

Nonviolence and Conflict

Conditions for effective peaceful change

UNPO International conference

Tallinn, Estonia

July 21-23, 1997



THE DALAI LAMA

MESSAGE

I am pleased to learn that the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organisation (UNPO) of which Tibet is a member, is organising an International Conference on Nonviolence and Conflict from July 21 - 23, 1997, in Tallinn, Estonia. On this occasion, I extend my greetings to UNPO and all the participants at this conference.

Today, there is a growing global awareness of the meaning and importance of nonviolence. Although violence is still rife, I believe that the trend of world opinion is apparently in favour of nonviolence.

I have always strongly felt that the best way to resolve a problem or conflict is through nonviolent means. The path of nonviolence may take some time, but its result is more lasting and it does not have negative side effects.

The recent successes in resolving conflicts and achieving freedoms through nonviolent approaches have further convinced me of the efficacy of nonviolence. Moreover, I feel that nonviolence is also much closer to the human nature. It is with this conviction that I remain fully committed to the nonviolent Tibetan struggle for freedom and have been persuading my people not to abandon nonviolence as the appropriate form of struggle.

The UNPO's mission to uphold nonviolent means in order to advance the interest of the peoples that it represents is most encouraging. I am hopeful that UNPO's International Conference on Nonviolence and Conflict will further promote the effectiveness and importance of non-violence. I wish your conference and deliberations every success.

July 17, 1997

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The UNPO International Conference, Nonviolence and Conflict: Conditions for Effective Peaceful Change was held July 21-23 in Tallinn, Estonia. It brought together representatives of indigenous peoples, minorities, and non-self governing nations, representatives of governments, multilateral organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and experts in the field of nonviolence, to discuss the contemporary, practical meaning and application of nonviolence, particularly in relation to conflicts between states and non-state entities.

The Conference sought to answer whether nonviolent action can be effective as a means to bring about change; and how such action can be made more effective.

In particular, it sought to identify those factors, both internal and external to a nonviolent movement, which are favorable for that movement's success, and to define nonviolent strategies which can be used by non-state groups.

The Conference was organized in response to a pressing need: as the incidence of conflicts waged within state borders increases, nonviolence as a viable alternative to armed struggle is progressively under pressure. In an interlinked world, how to promote nonviolence in these disputes is a question which concerns the entire international community.

The Conference was unique in that it directly involved the leaders of peoples and nations responsible for making decisions of whether to use armed force or nonviolence in pursuit of their goals; and for deciding how to respond to violence inflicted upon them by states.

Participants explored the relationships between nonviolence, violence, terrorism, conflict and limitations experienced by peoples as they attempt to exercise their right to self-determination. Self-determination was understood as the process by which a people or nation obtains any goal in a broad spectrum of possible objectives, from human, linguistic or cultural rights, to democracy, protection of the environment, autonomy, or, in some cases, independence. The limiting of the exercise of that right was identified, in many cases, as the cause of conflict.

The Conference fundamentally reaffirmed the use of nonviolence as an active means of promoting and achieving goals, while rejecting violence as an instrument for resolving political, social and economic problems. It condemned both unprovoked violence against nations, peoples and minorities and all forms of terrorism, regardless of the perpetrators.

It acknowledged that violence is not limited to the use of arms, but can include cultural genocide, forced assimilation and the destruction of the environment on which a people's existence and development depends. It reaffirmed the fundamental rights of nations and peoples to exist and develop as they choose, in accordance with their right to self-determination.

In relation to the use of self-defense, Participants recognised that in some cases nations and peoples feel compelled to use armed force to defend themselves against armed aggression, genocide and other prolonged or massive forms of violence against them; yet they remained aware that once begun, violence breeds violence and is difficult to control and contain.

Participants recommended several actions which could be undertaken by peoples and minorities as well as by certain sectors of the international community, including state governments and international organizations (including, specifically UNPO), to support and foster nonviolence, particularly in conflicts of an intra-state nature.



"Members of UNPO believe in applying nonviolent means in attaining their goals. This is yet another factor which brings together peoples and nations in UNPO" - Seif Sarif Hamad, Chair of UNPO's General Assembly

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SECTION ONE

[1] CONFERENCE OBJECTIVE AND AIMS

The UNPO Conference on Nonviolence and Conflict: Conditions for Effective Peaceful Change, held in Tallinn, Estonia, from July 21 to 23, 1997 had as its principal aim to bring together representatives of minorities, indigenous peoples and nations, representatives of governments and international organizations, and experts in the fields of nonviolence and conflict management to examine:

- whether nonviolent action can be effective as a means to bring about nonviolent change; and
- how such action can be made more effective.

The above were addressed within the context of helping to prevent the outbreak of violent conflict.

The goals of the Conference were to:

- identify what conditions, both within movements and externally, contribute to making nonviolent action viable and effective;
- discuss practical strategies by which movements and peoples can nonviolently pursue their goals;
- make recommendations to governments and other members of the international community on how to contribute to establishing the conditions necessary for effective, long-term, peaceful change; and
- make recommendations to UNPO for its continued work in encouraging and assisting the nonviolent prevention and resolution of conflicts worldwide.

[2] CONCLUSIONS

The Conference:

- reaffirmed the use of nonviolence as an active means of promoting and achieving goals;
- rejected violence as an instrument for resolving political, social and economic problems;
- condemned all unprovoked violence against nations, peoples and minorities;
- condemned all forms of terrorism, regardless of the perpetrators;
- acknowledged that violence is not limited to the use of arms, but can include cultural genocide, forced assimilation and the destruction of the environment on which a people's existence and development depends;
- reaffirmed the fundamental rights of nations and peoples to exist and develop as they choose, in accordance with their right to self-determination;
- recognised that in some cases nations and peoples feel compelled to use armed force to defend themselves against armed aggression, genocide and other prolonged or massive forms of violence against them; and
- remained aware that once begun, violence breeds violence and is difficult to control and contain.

[3] RECOMMENDATIONS

TO PEOPLES, MINORITIES, MOVEMENTS AND THEIR LEADERS

The Conference urged leaders of peoples and minorities to:

- develop effective strategies for peaceful change appropriate to their specific situations; and
- open themselves up for dialogue at all levels with the parties with whom they are in conflict.

And specifically recommended that UNPO Members:

- make full use of UNPO's facilities, services and training programs, including those relating to the United Nations.

TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

The Conference called on governments, international organizations, NGOs and on their leaders to adopt clear and principled policies in order to reduce the use of violence. These must include:

- recognition of and respect for the equal rights of all peoples and minorities, regardless of their size, their culture or religion;
- taking the needs and views of unrepresented peoples and minorities seriously;
- speaking out and condemning all unprovoked acts of violence and gross violations of human rights against unrepresented peoples and minorities;
- recognition of the legitimacy of movements or governments which use peaceful and democratic means to achieve their objectives;
- engagement in open and sincere dialogue with all such movements and governments and rewarding their adherence to nonviolence; and
- encouragement and active assistance in the peaceful resolution of conflicts between State governments and nations, peoples and minorities over whom they claim authority.

TO CORPORATIONS AND FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

The Conference called on corporations and financial institutions to:

- end the violent exploitation of those resources upon which peoples' survival depends; and
- cease from promoting violence through irresponsible arms trade and commercialization of violence in the media and in their products.

TO UNPO

In the area of information dissemination, UNPO was called upon to:

- more fully provide a conduit for information from UNPO Members themselves to media outlets, governments, international organizations and others, to continue to change prevailing perceptions of nonviolence and Members' individual goals and aspirations;
- compile information briefs and analysis on Members for use with international organizations and the media;
- more widely distribute the UNPO Yearbook, UNPO News and other UNPO publications;
- distribute information among the UNPO Membership from UNPO Members in order to provide knowledge of others' campaigns and to build solidarity;
- increase the number of documents translated into Russian, and to establish an information center located in a CIS country to assist in translation efforts; and
- direct more funds to media staff and efforts.

In the area of conflict prevention, UNPO was requested to:

- act as an early warning system for conflicts by providing timely information on the situations of its Members to governments, intergovernmental organizations, and NGOs, with the purpose of preventing the outbreak of violence;
- organize fact-finding and diplomatic missions to areas of potential or actual conflict among its membership and to use reports of these missions in its work to prevent violence and promote nonviolence in these areas;
- respond to urgent requests of UNPO Members and others who are faced with the imminent outbreak of violence against them, making use of the Peace Action Council;
- announce that UNPO Members, and UNPO on their behalf, are willing to begin dialogue and negotiations with governments, financial institutions, multinational corporations and other entities, to resolve conflicts nonviolently;

- provide other conflict prevention or resolution services such as mediation to UNPO Members; and
- establish new forms of political co-operation between unrepresented peoples and independent peoples, as a model of co-operation and solidarity for the future.

To support self-help among its Members, UNPO was called upon to provide:

- expanded trainings which take into account special circumstances of Members, such as regional placement. Further, it was recommended that these trainings not only train leaders of movements, but also other segments of the leadership and people, with a concentration on youth. Trainings should include those in nonviolence, effective use of the media, conflict resolution, diplomacy, mediation practices and leadership. Shortterm seminars for new UNPO members on these subjects were also suggested;
- legal services through the creation of a legal council and by publishing an annual legal magazine with relevant topics to nations and peoples;
- opportunities for Members to join together to express their cultural characteristics, as in cultural gatherings which would reaffirm the unique and irreplaceable aspects of peoples, many of whom are threatened, or to address the special needs of Members in a particular region, such as the former Soviet Union;
- assistance in developing individual Member policies which suit the reality of their specific situations, particularly concerning the use of self-defense.

In the area of legal activities, UNPO was encouraged to:

- work to preserve the integrity and scope of the right to self-determination in international law, and to prevent it from being weakened;
- strengthen existing conventions which protect collective rights, by bringing cases and violations before their monitoring bodies;
- widen its and its Members sphere of influence to forums other than the political or human rights bodies of the UN, for example those working in development, environment, and social and humanitarian arenas, as well as monitoring systems established by international and regional organizations.

FURTHER RECOMMENDATIONS INCLUDED:

The establishment of an exchange program between young Members.

The publication of a set of international legal instruments relevant to UNPO Members' concerns.

Providing assistance in the development of languages.

The establishment of a permanent 'International Council for Peoples' Rights'.

The establishment of a working group to address specific cases of Members who are faced with the decision of whether to use violence or nonviolence in their struggles.

The development of analyses on the causes of conflicts.

UNPO Members were urged to provide UNPO with:

- any information regarding developing situations whereby tensions are on the rise and violence is imminent.
- accurate and comprehensive ongoing information as frequently as possible, to assist the Secretariat in its work, which includes combating the tendency of the media to use misinformed and inaccurate information in its reporting.

[4] CONTEXT OF THE CONFERENCE

The UNPO Covenant, the official Charter of the Organization, states:

It shall be the aim of the Organization by assisting its Participating Nations and Peoples to express their positions, needs and grievances in legitimate forums and by providing a community of support, to advance the fulfilment of the aspirations of Participating Nations and Peoples by *effective nonviolent means*. (Article 1)

The Covenant also commits the Organization to provide:

... training in nonviolent strategies in the development of strategic plans and policies (Article 2 (e)).

In Art 5 (d) it lists as a requirement for membership in the organization:

Rejection of terrorism as an instrument of policy. (Article 5(d))

In August, 1991, UNPO convened an International Conference on Preventing the Use of Force by States Against Peoples Under Their Rule, in The Hague. The official statement of the Conference, The UNPO Declaration of The Hague of August 6, 1991 stated:

Unprovoked use of all forms of violence by States against Nations and Peoples is to be condemned.

In January, 1992, Participants in the UNPO International Conference on Population Transfer, also held in Tallinn, Estonia, acknowledged the close relationship between violent conflict and population transfer, which can destabilize regions and exacerbate tensions between distinct peoples and governments, while violating fundamental human rights, including the right to self-determination.

The UNPO Conference, Self-determination in Relation to Individual Human Rights, Democracy and the Protection of the Environment, held in The Hague in January 1993 elaborated the connection between the denial of the exercise of the right to selfdetermination and human rights violations, and the outbreak of violence. The Conference affirmed the need for effective nonviolent preventive measures which do not attempt to deny the right or a peoples' exercise of it.

In 1994 and 1995 UNPO organized a series of consultations on Conflict Prevention: the Post Cold War Challenge, in The Hague. Participants stressed the critical need for nonviolent methods to be utilized by the international community, including UNPO, to prevent the outbreak of violence in conflicts involving minorities, peoples and nations. The Participants emphasized that these measures should be undertaken in full recognition of the rights of peoples, including the right to self-determination.

The above mentioned conferences have been organized during a time when internationally the practice of nonviolence, particularly in conflicts of an intra-state nature, is increasingly being put to the test. Over the past several years, events have shown that while the practice of nonviolence in conflicts between states and non-state groups is pursued by many peoples and

minorities, some have taken up armed force in an effort to achieve their goals or to defend themselves. Others, while committed to the use of nonviolence, are questioning their choice, many in the face of severe repression.

