on newsprint):
 - 1. Assumptions about Plotters: Their Strategies? Their Objectives?; Strengths/ Weaknesses?
 - 2. Assumptions about Resisters: Our Allies?; Our Strengths/ Weaknesses

3. What strategy should the nonviolent resistance use?: Most effective methods?; Institutions/sectors?; Form of Noncooperation for each sector?; Repression?; Leadership
- e. Trainer explains the points on the newsprint - these are the points each group should include in its Strategic Action Plan:
- i. What are your assumptions about the plotters of a coup that might occur in the future in your country?
 1. What strategies are they likely to use?
 2. What will be their objectives, their targets, and how will they try to realize them?
 3. What will be the strengths and weaknesses of those who plan a coup?
 - ii. What do you assume about the nonviolent resisters?
 1. Who are the resisters most likely allies?
 2. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the resistance?
 - iii. Given these assumptions, what strategy should the resistance use?
 1. What methods will be the most effective in defeating a coup?
 2. What key institutions or social sectors can be organized for resistance?
 3. What particular form of non-cooperation is most appropriate for each particular sector?
 4. How can resisters be prepared to respond to repression?
 5. What leadership should the resistance have?
3. 45 minutes in small group sessions.
 4. Full group re-convenes for:

- a. Reports - 15 minutes.
- b. General discussion - 30 minutes. The trainer should:
 - i. Write the main points from each group's strategic plan on pieces of newsprint.
 - ii. Add any of the trainer's own ideas for strategy.

SESSION VI

DEVELOPING TACTICS TO DEFEAT COUPS

PURPOSE OF THIS SESSION: (1) To explore specific tactics that can be used in nonviolent defense against coups; (2) To give participants some practical experience in planning anti-coup tactics.

MATERIALS NEEDED: (1) Flip-chart stand; (2) Pad of Newsprint; (3) Magic markers.

ESTIMATED TIME: 2 hours, including 20 minute break.

THE MEANING OF “TACTICS” (Trainer’s talk – 2 minutes)

- 1) If **STRATEGY** is a general plan of action for realizing one’s objectives, **TACTICS** are the individual methods or specific forms of action used to implement the strategy.
 - a) A **STRATEGY** might say, “This is the plan of nonviolent non-cooperation for each significant social group.”
 - b) A **TACTIC** might say, “In the mass media sector, newspaper editors will refuse to follow censorship rules ordered by the coup.”
- 2) Tactics are vitally important.
 - a) The struggle against a coup cannot be won just with strategy, a grand plan.
 - b) Specific tactics must be developed that are appropriate for every person and every institution involved in the resistance.
 - c) Analogy to military conflict:
 - i) In a military engagement, “strategy” is the generals’ overall battle plan; “tactics” are the weapons and maneuvers used by the fighting troops.
 - ii) In nonviolent struggle, “strategy” is the action plan developed by leaders; “tactics” are the specific nonviolent methods used to resist the coup.
 - d) We have already looked at a long list of 198 nonviolent methods or tactics. In this session, we will talk about how to apply them in the resistance against the coup.

THE GOAL OF STRATEGY AND TACTICS (Trainer’s talk – 3 minutes)

- 3) The OVERALL GOAL that our strategy and tactics are trying to achieve is the following:
 - a) To get as many parts of the society to say “NO!” to the plotters and to say “YES!” to our constitutional government and to a free, democratic way of life.
 - b) We want to make each institution of our society into resistance organizations against the coup.
 - c) We want people to maintain the control and self-direction of their own society, rather than giving over that control to the conspirators.
- 4) How can we achieve this? What tactics can we use to achieve this goal?
- 5) Think of this society as made up of many different units or sectors – political, economic, social, etc. The society has the military, police, judges, journalists, bureaucrats, technicians, shopkeepers, workers, farmers, taxi drivers, religious groups, intellectuals, artists, sports figures, and so on. Effective nonviolent resistance should try to have an action plan appropriate for each sector.
- 6) In this session, we will first consider what we want to say to ALL these sectors TOGETHER – what they can do IN COMMON to resist a coup. Second, we will consider what we want to say to EACH sector – how each sector can organize ITSELF effectively to make its own unique contribution to the resistance.

WHAT DO WE WANT TO SAY TO ALL THE SECTORS TOGETHER? WHAT IS THE MESSAGE WE WANT TO GET OUT TO EVERYONE? (Trainer’s talk – 5 minutes)

Each sector or institution must have its own unique action plan and tactics appropriate to its unique place in society. But every sector should be taking some common, general stands together, enabling each to work as one. These common stands or positions are:

- * “Repudiate the coup and its leaders as illegitimate and meriting only rejection as a new government.”
- * “Refuse to give legitimacy to the conspirators in any way.”
- * “Look upon all decrees and orders from the rebels as illegal. Disobey them. Continue to act in accord with the pre-coup constitution, laws, and policies of the legal government.”
- * “Do not cooperate in any way with the rebels.”
- * “Make the place where you live and work a center of resistance and non-cooperation. If removed, continue normal operation from other locations.”

* “Participate in rallies, demonstrations, strikes, and other protests to show massive repudiation of the coup.”

* “Do not supply the rebels with information, supplies, equipment, communications, transportation, or anything else that will aid them. Hide these resources if necessary.

* “Keep all resistance strictly nonviolent. Refuse to be provoked into violence.”

* “While continuing resistance, show good will toward the functionaries serving the coup. Talk to them. Urge them to see their mistake. Explain that the defenders respect their lives and will not be violent toward them. Urge them to follow the constitutional government, to disobey the orders of mutinous officers, and to defect peacefully to the defenders’ side.”

