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DIRECTOR OF NET ASSESSMENT

MEMORANDUM FOR: ED PROCTOR, CIA, DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR INTELLIGENCE

SUBJECT: Research in Civilian Resistance Activities

Dr. Gene Sharp at Harvard University recently contacted me in reference to possible Defense Department support of some long term research in the role of civilians in defending against foreign military forces by using non-violent means (e.g., general strikes, work slowdowns). He already has done a substantial amount of research in the field, although I am not acquainted fully with his work. Professor Thomas Schelling at Harvard referred Dr. Sharp to me with his proposal (attached).

I thought CIA might be interested in this work. Dr. Sharp opens up an avenue of thought about a different type of conflict which could occur in the future and to which analysts should probably be exposed. However, while the work looks interesting I am not in a position to judge its utility. I have sent copies to you, the Army and OSD(ISA) to alert people who would possibly be interested and may wish to contact Dr. Sharp.

  
ANDREW W. MARSHALL

ON FILE OSD RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

D R A F T

INVESTIGATION OF CIVILIAN STRUGGLE AND ITS POTENTIAL AS AN ALTERNATIVE  
TO TRADITIONAL MILITARY MEANS AND OTHER POLITICAL VIOLENCE  
IN NATIONAL DEFENSE AND OTHER ACUTE CONFLICTS

A two-year proposal for research, analysis, and planning

submitted to

THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

by Gene Sharp, D. Phil. (Oxon.)

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Center for International Affairs, Harvard University

Rockefeller Foundation Fellow in Conflict in International Affairs

being conducted in

The Program for Science and International Affairs

at The Center for International Affairs of Harvard University

March 1975

**ON FILE OSD RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS APPLY**

CONTENTS

	page
1.00. The Conceptual Basis for the Proposal.....	2
2.00. The Project.....	7
2.10. Preparations for a research program on civilian struggle and related phenomena.....	7
2.20. The applicant's individual studies on civilian struggle and civilian-based defense.....	10
2.30. Research fellowships and consultations on civilian struggle.....	12
3.00. Supporting Activities.....	16
4.00. The Basis for this Project at the Harvard University Center for International Affairs.....	17
5.00. The Budget.....	18

1.00. The Conceptual Basis for the Proposal.

Until very recently, a major technique for waging political struggle and providing national defense has remained misperceived and virtually neglected by both academics and policy-makers. This is the technique of civilian struggle--protest, noncooperation, and intervention without physical violence. This has also been called civil resistance, nonviolent action, and civilian combat. In it, diverse social, political, psychological, and economic "weapons" are applied rather than military ones.

In recent years social science studies have begun to reveal this as a vast and extraordinarily rich field. Policy-makers have also begun to examine whether this technique can be deliberately refined and adapted to develop specific substitutes for political violence for particular purposes, including national defense.\*

In significant and diverse cases, even without preparations, nonviolent struggle has to a high degree already been substituted for political violence as the technique of struggle. In 1944 economic shut-downs and acts of political repudiation destroyed the dictatorships of El Salvador and Guatemala within days. By massive strikes and demonstrations, Communist rule was shaken (but not disintegrated) in East Germany in 1953, in Poland and Hungary in 1956, and in Poland again in 1970-1971. Other cases include American colonial struggles, 1765-1775; the Russian Revolutions of 1905 and February 1917; the Indian national liberation campaigns under Gandhi's leadership; indigenous Norwegian, Danish, and Dutch anti-Nazi resistance; the Buddhist 1963 anti-Diem campaign in South Vietnam; and the Sudanese dissolution of General Abboud's regime in 1964.