At the same time, several groups who have used armed force have been able to achieve results which attest, at least in the short-term, to its potency. Armed resistance prevented the Russian Army from establishing control in Chechnya in 1994 and 1995, the Georgian Army from extinguishing Abkhazian autonomy in 1992, and it was a protracted war which ultimately gave Eritrea its long-cherished independence.

This disaffection with nonviolence has been in large part due to the reluctance of the international community to pay attention to, or actively address the needs of peoples who are struggling to exercise their right to self-determination. As a result, peoples and minorities are hard pressed to find ways to gain international attention, or bring about change in their situations. Many peoples simply do not have the tools necessary to gain the attention and support needed from the international community. Examples include:

- Hostage-taking by members of the Free Papua Movement in early 1996, in an attempt to bring international attention to their environmental and human rights situation;
- Ongoing armed unrest in East Turkestan in reaction to increased Chinese government repression and international indifference;
- Increased violent resistance in Kosova, which has until now used nonviolence against the repression of the Serbian government;
- Increased violence in the Great Lakes region of Africa, a region which drew little international attention before violence reached genocidal proportions; and
- Conflicts in the Caucasus.

UNPO organized the Conference in response to what it perceived to be a strong need within this global context, to support UNPO Members and others like them to use nonviolence. For this reason the participation in the Conference of the principal actors and decision-makers of the movements often faced with violence used against them or with the choice to use violence or nonviolence, was of central importance.

[5] PLACE OF MEETING AND PARTICIPATION

The two-day Conference was held in Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, six years after that country's successful nonviolent struggle for independence from the Soviet Union. Attending the Conference were representatives of UNPO Members, representatives of nations, peoples and minorities not represented in UNPO, representatives of governments, representatives from international organizations, and experts in the field of nonviolence.

[6] METHODOLOGY

On April 19-20, 1997, UNPO in co-operation with the Heinrich Boll Foundation convened a Preparatory Seminar on issues of nonviolence, in Bonn, Germany. The main objective of the seminar was to examine the conditions necessary for effective nonviolent change in preparation for UNPO's International Conference on Nonviolence and Conflict. Participants, who included representatives of UNPO Members, parliamentarians, and experts in the field of nonviolence, helped to identify key issues to be addressed at the Conference.

The Conference discussion paper, developed with input from the Bonn Seminar, identified and explored several issues in depth, in order to prepare the Participants and focus the discussion.

The issues included:

- What is nonviolence?
- How effective is nonviolent action?
- Is nonviolent action contributing to the creation of violence?
- What is violence?
- Can we distinguish violence from terrorism?
- What should UNPO's position be regarding violence?
- Conditions necessary for effective nonviolent change.
- UNPO's role in the promotion and implementation of nonviolent change.

A questionnaire with detailed queries concerning several aspects of the discussion was used parallel to the Conference.

Three workshops were held prior to the Conference in order to further focus the discussion, on:

- (i) Conditions Necessary for Effective Nonviolent Change;
- (ii) Nonviolent Strategies; and
- (iii) UNPO's Role in the Promotion and Implementation of Nonviolent Change.



"All of us owe it to our respective future generations to develop a culture of nonviolence to effect desired political, social and economic changes" - Seif Sharif Hamad, Chair of UNPO's General Assembly

[7] LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

PANEL MEMBERS AND CHAIRS:

Dr. Gudmunder Alfredsson, Co-Director/Professor, Raoul Wallenberg
Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, University of Lund, Sweden
Venerable Prajnalana Bhikkhu, Chittagong Hill Tracts
The Hon. Audrius Butkevicius, MP, Member of the Seimas, and former Defense Minister,
Lithuania
The Hon. Nadir Byekir, MP, Mejlis of Crimean Tatar People, Parliament of Crimea, Republic of
Crimea, Ukraine
Senator Parris Chang, Member of the Senate, Taiwan, Professor Emeritus, Political Science and
International Relations, Pennsylvania State University, USA
Mr. Kenneth Deer, Mohawk Nation Council of Chiefs
Mr. Jose Amorim Dias, CNRM European Representative, The Netherlands
Ms. Michelle Ernsting, International News Producer, Radio Netherlands
Kasur Lodi Gyaltsen Gyari, Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, former Minister of
International Relations of the Government of Tibet, Washington, DC
Mr. Seif Sharif Hamad, Chairman of the General Assembly, UNPO, Vice Chairman, Civic
United Front (CUF), Zanzibar
Mr. Atner Huzangai, President, Chuvash National Congress, Chuvash Republic, Vice Chair of
UNPO General Assembly

The Hon. Akhyad Idigov, Chairman, Parliament Committee of Foreign Affairs, Chechen Republic-Ichkeria, Vice-President UNPO Steering Committee
 Ms. Inaria Kaisiepo, Foundation for the Study and Information of Papuan Peoples, West Papua Peoples Front, The Netherlands
 The Hon. Tonne V Kelam, Vice President, State Assembly, Estonia
 Dr. Linnart Mall, Professor of Oriental Studies, University of Tartu, Estonia, Director of UNPO Tartu Coordination Office
 Mr. Felix Marti, Director, Centre UNESCO de Catalunya, Spain
 Mr. Ledum Mitee, Acting President, Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), London
 Senator John Nimrod, General Secretary/Special Advisor, Assyrian Universal Alliance, USA
 Don Rodrigo Carazo Odio, President Emeritus, University of Peace, former President of the Republic of Costa Rica
 Venerable Samdhong Rinpoche, Chairman, Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies, Tibetan Government in Exile, India
 The Hon. Arnold Riiutel, M.P, State Assembly, Estonia, former President of Estonia
 Dr. Gene Sharp, Senior Scholar, The Albert Einstein Institution, Cambridge, USA
 Mr. Isak Chishi Swu, Chairman, National Socialist Council of Nagaland
 Mr. Hans Thoolen, Regional Representative, United Nations High Commission for Refugees, Sweden
 Chief Germaine Tremmel, Head Hereditary Chief, Lakota "Hunkpapa" Nation
 Mr. Menelaos Tzelios, General Secretary, International Federation for the Protection of the Rights of Ethnic, Religious, Linguistic and other Minorities, Representative to UNPO of the Greek Minority in Albania, USA
 Dr. Michael van Walt van Praag, former General Secretary, UNPO, The Hague, The Netherlands

UNPO MEMBER DELEGATES:

The Hon. Ramzan Ahmarov, Chairman, Parliament Committee of Information and Publishing, MP, Chechen Republic-Ichkeria
 Mr. Imran Akhaev, Representative, Chechen Republic-Ichkeria in Estonia
 The Hon. Khizir Akhmadov, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chechen Republic-Ichkeria
 Mr. Anguita Aldisson, General Coordinator, Mapuche Interregional Council, Temuco, Chile
 Mr. Salav Alijev, President, Kumyk People's Movement "Tenglik", Dagestan Republic
 Mr. Erkin Alptekin, Chairman, Eastern Turkestan Union in Europe, Germany
 The Hon. Dokka Amagov, MP, Chechen Republic-Ichkeria
 Dr. Kara-Kys Arakchaa, Supreme Khural of the Republic of Tuva, former MP of the Russian State Duma, Republic of Tuva
 Dr. Muzaffer Arslan, Turkman Co-operation and Cultural Foundation, Ankara, Turkey, Iraqi Turkman
 Mr. Nigmat Baazakov, Chairman, Uighur Union in Kyrgyzstan
 Mr. Joel Batila, Special Counsellor, Front de Liberation de L'Enclave du Cabinda
 Mr. Bata Bayartuev, Vice-President, All-Buryat Association of the Development of Buryatia
 Mr. Pavel Bikmurzin, Chairman of the Board, M "Mari Ushem", Bashkortostan
 Mr. Sertac Bucak, Socialist Kurd Party (PSK), Initiative for Human Rights in Kurdistan, Bonn, Germany
 Mr. Francisco Xavier Builo, Free Cabinda Foundation, Representative, Front de Liberation de L'Enclave du Cabinda, the Netherlands
 Mr. Akhtar Buskunov, Chairman of the Board, Bashkirian Public Center "Ural", Bashkortostan
 Dr. Robert Gyula Cey-Bert, International Ambassador of Karenni State, Hungary
 Mr. Pradhir Chakma, Jana Samhati Samiti, Chittagong Hill Tracts
 Mrs. Shirley Chang, Taiwan

Mr. Zacarias da Costa, East Timor Permanent Representative to the European Union, Brussels Public Center

Mr. Dashi-Nima Dugarov, President, All-Buryat Association of the Development of Buryatia

*The Hon. Sacita Gairbekova, Chairwoman, Committee of Social Affairs, MP, Chechen Republic-Ichkeria

Ms. Tsybenova Gatchjidma, Translator of Chuvash Congress, Chuvash Republic

Mr. Jacques François Gieskes, Deputy Representative, Front de Liberation de L'Enclave du Cabinda, the Netherlands

Mr. Hamad Massoud Hamad, Director - Human Rights, Civic United Front, Zanzibar

Mr. Goran Hansson, Stiftelsen Skansk Framtid- Foundation for the Future of Scania, Sweden

The Hon. Lin Hongtsung, M.P, Legislative Yuan, Taiwan

Ms. Bi-khim Louise Hsiao, Department of International Affairs, Democratic Progressive Party, Taiwan

Mr. Amin Ibragimov, Kumyk People's Movement "anglik", Dagestan Republic

Mr. Omarjan Ibrahimov, Representative, Uighur Cultural Association in Uzbekistan

Mr. Rahmetullah E. Inayetullah, Representative, Eastern Turkestan in Saudi Arabia, Director of the Studies Department, Muslim World League, Saudi Arabia

Mr. Vilkhelm Iosifov, Vice President, Laros/Assyrian Universal Alliance, Moscow

Ms. Tsering Youdon Jampa, Assistant General Secretary, UNPO, The Hague, the Netherlands, Tibet

Dr. Aslambek Kadiev, Special Representative, Chechen Republic-Ichkeria to UNPO in The Hague, the Netherlands

Mr. Mugudin Kahrmanov, Kumyk People's Movement "Tenglik", Dagestan Republic

Mr. Zephyrin Kahmba, President, Association for the Promotion of Batwa, Rwanda

Mr. Teuvezh Kazanokov, Member of the Executive Committee, International Circassian Association, Karachay-Cherkess-Republic

Mr. Nurshat Khasanov, Chairman, Uighur Youth Association in Kyrgyzstan

Mr. Khaji-Mourat Khatoukaev, General Secretary, International Circassian Association, Karachay-Cherkess-Republic

Mr. Aleksander Kiryanen, Vice-Chairman, National Movement "Inkerin Liito", Russian Federation

Mr. Wladimir Kokko, National Movement "Inkerin Liitto", Russian Federation

Mrs. Chungdak Dawa Koren, Representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Geneva

Mr. Dilmurat Kuziev, Chairman, Uighur Trade Association in Almaty, Kazakhstan

Mrs. Livia Laks, Sweden

The Hon. Alexei Leontyev, Deputy of State Council, Chuvash Republic

The Hon. Nikolai Lukianov, Chairman, Chuvash National Party, Chuvash Republic

The Hon. Abubakar Magamadov, Chairman, Parliament Committee of Defense and Public Security, Chechen Republic-Ichkeria

Mr. Reynaldo Mariqueo, International Co-ordinator, Mapuche Interregional Council, England

The Hon. Shih Ming-te, MP, Legislative Yuan, former Chairman of the Democratic Progressive Party, Taiwan

Mr. Th. Muivah, General Secretary, National Socialist Council of Nagaland

The Hon. Azamat Azievich Nalgiev, M., Republic of Ingushetia

The Hon. Anastasia Nikolaeva, Member of the Presidium, Chuvash Congress, Chuvash Republic

Mr. Antonio Mbemba N'Zita, Diplomatic Counsellor, Front de Liberation de L'Enclave du Cabinda

Mr. Henriques Tiago N'Zita, President, Front de Liberation de L'Enclave du Cabinda, Head of the Provisional Government of Cabinda

Mr. Pisanh Paladsingha, Director, Mon Information Services, Bangkok, Thailand, Mon State

Ms. Kimberly "Kealoha" Pisciotta, Representative, Ka Lahui Hawaii Ms. Zhanetta Proshutinskaya, Member of the Komi National Revival Committee, Komi Republic
 Drs. Fathi Radjab, European Representative, International Circassian Association, The Netherlands
 Ms. Rosemary Roe, Association for the Defense of Black Rights, Aboriginals of Australia
 Ms. Grace Roembiak, West Papuan People's Front, The Netherlands Ms. Aminat Saieva, Representative, Chechen Republic-Ichkeria in Lithuania
 Mr. Yasin Samedi, Representative, Uighur Youth Association in Kazakhstan
 Mr. Qenan Sheji, Academic, UNPO Representative for the Albanians in Macedonia, Amsterdam
 Mr. Sunthorn Sripanngern, Secretary, Mon Unity League, Bangkok, Thailand, Mon State
 Mr. Manut Srisuwan, Shan State Representative, Thailand
 Mr. Youra'ltiarverdi, Advisor - Assyrian Universal Alliance, California, USA Kalon T. C. Tethong, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tibetan Government in Exile, Dharamsala, India
 Ven. Phra Mai Thanomklin, Mon State, Chairman, Mon National Relief Committee,
 Mr. Sao Thura, Shan State Representative, Germany
 Mr. Cham Zbik, Representative for Mon State, Mon Unity League, Vancouver, Canada
 Mr. Chope Paljor Bering, Representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Budapest, Hungary, Tibet
 Mr. Muradin Urchukov, World Congress of Abkhazian People, Abkhazia Mr. Gennadi Verblyudov, Representative of the Chuvash Republic
 Mr. Myo Win, Representative of the Shan State to UNPO, Germany The Hon. Musa Yandiev, MP, Republic of Ingushetia
 Ms. Nadejda Zolotariova, Member of All Udmurt Association "Udmurt Kenesh", Udmurt Republic

