

Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	xi
<i>List of Contributors</i>	xvi
<i>List of Initial Questions</i>	xx
1. Introduction <i>Adam Roberts</i>	1
2. People Power and Protest: The Literature on Civil Resistance in Historical Context <i>April Carter</i>	25
3. Gandhi and Civil Resistance in India, 1917–47: Key Issues <i>Judith M. Brown</i>	43
4. The US Civil Rights Movement: Power from Below and Above, 1945–70 <i>Doug McAdam</i>	58
5. The Interplay of Non-violent and Violent Action in Northern Ireland, 1967–72 <i>Richard English</i>	75
6. The Dialectics of Empire: Soviet Leaders and the Challenge of Civil Resistance in East-Central Europe, 1968–91 <i>Mark Kramer</i>	91
7. Civil Resistance in Czechoslovakia: From Soviet Invasion to ‘Velvet Revolution’, 1968–89 <i>Kieran Williams</i>	110
8. Towards ‘Self-limiting Revolution’: Poland, 1970–89 <i>Aleksander Smolar</i>	127
9. Portugal: ‘The Revolution of the Carnations’, 1974–75 <i>Kenneth Maxwell</i>	144
10. Mass Protests in the Iranian Revolution, 1977–79 <i>Ervand Abrahamian</i>	162
11. ‘People Power’ in the Philippines, 1983–86 <i>Amado Mendoza Jr</i>	179
12. Political Mass Mobilization against Authoritarian Rule: Pinochet’s Chile, 1983–88 <i>Carlos Huneeus</i>	197

13. The Interplay of Non-violent and Violent Action in the Movement against Apartheid in South Africa, 1983–94 <i>Tom Lodge</i>	213
14. The Intersection of Ethnic Nationalism and People Power Tactics in the Baltic States, 1987–91 <i>Mark R. Beissinger</i>	231
15. The 1989 Demonstrations in Tiananmen Square and Beyond: Echoes of Gandhi <i>Merle Goldman</i>	247
16. Civil Resistance and Civil Society: Lessons from the Collapse of the German Democratic Republic in 1989 <i>Charles S. Maier</i>	260
17. The Limits of Prudence: Civil Resistance in Kosovo, 1990–98 <i>Howard Clark</i>	277
18. Civil Society versus Slobodan Milošević: Serbia, 1991–2000 <i>Ivan Vejvoda</i>	295
19. Georgia's 'Rose Revolution' of 2003: Enforcing Peaceful Change <i>Stephen Jones</i>	317
20. Ukraine's 'Orange Revolution' of 2004: The Paradoxes of Negotiation <i>Andrew Wilson</i>	335
21. The Moment of the Monks: Burma, 2007 <i>Christina Fink</i>	354
22. A Century of Civil Resistance: Some Lessons and Questions <i>Timothy Garton Ash</i>	371
<i>Index</i>	391

Illustrations

1.1	Prague, August 1968: a woman remonstrates with invading Warsaw Pact troops	11
1.2	US government provides armed protection of non-violent civil rights demonstrators. Montgomery, Alabama, March 1965	15
1.3	Vietnamese Buddhist monks at Xa Loi Pagoda in Saigon on 18 August 1963	17
1.4	On 24 March 1999 President Clinton announces the start of aerial bombing of Serbian targets	19
2.1	Playwright and impresario of civil resistance, Václav Havel, at the launch of his new play in 2007	32
2.2	Burmese pro-democracy campaigner Aung San Suu Kyi	35
2.3	In Kathmandu, capital of Nepal, tens of thousands celebrate the ending of the period of royal rule and martial law, 27 April 2006	41
3.1	Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, 6 July 1946	48
3.2	Gandhi on the salt march, 1930	52
3.3	Gandhi and Lord Mountbatten, 1947	55
4.1	Police dogs and water cannons used against peaceful civil rights demonstrators in Birmingham, Alabama, 1963	69
4.2	Martin Luther King with US Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and US Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson outside the White House, 22 June 1963	71
4.3	Martin Luther King at the huge March in Washington, during which he gave his 'I have a dream' speech, 28 August 1963	73
5.1	Civil rights march in the Catholic Falls Road area of Belfast, July 1970, three months after the first major confrontation between Catholics and British soldiers in Belfast	78
5.2	Bernadette Devlin, a key figure in the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland, April 1969	80
5.3	Two children in the predominantly Catholic Markets area of Belfast re-enact the shooting of four men the day before, August 1971	84
6.1	Alexander Dubček, First Secretary of the Czechoslovak communist party, at a meeting in Bratislava of the leaders of six communist states, 3 August 1968	92
6.2	Newly appointed leader of the Soviet communist party, Mikhail Gorbachev, and Erich Honecker, the long-time leader of East Germany's communist party, at its 11th party congress in East Berlin in April 1986	101