The technique of civilian struggle has also been tried for national defense. A general strike and noncooperation by civil servants

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\* See C. Sharp, "Notes on the possible relevance of civilian-based defense to the short- and medium-range defense and security problems of the United States and other countries" (draft), pp. 4-13 and bibliography pp. 54-59. Cambridge: Program for Science and International Affairs, 1975 (Xerox MS.).

successfully defended the German Weimar Republic against a coup d'etat in 1920. When the Ruhr was invaded by French and Belgian troops, civilian resistance was official German defense policy: refusal of collaboration, social and economic boycotts, and labor strikes. The results were mixed, with economic losses on both sides. The occupation troops withdrew after the German government agreed to call off the resistance, in which counter-productive sabotage had developed. The French government under Poincaré was unexpectedly defeated in the 1924 elections, partly because of French revulsion against the occupation and repression.

Reacting to invasion by over a half-million troops, Czechs and Slovaks in 1968-1969 wielded improvised civilian-based defense: defiance by the President and National Assembly, resistance broadcasts, symbolic strikes, Party opposition, student demonstrations, police noncooperation, absence of collaborators, and demoralization of Russian soldiers.

Despite weaknesses and strategic mistakes, this unprepared defiance led to severe morale problems among Russian troops, restraint in Russian repression, temporary defeat of the Russian attempt to impose a pro-Moscow regime, and a return to power of the Dubcek reform group, with some of the reforms, for eight months. In comparison, prepared Czechoslovak military resistance, if used, reportedly could have been crushed in a few days.

These are but a few examples out of a vast but largely ignored history of civilian struggle utilizing nonmilitary "weapons." Many specific methods have been applied in such conflicts and are included in this technique: nearly 200 have been identified to date. They are classed as nonviolent protest and persuasion (the milder forms), noncooperation (boycotts of social relations, economic boycotts, labor strikes, and political noncooperation), and nonviolent intervention (psychological, physical, social, economic, and political).

Though nonviolent, this type of struggle has nothing to do with pacifism. It is a vigorous resistance by ordinary people. They have fought by disrupting, paralyzing, and nonviolently coercing, denying the opponent needed cooperation, and directly or indirectly undermining his system.

Nonviolent struggle has already been applied as the technique of struggle or final sanction in quite diverse types of conflicts. These include not only minority struggles, religious conflicts, and

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civil liberties campaigns, as might be expected. They also include

peasant struggles for land reform, the labor movement's use of strikes and boycotts, and liberation movements against both foreign invaders and domestic dictators--even totalitarian systems. As we noted, they also include struggles against coups d'etat and foreign invasions.

The technique has been applied successfully against violently repressive opponents. One reason this is possible is that repression may trigger "political jiu-jitsu," that is, repression produces backlashes which undercut the opponent's power bases while increasing the extent and intensity of resistance and sometimes pressures from third parties.

Most past nonviolent struggles have occurred without significant awareness of earlier cases, or of the nature and requirements of this technique; they have generally been improvised without preparations, training, and "know-how." While there have been notable failures, a high degree of success has been achieved in many cases despite these unfavorable circumstances. Even on the basis of our present knowledge of some of these cases and of the nature of nonviolent struggle, major reexamination may be required of significant parts of political history. However, in contrast to the deliberate development of the technique of war, civilian struggle has been neglected and is still as undeveloped as was war five thousand years ago.

Researchers and scholars, for example, were slow to focus attention on the phenomenon of nonviolent means of conducting conflicts. Now, however, serious social science examination has begun on a limited basis. There were a few pioneer studies in the 1920s and 1930s, but the more significant contributions have only developed in the past fifteen years or so. These culminated in 1973 in my book, The Politics of Nonviolent Action, which has been widely described as a landmark and breakthrough for the field.

Significant groundwork for the study and analysis of the technique and policies based upon it has now been laid. The field has been delineated, basic terminology and concepts formulated, main characteristics described, and methods of action defined and classified. Also, the technique's assumptions, dynamics and processes, strategic principles, requirements, and implications have been made explicit and related to historical cases. Additional cases have been identified for further

research. From all this, hypotheses for research can be formulated and significant research problems can be located. For example, systematic study of cases of defeats, successes, and of mixed results, may help us learn about the potential and requirements of this technique.