GUEST PARTICIPANTS:

Mr. Heino Ainsoo, former Director, UN Division of the Estonian Foreign Ministry, Estonia
 The Hon. Dr. Toomas Alatalu, MP, State Assembly, Estonia
 Ms. Iris Almeida, Director of Programmes, International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, Montreal, Canada Doha Estrella Zeledon de Carazo, Costa Rica
 Mr. Yevgeni Chetvergov, Member of the Erza National Movement "Erzian Mast&"
 The Hon. Algirdas Endriukaitis, MP, Member of the Seimas, Lithuania Pastor Avo Kiir, Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church, Estonia
 The Hon. Rytas Kupcinskas, MP, Member of the Seimas, Lithuania The Hon. Albert J. F. Lin, MP, Legislative Yuan, Taiwan
 Mr. Werner Lottje, Secretary for Human Rights, Diakonisches Werk der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland, Stuttgart, Germany
 Chief Edward Moody (Quatsinas), Hereditary Chief, Nuxalk Nation H.E. Bernd Miitzelburg, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany, Estonia
 The Hon. Viktor Niitsoo, MP, State Assembly, Estonia
 Ms. Catharine Perry, Nonviolence Trainer, Quaker Peace & Service, London
 Chief Lawrence Pootlass (Nuximlayc), Head Hereditary Chief, Nuxalk Nation
 Mr. Michael Roekaerts, Pax Christi International, Brussels
 Ms. Christine Schweitzer, Institute for Peacework and Nonviolent Settlement of Conflict, Wahlenau, Germany
 Mr. Alexander Shipontak, Representative of Podkarpatian Russins in the Baltic States
 The Hon. Enn Tarto, MP, State Assembly, Estonia The Hon. Lauri Vahre, MP, State Assembly, Estonia Mr. Stephen Whiting, Nonviolence Programme Coordinator, Quaker Peace & Service, London

Ms. Christel Willenbrock, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, Estonia
Mr. Rainer Willert, Resident Representative to the Baltic States, Friedrich-Naumann
Foundation

Others present included members of the public and press

* The Hon. Sacita Gairbekova was tragically killed in a car accident October 1997. UNPO
sends its condolences to the Chechen Parliament and to Ms. Gairbekova's family.

SECTION TWO

[1] INTRODUCTION

Throughout the world today increasing numbers of indigenous peoples, minorities, non-self governing nations, and other non-state groups are attempting to exercise their right to self-determination as provided for in the Charter of the United Nations, the International Covenants on Human Rights, as well as the Covenant of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization. Their goals range widely, from independence or forms of autonomy, to cultural, religious, social and economic rights, as do the methods by which they seek to achieve them.

Though the right to self-determination is enshrined in fundamental international instruments, there exist no internationally accepted legal mechanisms with which to address claims to it. Instead, the legitimacy of the claim, and the correct response to it, is left largely to the state in which it occurs, which by its nature cannot be an impartial judge. State governments and multilateral organizations have shown great reluctance to intervene in these cases, citing the need to uphold the territorial integrity of fellow states. The result is conflict, the root causes of which are not destined in the near future to diminish or disappear. How those conflicts are conducted, whether violently or nonviolently, is of paramount importance to an increasingly interdependent world.

A principal objective of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization is to provide effective alternatives to violence for its member nations, peoples and minorities, in their efforts to achieve their objectives. However, among unrepresented peoples, nonviolent approaches are often viewed with scepticism. In recent years, many movements and peoples who have chosen and pursued nonviolent strategies have been met with extreme violence or have been effectively ignored. Examples include the Ogoni of Nigeria who were successful at bringing world attention to the environmental devastation caused to their land by oil companies, as well as human rights abuses and social and economic inequities perpetrated by the Nigerian military government. Once their campaign had been internationalized, the Nigerian military responded with force to crush the movement and execute Ogoni leaders.

Likewise, the Chechen independence movement was nonviolent from its beginnings in 1991. In that year it successfully and nonviolently repelled Russian special forces who had parachuted into Chechnia. From 1991 to 1994, it continued to keep Russia out of Chechen territory without violence. However, in December 1994, Russia used massive military force in its attempt to recover its hegemony in the area which resulted in hundreds of thousands of lives lost, on both sides.

At the same time, nonviolent movements such as that in Sanjak in Yugoslavia, the Tibetans and the Albanians in Kosova have been successful in raising international attention and support but have not achieved their goals, while the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa and the Solidarity movement in Poland did.

Questions which the Conference was to address stemmed from these examples and others like them: Why do some movements succeed while others fail? What are the conditions

needed for nonviolent action to be effective? How should the effectiveness of nonviolent action be judged? How can nonviolence be encouraged on all sides?

[2] WHAT IS NONVIOLENCE?

(a) **The term nonviolence is complex and has varied meanings, among which it is important to draw distinctions.** In general, the term has been interpreted as in the negative - an absence of violence. However, nonviolence, both in theory and practice can and should be viewed as a positive, an active and potent force for attaining certain goals.

Two categories of definition can be named: principled and pragmatic. In their application, these categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and some movements have utilized both concurrently to significant effect.

Principled nonviolence is often rooted in traditional or religious beliefs and customs, or in moral principles alone. It is based on a moral stand, an ethical code which disallows the practice of violence, often throughout all actions of life. Principled nonviolent practitioners do not necessarily utilize nonviolent actions and strategies, though they at times have. For practitioners of principled nonviolence, the aim of any nonviolent endeavour is, as the Venerable Samdhong Rinpoche, Chairman of the Assembly of Tibetan's People's Deputies, Tibetan Government in Exile stated, "the establishment of truth and removal of injustice. It does not aim to eliminate or defeat anyone. For a true nonviolent activist, there is no enemy. It aims to end injustice by making the perpetrator of injustice see reason and undo the wrong done by him."

A significant question which principled nonviolence seeks to answer is: Is there a unity of ends and means; are the means of attaining goals, particularly those based on ideals such as equality, justice or peace, in concert with the ends?

Principled nonviolence includes such diverse beliefs as pacifism, a generally non-active form of resistance to violence; Tibetan Buddhist practitioners who eschew all forms of violence; and the commitment of the Quakers, a religious group, to use their deeply held belief in a nonviolent way of life to effect change, not only within themselves as individuals or in their immediate sphere of influence, but also in the world at large.

Pragmatic nonviolence is best understood as the decision to use nonviolence based upon practical strategic considerations. It does not rely on a fundamental commitment to nonviolence which extends to all situations; it may be limited only to the situation at hand. Pragmatic nonviolence is based upon the use of proactive, positive nonviolent strategies and actions. It seeks to change the status quo, ranging in individual cases from specific policies which affect a specific group to the overall dynamics of power in a society.

With pragmatic nonviolence, a people or a movement can choose not to use violence even if there is no traditional or religious basis for that choice in their culture. For example, the Crimean Tatars, traditionally a warrior culture, have chosen to use nonviolence because of its practical worth in their struggle for their rights following their return to the Crimea after decades in exile. Likewise, the Native Hawai'ians chose to use nonviolence when the

Americans took over Hawai'i a century ago. At that time, Queen Liliu'okalani, the Hawai'ian ruler, counseled her people not to use violence and suffer certain devastating defeat.

In other cases peoples who are traditionally nonviolent have used arms: the Buddhist Mon people of Burma have chosen to use armed force in their struggle with the dominant Burmese military government.

Some peoples employ both principled and pragmatic approaches. The Tibetan struggle for independence, which is deeply influenced by the nonviolent philosophy of Tibetan Buddhism, is also quite pragmatic in its approach. The Tibetans have used international diplomatic and public relations campaigns, and nonviolent resistance within Tibet, in their struggle for independence from the Peoples Republic of China. These nonviolent activities are linked to very pragmatic considerations: Tibetans are few and the Chinese are many, and perhaps more importantly, the Chinese are neighbors with whom the Tibetans must live into the future.

The question is raised of whether nonviolent movements are more effective if there is a traditional cultural base for them in a society.

Some traditionally nonviolent groups, including the Tibetans, have been very successful at remaining so in the face of severe repression. At the same time, others, such as the South African anti-apartheid movement, do not possess such a penetration in their culture of nonviolence as a principle, yet have been successful at attaining their goals. It is notable that many indigenous cultures also possess traditional methods of conflict prevention and resolution which can be sources of strength when nonviolence is threatened. It would appear that the presence of a nonviolent tradition can support nonviolent action within a society, yet it is not a required prerequisite for success.

At the same time the question arises if a group, when pressed, will abandon nonviolence more readily if it does not possess a principled commitment to it. If nonviolence is seen only as a tactic, will not a people or movement drop that tactic when and if it is no longer expedient to pursue? As a tactic alone does it have the roots to sustain a long campaign?

The Conference raised these and similar questions about the nature of nonviolence, but did not seek to answer them definitively. It did concur that in general nonviolent campaigns can be at least as effective as violent ones, but they require sacrifice, patience and discipline, and more courage.

(b) Regardless of the source of a people's or movement's choice to use nonviolence, it is in most cases nonviolent action which manifests that decision. Nonviolent action can be divided preliminarily into;

- (i) 'conflictual' actions used to wage conflict and;
- (ii) actions which are 'non-conflictual'.

Conflictual actions can be considered to include mass public mobilizations, such as economic and political non-cooperation; civil disobedience, such as strikes, hunger strikes, demonstrations, and vigils; grassroots mobilization such as letter writing campaigns; and campaigns designed to build political awareness among the people. In this sense, nonviolent action can be employed not just for defense, but also for offense.

Non-conflictual actions can include such activities as negotiations and conciliation, which are carried out once the dynamics of power have shifted, and the group conducting the campaign has been successful in acquiring enough legitimacy with which to negotiate.

(c) **Although a people may engage in purely nonviolent actions, these actions can be and often are met with violence in return.** In recent years, governments have responded militarily to perceived threats posed by nonviolent movements. In some cases, overt acts such as economic embargoes, political isolation, military action, imprisonment, judicial murder, and attacks in the media have been used to quell nonviolent movements. Death squads and other means of covert repression have also been used against populations seeking change within states and societies.

Governments are often reacting to a perceived loss of political and economic power, including profits from natural resources or access to foreign aid, when they respond violently to nonviolence. Using power and violence to maintain power is a traditional response, yet one which can lead to spiraling conflict.

In many cases, using violence, whether covert or overt, against groups does not destroy the movement. It can instead make the group stronger and more committed to its goals. It can also encourage the group to use violence, thus beginning a cycle of violence which, once begun, is difficult to stop.

This was evident in the Abkhazian response to the use of military force by Georgia in 1992, following the former's proposal for an equal federative relationship between Abkhazia and Georgia. Once military force was used, Abkhazia successfully defended itself in-kind, while developing internal political structures, holding elections, and otherwise asserting itself as an increasingly sovereign entity. This conflict has required the intervention of peacekeeping forces.

In another example, Chechenia's armed response to the Russian incursion galvanised disputing factions of the nation. Once united, this resistance ultimately defeated the Russian military, though not without huge combatant and civilian losses, and ongoing instability in Chechenia and the Caucasus region as a whole.

Some violent conflicts which began nonviolently have continued for decades, costing lives and consuming resources, without addressing the root causes of the dispute. The armed conflict between Nagaland and India which began with an attempt to solve the problem by political means - of Nagaland's claim to its original independent stature before it was forcibly annexed into the Indian state - has lasted 50 years and claimed thousands of lives.

The Conference discussed methods of conducting conflicts nonviolently which do not invite a violent response. The example of Estonia was presented as an example of a bloodless revolution, in large part due to external factors, such as the strategic use of international opinion and to internal conditions, such as broadbased citizen support. Estonians used the break in the status quo caused by the 1991 attempted coup d'etat in Moscow, to make their decisive move for independence, literally, as one Estonian representative stated, "under the guns of the tanks which had rolled into Tallinn." The Conference emphasized the need for careful planning, based on in-depth analyses of the

government's pressure points, to judge if and when it will react violently, and how to discourage such violence. In a larger sense, the development of democratic systems with built-in minority rights protection mechanisms were also proposed as a deterrent to violent response.