WHAT DO WE WANT TO SAY TO EACH SECTOR BY ITSELF? (trainer’s talk – 15 minutes)

- 1) Now we will look at the different sectors or social institutions that make up this society. What SPECIFIC resistance and non-cooperation can EACH group engage in, given its role and position in society?
- 2) We trainers will suggest just a few possible actions for a number of key sectors, then ask YOU to make plans for these sectors. Hopefully, you will be able to add more out of your experience.

NOTE TO TRAINERS: The suggested actions below are only a few examples. Feel free to add others from your own experience.

SECTOR OR INSTITUTION

MASS MEDIA (journalists, broadcasters, technicians, printers...)

1. Use your newspapers, magazines, radio, and TV stations to put out a call to resistance as soon as a coup begins. Continue issuing the call - and reporting on resistance actions - as long as possible. Keep up the morale of the resistance.
2. Do everything possible not to cooperate with the coup and its directives. Do not publish its propaganda or its lies. Tell the truth. Be a source of accurate information.
3. Do not follow the coup's censorship rules. If forced, publish newspapers with blank spaces in protest, as Russian papers did in August 1991.

4. Try creative non-collaboration. For example, if forced to broadcast from your radio station at the point of a gun, do so with "broken" transmitter that will not carry the message. Make parts disappear.

5. Try to report and publicize all instances of resistance to the coup and the calls to resistance from defenders of the existing government.

6. If shut down, forced out of buildings, etc., continue "underground" media August 1991, employees of 11 banned Soviet newspapers united to publish a "general newspaper" using photocopiers, laser printers and mimeograph machines. These were pasted on walls at metros, bus stops and street corners. Example: During the 5-year Nazi occupation of Denmark during World War II, the resistance published 538 illegal newspapers with a combined circulation of over ten million readers.)

7. In preparation for underground operation, be ready to set up stocks of newsprint, equipment, broadcast facilities, etc. in secret locations.

GOVERNMENT (leaders, civil servants, bureaucracy, judges...)

1. In preparation, have resistance plans at every level of government - from national to local.

2. Put out a call to resistance as soon as the coup starts. Remind people that the most important thing is to say "No!" to the coup, while not using violence against its functionaries. Instead try to convince them of their mistake.

3. Stay in official buildings if possible (e.g. with help of human barricades), but if arrest seems imminent, be prepared to move elsewhere and continue operations.

4. Do not cooperate with orders or decrees of the coup. Judges should not participate in any trials organized by the coup; civil servants should not follow orders (or should do so ineffectively). Follow the legitimate government.

TRANSPORTATION AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS

1. Do not cooperate in any way with the coup.

2. Defy curfews by operating your vehicles as long as possible.

3. Do not transmit coup messages.

4. Do not use railroads, buses, planes, etc. to transport the coup's troops or equipment. (Example: After the February 1917 "bourgeois" revolution in Russia, General Kornilov attempted a coup. It was foiled by the refusal of the Union of Railroad Employees to work the railways carrying his troops to Petrograd.)

TRADE UNIONS AND THE ECONOMIC SECTOR

1. Do not cooperate in any way with the coup. Do not join new unions set up by the coup or attend its meeting.
2. Be prepared to strike (short symbolic strike or general strike) to protest the coup. Do not follow coup bans on strikes.
3. If the coup tries to operate economic facilities, refuse their orders. If forced, “call in sick,” or operate inefficiently.

SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES

1. Do not cooperate in any way with the coup.
2. Speak out against the coup, encourage students and teachers to join demonstrations, protests.
3. Use departments of universities to aid the resistance, e.g. art dept. to make banners. Medical school to aid people injured in the resistance.
4. Refuse to teach the coup’s propaganda or to use their materials.

FARMERS AND FOOD TRANSPORTERS

1. Do not cooperate with orders from the coup.
2. Supply food to the resistance and not to the forces of the coup.

CHURCHES, SYNAGOGUES, MOSQUES

1. Priests and ministers encourage resistance among their people and speak out against the coup in sermons and rallies.
2. Join demonstrations, rallies, and parades and encourage followers to turn out for protests.
3. Allow church facilities to be used for anti-coup rallies, meetings, clandestine radio station, sheltering opposition figures, etc.
4. Encourage nonviolence and goodwill toward opponents, based on “love your enemies” spirit.

COORDINATION OF ANTI-COUP EFFORTS

SOME IMPORTANT CONSIDERATIONS

1. Set up close cooperation with each sector and especially with legitimate government leadership.

2. Prepare effective means of communications, both “high tech” and “low tech,” so you can keep in touch with various parts of resistance and continue to get out your message even if the coup blocks normal means. These might include:

- a. Storage of material to publish underground newspapers, leaflets, etc.
- b. Photocopies, printers, computers.
- c. Cell phones, fax machines, short-wave radios (in case inner-city telephone lines are cut).
- d. A computer communications network.
- e. “Low tech” means of communication, like having messages carried by taxi, bus drivers, and couriers on foot or bike.

3. Be prepared to “go underground” in case the coup attempts to arrest or assassinate resistance leaders.

BREAK: 20 MINUTES

SMALL GROUP EXERCISE: PLANNING FOR EACH SECTOR (Trainer and small group exercise - 1 hour, 15 minutes)

1. Trainer to group

a. Having given some of our ideas for what kinds of nonviolent non-cooperation can take place in each sector, we want to give you a chance to express your ideas.

b. We are going to divide you into small groups according to sectors and then ask you to discuss four questions.

c. Please name a recorder in each small group to write down the most important points of your discussion and to be prepared to report back to the full meeting.