The basis has now been laid for major research and analysis of the technique of civilian struggle and its policy potential. Basic and problem-oriented research, coupled with deliberate efforts at refinement and development, would very likely increase significantly the effectiveness of this nonviolent combat technique, as has been done with the technique of war. In addition to research, other means may help improve effectiveness, including contingency planning, training, and specific preparations to make the technique operational in conflicts in which war or other violence would otherwise be used. Such deliberate development of the effectiveness of this technique may extend the types of situations in which it is a viable option, even against extremely powerful and ruthless regimes.

Parallel with the beginning of academic attention to this phenomenon, unusual policy-oriented interest has developed into the possibilities of deliberate development of the nonviolent technique for national defense uses, i.e., to produce a full substitute for defensive conventional war or a nonviolent supplement to military defense. It has been argued that with specific preparations the whole population might provide effective nonmilitary defense against invasions and coups by preventing consolidation of control, denying enemy objectives, and wielding political jiu-jitsu. If well-prepared and accurately perceived, such capacity might deter those forms of attack. If this type of deterrence failed, civilian-based defense might succeed.

Today in several countries, national defense by prepared nonviolent struggle of the trained civilian population is beginning to be seriously discussed by defense planners, responsible politicians, and military officers. To evaluate this possible defense option we need answers to many hard questions.

Could prepared civilian-based defense defeat an unconstitutional internal seizure of power? With this policy, could nonaligned countries



increase their defense potential and hence independence? Could U.S. allies by adopting it regain a greater self-defense capacity (lost through changes in military technology), both benefiting themselves and relieving the U.S.? Is this policy relevant to the nuclear powers or not?

• Could civilian struggle defeat attempted genocide? What repression might be applied against this type of resistance--with what consequences? Would the spread of this "know-how" alone encourage indigenous effective resistance to established dictatorships? Would this "know-how" also assist nonviolent means of social change in developing countries, providing the population alternatives to both guerrilla warfare groups and oppressive regimes, thus eliminating involvement of weapons-supplying foreign powers? There are many other questions relevant to defense, and comparable questions also exist for other types of conflict situations in which without a perceived effective nonviolent option, some type of political violence will be used.\*

Answers to such questions might be provided by a major research effort. Despite growing academic and policy interest in this field, major research and efforts to develop the effectiveness of civilian struggle have not yet been launched. Such research and other efforts are likely to determine the possibilities and conditions for replacing, in part or in full, military action as the basis of national defense with an alternative civilian defense capacity. This capacity would be developed in part from the primitive prototypes of civilian struggle and civilian-based defense which have occurred without preparations, and in part from innovations. Such research and efforts at refinement would also help to answer the question of the extent to which nonviolent struggle might be substituted for political violence for objectives other than defense.

This field is thus ready for the next steps in investigation of this proposed substitute for war and other violence.

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\* See Sharp, "Notes on the possible relevance of civilian-based defense..." etc., and Sharp, Exploring Nonviolent Alternatives, Chapter 4 "Research Areas on Nonviolent Alternatives," pp. 73-113. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1970.

2.00. The Project.

This project of research and planning for investigation has been accepted as part of the Program for Science and International Affairs, directed by Professor Paul Doty, at Harvard University's Center for International Affairs. This project consists of four primary parts: (2.10) the planning for establishment in 1976 of a major research program on civilian struggle, its potentialities, and related fields; (2.20) the applicant's own research, analysis, and writing in these areas; (2.30) doctoral and post-doctoral research fellowships for persons doing research in these fields, especially when they may also contribute to the development of the future research program; (2.40) supporting activities, such as consultations and conferences for sharing basic research already undertaken, laying groundwork for further research, exploring potentialities of proposed new policies, and the like.