At the same time, some Participants pointed out, in many cases little can be done to prevent a government from responding violently to what it perceives as a threat, whether the threat is violent or nonviolent, and this should be anticipated when planning nonviolent campaigns. In fact, they argued, a violent response exposes what is violent in the power structure, and is a necessary component to any process of change. Because nonviolent action is aimed at changing the status quo, the nonviolent activist becomes a lightning rod drawing this inherent violence upon his or herself. Yet this need not dissuade a movement from continuing to pursue its goals without violence; movements should not engage in nonviolent campaigns without expecting to be hurt.

Often the nonviolent group is named as the instigator of the violence, despite the presence of overt or covert violence in the society or government itself. Thus it is important to consider the context within which the struggle is occurring before placing blame for violence.

[3] WHAT IS VIOLENCE?

(a) **The Conference spent some time defining the term violence.** To many Participants, violence was not limited to the use of armed force, but extended to other policies and actions which threaten the well-being of a whole people, including their cultural and social continuity and survival.

(b) **Many Participants identified powerful governments and economic interests as being the chief initiators of violence, as they react to perceived threats to their control.** Some Participants questioned whether it was possible to change the process by which power becomes linked to violence. This was brought up in relation to current regimes who fought for and attained independence from colonial powers earlier in the century, only to, once in power, impose repressive "internal colonial" rule on smaller peoples within their own borders.

(c) **Forms of violence identified can be categorized into four broad areas:**

- (i) armed violence, whether overt or covert, which can include rape;
- (ii) cultural violence, such as assimilation of smaller peoples into the dominant culture or the injection of foreign, at times violence-based values, into a society through the media. When these actions endangered the survival of the people as a whole, they were termed cultural genocide;
- (iii) tactical unarmed violence, or acts calculated to oppress peoples through mechanisms other than armed force, such as starvation, embargoes, dispossession and exploitation of resources which sustain a population, levying of unfair taxes on particular populations, extortion, confiscation and destruction of property; and
- (iv) socio-economic violence, as in the actions of industrialized and consumer states to access the natural resources of others. The concentration of wealth in

the hands of a few, and the globalization of world markets were mentioned in this context.

(d) Participants highlighted several violent practices which deserved special attention. They rated the destruction of the environment as a particularly prevalent and dangerous form of violence visited upon peoples, because of the dependent and complex relationship between the people living in that environment and the land.

Forcing populations to act against their will, or against their own interests was also named as violent, in particular forced labor, whether for military uses or development projects. Population transfer, particularly when done without the consent of the population being transferred or the population to whose territories they are transferred was also identified in this context.

The Conference was divided on the trafficking of drugs with some contending that the use of drugs was a personal choice and therefore could not be considered an act of violence perpetrated upon another, and others who saw as violent the deterioration of society and individuals caused by the consumption of drugs. It was also pointed out that historically drugs have been used to subvert and control populations, such as the Chinese citizenry by the British during the Opium Wars, and that revenues from drug trafficking have been used to fund covert military activities, as in the Contras and Nicaragua.

(e) Terrorism is generally violent, or relies on the threat of violence, whatever form it takes. Either it directly employs an act of violence, or invokes fear of an act. Fear is the objective of terrorism. Terrorism is not necessarily restricted to the use of armed force. UN General Assembly Resolution 40/61 adopted December 8, 1995 unequivocally condemns all acts of terrorism and defines terrorism as acts "which endanger or take innocent lives, jeopardise fundamental freedoms, and seriously impair the dignity of human beings."

Examples of terrorism provided by the Participants included hijackings, kidnappings, torture and killing of non-combatants as well as combatants outside the battlefield, destruction of infrastructure, bombing of public places or means of transportation, and death squad activities.

Distinctions have been drawn between state terrorism and "liberation terrorism." The Conference was asked to examine if the act of terrorism was to be judged differently dependant on who perpetrates it. Participants pointed out that who the perpetrator was made no difference, that the act of intimidating a population through violence and terror was always to be called terrorism and was to be condemned.

[4] SELF-DEFENSE

Many Participants questioned whether peoples should be expected to choose nonviolence when subjected to violence which threatens the survival of that people. In particular, they argued, if nonviolent avenues had been exhausted, it was understandable if the choice was made to defend themselves with violence. Nonviolence, it was felt, while indispensable as a principal means for dealing with conflict, might not be the most realistic strategy for severely threatened peoples.

Others stated that nonviolence was a way of life from which there was no derogation. Further, defense could be carried out nonviolently, as in Civilian Based Defense Systems now being developed and used positively during the Baltics' struggle for independence. It should be kept in mind, they argued, that oppressor groups, better equipped for violent conflict, often try to draw nonviolent groups into violence, in order to defeat them.

In general, it was felt, self-defense was legitimate. It was argued that not responding at all to acts of aggression was not acceptable; there needed to be a correct response to violence. At the same time, the Conference was careful to acknowledge that once begun, cycles of violence are difficult to break. "Responsive violence" while understandable, should not be encouraged.

[5] CONDITIONS FOR EFFECTIVE NONVIOLENCE

(a) It is difficult to measure the effectiveness of nonviolence. One way is by looking at how well a movement has been sustained at a particular level. In this case, both Tibet and Kosova could be judged effective. Another is to judge the ability of the movement to bring attention to an issue. The Ogoni of Nigeria clearly were able to meet this criteria. Yet how these achievements actually effect change in their situations is debatable. Or nonviolence can also be judged by whether the movement has been able to meet its goals, such as the South African anti-apartheid movement, and Poland's Solidarity movement.

With nonviolence there remains no clear and generally accepted measurement for effectiveness and judging efficacy remains a largely subjective undertaking. It was recommended that a study be done of nonviolent movements and their achievements as a first step in developing a framework by which to judge them. Still, some Participants argued, simply engaging in the struggle and reaping benefits such as dignity, courage and solidarity with others should be judged as part of the success of the movement.

(b) The Conference was asked to identify and discuss favorable conditions for effective nonviolent change. Two sets of conditions were identified: (i) internal, or conditions within movements, peoples, minorities; and (ii) external, or the behavior of actors outside the movements which affect them.

Many Participants noted that both internal and external conditions are interdependent and necessary for a successful campaign. In this sense, every internal action should be viewed not only for its internal relevance and strategic importance, but also its external logic and value; how it will be judged by impartial and friendly governments, NGOs, the media and others.

At the same time, some cautioned that while "third party" support was important, each movement or people must rely upon itself, and not upon outside actors. Often, if not fully committed and without full understanding of the people who are engaged in the conflict, outside forces can prove unreliable.

What could reasonably be expected of the United Nations and other world bodies was also raised in this context. Outside of monitoring compliance with human rights instruments, the real willingness of the UN to respond in more proactive ways, such as

intervention, is limited. This was emphasised with the example of Cabinda which has forwarded to the United Nations, the Organization of African States (OAS), and other intergovernmental organizations letters asking for an investigation of Angola's forced annexation of the territory, to which there has never been a response.

[6] INTERNAL CONDITIONS

(a) The Conference identified several internal conditions which contribute to effective nonviolence, including

- (i) strong and responsible leadership;
- (ii) dedicated, educated and disciplined populace;
- (iii) cohesive organizational structure;
- (iv) resources; and
- (v) strategies.

(b) The most high profile and successful nonviolent movements in recent memory, the Indian Independence Movement and the US Civil Rights Movement, had in common strong, charismatic and committed leaders. It is difficult to consider the success of either movement without attributing it in large part to the ability of these leaders to galvanise their people and world opinion in favor of their cause, and to have the strength and discipline to adhere strictly to nonviolent means. Both Mahatma Gandhi and the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. were exceptional individuals, without whom these movements might never have been effective. Contemporary examples of such leaders include His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi of Burma, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova of Kosova, Mr. Mustafa Jemilyev of the Crimean Tatars, the late Ken Saro-Wiwa of the Ogoni, and Dr. Sulejman Ugljanin of Sanjak.

However, corrupt or disingenuous leadership can be detrimental to a movement, and power struggles within it can damage its credibility and ability to survive. Additionally, there is a danger in over-reliance on a particular leader or leaders, particularly if they are suddenly absent, either through assassination, imprisonment or exile. Still, some leaders continue to be influential while in prison, while serving as living symbols of the movement. Xanana Gusmao, the imprisoned leader of the East Timorese liberation movement and Nelson Mandela are two well-known examples.

Not all groups rely on strong individual leaders, some have built organizational systems with diffuse or revolving leadership. Still, there is a definite need for leadership, whether as individuals or as a collective, which can strategize, organize, inspire and represent the movement to the opponent and to the outside world.

Qualities identified for strong responsible leadership included dedication, the ability to think strategically, diplomacy, honesty, patience, incorruptibility, determination, and courage. Leaders trained in nonviolent processes were judged as having more options to pursue in conflicts. Leaders must, the Conference agreed, be good examples by embodying the principles of nonviolence, in order to serve as inspiration not only to those within the movement, but also to the outside world.

(c) The strength of a movement also lies in its people as a whole. To be effective as a nonviolent force, they must share common values and moral principles, and agree on the means to achieve their goals. As an example, it was suggested that democracy is a

contemporary principle around which people can coalesce and organize, and one which outside agents, such as governments, can join with in solidarity. To build internal solidarity, education and training programs developed within movements were suggested.

In addition, the population should be prepared for struggle. Logistical concerns, such as internal communications, provision for the population's physical necessities, including medical assistance for injured resisters, and establishing communications to the outside world were listed.

(d) In a nonviolent campaign, one segment can discredit an entire movement if it uses violence or otherwise acts in contravention to the policies of the larger group. Thus, cohesiveness is essential to an organization. Participants highlighted the need for democratic structures as a means to address dissension. Democracy was also seen as one way to mitigate potential or actual damaging monopoly by leaders.

(e) A nonviolent movement depends in large part on the resources available to it. Financial resources, material resources, technical resources, human and time resources are very important, and should be included in strategic planning. At the same time, several Conference Participants questioned from what source these resources could be made available.

(f) From the principled view, the use of strategies in nonviolent struggles was acknowledged as anathema: in essence, it was explained, nonviolence has no battles to win, yet the use of strategies implies the defeat of an enemy. Still, within this context, there are many actions which can be employed to implement the principle of nonviolence. At the same time, many Participants strongly emphasized that, from the pragmatic point of view, if nonviolent campaigns are to be effective it is imperative they, much like violent campaigns, have well-developed strategies. Strategies need to be developed on the macro as well as on the micro levels, with both long and short-term goals developed from clear objectives. They must be based on in-depth analyses of the situation. The strengths and weaknesses of opponent, of the nonviolent movement, and other internal and external conditions must all be considered.

Strategies should be revisited frequently as the conflict unfolds. At the same time, it was suggested, it is important to allow improvisation and unscripted actions. Further, it is important to remember that each strategy is relative to its context and cannot be duplicated from situation to situation.

It was also pointed out that in some cases, despite the importance of strategies, improvised nonviolent struggles have been successful.

[7] EXTERNAL CONDITIONS

(a) All conflicts exist within a larger context, both regional and global, though some are more geographically or politically isolated than others. Thus, those involved in conflicts are not limited to primary parties. Situations may be influenced by others with a stake in international economic, political, social and cultural relations. For example, former colonial powers can have significant interests in conflicts in former colonies or present spheres of influence, such as France in Rwanda, and Portugal in East Timor. Nonviolence

is not solely the responsibility of the people, minority or movement who is engaged in a nonviolent struggle. It is shared by all those with a stake in the conflict.

The Conference discussed the roles and responsibilities of several international agents of influence, including:

- (i) governments,
- (ii) multilateral organizations such as the United Nations,
- (iii) transnational corporations,
- (iv) the media, and
- (v) NGOs.

(b) In general, international attention can be beneficial to a movement. On one level, there is the confidence of knowing that attention is turned to the conflict, and that the injustices and repression which have instigated the movement, are exposed. This in and of itself can encourage the continuation of nonviolence. It also can serve to allay, even if only temporarily, those parts of a movement who are impatient with the pace at which change is occurring. If the leaders of a movement can show that they are being listened to and taken seriously, that their situation is being discussed outside of the narrow theatre of conflict, and that there are others who are concerned about its outcome and who are perhaps working to assist them, it can help keep the movement cohesive and nonviolent.

The international community is not always so obliging however, and nonviolent movements do not, generally, draw the kind of attention and concern that violent conflicts do. In conflicts of an intra-state nature, governments have shown themselves to be generally reluctant to intervene even diplomatically where movements are perceived as threatening the territorial integrity of other states. This reluctance has led to some of the most violent and devastating conflicts in the past decades, including those within the former Yugoslavia and Chechenia. There is, in addition, the judgement that as long as movements are nonviolent, governments need not worry about them, it is only when they turn violent that there is a need for intervention or action. This shortsighted perception actually encourages the use of violence and contributes to further instability.

(c) To encourage nonviolence and discourage violence, governments must find methods to interact with, or even at times, support nonviolent movements, which also take into account their own strategic and political concerns. Positively rewarding nonviolent movements for using nonviolence, whether or not the government agrees with the particular issue of dispute, would go far to encourage the use of nonviolence in general. Promoting dialogue between the parties would help to deter the outbreak of violence. Governments need to be convinced to clearly and openly recognize leaders of nonviolent movements, and show support for the nonviolent approach to issues, and by doing so, foster respect, both internally and externally, for a responsible leader and the movement. A cohesive movement is a better partner for dialogue and problem-solving than a fragmented and uncontrolled one, thus it is in governments' best interest to promote cohesiveness within movements.