2. Trainer - divide participants into small groups by sector.

a. Trainer writes the following sectors on newsprint:

- MASS MEDIA
- GOVERNMENT
- TRANSPORTATION
- TELECOMMUNICATIONS

- TRADE UNIONS
- ECONOMIC SECTOR
- SCHOOLS & UNIVERSITIES
- FARMERS AND FOOD TRANS.
- VETERANS' ORGANIZATIONS CHURCHES, SYNAGOGUES AND MOSQUES
- MILITARY, POLICE, PRISONS
- POLITICAL PARTIES/MOVEMENTS
- INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC
- SPORTS
- INTERNATIONAL POPULACE AS A WHOLE

b. Add any other sectors to the list that the participants feel are important.

c. If the number of participants is too small to split up into all the above small groups, some of the above sectors can be combined into the same group, e.g. "Military, Police, Prisons and Veterans' Organizations."

d. If possible, place members in each small group who are familiar with that sector, e.g., reporters in the "Mass Media" group, factory workers in the "Trade Unions" group, teachers in "Schools and Universities," etc.

3. Questions for each small group. (Trainer writes the four questions on the newsprint.)

a. What methods are coup plotters likely to use to try to control or neutralize your sector?

b. How can your sector prepare itself to say "No!" to the coup plotters' attempt to control or neutralize it?

c. What resources for resistance does your sector already have that can be strengthened or built upon?

d. What forms of nonviolent non-cooperation and what nonviolent tactics can best be utilized by this sector to resist the coup attempt?

4. Small groups meet for 45 minutes.

5. Full group re-convenes.

a. Recorders give reports from each sector.

- b. Trainer writes the main points from each sector report on newsprint.
- c. Trainer leads general discussion.

SESSION VII

NONVIOLENCE TRAINING EXERCISES FOR SECTORS

PURPOSE OF THIS SESSION: To introduce participants to two practical nonviolence training exercises that they can use to prepare themselves for the kinds of hard choices and confrontations they may face in struggling against an attempted coup.

MATERIALS NEEDED: (1) Flip-chart stand; (2) Pad of newsprint; (3) magic markers

TIME: Approximately 3 hours

NOTE TO TRAINERS: If you don't have any experience in leading the two exercises described below, please practice them with a few friends before doing them in a large group. The exercises work best when led by someone who is thoroughly familiar with them.

INTRODUCTION (Trainers talk - 2 minutes)

1. Up until this point, we have mainly been thinking and planning about the most appropriate strategy and tactics to use in resisting and defeating coups.
2. In this session, we will do some exercises to give you a more realist feel for the kinds of situations you may actually confront as you try to carry out your strategies and tactics in the struggle against an attempted coup.
3. The value of these exercises is that, by putting ourselves imaginatively into a problem or conflict situation, we learn something that we do not learn by just discussing it. These exercises can:
 - a. Help us think through what each person must do to carry out a particular nonviolent tactic.
 - b. Help us analyze and test tactics to see if they are realistic.
 - c. Give us the confidence to remain calm and nonviolent and show goodwill, even in the face of hostility.
 - d. Develop solidarity and mutual confidence.
 - e. Help us anticipate crises or problem situations we may confront and think through solutions ahead of time.
4. We are going to use one sector, the mass media, as an example. Each of you needs to imagine, for the rest of the Session, that you are a journalist or broadcaster or technician in a mass media office confronted with a coup.

“QUICK DECISION-MAKING” EXERCISE (Trainer's talk and group exercise -1 hour)

1. Trainer to group - Description of "Quick Decision-Making"
 - a. Explain purpose of Quick Decision-Making exercise:
 - i. Often in a conflict situation we have to make a decision quickly under pressure, but we need to consult with others and decide together.

- ii. This exercise helps us to "get a feel" for that situation and to see how we function under time pressure.
 - iii. Often the exercise also gives us new insight into how to solve particular problems. Or it raises new questions that we need to consider.
- b. Explain how Quick Decision-Making works:
 - i. You will be divided into small groups of 3 to 10 people, all in the same room.
 - ii. The trainer will give you a problem to resolve.
 - iii. You have two minutes to decide in your group how to resolve the problem.
 - iv. Then each small group will report back to the full group.
- c. Give instructions for setting up the exercise
 - i. Have the participants divide into small groups of anywhere from 3 to 10 people.
 - ii. Stand where everyone can hear you.
 - iii. State one of the problems below. Ask the groups, "What would you do?" or "How would you respond to this problem?"
 - iv. Remind the groups that they have just 2 minutes to come up with a solution.
 - v. Then ask each group to report on their discussion.

PROBLEMS TO POSE FOR THIS EXERCISE

1. Problems trainer will pose to groups (substitute with issues appropriate to the situation)
 - a. You are a group of editors at a major national newspaper. An attempted coup has begun. Your Managing Editor has just received a phone call from one of the coup leaders that you must publish a statement from the coup leaders that will be delivered to you within the hour. Failure to publish will be severely dealt with. What will you do?
 - b. You are the same group of editors. An armed group from the coup invades your office and announces that their representative is taking over the duties of Editor in Chief. Hereafter the coup leadership will determine what will be published. What will you do?

- c. You are the employees of a city T.V. station. You have been broadcasting anti-coup information. You find that the coup has shut down electrical power to your section of the city, putting your station off the air.

BREAK: 10 minutes

MAINTAINING NONVIOLENCE (Trainer's talk - 5 minutes)

1. Back in Session III, we discussed the advantages of nonviolent struggle. We also gave a definition of nonviolence. We said that nonviolent struggle combines a stance of resistance to injustice with an attitude of goodwill toward all opponents and willingness to suffer rather than to inflict suffering on others.
2. But how can we maintain this attitude of goodwill in the face of hostile opposition and death threats?
3. In this next set of exercises, we will put ourselves imaginatively into several conflictual situations. The challenge for the proponents of nonviolent resistance is to keep an attitude of calmness and goodwill toward their opponents even though they are being challenged forcefully.
4. Here are some thoughts on how to express this nonviolent attitude of goodwill.
 - a. Remember these principles of nonviolence:
 - i. Every human being has a sacred human dignity, no matter how brutally they may be acting at the moment. From a spiritual point of view, they are "made in God's image." Treating them with respect may encourage them to remember their own dignity and act more in accord with it.
 - ii. To show goodwill toward an opponent, to "love one's enemy," does not mean to have affectionate FEELINGS toward them. It is impossible to feel affectionate emotions toward someone who is threatening to hurt or kill you. "Goodwill" means to WILL the good. It is a conscious decision to act toward the other person in a calm and respectful manner, even though your EMOTIONS may be ones of anger or fear.
 - b. Express nonviolent goodwill in your "BODY LANGUAGE"
 - i. Try to keep calm and respectful EYE CONTACT with the other person.
 - ii. Keep your HANDS open, at your sides, or in another non-threatening position. Do not cross your arms defensively across your chest or make fists.