2.10. Preparations for a research program on civilian struggle and related phenomena.

The foundation studies already completed on civilian struggle, and the initial analyses of its potential policy relevance,\* both point to the urgent need for major basic research, problem-oriented research, and analyses of the possibility of developing substitutes for war and other political violence. The studies now completed have also laid the groundwork for all three of these types of new investigation, so that exploration of this field is now not only very feasible but at an effective "take-off point." The basic social science research will help to advance knowledge of a hitherto largely unstudied social and political phenomenon; it will also provide more foundation knowledge to assist policy-oriented explorations. These policy studies, in turn,

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\* See the bibliography on these topics in Sharp, "Notes on the Possible Relevance of Civilian-based Defense..." pp. 54-59.

are likely to point to the need for problem-oriented research, and also further basic research. All these may therefore mutually reinforce each other in expanding basic knowledge of a largely unstudied social phenomenon, and also help answer whether and, if so, how effective nonviolent substitutes for war and other political violence in specific types of conflicts might be developed.

A small beginning has already been made in both basic research and policy investigations. However, there has been as yet no coordinated intellectual effort on a scale remotely capable of meeting the needs in these areas. Simply to "catch up" with knowledge in other fields would require a major effort. It is, however, necessary to go beyond that because of the need for adequate information to evaluate the policy proposals which have been made. Also, the exploration of the policy questions in themselves will require considerable efforts. These include the problem-oriented research, examination of whether and, if so, how effectiveness of the technique might be increased, examination of possible conflict and defense contingencies, the nature and objectives of opponents, development of means to prepare for such conflicts and train populations in the use of such means of struggle, and the like.

The need to "catch up" in basic knowledge and, almost simultaneously, to explore the possible extension of the viability of civilian struggle in major conflicts, including national defense, requires special intellectual efforts supported by appropriate institutional structures and financing. A first step is the establishment of a special research program, center, or some other form, where scholars and policy analysts of diverse disciplines, backgrounds, and viewpoints could obtain support, conduct individual and group projects, and encourage development of younger scholars. Such a program could advance significantly both the needed basic research and also analyses of possible policies in this field. Later, other similar programs or centers might be established elsewhere.

Several possible institutional options have been suggested to fulfill this need. These include: a special research center independent of other institutions; a research program within a broader center or institute; a separate center or program or committee within a suitable university; a broader program of research, of which this field would be

a component part; a research-sponsoring foundation assisting individual scholars and several programs at different institutions; a university program combining research and graduate studies; a policy-oriented think-tank. There may be other possible forms.

It may prove desirable to combine the research on civilian struggle and its policy implications with research on other phenomena. These may include individual and comparative studies of various types of violence (including guerrilla warfare, conventional warfare, military occupations, and the like), the nature of dictatorships (including their means of control, possible limits and weaknesses), the relationship of differing social, economic, and political structures to alternative ultimate sanctions and conflict techniques, nonconflict modes of resolving contention, theoretical assumptions and problems related to political sanctions and structures, general studies of strategy, and the like. Within each such broad area, many specific research problems exist. Within the limited fields of nonviolent struggle and civilian-based defense, I have already identified fifty-one broad research areas.\*

One major part of this two-year program, therefore, will be exploration of the possibility of establishing some type of program, center, or other structure for research and analysis of the nature and potential of civilian struggle, possible policies using civilian-based defense and other substitutes for political violence, and possibly such related fields as those cited above.

Careful advance policy formulation, planning, and preparations would be required before any such program could be launched. The problems to be solved include the following:

What institutional form, or forms, would be most suitable for it? What should be, or can be, the institutional auspices? Can funding needs be adequately met, and if so, how? Can a staff of suitable researchers be assembled, how and who? What can be learned from small-scale efforts in Europe to launch research programs in similar fields? Would a new medium of publication aid research in this field? How can "basic research" be best combined with, or separated from, policy evaluation and development?

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\* A Xerox copy of these is attached. From G. Sharp, Exploring Nonviolent Alternatives, pp. 73-113. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1970.