(d) International organizations, such as the UN, the OSCE, OAS, OAU and others can be highly influential in conflicts. It is increasingly imperative that these organizations develop policies which support nonviolent rather than violent change.

The UN, as the most powerful international instrument for effective nonviolent change, is largely, as one participant stated, a "club of states" (or of governments in power.) As such, it functions largely to protect its members at the expense of the rights of smaller peoples and nations.

The Conference called upon the UN to establish mechanisms to address claims to self-determination. One suggestion was to restructure the Decolonization Committee of 24, established to apply self-determination in the colonial context of past decades, for this purpose. It was stressed that any body charged with investigating or possibly adjudicating these claims, in order to be fully effective, would have to include the full participation of the claimant peoples themselves.

Current legal instruments for the protection of human rights, monitored by the UN, are severely limited in their ability to address issues pertinent to peoples and minorities. Despite the establishment of international tribunals, lack of accountability and punishment for gross and systematic violations of human rights endangers the credibility of the system as a whole. Human rights regimes by and large are protective of individual human rights, not the rights of groups. Implementation of instruments is slow, and hampered by political maneuvering and bureaucratic policies. As a result instruments are inadequate in their protection of cultures and identities, the destruction of which is a primary source of conflict internationally.

The double standard applied by governments and international organizations which protects sovereignty and territorial integrity of states at all costs, even through violence, yet is reluctant to address the protection of communities and peoples, creates great frustration among the latter, and can ultimately lead to the use of violence if no redress is offered.

Participants stressed the need for international instruments for the protection of group rights, as in the current Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and further ratification of existing treaties, as in the International Labor Organization's Convention 169 Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries. The UN Declaration on the Rights of Minorities is still limited in its scope and application as it addresses only the rights of individuals belonging to minorities, rather than the group as a whole.

Still, minorities and peoples were encouraged by some to bring their claims under existing mechanisms, despite their drawbacks, and to seek wider support for their goals, for example through the specialized agencies of the UN. They were also urged to use the coming year, 1998, declared as the *International Year of Human Rights*, as an opportunity to press for broader protection of collective rights.

The UN and other multi-lateral organizations were called upon to support nonviolence and nonviolent movements. In resolving conflicts of an intra-state nature, which are often long-lived and complex, it is important for the UN to address the root causes of the conflict, and not be satisfied with only a cessation of violence. Likewise, when brokering peace agreements, it is imperative that all parties, including non-state actors, are called to the table for negotiations. Failure to do so can result in complications and further conflict.

(e) Transnational corporations must also bear responsibility for the occurrence, escalation and continuation of conflicts. When the economic interests of corporations conflict with or cause harm to an indigenous people or local community, it is imperative that

the transnational be held accountable. Often, corporations are complicit with governments in oppressing peoples from whose traditional land the corporation seeks to extract resources, and from which the government and government elites will profit. Mechanisms do not exist to hold corporations accountable for irresponsible or oppressive actions which lead to conflict when the people attempt to defend the land upon which their culture, their physical survival and their identity, depend. Corporations, though protected by opaque and diffuse structures, must be held accountable and mechanisms put into place for greater transparency and monitoring of their activities. The case of Shell and other oil companies in Nigeria, particularly in relation to the Ogoni, Freeport's mining activities in West Papua, and UNOCAL in Burma are examples of how a transnational's activities can cause and influence conflict.

Arms manufacturers and dealers also bear direct responsibility for the easy availability of arms, particularly small arms, used in violent conflicts around the world.

(f) In its coverage, the international media shapes perceptions of all facets of a conflict. In choosing what to cover, it decides what movements, violent or nonviolent, will receive attention and how. In these ways it is an extremely powerful influence on individual nonviolent struggles and on the use of nonviolence generally around the world.

Many nonviolent struggles need the support of the media and access to the conscience and attention of the outside world in order to be effective. Nonviolent campaigns, including those by NGOs, such as Greenpeace with Shell's Brent Spar, and peoples, such as the Baltic States, the Ogoni, and the Tibetans, have in recent years made use of the international press as part of their strategies, to very successful effect. While good press coverage does not guarantee success, it goes a long way in encouraging the movement and its supporters to continue on nonviolently, as well as presenting nonviolence in general as a viable path.

A media outlet's motivations for covering or not covering a situation or a movement can be complex, including the value of the story in terms of financial benefit (will it sell copy?), the value of the story vis a vis other current events and trends, the staff time it takes to research and present the story, and the outlet's perception of what will be of interest to its readership. Journalism produced with undue concern for the bottom line can choose to cover violent conflicts and actions and ignore nonviolent ones, which by and large require more in-depth, well-researched coverage, and do not necessarily have the immediate impact, or "tension" that violence does. As Ms. Michelle Ernsting, International News Producer, Radio Netherlands commented, "...the violence, and how to deal with it becomes the story. The real issues of human rights and repression, get lost along the way." By choosing to focus on violence as pervasive, unsolvable and without alternatives, the media is complicit in its perpetuation.

Some Participants felt that in various cases the media is subject to control by large financial interests and governments, who have the power to influence, control and manipulate it resulting in coverage of peoples, nations and movements' situations contrary to their interests.

To strengthen respect for nonviolence and promote its institutionalisation the media must expand its coverage of nonviolent struggles. It must portray nonviolent action as an alternative to violence, to begin to alter public perceptions. The real people, their personalities, histories and goals must be put in the public view rather than dismissing them as "ethnic fundamentalists, warring factions, rebels or separatists".

Peoples and minorities were encouraged to include media outreach and relations as part of their overall strategies, and to learn how to work with the international press to promote their true stories.

At the same time, some Participants expressed frustration with media practices exercised by oppressive governing bodies. Often, they felt, the media is subject to control by monied interests and governments, who have the power to influence, control and manipulate it, resulting in coverage of their situations contrary to their interests.

(g) Over the past decades the role and influence of non-governmental organizations has grown considerably. Many NGOs monitor compliance with international standards in human rights, provide training and education in nonviolent action, offer mediation and conciliation services, publicize the struggles of isolated peoples faced with environmental or other crises, and otherwise support nonviolence and nonviolent action.

At the same time, NGOs must be careful not to project their own strategies onto or otherwise overlook the peoples they seek to assist. They should look carefully at the situation of the affected peoples and seek guidance from those involved in the struggle to see where they can be most useful.

It was suggested that NGOs be trained by peoples and minorities, in how to provide assistance to them and others like them. In this way, the affected peoples would have an opportunity to help NGOs understand how to be most effective in their situations.

The limitations and overload of NGOs was also raised as well as the inability of many organizations to answer the growing volume of requests for assistance from nations and peoples. In this respect, nations and peoples were urged to learn how NGOs function, and to get their attention.

(h) Building alliances with other movements including those within a state which are also working for nonviolent change, friendly governments, NGOs and others with sympathetic or similar goals, is an important strategic device for nonviolent movements. Estonia built alliances with governments who never recognized its annexation to the Soviet Union, and with the other Baltic countries who were similarly working for independence. The East Timorese movement has built up alliances with international organizations and governments and has developed relations with citizens groups within Indonesia who are agitating for democratic change within the country at large. It has also developed solidarity with Tibet. These types of alliances encourage and sustain nonviolent movements. At the same time, Participants pointed out that building alliances can be difficult under very repressive regimes.

[8] CONCLUSIONS

The Conference agreed that nonviolence, whether principled or pragmatic, is to be promoted as an active method for dealing with conflict, particularly those between states and non-state groups.

Because any one conflict has wide and profound affects beyond the principle antagonists, all concerned have a role in helping to promote nonviolence. At the same time, there is a more global need to promote nonviolence and peace in a heavily populated and increasingly volatile world. Responsibility lies with governments, international organizations, the media, corporations, as well as nations and peoples. It is not limited to efforts to prevent nonviolence in individual situations, but extends to reform of the very structures which maintain the current international status quo.

In today's world, the unrealized exercise of the right to self-determination, impunity for gross and systematic human rights violations including genocide and an increasingly polarized and deregulated global economy lead to conflict, and particularly affect peoples, nations and other non-state groups. Attention must be paid to and substantive action taken on these and related issues to reduce the growing number of conflicts, and hence the threat or practice of violence.

Participants rejected violence as an instrument for resolving political, social and economic problems, and further condemned the use of unprovoked violence against nations and peoples. They extended the definition of violence well beyond the use of arms, to those practices which endanger the survival or well-being of whole peoples, including cultural genocide, forced assimilation and the destruction of the environment on which a people's existence and development depends. Careful to delineate terrorism from other forms of violence, they condemned its practice, regardless of the perpetrators.

While many minorities, indigenous peoples and others remain in principle committed to nonviolence, the Conference recognised that in some cases they may feel compelled to use armed force to defend themselves against armed aggression, genocide and other prolonged or massive forms of violence. Without condemning these actions, the Participants acknowledged that once begun, violence breeds violence and is difficult to control and contain.

The Conference was an important step in bringing the practical discussion of the use of nonviolence into the international arena. It helped to more fully distinguish those issues which are of critical importance to the use of nonviolence and the rejection of violence. It helped to identify those areas where more research and investigation must be done in order for there to be concrete methods for supporting nonviolence.

It was, overall, a step in the process of creating a more peaceful and just world.



'Why is it that movements which refuse to use violence such as those of Sanjak and Kosova, are punished, while those what have used brute force have been rewarded? - comment from UNPO News, August - October 1997. Above students flee from teargas in Kosova

SECTION THREE

SUMMARY OF COMMENTS FROM PARTICIPANTS

DAY ONE - July 21, 1997

Opening Statements

1. **Mr. Seif Sharif Hamad,
Chairman of the UNPO General Assembly, Vice Chairman, Civic United Front (CUF), former Presidential Candidate, Zanzibar:**

Thank you to UNPO Founding Member Estonia, who has not abandoned or forgotten UNPO after attaining independence, for hosting this Conference. I am the newly elected Chairman of UNPO. This is a great honor bestowed on me by the Members of UNPO. With the honor goes heavy responsibility which I humbly accepted because of my people's and my own conviction that UNPO stands on firm and internationally accepted principles.

The Members of UNPO are united by their aspirations and beliefs in creating just societies where all people will have equal opportunities regardless of their ethnic origins, cultural and traditional variations and the sizes of their peoples or nations. In many countries from which UNPO draws its Members these noble principles are ignored with impunity. The minorities face different kinds of violence: marginalization as a result of immigration and emigration policies of the government in authority; extermination; treatment as second class citizens; and in some cases their environment is being destroyed. Minorities are denied their fundamental right of self-determination. Facing different types of atrocities, Members of UNPO have chosen to fight for their rights by nonviolent means. Even when violence is applied, on examination it would be found that the use of violence by some movements is a response to long-time use of violence by the respective governments towards those peoples or nations.

Members of UNPO believe in applying nonviolent means in attaining their goals. This is yet another factor which brings together peoples and nations in UNPO. Therefore, it is very proper for UNPO to take the initiative in organizing this Conference whose main objectives are:

- To offer an opportunity to different people to share experiences and provide expert opinions on this very important subject which has impact on all countries;
- To search for the definitions and interpretation of violence vis a vis nonviolence; and
- To examine whether nonviolent action can be effective to bring about change and how such action can be made more effective.

In particular this Conference will have made a great contribution if it can identify and examine the conditions both within our movements and without which contribute to make nonviolence visible and effective.

The search for the meaning of nonviolence is very important. It is the responsibility of all the world community to apply nonviolence in solving their conflicts. If we are not clear about what is actually meant by nonviolence or nonviolent actions then parties to any conflict may employ violent methods while claiming their actions are nonviolent. In order to have peace, which is a prerequisite for economic, social, political and moral development in any society, violence must be prevented. Governments, movements, NGOs and the media all have roles to play in supporting nonviolent action to resolve conflicts.

All of us owe it to our respective future generations to develop a culture of nonviolence to effect desired political, social and economic changes. We have an enormous task before us which must be undertaken by everyone who is committed to making changes, so as to make the world a more peaceful place.

**2. The Honorable Tunne V Kelam,
Vice President, State Assembly, Republic of Estonia:**

Human rights, minority rights and the right to self-determination are clearly stipulated in UN documents, which are signed by most states, but often not implemented. Even large states postpone the introduction of democracy, alleging that the time will be ripe for it only after several generations.

In 1972, under Soviet occupation, different underground resistance groups sent a secret memo to then-UN Secretary General, Kurt Waldheim, requesting the UN to help evacuate the Soviet occupation troops from Estonia and to organize free elections under UN supervision. As a result many were arrested by the KGB just for trying to implement their democratic rights. It was a signal that the UN cannot do everything, and so UNPO was founded. Estonia was one of the Founding Members of UNPO. In the same year that UNPO was formed, Estonia re-attained independence.