- iii. Respect the other person's SPACE. Getting too close or being right on top of the person can convey hostility and a prelude to attack. Being too far away can convey fear or an unwillingness to engage the other person.
 - iv. Use GESTURES and POSTURE that show that you are trying to be courteous, quiet, calm and peaceful.
- c. Express nonviolent goodwill in what you SAY--your WORDS
- i. If possible, INTRODUCE YOURSELF and ask the name of the other person. Offer to shake hands, if it seems appropriate. This can defuse tension and make things more personal and more human.
 - ii. LISTEN to the other person. It's not necessary to respond immediately. Show respect by trying to find out why they are doing what they are doing.
 - iii. If you cannot think of what to say right away, it is fine just to listen sympathetically or to ask questions: "Can you tell me more?"
 - iv. ASK QUESTIONS that challenge the other while showing respect. For example: "I agree with you 100% that it is good to be patriotic, but how do you feel about democracy? Is this attempted coup not undermining democratic institutions?"
5. Think about how YOU will express nonviolent goodwill by word and action as we turn to our next exercise, "Hassle Lines."

"HASSLE LINES" EXERCISE (Trainer's talk and group exercise- 1 hour)

1. Trainer to group- Description of "Hassle Line" exercise.
 - a. Explain the purpose of Hassle Lines:
 - i. When we are involved in nonviolent struggle against an opponent, we are often in a situation where there is a lot going on around us, but we need to focus on the individual in front of us who is challenging us or asking us questions.
 - ii. Hassle lines simulate that situation and helps us to see how to respond creatively and nonviolently even in the midst of distractions and hostility.
 - b. Explain how the Hassle Lines exercise works:
 - i. Everyone will divide into two parallel lines, with each person facing a "partner" directly across from them.

- ii. Each person in one line will be in a one-on-one “hassle “ with his or her partner in the other line.
 - iii. The trainer will give one “role” to one line, and another “role” to the other line. The trainer will give each line 30 seconds to “get into” their role-to think how to play the role.
 - iv. When the trainer gives the signal, each person will play the assigned role with the “partner” directly across from them.
 - v. The trainer will call “Stop” after a few minutes and then lead an evaluation.
- c. Give instructions for setting up the exercise.
 - i. Ask everyone to stand up and move any furniture out of the way. Then, form 2 parallel lines, with each person facing a “partner” directly across from them.
 - ii. Call one line “Line A” and the other “Line B.”
 - iii. Ask each person to reach across the line to make sure that everyone has a partner. LINE A LINE B LINE A LINE B TRAINER:
 - iv. Explain again what will happen: “I am going to give one role to Line A and a different role to Line B. Then I will give everyone 30 seconds to get into his or her roles. When I say 'Start!' you should play your assigned role with your partner. When I say 'Stop!' everyone should stop playing their role and raise their hands as a signal for quiet.”
 - v. Say: “It is natural to be a little nervous and to relieve tension by laughing. But try to play your role as seriously and realistically as possible. Think about what you are going to say and how you are going to express your feelings through your tone of voice and gestures. If your role calls for anger, for example, use an angry tone of voice and make angry gestures. The more real-to-life the role-play, the more we can learn from it.”

2. Run the exercise.

- a. Give clear instructions to each line as to the role they are to play. (See "situations to Pose for the Hassle Lines" at the end of this session.)
- b. Give participants 30 seconds to get into their roles.
- c. Give the "Start!" signal.

- d. Observe what happens:
 - i. Let the participants play their roles for about 2 or 3 minutes. Do not cut it short, but do not let it drag out too long either. Let people have several good exchanges back and forth.
 - ii. Walk along the outside of the lines and observe carefully what the players are doing and saying. Make mental notes especially of those participants whose words and actions show strong feeling or a creative nonviolent approach.
- e. Stop the action. Say “Stop!” and remind people to raise their hands as a signal for quiet. (You may need to walk between the lines to get people to stop playing their roles. Sometime people get so involved that they do not want to stop.)
- f. Evaluate what happened:
 - i. The purpose of the evaluation is to help people learn from what has happened and what makes for effective nonviolent communication in the midst of distractions and hostility.
 - ii. Questions the trainer might ask to help participants evaluate and learn from what happened:
 1. To everyone: “What was it like to play your roles? How did it feel to play this role?”
 2. To the nonviolent resister: “How did it feel to have your partner approach you with such anger? Was it difficult to maintain an attitude of nonviolent goodwill in the face of such hostility? What did you try to do or say to show calmness and respect for the other person? What seemed to work? What felt difficult?”
 3. To the attacker: “Did your partner express nonviolence in words or body language in a way that made a positive impression on you? Did they do or say anything that made you less hostile? Was there anything they could have done to get through to you?”
 4. Almost inevitably, this kind of exchange will draw out of the participants many ideas for effective nonviolent behavior. The “nonviolent resister” may not have realized they were being effective until they hear the “attacker” say, “My partner looked very calm, kept eye contact with me, and asked me good questions

in a friendly manner. I could feel myself softening, even though I did not show it.”

- g. Ask generally: “What did you learn from this experience?”