6.3 Boris Yeltsin reads a statement from atop a tank in Moscow, 19 August 1991, as he urges people to resist the attempted <i>coup d'état</i>	108
7.1 A road sign broken by Czechoslovak citizens to prevent the invading Warsaw Pact forces from finding their way, late August 1968	113
7.2 Wenceslas Square, in the centre of Prague, is deserted as a one-hour general strike begins at midday on 22 August 1968	118
7.3 Josef Smrkovsky, President of the Czechoslovak Parliament, explains the results of Moscow negotiations to MPs during an informal meeting in Prague, 27 August 1968	123
7.4 A vast crowd in Wenceslas Square, Prague, during a two-hour general strike on 27 November 1989	124
8.1 Vast crowds turn out to listen to the Polish Pope, John Paul II, on his extraordinary pilgrimage to his native land in June 1979	130
8.2 Strike leader Lech Wałęsa waits to make his confession to a Catholic priest during the historic strike in the Lenin shipyard in Gdańsk, August 1980	135
8.3 Prime Minister and army general Wojciech Jaruzelski and Solidarity leader Lech Wałęsa, March 1981	137
8.4 The large round table ready for the televised formal opening of the 'round table negotiations' pioneered by Poland from February to April 1989	141
9.1 Huge crowds fill the streets of Lisbon in celebration of the young military officers who had overthrown one of Europe's longest lasting dictatorships in a <i>coup d'état</i> on 25 April 1974	145
9.2 Dealing with the secret police, Portugal, late April 1974	148
9.3 Portuguese soldiers read a newspaper in late April 1974 to find out the latest on the 'Revolution of the Carnations'	155
10.1 A crowd estimated at one million marches through the streets of Tehran in January 1979, demanding the return from exile of Ayatollah Khomeini	164
10.2 Iranian women show support for Ayatollah Khomeini at Tehran University, two days after his triumphal return to Iran on 1 February 1979	167
10.3 US President Jimmy Carter on a brief visit to Tehran, 31 December 1977	175
11.1 Filipino opposition leader Benigno Aquino Jr lies dead on the tarmac at Manila Airport, 21 August 1983	180
11.2 Cory Aquino, widow of Benigno, campaigning on 21 January 1986 for the presidential election held on 7 February	183
11.3 Demonstrators gather around effigies of Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos and US President Ronald Reagan, 3 February 1986	187