It was the goal of Moscow to populate Estonia with a non-native population, so that even if the situation changed, restoration of an independent republic would be impossible. So it was a dramatic race against time to regain independence before this happened. It was a surprise that the potential conflict, which could have resulted in violence, was solved peacefully with no bloodshed.

It is worth studying why this happened. Important were the different political forces working closely together with different tactics who were nonetheless in critical moments able to unite their forces. Also there was the ability to form and elect an independent non-Soviet body, the Congress of Estonia, which would create a counterbalance to existing Soviet bodies. Third was very clear moral and political support of leading world democracies who never recognized the annexation of the Baltic States to the Soviet Union as legal.

It is our duty to be grateful for what has happened to us, that we are able now to exist once again as an independent nation and one which is in a good position to be included as an equal member in the European Union and other international organizations. It is our duty to render moral courage to those nations who have not been able to achieve national aims, and who have to suffer under discrimination.

Nonviolence is a peaceful alternative in the contemporary world. If we succeed in making it a leading model in coming decades it will mean saving tens of thousands of human lives, not to speak of torture and suffering.

**3. Venerable Samdhong Rinpoche,
representing His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet:**
(Reads the statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet)

I am pleased to learn that the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) of which Tibet is a Member, is organizing an International Conference on Nonviolence and Conflict from July 21-23, 1997, in Tallinn, Estonia. On this occasion, I extend my greetings to UNPO and all the Participants at this conference.

Today, there is a growing global awareness of the meaning and importance of nonviolence. Although violence is still rife, I believe that the trend of world opinion is apparently in favor of nonviolence.

I have always strongly felt that the best way to resolve a problem or conflict is through nonviolent means. The path of nonviolence may take some time, but its result is more lasting and it does not have negative side effects.

The recent successes in resolving conflicts and achieving freedoms through nonviolent approaches have further convinced me of the efficacy of nonviolence. Moreover, I feel that nonviolence is also much closer to the human nature. It is with this conviction that I remain fully committed to the nonviolent Tibetan struggle for freedom and I have been persuading my people not to abandon nonviolence as the appropriate form of struggle.

The UNPO's mission to uphold nonviolent means in order to advance the interests of the peoples that it represents is most encouraging. I am hopeful that UNPO's International Conference on Nonviolence and Conflict will further promote the effectiveness and importance of nonviolence. I wish your conference and deliberations every success.

4. Dr. Michael van Walt van Praag, former UNPO General Secretary:

Welcome to distinguished speakers, delegates and guests. I mean distinguished not only in terms of the titles and careers which the Participants bear, but also of their service to human kind, to the causes for which the Members of UNPO and the organization stands.

When we first proposed the subject for this Conference, the reaction was often, 'why discuss nonviolence?' For many people nonviolence is perceived as a philosophy, and in some cases interpreted as a negative, i.e. "if it is not the violent path, what is it, then?" This Conference seeks to tackle nonviolence from the other side.

The Members of UNPO and other peoples are faced with serious struggles for the survival of their entire peoples, cultures, religions, traditions, languages, for the environment in which these peoples and cultures survive, and for humanity as a whole. In those struggles peoples and their leaders have faced difficult choices: what tactics, actions, instruments will they use to attain their goals? Having justice on your side does not ensure the realization of that justice. There is a need for action and strategies, and often a philosophy behind those

strategies and tactics. This Conference has been called to discuss how it is possible to make such nonviolent action effective.

There are too many examples of peoples who have for a long time adhered to the principles and practice of nonviolence and yet have been attacked with brutal force, have been repressed, and have had to defend themselves with the use of arms at some point. How can you expect peoples who are oppressed and have their backs to the wall to use nonviolent means to attain their goals? As long as a movement is not violent it is not taken seriously by the international community. Once sufficient violence is used the international community responds. This is the wrong message. Those who consistently use nonviolence should be listened to, taken seriously and encouraged. If not, the violence that occurs in self-defense is only the logical consequence of the mistakes for which we are all responsible.

The Conference is designed to ensure that some conclusions are reached, and proposals for action are produced, which can be implemented by Participants and UNPO.

PANEL 1

The Meaning and Significance of Nonviolence in Action

The first panel sought to explore nonviolence as action, in particular its relevance to and importance in current global conditions. Practical examples of nonviolent campaigns were presented, and the significance of nonviolence was discussed in these individual cases and in the larger international context

Panel Chairperson

Kasur Lodi Gyaltsen Gyari, Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet

Panel Members

Don Rodrigo Carazo Odio,
President Emeritus of the University of Peace, former President of Costa Rica

Mr. Seif Sharif Hamad,
Chairman of UNPO General Assembly,
Vice Chairman of the Civic United Front of Zanzibar

The Honorable Arnold Rüütel,
MP, State Assembly, Republic of Estonia, former President of the Republic of Estonia

1. Kasur Lodi Gyaltsen Gyari, Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Panel Chairperson:

The topic of nonviolence is neither new nor something of which the Participants are unaware. Nonviolence is an important issue for UNPO, since it is one of its founding principles. UNPO was conceived in Estonia, and later established in The Hague, and has reached a level of maturity, and I am inspired by Estonia's leaders and those who took part in the struggle for freedom. I visited the country with Dr. van Walt van Praag while it was still under Soviet occupation, sneaking in from St. Petersburg (former Leningrad) almost illegally since the Soviet government would not grant us visas to visit the Baltic states. I later came to Estonia in spring, when it emerged as an independent nation. Even a few years before independence

came, nobody believed it could come true. The Baltic struggle for independence was nonviolent, and a good example to other nations and peoples of the world.

**2. Don Rodrigo Carazo Odio,
President Emeritus of the University of Peace, former President of Costa Rica:**

I come from a small piece of land in the center of Central America. My land is a special area with specific problems. Costa Rica is subject to the special circumstances of living as a poor country together with a rich and powerful nation.

Since the beginning of Indo-American culture, our community has learned to condemn violence, but today we are being affected by a culture of violence, coming not only from direct acts, but from all modern and sophisticated means of communication. People are taught how to practice violence by an endless education coming from the television screen.

Costa Ricans abolished slavery even before becoming independent from Spain, capital punishment in 1882, and declared armed forces unconstitutional in 1948. Thanks to this, my land is that part of the globe in which a woman about to give birth knows that her child will never be a soldier.

For us, "terrorism is terrorism" and therefore we do not make any distinction between types of this kind of violence or between those who perpetrate these acts. We do not make any distinction between different ways of terrorism or terrorists. Costa Rica is in total accord with the February 11, 1991 UNPO Declaration of The Hague which states that all perpetrators of terrorism should be condemned.

The American continent, all the way from the North to the South is being affected by terrorism with the most active forms of violence: from the migration of millions and millions of people looking for food and shelter from the South to the North and also within the South to the severe threats of forced transfer of these people to their areas of origin. From drug trafficking to the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, violence is spreading crime and poverty as the most serious problem in the region, and migration is creating minorities.

In my country, in which tradition has made peace a way of life, and dialogue an instrument of peace, we are very seriously concerned about the problems which could destroy the aforementioned tradition. Education for nonviolence, which is something Costa Ricans had been considering as an instrument to be applied in other areas of the planet, is now beginning to be badly needed at home. We have learned that violence is not only caused by political factors, but by social events, economic policies and greed.

Next year, 1998, will be the Year of Human Rights and this should be a positive occasion to educate the people in charge of the existing instruments and mechanisms which work for human rights, not to address all of their interest to individual human rights, both locally and globally, but to pay real attention to the protection of the rights of peoples, including particularly minorities, their cultures, and identities.

Our time has come to be an era of globalization, but the real and factual powers of our time have been struggling only for one kind of globalization: the one of merchandise, which bears crime, lack of justice and violence.

Let us work, and hard, to educate ourselves and as many people as possible on how to translate the word globalization into globalism, in which we could give the real meaning of the preaching of creating a global village for human beings living together in solidarity, harmony and peace.

Conflict prevention and conflict resolution, through nonviolent means, are the only positive instruments; let us work to develop them, beginning from a positive change of ourselves spreading from our attitude and from our behaviour.

**3. Mr. Seif Sharif Hamad,
Chairman of UNPO General Assembly,
Vice Chairman of the Civic United Front of Zanzibar.**

Zanzibar is an archipelago located off the East Coast of Africa, in the Indian Ocean. The most prominent of the islands are Unguja and Pemba which have a total land area of 1,651 sq. km, and are inhabited by about 800,000 people. Zanzibar attained its independence from British Colonial rule on December 10, 1963 and became a member of the UN on December 16 of that same year.

On January 12, 1964 there was a popular revolution led by Abeid Karume, who was not born in Zanzibar. On 26 April, 1964, acting alone, President Karume and Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika united the two countries into one sovereign state later to be known as the United Republic of Tanzania. On a stroke of a pen Karume, without consulting anyone in Zanzibar, surrendered the sovereignty of the people of Zanzibar to Nyerere's Tanganyika. The second day Nyerere acted promptly to notify the Secretary General of the UN that Zanzibar was no longer a sovereign state and so did not deserve to be a member of the UN. Hence, only 132 days after being admitted to the UN, Zanzibar was stripped of its membership from the organization.

Since then the people of Zanzibar have been struggling to recapture their rightful place in the UN.

The recent history of Zanzibar has been characterized by violence. In 1961 while Zanzibar was still under colonial rule, violence broke out in June elections where more than ten people were killed, and many hundreds were injured. Again during the 12 January, 1964 revolution, more than 13,000 people were killed, thousands were maimed and many thousands were forced to seek refuge in different countries.

When we started the struggle to win back our seat in the UN we, the leaders, had to identify our objective. It is not to cut out all relations with Tanzania, because we are very small and cannot afford to have a giant as an enemy. Our objective was to maintain the identity of Zanzibar which was gradually being eroded. We made a decision that in fighting for our rights we shall apply all means, provided that in the application of such means we shall not be the cause of any loss of life, incapacitation of anyone or loss of property. Hence it is obvious that for us when we speak of violence we mean an act or action that brings death to innocent people, the injury or maiming of innocent people and loss of property belonging to innocent people. To us nonviolence is any act or action that is meant to avoid consequences that are brought by employment of violent actions.

We used several methods for accomplishing our purpose:

- i) To make people aware that their sovereignty was robbed from them, and the identity of Zanzibar being gradually lost;
- ii) To infiltrate the ranks of the ruling party so as to know its objectives, its strategies and its strengths. This we did successfully.
- iii) At the right time, when people had been sensitized sufficiently, to demand that the identity of Zanzibar should be preserved. We knew that this would infuriate the powers that be and knew the consequences. At that time no one was expected to say anything wrong about the Union. We prepared the people for the consequences.

We were expelled from the ruling party in 1988, put in prison in 1989-91. But the struggle continued. People were distributing leaflets demanding the rights of Zanzibar and that leaders be released without conditions. 10,000 people signed a memorandum to President Julius Nyerere and his puppets demanding a referendum. With the collapse of communism and introduction of multi-partism in East Europe we changed tactics. Now we claimed for multi-partism in Tanzania, to have a party which would legally fight for the rights of the people of Zanzibar. We were successful.

June 1992 the authorities introduced multi-partism and we founded CUF, which gained much popularity. October 1995 the first multi-party election was held in Zanzibar. I, on behalf of CUF won the presidential election. But the ruling party refused to acknowledge this victory. At that time, violence could have broken out, but we spoke to the people to stay calm, but not to co-operate with the illegally installed government, our MPs boycotted sessions. We were successful. We carried out a diplomatic offensive with UNPO's help.

As a result:

- Donors do not deal with the Zanzibar government and cut development aid.
- Pressure was put on the Union government.
- Now it is publicly acknowledged that there is a conflict which must be solved sooner than later.

I do not think that nonviolence can bring violence. In the case of Zanzibar, despite the fact that people do not subscribe to violence and heeded our advice to remain calm and refuse to be provoked, the government used and continues to use violence to acquire submission: imprisonment, torture, demolition of houses, expulsion from government service, discrimination in education opportunities and in other citizen's rights, have been employed.

People are losing their patience. If no action is taken violence will break out any time. If no solution is found before 26/10/97 when Dr. Salmin Amout who was installed as President celebrates his second anniversary, the possibility of the outbreak of violence is very high. The security organs and the ruling party youths will use the occasion to humiliate the majority of Zanzibaris who have warned us that enough is enough. The international community must act before it is shocked into a response of supplying tents, blankets, medicines and food for the victims of the violence which could be prevented if the world had the will to act earlier.

Such violence would be a natural response to state provocation, oppression, humiliation and other violent acts. Such responsive violence cannot be the same thing as terrorism and cannot by any means be equated to it. Terrorism is a predetermined action whose

instrument is the use of force with the intention to kill, or at least harm, others. To my mind responsive violence is not predetermined while terrorism is a predetermined action of violence and which those who use it believe that it is the only way to effect change.

Even when violence is used, there is no way of predicting the result, i.e. as in South Africa, where they fought more than 20 years for freedom, and Rwanda, and Somalia. People should avoid resorting to violence, for these are clear examples of its consequences. UNPO Members should use diplomatic offensives. For example there is the tremendous diplomatic pressure by other nations against Tanzania. People should never lose their rights. Nonviolence needs patience, time, work, and outside support in order to be successful.