SITUATIONS TO POSE FOR THE “HASSLE LINES” EXERCISE

1. Everyone in LINE A and B is an employee of a prominent daily newspaper. The paper has just received word that a coup has begun. Those in Line A have been trained in nonviolent methods for resisting coups. They want to make immediate preparations to oppose the coup. Those in Line B would like to resist, but haven't thought about how resistance could be carried out. They are very skeptical that anything effective can be done. They need to be convinced that resistance is possible. The purpose of Line A is to convince Line B that resistance is needed and to begin thinking about what needs to be done. The purpose of Line B is to raise every possible objection to the ideas of Line A, because Line B does not see what can be done to oppose the coup effectively.
2. Everyone in Lines A and B are employees of a major radio station. An attempted coup has begun. The manager has just called all the employees together. He says that he has just received an order over the phone from a representative of the coup saying that the station must not broadcast anything against the coup. If it does so, it will be occupied by armed force and resisting employees will be severely punished. The manager wants the employee's opinion on what the station should do. The people in Line A are frightened by the coup's threats and are afraid to resist. Those in Line B are determined to resist the coup. The purpose of Line A is to convince Line B that resistance is dangerous and futile and that it is better to go along with the demands of the coup. Their fear can make Line A people angry and defensive. The purpose of Line B is to convince Line A that resistance is necessary and possible; it can be successful.
3. The people in Line A are editors at a TV station. Those in Line B are representatives of the coup, backed up by an armed military unit, who have invaded the station. They are angrily demanding that the TV station put on the air a spokesman for the coup to make a statement justifying the coup. The purpose of Line B is to have their demand carried out immediately. The purpose of Line A is to resist this demand through nonviolent non-cooperation.
4. The scene is a prominent magazine. The people in Line A are an armed group from the coup who have invaded the magazine office and announced that they are taking it over and will hereafter decide what will and will not be published. Their purpose is to take over the magazine. Those in Line A are the managing editors at the magazine. Their purpose is to resist this take-over nonviolently.

SESSION VII

NONVIOLENCE TRAINING EXERCISES FOR STREET ACTIONS

PURPOSE OF THIS SESSION: (1) To provide further ideas on how to keep a nonviolent spirit throughout the resistance; (2) To give participants further experience with “Quick Decision-Making” and “Hassle Lines” exercises in preparation for street actions.

MATERIALS NEEDED: (1) Flipchart stand; (2) Pad of newsprint; (3) Magic markers; (4) Copies of the “Nonviolent Discipline” for the group (see page 71)

ESTIMATED TIME: Two and a half to three hours, depending on number of exercises used and amount of discussion about each.

INTRODUCTION: ADVANTAGES OF NONVIOLENCE (Trainer’s talk- 2 minutes)

1. In Session VII, we used two nonviolence training exercises, “Quick Decision-making” and “Hassle Lines,” to help you think creatively and act nonviolently in the difficult or hostile situations you may confront during coup.

2. In Session VIII, we will use these same exercises, applying them to “street actions” that might be used in the struggle against a coup.

3. Before we begin these exercises, let’s say a few words about nonviolence.

4. Back in Session III, we discussed some of the advantages of using nonviolent struggle to resist coups. We noted that:

a. Nonviolence can throw troops off balance. They are not meeting the violence they have been trained to deal with. They do not feel threatened and do not see comrades being killed around them. They may find it hard to justify using violence against people who are not harming them and who are willing to suffer for their convictions.

b. Outreach to troops with an attitude of active goodwill can cause troops to question what they are doing and to doubt the coup plotters’ propaganda.

c. We gave examples of how this approach can cause troops to mutiny, defect, refuse to follow orders, or follow orders half-heartedly.

d. If we can cause such dissent among the coup’s armed supporters, then we will have reduced the power of the coup drastically.

5. At the same time, it must be recognized that it is hard to be nonviolent in the face of violence. Violence inspires fear. How can we overcome or deal with this fear?

OVERCOMING FEAR #1 (Trainer’s talk- 2 minutes)

1. Those plotting the coup:

a. Want to eliminate all resistance and consolidate their power.

b. Will use violence to inspire fear in those who might oppose them. May use arrests, imprisonment, beating, shootings, torture, assassinations, and so on.

2. If potential resisters give in out of fear, then the coup is likely to win.

4. The violent measures in themselves, however, are not decisive unless they inspire submissiveness. They will not work unless they make people cooperate with the new regime.

5. If people refuse to cooperate in spite of the repression and in spite of fear, then the plot cannot win.

OVERCOMING FEAR #2 (Trainer and group discussion- 5 to 10 minutes)

1. Trainer to group

a. All of us have been in situations at some time in our lives when we need to do something, but were afraid to do it.

b. What have you done in your own life to try to overcome fear in such situations? Or try to do what is right in spite of your fear?

2. Trainer writes group's reactions on newsprint.

3. Trainer adds other thoughts, if group has not mentioned them:

a. The definition of "courage" is not to act without fear" but rather "to go ahead in spite of one's fear." We do not need to be free of fear to act courageously or with determination.

b. Remember the stakes, what we are fighting for.

c. Support one another. Be willing to admit that you are afraid and to ask for support from others.

d. If religious, pray. "I sought the Lord, and he heard me, and delivered me from all my fears." (Psalm 34:5)

NOTE TO TRAINERS

At this point, you might recount some historical examples that illustrate how, if the resisters refuse to be intimidated into submission or passivity, then the repression may fail. For example: (1) The early Christian church, which overcame the Roman Empire in spite of being thrown to lions, etc.; (2) Polish Solidarity's ten year resistance to communism in the 1980's; (3) the

people's revolution in the Philippines in 1986, which overthrew the Marcos dictatorship, in spite of repression; (4) Prague, 1989; (5) Leipzig, 1989; (6) Vilnius, 1991; (7) Moscow, 1991.