11.4	A Filipino youth slashes an oil painting of Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos with a stick, February 1986	193
12.1	A riot policeman fires tear gas at demonstrators in Santiago, Chile, 18 November 1983	203
12.2	Chilean dictator General Pinochet welcomes US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger on a visit to Santiago, 8 June 1976	208
12.3	Demonstrators in Santiago celebrate Pinochet's defeat in the plebiscite held on the previous day, 5 October 1988	211
13.1	At a funeral on 7 September 1985 members of the UDF-aligned United Women's Organization serve as a guard of honour	217
13.2	At a Cape Town funeral on 1 July 1985, Bishop Desmond Tutu pleads with the crowd to spare the life of a suspected police informant	219
13.3	South Africans at a funeral on 7 September 1985 for nine people who had died during riots in Guguletu, a black township in Cape Town	224
13.4	Frederik Willem de Klerk, the former South African president, shaking hands with his successor, President Nelson Mandela, in January 1994	226
14.1	At the 'Baltic Chain' demonstration on 23 August 1989, placards symbolizing the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact are burned in Tallinn, capital of Estonia	233
14.2	Inhabitants of Tallinn hold hands as part of the 'Baltic Chain' demonstration on 23 August 1989	236
14.3	The parliament building in Vilnius, the Lithuanian capital, is protected by concrete and barbed-wire barricades, 18 January 1991	238
15.1	A student in Beijing's Tiananmen Square wears the US civil rights movement's classic slogan, 'We Shall Overcome', 13 May 1989	252
15.2	A lone demonstrator seeks to block the path of a tank convoy leaving Tiananmen Square in Beijing, 5 June 1989	255
16.1	After prayers for peace at St Nicholas's Church in Leipzig, demonstrators calling for peaceful change inside the German Democratic Republic march around the city's inner ring road, October 1989	262
16.2	Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev embraces Erich Honecker, East German communist leader, during the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the GDR's creation, East Berlin, 7 October 1989	271
16.3	East Germans queue up to pass through the Wall to West Berlin, 10 November 1989	275
17.1	Ethnic Albanian students hold banners saying 'Kosova university now—tomorrow will be late' in Kosovo's capital, Prishtina, 29 October 1997	283

17.2 Serbian police beat ethnic Albanians during demonstrations in Prishtina, 2 March 1998	285
17.3 Ibrahim Rugova, long-time leader of Kosovar Albanians' civil resistance, meets UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan on 1 June 1998, at UN headquarters in New York	288
18.1 Serbian students marching in Belgrade face the police cordon on Knez Mihajlova Street, 27 December 1996	301
18.2 'He's finished!' Slogan being stuck on a policeman's riot shield outside the Belgrade parliament, 5 October 2000	309
18.3 Bulldozer in front of the Yugoslav Federal parliament building in Belgrade on 5 October 2000, the day the building was occupied and Slobodan Milošević compelled to resign	313
18.4 A demonstrator waves a banner bearing the face of opposition leader Vojislav Koštunica on the steps of parliament in Belgrade, 5 October 2000	315
19.1 Interior ministry servicemen greet opposition leaders in the parliament yard in the Georgian capital Tbilisi, 23 November 2003	319
19.2 Georgian opposition supporters wave national flags as they stand on an armoured vehicle, celebrating the resignation of President Eduard Shevardnadze, 23 November 2003	328
19.3 Georgian opposition leader Mikheil Saakashvili after a meeting with President Eduard Shevardnadze in the president's residence, 23 November 2003	333
20.1 Thousands of orange balloons cover supporters of Ukraine's opposition presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko during a rally in Kiev's Maidan square, 2 December 2004	336
20.2 Millionairess and politician Yuliia Tymoshenko, talking at a press conference in Kiev, 26 December 2004	344
20.3 The round table at which Ukraine's two rival presidential candidates met on 26 November 2004, for the first time since a disputed vote	350
21.1 A protest by some 20,000 Buddhist monks and citizens in Rangoon, 23 September 2007	357
21.2 Supporters of the Buddhist monks march down a street in Rangoon, 25 September 2007	359
21.3 UN Special Envoy Ibrahim Gambari poses with Myanmar's generals, 2 October 2007	364
22.1 Buddhist nuns taking part in a procession in Rangoon on 25 September 2007	373
22.2 The vast turnout to welcome Ayatollah Khomeini to Tehran on his return from exile, 1 February 1979	378

22.3 Mohandas Gandhi as a young man, before he became the 'Mahatma'	381
22.4 Václav Havel and Alexander Dubček toast the resignation of the ruling politburo on the stage of the Magic Lantern theatre in Prague, headquarters of the Velvet Revolution, 24 November 1989	383