4. The Honorable Arnold Rüütel, MP, State Assembly, Estonia, former President of Estonia:

The concept of self-determination originated from the understanding that small nations with no statehood also have the right to exist and the need to defend their rights, culture and individuality in the international arena. Minorities express the diversity and richness of the world and its cultures. The problem of unrepresented peoples is a struggle which illustrates the intellectual and material heritage of colonialism in the present democratizing world.

Estonians know how it feels to be a minority within a large state, because they were forcibly joined to the former Soviet Union and could not stand or speak up for their rights. It was natural in this situation that Estonia was one of the founders of UNPO. As an independent nation, as well, Estonians wish to eliminate the colonial-political results of the Soviet annexation, and to mitigate their influence in their national and political life. Nowadays the Estonian government is accused of not defending the rights of the immigrants that came during the Soviet era. Estonia has never carried out a policy of national oppression or discrimination, but rather one of tolerance.

Estonia has always had common interests with the unrepresented peoples in their struggle against colonialism. Today, due to NATO and the European Community, there is much talk about human rights and democracy in the world. It is regrettable that the individual rights of people are considered more important than the collective rights of minorities.

Formerly (with the creation of the collective security system in Europe) the idea of an indivisible peace was considered vital, but today a different approach should be taken, upholding justice as indivisible. If states really wish to found a world which is dominated by peace, stability and justice, they will have to build their policies upon the principle of consistency and understanding justice equally applied to all. Peace and stability in the world depend more on the consistency of implementing democratic principles than on the hypocritical moral lectures given to small unrepresented peoples. Democracy must mean the right for peoples to decide their own business as nations, and not dissolve them into lots of individuals.

It may be considered that Estonia has got some experience to share with other peoples still struggling for their independence, recognition or representation in the world family of states and nations. However, Estonia's way to recognition and representation was possible only for Estonia. Regardless, I believe that there is also something in the Estonian experience that may be considered by other peoples striving for freedom.

One of the necessary factors was a complete unanimity in the goal, not only of the Estonian people but all three peoples of the Baltic countries. This was expressed by the "Baltic Chain", a 600 kilometer-long living chain of people joining the peoples of three Baltic states demonstrating our will to restore our independence.

Though the political leaders of that time had different opinions in some matters, these were more concerned with tactics than with principles. To some extent these different views were of use to the independence movement, dispersing attention and counteracting the central authority of Moscow. These different views were balancing each other and competing among themselves, they made our leaders look for possibilities to initiate.

The attempts to create a counterbalance to the political national movement -in the form of an empire-minded mass movement, Interfront-was a complete failure. The Baltic states did not accept the movement. Interfront, based on the population brought in and immigrated mainly in realisation of Soviet colonial policy, could not mobilize any noticeable part of the numerous, foreign language-speaking mass of immigrants who knew nothing about Estonian life or history. It was not caused by the support of the immigrated population for the restoration of the independence of Estonia as far as the reform and the democratization policy of the central authority, politically splitting the immigrated population into supporters of democracy and an empire-minded camp. These camps in their turn were internally divided into antagonistic forces, the merging of whom in the past had not been possible.

A relatively small part of the foreign population supported the restoration of independence. In percentages it nearly corresponded to the Russian minority in Estonia before World War II. This support, despite its small weight in proportion of forces, shows that a great part of the onetime Russian minority of the Republic of Estonia also supported the restoration of Estonian statehood. In those days independence was opposed only by the so-called civil garrison of the Soviet colonial power. Now one part of this population is protesting against the non-existent national oppressing in Estonia.

The other factor which cannot be underestimated in the peaceful formation of our struggle for freedom was its overwhelmingly parliamentary character. The reasons for this can be observed on three different levels: psychological, historical and political.

On the psychological level our nation is characterized by steadiness and avoidance of premature emotional actions that could provoke a reaction to aggravate the real situation. On the historical level it should be considered that Estonia had once struggled for its independence, had been acknowledged winner and its statehood had been internationally recognized. In 1940, breaking the concluded treaties, the Soviet Union occupied Estonia and violently merged it with itself. Publicly declaring that Estonia had voluntarily entered the Soviet Union, the political leadership of the empire, to say nothing of the international community, knew very well that the incorporation had been for Estonia a brutal violation of international law. Being aware of that, it was most probably somewhat braking to suppress our independence movement with force.

On the political level it was important that the Soviet empire, wishing to manifest itself as a high-class democracy, could not prevent the native population from participating in the economic, administrative and political structures. The general opposition and armed struggle with the Soviet regime dominating in Estonia after World War II and in the following decade, became gradually softer in the second half of the 1950s and the first half of the 60s and was

gradually replaced by the participation of the representatives of the native population in the work of the Soviet organs of power. Certainly this caused a certain political unreliability and a split in the society.

This split was a basis for the formation of two national movements in the course of the restoration of independence:

- i) the Citizens' Committees movement, initiated by dissident forces, publicly and in principle opposing the Soviet regime and openly striving for the restoration of the independence of Estonia and
- ii) the Popular Front, formally supporting the reform movement of the Soviet regime. The Popular Front joined the most different political trends, beginning from the democratic socialism to the ideology of national rebirth. The most important difference between those movements was trust in or unreliability towards the official organs of the government of Estonia of that time.

Although the participation of natives in the Soviet organs of government politically split the society, it still gave an opportunity to defend national interests before the central authority in Moscow. Therefore the central authority could not successfully realise all its plans that could have undermined the bases of the Estonian national existence.

The last example of their plans was to start a large-scale production of phosphorite in Estonia. If this plan had been realized, the major part of Estonian cultural landscape could have been devastated, many important ecological problems would have been produced, and a new wave of immigration of a work force would have changed the Estonian nation into a minority in its historical homeland, facing the possibility of physical destruction, as has happened to many other small nations in the former Soviet Union.

While the crisis situation in the empire was growing deeper, the existence of the native staff in the economic, political and administrative structures of the state became an important factor. Although the central authority tried to use them as an instrument of its policy, the government of Estonia and the Supreme Council in the new conditions emphasized their formal right to pass independent decisions in matters concerning Estonia. So the resolution on the superiority of the Estonian laws was adopted, the right for political activities was given to public movements (that politically paralyzed the one-party Soviet system), the use of armed formations against public demonstrations prohibited, the referendum on the restoration of independence of the state was proclaimed and after receiving the positive answer, a period of transition to independent statehood was promulgated.

All those steps, paralyzing the activities of the Moscow central authority in Estonia, remained within the framework of normal parliamentary practice. So the central authority, having declared the programme of democratization, was deprived of the possibility to use force against the independence movement. Therefore it may be said that the positive attitude and activities towards independence of the organs of state power of Estonia of that time had a remarkable role in the nonviolent struggle for independence.

In this situation the only opportunity of the central authority to maintain control over the development of events (that were clearly aimed at the breakup of the empire) was a large-scale use of force. All attempts to stabilize the situation by local power demonstrations had had no results. It was rather pouring oil on the fire, pointing out the need to democratize society and to end the totalitarian past. In August 1991 the attempt of that kind was made:

the empire-minded removed Mr. Gorbachev from office and with the help of military forces tried to establish control over the state. But they had made a mistake in their calculations, the process of democratization had already developed too far to stifle it only with the demonstration of violence. The use of arms against the people would have easily turned against the organizers of the coup d'etat itself or even developed into a civil war.

For Estonia the coup in Moscow was a unique chance. The legal central authority was replaced by the self-appointed, but to subordinate their regulations was not in accordance with the laws of the Soviet empire itself. Though the development of events was not promising, the highest organ of state power in Estonia, the Supreme Council, made a resolution to restore the national independence of Estonia that had been demolished in 1940 by the Soviet occupation and the following annexation. It was practically a unanimous decision. No votes were against it, only some representatives of the Soviet military forces did not take part in the voting. Figuratively speaking, the decision to re-establish independence was practically made in front of the muzzles of guns of the tanks arriving in Tallinn.

To summarize, it may be said that in the bloodless restoration of the independence of Estonia, the political factors mentioned before had an essential role. But the fact that the use of force mentioned was not responded to with the use of force was also of much importance. It is problematic what could have been the further developments of events in Estonia if the tanks sent to Estonia had fallen under fire. Maybe it is inappropriate to compare with, but one could draw a parallel between the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968, in Estonia and in Chechnya. But not only the clever option was involved. This option was made also due to the fact that at this moment Estonia had been completely unarmed. However, this example gives occasion to once more consider the chances of armed or peaceful struggles and drawbacks in defending national goals in fighting for recognition.

And finally, the Estonian experience of the peaceful restoration of national independence can hardly be copied by anyone else. But there is something in it that can be considered by unrepresented peoples. They will have to decide it themselves.

5. Senator Parris Chang, Member of the Senate, Taiwan:

Historically the white man referred to the "white man's burden" when describing colonialism and the spread of Christianity, but nowadays the reality is another: colonization exists in the form of black men against black men, and yellow men against yellow men, making violence and colonization no longer the privilege of white men.

Taiwan has been practicing nonviolence throughout its struggle. July 1987 was a crucial moment in Taiwan's history, when the ruling party Kuomintang (KMT) was compelled to lift martial law. Before this, anyone who conducted political actions against the government was accused of treason. Instead of resorting to violence, the KMT had to compete with other parties in the ballot box. The people of Taiwan have made the government open up through nonviolent means, and Taiwan has transformed into a multi-party democracy.

Should we differentiate between just violence and unjust violence? Most of us believe that all violence is wrong. Many countries believe that there are just wars. Last year, China tried to intimidate Taiwan when Taiwan was undergoing presidential elections. Fortunately, the United States came to Taiwan's aid. How does a nation like Taiwan deal with China's

intimidation and its claim that it has the right to start a war to colonize Taiwan? No other country supported Taiwan, nor did the UN even discuss the issue, although they state that their policy is to preserve peace and security. Peace is achieved through everyone's actions which bring forth the respect of human rights, true change and nonviolence as a reality.

**6. Kasur Lodi Gyaltzen Gyari,
Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet, Panel Chairperson:**

Dr. Chang has brought up many important issues, including colonialism. The world witnessed the end of colonialism in Asia with the Hong Kong hand-over. However it was given to China, currently perhaps the most powerful colonizers of the world, which is now contradicting its own history of rejecting colonialism. What might the meaning of nonviolence be, if some forms of violence might be justified?

**7. Mr. Ledum Mitee,
Acting President, Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP):**

I would like panelists to discuss the definition of justifiable violence. The US will not sell Taiwan defensive weapons, yet cannot the MIG fighters which they sold to Taiwan be used for offense? We must be careful what we are saying. When does the right of self-defense come in? If there is one isolated attack is it an excuse to go forward with full-scale war?

8. Mr. Salav Alijev, Representative of Kumyk:

This conference is very important, since the world is experiencing a period of de-colonization and may be on the way to a third World War. Peaceful resolution of conflicts is more important now than ever, especially since nations and mankind depend on it.

There could be two interpretations of peaceful means: i) narrow, benefiting some nations and peoples; and ii) a wider sense, where these peoples are considered to be of international and global importance. International organizations such as the UN do very little to help peoples and nations in their struggle for human rights.

I represent Kumyk, where we fight for the reunification of our state, which was divided between Dagestan and Azerbaijan in the collapse of the former Soviet Union. While Kumyk was a part of the Soviet Union, we did enjoy some sort of administration powers, but that is not the case anymore. Kumyk is one of the oldest cultures in the Caucasus, and has a long history of division. In Azerbaijan the Kumyk people are facing genocide, have no rights, no means of communication, and a colonial situation; and our people in Dagestan are now in the minority. It is not easy for our people to talk about self-determination when we are being exterminated. The Chechen Republic -Ichkeria is facing similar problems, since they were devastated in the war against the Russian Federation.

The Kumyk people are aware they should not use violent means, but we must take into consideration that people waiting for independence are under pressure and may resort to violence. We are starting negotiations with the Russian Federation to discuss the issues. When there is oppression by big states, people might easily turn to violence, i.e. people within the Russian Federation where the federal status of the different republics is not respected. The Kumyk people are still facing a colonial situation, and no one pays attention to

our problem since we are a small nation. Sometimes national movements have no experience with nonviolence and it is important for them to learn more about it.

**9. Mr. Seif Sharif Hamad,
Chairman of UNPO General Assembly,
Vice Chairman of the Civic United Front of Zanzibar:**

Regarding justified violence: think of the situation of a cat that has been placed in a room with no possibility to escape. After being placed in this room the cat is hurt, in this case the cat would surely try to scratch its offender. Sometimes a nation is put in a situation where there is no alternative other than to respond with violence, therefore the term 'responsive violence.' This sort of violence should not be encouraged, but if it happens it should be tolerated.