OTHERS WAYS TO REINFORCE NONVIOLENT ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR IN RESISTANCE: NONVIOLENT DISCIPLINE (Trainer's talk- 10 minutes)

1. Fear may make people reticent to resist; anger may tempt resisters to respond with their own violence.
2. What are some other ways that we can encourage the resistance to stay nonviolent in spite of the inevitable emotions of fear and anger that resisters will feel?
3. A written "nonviolent discipline"
 - a. Used in nonviolent movement throughout history.
 - b. Suggest you give it to participants before an action starts. Could be printed ahead of time to hand out in social institutions and at all points of resistance.
 - c. The resistance might organize ceremonies in which people could read the discipline and pledge to follow it.
 - d. The text that follows is for illustration only. You can write your own wording appropriate to your situation.

NONVIOLENT DISCIPLINE

We pledge to resist the coup with all our strength and to refuse to cooperate with it.

We will endeavor to show goodwill to all opponents and refrain from any violence against them.

We will not bring or use any weapons except our hearts and minds. We will use no violence. We will refuse to return assaults of the opponent.

Whenever possible, we will protect opponents from attack.

Our attitudes conveyed through words, symbols and actions will be one of the friendliness and respect toward all people we meet, including police and armed forces.

We will follow the directions of our designated leaders. In the event of serious disagreement, we agree to remove ourselves from the action.

4. Have the group read over the discipline. Any questions? Any suggestions for re-wording?

OTHER WAYS TO REINFORCE NONVIOLENT ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR IN THE RESISTANCE: "MARSHALLS" (Trainer's talk- 1 minute)

1. Trainer explains that specifically-trained “marshalls” are often used to help keep a nonviolent spirit during actions. They usually have an identifying symbol, such as an armband.
2. If, for example, the action is a march, the “marshalls” would be spaced all along the march. If violence occurs during the march, they step in and use nonviolent means to resolve the conflict.
3. We will illustrate the role of marshalls in some of the exercises that follow.

BREAK (Stand up and stretch- 5 minutes)

IMPORTANCE OF NONVIOLENT STREET ACTIONS (Trainer’s talk- 2 minutes)

1. Nonviolent anti-coup campaigns have often involved actions in which masses of people have taken to the streets for marches, rallies, human barricades, etc.

a. The thousands of people who stood between the tanks and Boris Yeltsin’s “White House” in August 1991 played a vital role in foiling the attempted coup.

b. Such actions are a vivid way of demonstrating that the population does not support the coup.

c. They are particularly effective in combination with the nonviolent non-cooperation in society’s sectors and institutions that we described in Sessions V and VI.

2. In this session, we will again use “Quick Decision-making exercises” and “Hassle Lines” to give a realistic feel for the dynamics of street actions that might be taken to resist an attempted coup.

NOTE TO TRAINERS

The set up for those two exercises is the same as for those in Session VII. For “Quick Decision-making,” use the same instructions that we used in Session VII, page 59-60. For “Hassle Lines,” use same instructions as in Session VII, Page 63- 65.

Your goal as trainer is to help the group find creative nonviolent solutions to the problems that the exercises pose. For example, in QDM exercise (2a. below “Rain”), you could point out the need to have supplies of plastic sheeting to use for quick rain cover and the need to make sign and banners from waterproof material. QDM (2b) points out the need to have a medical team to support any large march.

QUICK DECISION MAKING EXERCISE (Trainer and group- 1 hour)

1. Trainer instructions to group (see page 59-60 for details)
2. Problems to pose in this exercise

a. You are a group of “marshalls” who have been specially trained to keep order and a nonviolent spirit in a large street rally that has been called to show defiance of an attempted coup. Ten thousand people have gathered in a public square. It is a cold day. Leaders of the resistance have begun to address the crowd. Just at this moment, it begins to pour down a drenching rain. What will you do?

b. You are the same group of “marshalls” and are positioned along the lines of a large protest march through the center of the city. It is a hot day. Suddenly, at the front of the line, one of the marchers faints from the heat. At the same time, at the back of the line, a marcher and a passerby get in an argument and they start a scuffle. What will you do?

c. You are a group of leaders of the nonviolent resistance. You understand that a tank unit supporting the coup is entering the city and plans to position itself in front of the main government building where the legitimate government is located. How will you respond?

d. You are part of a human barricade and are trying to talk to soldiers ordered to hold an important public building. A nervous soldier fired into the crowd and injures one of the demonstrators. What will you do?

e. You are part of a human barricade. A tank commander defects with his tank and crew. He offers to turn his tank around and fire at the tanks supporting the coup. What will you do?

HASSLE LINES (Trainer and group- 1 hour)

1. Trainer instructions to group (see page 63-65 for details)

2. Situations to pose for the Hassle Lines.

a. Line A is a group forming a human barricade to prevent tanks from approaching a building where the legitimate government is at work. Line B is a new person who comes to the group, carrying a large knapsack. He explains that it is filled with Molotov cocktails. He feels that violence is the only courageous way to resist. He plans to start throwing these fire bombs at the tanks if they do not leave in five minutes.

b. Line B is a human barricade group standing between a government building and troops supporting the coup. Line A is a person who comes up to the barricade and begins telling people that he knows where they can get lots of guns and ammunition to defend themselves.

c. Line A marshalls with the same human barricade group. Line B is an army commander supporting the coup. He comes up to the marshalls and says that they must order the barricade to disperse. If the crowd does not disperse, he will be forced to have his troops advance through the crowd and disperse it himself.

CLOSING DISCUSSION (Trainer and group- 30 minutes)

Have everyone sit together and ask, “What did we learn from these exercises?” Write down any new points on the newsprint.

SESSION IX

USING A STRATEGY GAME TO PLAN RESISTANCE TO A COUP

PURPOSE OF THIS SESSION: To use a realistic game that will enable participants to try out and evaluate their strategies and tactics for resisting an attempted coup.