Which related fields are best combined with the study of the nature and potential of civilian struggle? What should be research priorities for such a program, say over a five or ten year period? What are the preferred problems to be tackled for the first two years of operation? Answers to these and other important questions would require very considerable efforts, consultations, and evaluation.

A major part, therefore, of this two year project will be focused on determination of the next feasible and required institutional steps in launching a major investigation of civilian struggle, its potential as a substitute for war and other political violence, and of related problems and phenomena.

2.20. Individual studies by the applicant on civilian struggle and civilian-based defense.

In the development of academic study of civilian struggle and exploration of the policy potential as a substitute for defensive warfare and other types of political violence, my various publications\* have played significant roles both directly and indirectly. The second part of this project provides opportunity for me to complete work on several books already in progress. On the basis of the responses to my past writings, the completion and publication of these should further advance both basic research and policy analysis in this field. These books include the following, and possibly others:

An Abecedary of Civilian Struggle. This is a dictionary of about 400 terms for the field of nonviolent action, civilian struggle, civilian-based defense, and tangential areas. It is largely completed. This is a major extension of my past contributions to the clarification of concepts, development of terminology, and formulation of definitions. It should aid significantly social science research, intelligent thought, and strategic analysis of these phenomena.

Post-Military Defense. This is to be a book of about 150 pages

\* See my publication list (attached) and "Notes on the possible relevance of civilian-based defense..." pp. 57-59.

on the nature of national defense by prepared civilian resistance.

It is to be an introductory book for the general public, the academic community, and defense thinkers. A detailed outline now exists.

The Politics of Nonviolent Action shortened for foreign translations.

This version aims to shorten while keeping the substance and main examples of the ways in which this technique operates. This would facilitate foreign translations and thereby research and policy evaluation in other countries. A still more abridged version may be prepared also.

Defense Without War. This is to be an edited, intermediate-level book with contributions primarily from European and American writers, focusing on the nature, problems, and potential application of civilian-based defense. It is to be a more diversified and advanced discussion of the nature of civilian-based defense than Post-Military Defense.

Some work on this has already been done.

Struggle Without Violence. This would be an edited book of case descriptions of diverse historical examples of nonviolent struggle and civil resistance, probably at an average length of 20 to 35 pp. each. Some of these are already gathered. This could be especially useful because of the difficulties of locating good descriptive accounts, even for well-known cases.

The Political Equivalent of War and Other Essays. This would be a collection of my individually published articles and chapters on nonviolent action, civilian-based defense, political conflicts, and alternatives to violence published over the past twenty years.

Revised edition of Exploring Nonviolent Alternatives. This introductory book published in 1970, now going out of print, requires major revision, updating, addition of new chapters, expansion of "areas for research," and updating of the specialized bibliography.

Given time, I also wish to pursue new political and historical studies of nonviolent struggle and civil resistance, studies of dictatorships, with particular attention to weaknesses of dictatorial systems which tend over time to produce their relaxation, inefficiency, or disintegration, and studies of theoretical problems in power and conflict.

2.30. Research fellowships and consultations on civilian struggle.

The substantive study and evaluation of the phenomena and policies on which this project is focused and the preparations for the wider research program to be launched in 1976 can both be substantially enhanced by support for doctoral students and post-doctoral scholars doing research projects in these fields.

In addition, special papers may be commissioned of established authorities in the general fields of strategy, defense policies, dictatorships, nonviolent action, civilian-based defense, and the like. Other American and foreign scholars in the field of civilian struggle, civilian-based defense, and security problems may be brought to the Program at Harvard for a few weeks for special consultations on formulation of research programs, analysis of special problems, participation in seminars and conferences, and also may be asked to prepare special papers or memoranda or to make other contributions.

The following are illustrations of the types of specific projects for which full-year fellowships might be offered:

Testing hypotheses of the requirements for success in nonviolent struggle. This study examines the validity of hypotheses concerning requirements for effectiveness of civilian combat, extracted from existing literature. Those hypotheses are then tested by two significant cases of mass civilian struggle: the Indian 1930-31 independence satyagraha campaign and the Russian Revolution of 1905. Lesser aspects of this study include a comparative analysis of the two cases, and an examination of what may be learned on the importance of skill for success in wielding this technique of action. In progress. Detailed description available.

The French Security bureaucracy's responses to the F.L.N.'s urban terrorism campaign in Algiers, October 1956 to October 1957.

This is an analysis based on original research of the interaction of the French security forces with the Algerian National Liberation Front, with attention to the effectiveness and consequences of diverse modes of Algerian resistance (terrorism, general strike, guerrilla units,

etc.) and of the efforts by the French administration, police, army, and special military units, especially the paratroopers, to combat Algerian resistance and restore effective French control. Special attention is given to shifts in F.L.N. strategy and tactics, the problems and consequences of mixing violent and nonviolent action, and the shifts in control of French repression from the civil bureaucracy to the army, the factors producing that shift, and the rational and irrational factors determining French actions. In progress.  
Detailed description available.

European security problems and defense-in-depth policies. An examination of past and present European defense policies which place major reliance on advance preparations for means of national defense other than defense at frontiers or nuclear retaliation. That is, policies would be studied which in varying degrees include para-military resistance, guerrilla warfare, civil resistance, nonviolent noncooperation, "social defense" or combinations of these. Future defense plans and possibilities along these lines in diverse countries would also receive attention. Part of this study will be descriptive of past and present policies, but analyses will also be included of the problems of these policies, or of particular applications of them, along with recommendations for optimal future lines of development of these policies and suggestive evaluations of their potential contributions and limitations. In progress.

Civilian-based defense in Europe, its history, and alternative models for its future development. Focusing exclusively on civilian-based defense relying on nonviolent struggle, this study would present the history of the spread and development of the concept in European countries and describe current states of interest in the policy. It would also project several possible models which this policy might take. These might include unilaterally initiated transarmament and a multi-lateral negotiated model (as for the Nordic countries or Central Europe), with consideration of the potential for partial or full transarmament for present NATO members, neutrals, and East European countries. Attention would be given to the possible influences on such developments of past policies and past security threats, problems of perception, and the policies of the military super-powers. Some work on this in progress.



Historical studies of past cases of civil resistance to foreign occupations and severe domestic dictatorships. The study of the nature and potential of civilian struggle will require careful attention to significant cases of improvised long-term resistance to foreign occupation regimes (such as Norwegian, Dutch, Danish, and other anti-Nazi resistance), to domestic dictatorships, and also to cases of very rapid civilian insurrections against either situation (such as El Salvador and Guatemala in 1944, East Germany in 1953, and Hungary in 1956). Specific projects could be selected from these and other cases from studies already in progress.

Feasibility study of civilian-based defense for Japan. A whole series of geographical, political, cultural, and historical factors make it conceivable that a Japan seeking self-defense capacity might explore seriously the potential of civilian-based defense. Careful examination of the viability of this option would require attention to such problems as Japan's vulnerability to nuclear attack or threat, Japan's dependence on foreign trade, sources of raw materials, energy, etc., and internal threats from terrorism or guerrilla warfare. Any such feasibility study would require attention to potential origins of security threats, possible objectives of the attackers, forms which the attack might take, exploration of the nature, feasibility, and possible consequences of available alternative defense options, and particular attention to whether and, if so, how prepared civilian-based defense could deal with those threats.