MATERIALS NEEDED: (1) Flipchart stand; (2) Pad of newsprint; (3) Magicmakers; (4) Pencils and paper for all participants.

ESTIMATED TIME: Three hours minimum. To get the full impact and benefit of a strategy game, it should be played over the course of a whole day.

INTRODUCTION: PURPOSE OF A STRATEGY GAME (trainer's talk)

1. The “Quick Decision-Making” and “Hassle Line” exercises we have done in the last two sessions focus on a particular, isolated program or situation that may be encountered in nonviolent resistance to a coup.
2. A “Strategy Game” is a much broader exercise that allows participants to get a sense of a while anti-coup campaign over time. It helps participants:
 - a. To see how a large-scale campaign may develop from beginning to end.
 - b. To gain information about the consequences of using a particular strategy or set of strategies – what works and what doesn't.
 - c. To explore the most realistic and effective strategies and tactics over the course of a campaign in light of how opponents may respond to them.

HOW THE STRATEGY GAME WORKS (Trainer's talk)

1. Explain that, in a Strategy Game, the participants play all the relevant roles that would be played in an actual conflict situation.
2. Here, participants will be divided between “attackers” (the coup plotters), “Defenders” (those resisting the coup), “Onlookers” (those not immediately involved in the conflict but who may be influenced to support or resist the coup), and other relevant parties.
3. During the game, the attackers, defenders, onlookers, and others will make “moves” and will have a chance to respond to “moves” made by other players. Each group must pick a leader who will help their team choose a “move” and then announce it to the other teams. The first move must be made within 20 minutes of the start of the game, with subsequent

moves every 10 minutes. The attackers begin, but thereafter each group makes its moves simultaneously. If a group has no move to announce, it may say “Pass.”

4. A group of 3 “judges” has the following responsibilities and authority:
 - a. To decide whether a proposed move is realistic or not. Anyone participating in the game can question the realism of a move. If a dispute occurs, the judges will decide by majority vote if the proposed move will be allowed or not. Their ruling is final during the game.
 - b. To see that groups only make moves of which they are capable. For example, the attackers cannot say that they defenders mass rally turned into a riot which justified mass arrest by the attackers’ troops. It can say that it’s people infiltrated the rally with agents provocateurs to try to provoke a riot.
 - c. The judges also write down each move as it occurs.
 - d. They also make sure that each group makes its “move” within the allotted time span. If they do not, the group loses its turn. (Judges can adjust the time for deliberation if things are moving too quickly or too slowly.)
5. Trainers will call for break when they are needed.
6. At the end of the game, the trainers will lead a debriefing and discussion of what was learned.
7. Note: the game’s structure will make communications and decision-making hurried, fragmented and pressured. This will be frustrating, but it also will add to the reality of the game. Decision-making during an attempted coup will be under similar pressure.
8. Are there any question? Is everything clear?

INSTRUCTIONS FOR SETTING UP THE GAME (TRAINER’S TALK)

1. Write the following 6 groups on a piece of newsprint:
 - a. Attackers
 - b. Defenders
 - c. Onlookers
 - d. Judges
 - e. Existing government
 - f. Foreign governments

2. Explain the composition of each group and its goals and strategies as follows:
 - a. Attackers- This group is made up of the leaders of the coup plot and any groups in the society who might support a coup, e.g., units of the army, navy, air force, police, secret police, dissident politicians, etc. The attackers' goal is to take governmental power through a successful coup. They can use their supporters in any realistic fashion to try to achieve their goal.
 - b. Defenders- This group is made up of the leaders of the resistance and organized groups throughout various sectors of society that will join in the resistance. These might include resistance teams in the mass media, transportation system, trade unions, schools and universities, agriculture, religion, military and police, political parties, and groups of intellectuals, artists and sports figure. The defenders strategy involves using every relevant and realistic method of nonviolent struggle.
 - c. Onlookers- This group is made up of member of the general populace who have not initially committed themselves either to support the coup or fight it. The onlookers' group includes members of the military and police who have not initially taken sides, and any relevant social sectors. Their goal is to decide whether they should support the coup, join the resistance or try to be neutral.
 - d. Judges- As described above, they have the authority to decide if a proposed move is realistic or not. Anyone participating in the game can question the realism of a move. If a dispute occurs, the judges will decide by majority vote if the proposed move will be allowed or not. The judges also keep a running, written record of all moves and they make sure that each group makes its move within 10 minutes of the last group's move. If they fail to do, the judges can require that they skip their turn.
 - e. Existing government- This is the legitimate government which the coup is trying to overthrow. It is composed of its leaders and all the various national, regional and local units that make it up. Its goal is to remain in power and not have the coup succeed. Its strategy involves any realistic methods that a government might employ under such circumstances.
 - f. Foreign governments- this group includes any foreign governments that might have reason to become involved in the struggle over the coup. They are reticent to "intervene in the internal affairs of a sovereign state," but circumstances may make them feel that they must take a stand. Their goal is to protect their own national interest. If they decide to intervene, their

methods might involve, e.g., making statements in support of the existing government (or the coup), withdrawing ambassadors, using diplomacy, economic boycotts, etc.