Civilian noncooperation against minority guerrilla attack. The conventional means of combatting minority guerrilla attack are not so obviously satisfactory as to exclude consideration of possible alternatives. Suggestions have been made by knowledgeable persons\* that, at least at certain stages of guerrilla warfare, civilian noncooperation and defiance may be able to counter efforts to terrorize the population into submission to the guerrillas, prevent their establishment of a para-governmental structure, and maintain legitimate and established institutions outside

\* See reference cited in Sharp, "Notes on the possible relevance of civilian-based defense..." pp. 33-35, and J. Victor Koschmann, "Boundaries of Human Conflict," Japan Interpreter, Vol. 7, Nos. 3-4 (1972), pp. 429-430.

of guerrilla control. There appears to be at least a little supporting data along these lines from Algeria and Vietnam which require careful research and examination along with a search for other possible relevant successful or unsuccessful attempts at such modes of opposition.

Nonviolent forms of domestic and international struggle in United States history. The cases from which specific projects could be selected range very widely, and include not only the familiar civil rights struggles, labor strikes, and boycotts, and religious liberty contests, but also widespread economic and political noncooperation and support for rival economic and political institutions in the colonial struggles against England 1765-1775, the use of economic embargoes against European powers during the presidencies of Jefferson and Madison, and certain Indian rights and anti-slavery struggles. In addition to general knowledge of the operation of this technique, such case studies may shed light on the question of compatibility of nonviolent and nonmilitary forms of struggle with the culture and personalities of Americans. Certain cases are in progress.

A typology of low-level violence and semi-violent conflict.

Serious analysis, evaluation, and strategic or tactical planning involving a wide range of struggle activities which fall between conventional warfare on one side and nonviolent struggle on the other is extraordinarily difficult because of the absence of careful typologies which distinguish the quite diverse types of action within this range. For example, these include political suicide, self-mutilation, individual assassinations, demolition or bombings with intentional injury or death, demolition or bombings without actual or intended injuries, removal of parts from machinery, destruction of machinery, random terrorism, severance of power and fuel supplies, severance of water or food supplies, the various levels and types of guerrilla struggle, arson of various types, removal or misplacing materials in filing systems, jamming of telephone lines and exchanges, dismantling equipment or cutting of telephone lines, physical mistreatment without lasting injury (as tarring and feathering), etc. Examination of the whole range may reveal various broad classes of action within this area as well as identification of specific types which may be distinguished from the others.

by supporting activities of several types. These may include seminars, conferences on basic research, problem-oriented research or policy implications, consultations, and solicited criticisms of work-in-progress, and provisional plans.

In all of this work in the overall project, it will be important to seek the participation of specialists of differing backgrounds, professional experience, academic disciplines, political viewpoints, and opinions on international relations and defense and security questions in the research, analysis, and criticisms.

#### 4.00. The Basis for this Project at the Harvard University Center for International Affairs.

For seven years, 1965-1972, I was a Research Fellow at the Center for International Affairs, having been brought to the Center from the University of Oslo by Professor Thomas C. Schelling. My major work, The Politics of Nonviolent Action, which is already recognized as the foundation for further work in this field, is formally designated as "A study prepared under the auspices of Harvard University's Center for International Affairs." Hence among researchers and faculty associated with the Center, considerable recognition of the importance of this field and understanding of it substantively already exists. This is also true to a significant degree among professors in several departments at Harvard.

This project was launched September 1, 1974 within the Program for Science and International Affairs, a part of the Center for International Affairs. This location makes possible special interchange with scholars working on arms control and related problems who begin with different assumptions than those underlying this project and with professors at Harvard and other Boston-area universities. It also facilitates cooperation with scholars, policy analysts, and others located elsewhere, especially in Washington, New York, and nearby locations.

With this affiliation, therefore, fruitful consultations and

interchanges are possible with an unusual group of academics and other types of specialists with diverse contributions which can challenge, test, supplement, enrich, and provide contrasts to the conceptions, data, and perspectives of this field.

#### 5.00. The Budget.

This two-year project is already underway, having begun on September 1, 1974. It is to run until August 31, 1976 under these same Harvard auspices. After that date it is intended that the wider research program would be launched under appropriate auspices to be determined during the planning stage. Partial budgeting of the first year's work has already been provided by a research fellowship of the Rockefeller Foundation in Conflict in International Relations. Funding for the balance of the first year's budget and for all of the second is required. A two-level budget is presented here. The first, lower-level budget would allow the work to proceed with basic support. The second, higher-level budget would enable the work to proceed with much more thoroughness. Should funds be received in excess of the first level budget, they will automatically be applied to the second level budget, unless the grantor stipulates to the contrary.

associated with the center, considerable recognition of the project.

The higher level budget would permit a significant expansion of research projects undertaken with the probability that most or all of the topics described in section 2.30 and other specially commissioned work could be completed by August 31, 1976. The higher level budget would also make possible greater adequacy of the planning described in section 2.00 for the wider research program from September 1976, and make possible the needed supporting activities described in section 3.00. The additional funds for the higher level budget, therefore, would produce disproportionately increased research results within a short time period and also would increase the adequacy and effectiveness of the preparations for exploration of this approach to political conflicts and defense programs.

B U D G E T

	<u>Level One Budget</u>		<u>Level Two Budget</u>	
	<u>1974-1975</u>	<u>1975-1976</u>	<u>1974-1975</u>	<u>1975-1976</u>
Research fellowship (1974-1975 at equivalent of ten months' full professor's salary at applicant's tenured post @ \$24,000, fringe benefits @ 14% or \$3,360; 1975-1976 full year salary on same basis, \$28,800., fringe benefits @ 14.5% or \$4,176.)	\$27,360.00	\$32,976.00	\$27,360.00	\$32,976.00
Secretarial-editorial assistance, 3/4 time for 1974-1975 (\$5,660., fringe benefits @ 15% or \$849.)	6,509.00	-----	6,509.00	-----
Editorial and administrative assistance, full time for 1975-1976 (\$10,400., fringe benefits @ 14.5% or \$1,508.)	-----	11,908.00	-----	11,908.00
Typing assistance, 1/4 time for 1974-1975 (\$1,995., fringe benefits @ 15% or \$299.25); 1 full time, Level One budget 1975-1976 (\$7,980.00, fringe benefits @ 14.5% or \$1,157.10); 3 full time, Level Two budget 1975-1976 (\$23,940., fringe benefits @ 14.5% or \$3,471.30)	2,294.25	9,107.10	2,294.25	27,411.30
Translations	2,500.00	3,500.00	2,500.00	4,500.00
Xerox and other reproduction	3,000.00	5,000.00	3,000.00	6,000.00
Long-distance telephone, postage and office supplies	3,000.00	4,500.00	3,000.00	6,000.00
Consultants' fees, fellowships, honoraria and research assistance	10,000.00	42,500.00	15,000.00	140,000.00
Travel (including one trip to Europe to evaluate related research efforts, domestic and foreign travel to evaluate alternative auspices for 1976 research program, fund raising, interviews with potential researchers, travel of consultants and fellows from abroad and elsewhere in U.S. to Harvard, etc.)	2,500.00	7,000.00	2,500.00	10,000.00
Publication and dissemination	7,250.00	13,600.00	7,250.00	13,600.00
Subtotal	\$64,413.25	\$130,121.10	\$69,413.25	\$252,395.30

Budget (continued)

	<u>Level One Budget</u>		<u>Level Two Budget</u>	
	<u>1974-1975</u>	<u>1975-1976</u>	<u>1974-1975</u>	<u>1975-1976</u>
Subtotal	\$64,413.25	\$130,121.10	\$69,413.25	\$252,395.30
Rockefeller Foundation grant, 1974-1975	-28,530.00	-----	-28,530.00	-----
Subtotal	35,883.25	130,121.10	40,883.25	252,395.30
Harvard University indirect costs @ 54% M.T.D.C.	19,376.96	70,265.39	22,076.96	136,293.46
Balance	\$55,260.21	\$200,386.49	\$62,960.21	\$399,688.76
Total needed on budget for 1974-1976		=====		=====
		\$255,646.70		\$451,648.97

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