3. Divide participants into the groups. Allow participants to choose the group they want to be in.
 - a. Group size: the “judges” group should have three members, the other groups 3 to 6 members. (If there are more than 33 participants in the workshop, the other should be “observers” who will follow the action, take notes, and share their observations during the discussion at the end.
4. Remember to ask each group to name a leader/spokesperson who will announce the group’s moves.
5. When the groups are set up, have named a leader, and are ready to go, announce “Start.” The groups now have 20 minutes before announcing their first strategy.
6. At the end of 20 minutes, ask the attackers to announce their first move. (They might say, “We have arrested the Head of State and are sending sympathetic army units to arrest other top government leaders and occupy their offices. We are also sending messages to all the mass media that they must publish our statement explaining why we had to take his drastic but necessary action to end corruption and malfeasance at the highest levels of government.”)
7. After the attackers make their first move, any other players can ask clarifying questions of the attackers and can make any challenges as to the realism of the move. If there are challenges, the judges decide if the move will be permitted.
8. The defenders and other then have 10 minutes before they must announce their first moves. (The judges do not make moves; they decide if the other groups’ moves can be permitted.) After a full round of moves has been announced, each group has 10 minutes to plan its next move. In subsequent rounds of moves, it is good to rotate groups’ reports first.
9. Once the players have gotten into the game, the judges can adjust the time for moves to provide longer or shorter periods for deliberation. Judges should be sensitive to the players’ needs and the overall time allotted.
10. Negotiations: at any time during the game, groups can request permission from the judges to negotiate with another group. The negotiations can happen without stopping the game or the time-keeping.

11. Role-playing: with the permission of the judges, the moves can be stopped temporarily to permit participants to role play a particular situation. Judges should stop the same for the moment, allow groups time to prepare for and run the role-play, evaluate, and then return to the strategy game at the point where it is stopped.
12. The moves and counter-moves continue until one side has won, the allotted time has run out, the outcome seems determined, the participants are too tired, or the trainers decide that enough issues have been unearthed to have a good discussion. If it is not clear at the end of the game who won, the judges each give their opinion and vote to decide.
13. If the game ends quickly (e.g., the coup wins with a couple of brilliant strokes!), the game can be re-played to try out different, more effective strategies.
14. When the game is completed, the trainers should call a break to let people get out of their roles. Players also may want to assure people with whom they have had heavy conflicts during the game that the feelings are not carried over. Then trainers lead a discussion. Some good questions might be:
 - a. At what point did your group feel a lot of tension or frustration? What did you do about it? How well did the members of your group work together?
 - b. What did you learn? What strategies seemed the most/ least effective? Why? What could you have done differently? Were some strategies outstanding? Why?
 - c. Was it hard to find nonviolent strategies/ tactics? What insights did you gain about the power nonviolent struggle to defeat an attempted coup?

Session X

PLANNING NEXT STEPS

PURPOSE OF THIS SESSION: To wrap up the training session and plan what more must be done to organize people for effective nonviolent defense against coups.

MATERIALS NEEDED: (1) Flip-chart stand; (2) Pad of newsprint; (3) Magic markers.

ESTIMATES TIME: 1 to 3 hours, depending on how much specific future planning needs to be done

WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED? (Trainer and group)

1. Trainer to group: “What have been the highlights of this training? What are the most important things you have learned?”
2. Trainer writes summary of these on the newsprint.

WHAT DO WE NEED TO DO NEXT?

1. Trainer to group
 - a. We have gone through an enormous amount of material exercises, discussion and planning. We will leave with you all the newsprint pages with your ideas.
 - b. However, one workshop is not sufficient to organize effective resistance to an attempted coup.
 - c. What next steps need to be taken to organize such resistance?
2. Group exercise
 - a. Trainer makes list of all the “next steps” that the participants mention.
 - b. If they do not mention the following, the trainer should be sure to list them:
 - i. What further training do we need? How can we offer training to others who were not able to be with us at this time?
 - ii. How will we organize among the various key sectors of society so that each will have a core group committed to preparing that sector for effective nonviolent resistance?
 - iii. How will we coordinate our efforts from here on?

- iv. Who will take responsibility for specific tasks that need to be done, such as writing a Nonviolent Discipline?
- v. (If the group is non-governmental) What support do we need from our government to make this effort successful? How can we obtain this support?
- vi. What organizational structure do we need among ourselves to keep the planning moving forward? Steering Committee? Task Forces? Memberships? Leadership?

ORGANIZING FOR SPECIFIC NEXT STEPS (Trainer and group)

1. What do we need to do next?
2. Is there a core group from this training session that will take responsibility for next steps? Who should be on it? When and where should they meet?

PARTICIPANTS SHOULD NOT LEAVE THE WORKSHOP WITHOUT A DEFINITE PLAN FOR NEXT STEPS OR WITHOUT SPECIFIC PEOPLE HAVING TAKEN RESPONSIBILITY TO INITIATE THE NEXT STEPS.

¹ Two exciting new quantitative studies have been released in the last several years.

A 2008 study by Maria J. Stephan and Erica Chenoweth evaluated 323 violent and nonviolent resistance campaigns from 1900 to 2006 and found that “major nonviolent campaigns have achieved success 53 percent of the time, compared with 26 percent for violent resistance campaigns.” They account for this by pointing out that nonviolent movements tend to have more domestic and international legitimacy than violent movements and therefore tend to get more participation by the domestic population and support by international actors than violent movements. They also found that government repression against nonviolent movements is far more likely to backfire against the government than government repression against violent movements.

A 2005 study by Adrian Karatnycky and Peter Ackerman examined 67 transitions from authoritarianism between 1972 and 2005. They found that transitions driven by nonviolent resistance resulted in greater increases in freedom than transitions driven by violence. In 64% (32 out of 50) of the cases in which nonviolent civic resistance was a key factor, the transitions from authoritarianism led to political systems that had high levels of respect for political rights and civil liberties. In contrast, in the cases in which opposition groups used violence, only 20% (4 out of 20) led to governments with high levels of respect for political rights and civil liberties.

Sources: Stephan, M. J., and Chenoweth, E. (2008) “Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict”. *International Security* 33 (1), 7-44.
 Karatnycky, A. and Ackerman, P. (2005) *How Freedom is Won: From Civic Resistance to Durable Democracy*. Washington, DC: Freedom House.

² Sharp, Gene and Jenkins, Bruce (2003) *The Anti-Coup*. Boston, MA: The Albert Einstein Institution. Available for download at: <http://aeinstein.org/organizations/org/TAC.pdf>