**10. Don Rodrigo Carazo Odio,
President Emeritus of the University of Peace, former President of Costa Rica:**

Violence is experienced by people in many ways, from armed and financial violence, to the absorption of identity and the possibility of being disappeared by a controlling neighbor. Violence consists of different problems and attitudes. In our part of the world we think the best way to struggle against violence is to be yourself, not an object of change, but a subject of existence. This is a philosophy of life, through which you are yourself no matter what surrounds you. We oppose the sale of arms, but Chile is now trying to purchase fighter airplanes, each worth US\$ 25 million, when it could be using that money to help support the many people in Chile who live in poverty. It is important for people to keep a balance, and to know where and how to struggle for peace. Circumstances may vary, but if you are sure about yourself and what you are, the possibilities of survival are real.

**11. Kasur Lodi Gyaltzen Gyari,
Special Envoy for His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet, Panel Chairperson:**

The justification given by Mr. Hamad on his concept of responsive violence is interesting, and this Conference would probably need a whole panel to analyze the topic. Not responding at all is not equal to nonviolence. Nonviolence should be the most active and courageous response possible. People who practice nonviolence are even more courageous than those who use force. Even when one is in the position of the cat in Mr. Hamad's example, the violent response in itself would contradict the principle of nonviolence. Nevertheless, if one is in the cat's position, one should not sit in the room, but rather do something. Violence should not be justified even in that case. For some of us nonviolence is a life experience, and the issues differ as situations differ therefore making each group react in a different way.

PANEL 2

Internal Conditions for Effective Nonviolent Change

Panel Two discussed conditions, such as leadership and organizational structures within movements, peoples and minorities which are favorable for the effective implementation of nonviolent action.

Panel Chairperson

Mr. Ledum Mitee, Acting President, Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP)

Panel Members

Mr. Audrius Butkevicius,
Member of the Seima of the Republic of Lithuania, former Defense Minister of Lithuania

Reverend Prajnalankar Bhikkhu, Representative of the Chittagong Hill Tracts

Chief Germaine Tremmel,
Vice President of the UNPO Steering Committee, Head Hereditary Chief, Lakota "Hunkpapa" Nation

**1. Mr. Ledum Mitee,
Acting President, Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP),
Panel Chairperson:**

Welcome to the second section of the Conference, Internal Conditions Necessary for Successful Nonviolent Change.

**2. Mr. Audrius Butkevicius,
Member of the Seima of Lithuania, former Defense Minister of Lithuania:**

When speaking about nonviolent change I adhere to the concept of civilian based defense (CBD) used by Professor Gene Sharp: "CBD rests on the theory that political power, whether of domestic or foreign origin, is derived from the sources within each society. By denying or severing these sources of power populations can control rulers and defeat foreign aggressors."

I believe that CBD fits perfectly well in the war theory concept of psychological defense or psychological operations, which, according to NATO definition, are "planned psychological activities in peace and war directed to enemy, friendly and neutral audiences in order to influence attitudes and behaviors affecting the achievement of political and military objectives."

I consider it is wrong to separate external conditions from internal ones. In effective nonviolent change it is necessary to create a complex of external and internal conditions, only such a complex allows for the possibility of CBD. We cannot rely solely on internal conditions necessary for effective nonviolent change. Drawing from my own experience which I acquired when using the CBD method in Lithuania in 1987-93, I can state that to achieve an effect a nonviolent strategist should plan his activities in three fields simultaneously:

- (i) in his territory and society;
- (ii) in the territory and society of the adversary; and
- (iii) in the territories and societies of neural and friendly states.

Nonviolence as a method is effective only because we, the people, are guided by the same or similar values, and because most cultures share the same moral principles. Nowadays some of these values like democracy or human rights have become the levers of international

politics which no member of the international community can afford to ignore. Thus, today as never before nonviolent actions can be exceptionally effective if their strategists rely on these universal human values in the three fields mentioned above.

Therefore, the main condition for effective nonviolent change is a complex assessment of nonviolent action and the situation, an ability to plan and execute the activities in one's territory as well as in the enemy's and neutral territories, and an ability to lean on fundamental human values which affect international politics, to force international opinion and the international community to react. Even nonviolent action taking place "internally" should be based on "external" logic, viewed not only from the point of view of one's own, but also from the enemy's society, as well as from neutral and friendly states.

Other "internal" conditions for effective nonviolent change are connected with this main condition. The first condition is the availability of a leader or leaders who are capable of turning the idea of nonviolence into a universal ideology as well as the availability of a strategic planning group to prepare for nonviolent change. Effective nonviolent change can only be brought about by deliberate and well-planned long-term activities. Nonviolent action demands a much greater and deeper preparation than an ordinary military operation. Nonviolent action always requires a much more sophisticated set of instruments of social psychology and is based on the analysis of attitudes, values and myths that prevail in a society. It also utilizes ideas and ideologies. An individual participating in the action is not a depersonalized and unified soldier who blindly obeys commander's orders, but a full-blooded "civilian" driven by his emotions, crowd instinct and the impulses of the subconscious. Here it is important to ensure very precise planning and organization.

The second condition is the creation of an organizational structure which can organize CBD actions. This structure performs several very important functions without which nonviolent change is impossible:

- (i) teaches the society the CBD methods and behavior during a nonviolent action;
- (ii) ensures the organizational and technical support for the CBD action, for example, vehicles to carry people, hot tea and fires in wintertime;
- (iii) receives voluntarily the blow when the enemy attacks during the CBD action, gives cover to the other participants of the action, sacrifices themselves intentionally and if necessary will die to attract the attention of the international community to the developments, inciting guilty consciences among one's people who are not participating in the action and a feeling of guilt among the enemy;
- (iv) neutralizes instigators who can damage the idea of nonviolence; and
- (v) controls the situation by preventing the adversary from using against the organizers of nonviolent action other groups of the society like national or religious minorities, social groups, etc.

I can assure you that today an adversary who knows the possibilities of application of CBD can ruin nonviolent actions if the latter are not supported by an organizational structure far superior to that of the enemy.

The third condition is the preparation of the society for a nonviolent change. The strategists of nonviolent action must find a way to destroy the legitimacy of the enemy's authority and create within the society the principles of legal justification for its own activity. For instance, in the Baltic states this was done by explaining to the public the consequences of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact to the Baltic states and by forcing the adversary, in this case the Soviet Union, to admit in public this act as unlawful. To create this condition the actions mobilizing the society and oriented towards national self-esteem and universal human values are of crucial importance. In Lithuania such actions were the return of the remains of deportees and political prisoners who were deported by the Stalinist regime to Siberia—practically every Lithuanian family was affected by the Stalinist repression. The public defense of the Parliament as a symbol of democracy and freedom during the January events in 1991 turned into a particularly powerful mobilizing action. This action predetermined the possibility of nonviolent change in Lithuania.

The fourth condition is the possibility of the organizers of nonviolent action to control their resources:

- (i) human resources and a necessary number of CBD experts to create organizational structures in key parts of the country;
- (ii) time resources are necessary, minimal period of time until the beginning of a conflict during which an organizational structure will be put in place, the public prepared for the ideas of nonviolence, and interests of the leaders of different public groups coordinated;
- (iii) material and financial resources. These are necessary for the survival of the participants of the nonviolent action: food, shelter, heating, etc. In the case of a protracted conflict, resources should be planned in such a way as to ensure a sufficient standard of living. Resources should be planned in advance and distributed according to their importance to various stages of the struggle;
- (iv) resources necessary to organize CBD include:
 - a) communications, as many communications channels as possible;
 - b) vehicles and fuel reserves;
 - c) information resources.

Organizers must conduct regular, impartial and operational assessments of the situation within their own society, and that of the enemy as well as friendly or neutral states. This should be a continuous monitoring to determine the trends. Here you cannot do without public opinion polls. On the other hand, this is also an opportunity to exert influence over the mass media, to provide it with timely, interesting and unbiased information, in appropriate language and manner, so as to make it understandable and psychologically acceptable to the societies of friends and foes. In this regard modern means of communication, satellite links and television play a crucial role. These means were among the most important factors which forced the US and Soviet governments to stop wars in Vietnam, Afghanistan and Chechnia.

The fifth condition which is crucial is the desire of the society to carry on the struggle. The organizers of nonviolent action have to perceive their action as a well-staged show. It must be interesting for both actors and spectators. We like games. It is necessary to plan both tragic and comic sides of the struggle. And always keep a rabbit in a hat which will be pulled out

when the attention of "spectators" is beginning to subside and the "actors" are beginning to tire of playing.

You should remember that an enemy will always do something which people fear most, but you can always exploit it.

And yet another condition which cannot be ascribed to internal, is the necessity to ensure the support of various forces abroad. However, it can only be created "internally." The most important thing is to show to the world that our resistance is continuous, long-term and universal; that even if we do not achieve our goals the world will not find spiritual peace and will not be able to discuss comfortably the issues of democracy and human rights. Therefore, it is necessary to present every nonviolent action as an expression of a common strategy, to create a mechanism to register every unlawful action of the enemy and disseminate information across the world. It is necessary to agree with the leaders of the neighboring states of favorably inclined social groups on such issues as a possibility of a respite for the leaders of resistance, training of volunteers, and supplies of immediate necessity.

Having implemented these conditions the price the enemy will have to pay to retain authority and political control will be too high. Then as Napoleon said, the big power will die of indigestion.

3. Reverend Prajnalankar Bhikkhu, Representative of the Chittagong Hill Tracts:

Violence cannot be extinguished by violence, it can only be extinguished by nonviolence. An act of violence gives birth to many violent activities. So violence is a matter of relativity. The growing violence in different parts of the world makes a peace-loving person consider some sort of institution that could manufacture specific nonviolent strategies to ensure peace in the world.

Scholars interpret the term nonviolence in different ways. I am not a scholar, but as a peace-loving Buddhist monk I am here stating my feelings about nonviolence. To me nonviolence means a unique way that leads one to his or her ultimate goal. In other words, nonviolence is an instrument that makes one acquainted with reality, peace and a solution.

As an instrument, nonviolence should pertain though not be limited to the following internal conditions:

- (i) mutual trust, respect and recognition;
- (ii) refraining from using means of violence;
- (iii) negotiation; and
- (iv) realistic approach.

The conflicting groups must have the feeling of mutual trust, respect, and recognition to create a conducive atmosphere for a nonviolent solution, This will lead them to realize the necessity of cease-fire, ie: refraining from using violence, and the use of negotiations. If a genuine and long lasting solution to a conflict is really sought the conflicting groups must come to the negotiation table. All conflicts ultimately come to an end at the negotiating table. It provides room for both sides to discuss different aspects of the problem.

Sometimes these internal conditions do not suffice for an effective peaceful change, because a strong group is trying to impose its idea on a weak group. The Jana Samhati Samiti (JSS), the political party in Chittagong Hill Tracts, declared a unilateral cease-fire in 1992, and since then has been using peaceful means to enter into a peace agreement with the Bangladesh government. The JSS has drastically modified its demands from provincial autonomy with its own legislative council, to regional council. However, the government is not ready to fulfil these modified demands which also include general administration and law and order within the framework of the regional autonomous council, traditional land rights, withdrawal of the settlers from the CHT and demilitarization. There is no progress even after the fifth round of peace dialogue which ended on 18 July.

Our experiences in CHT lead me to identify external conditions for an effective peaceful change in our problem:

- (i) international pressure on Bangladesh authorities for an international facilitator in the peace process;
- (ii) ensuring that the government will accept the financial offer of the European Parliament for rehabilitation of the settlers outside Chittagong Hill Tracts, with international monitoring;
- (iii) financial aid from Japan, Australia, some European countries and donor agencies should be conditional on whether human rights improve in CHT;
- (iv) involvement of UNHCR in rehabilitating Jumma refugees now being repatriated from India; and
- v) UNPO's dedication to work on solutions for its Members.

**4. Chief Germaine Tremmel,
Vice President of the UNPO Steering Committee, Head Hereditary Chief,
Lakota "Hunkpapa" Nation:**

The Lakota People have to abide by unseen laws. It is important to understand the philosophy of the Lakota: circles within circles, a matter of cause and effect. You must come from your inner circle, which is you, keeping in mind that the consequences of your actions and words will eventually come back to you. I come from a warrior society and I was taught ways to conduct myself, in manner and language. One of the first things I was taught was: to ask where my intentions are. I looked inside to see where those intentions were, if they included everyone. This process is called a transformational vision. One is an active part in the web of complex inter-dependencies, which obligates one to seek all connections and relationships which affect one, and understand their dynamics and how they work together. It is important to accommodate yourself to everything and everyone. There are four steps to this process, including thinking the highest thought of ones self and community and environment with respect and compassion, as this influences the actions of individuals and community.

Different types of thought in this process are:

- (i) Relating to one's physical place, forming the recognized boundaries of one's land and home, each indigenous group's territory;

- (ii) Relating to relationships with people, plants, animals, natural elements and phenomena, to understand the difference and similarity between ourselves and other life forms;
- (iii) Involving reflective contemplation, the application of the capacity to think, i.e. be thorough and make wise choices, which has to do with respect, ethics, morals and proper behaviour, and which leads to the development of humility;
- (iv) Wisdom, founded on accumulated experiences, using the realm of the elders and advisory societies; and
- (v) A visionary experience, a place of sacredness, seeking directly a solution to complexities.

The Lakota are a warrior society, but we do not need to kill our enemy. We can count coup on the spirit of that person, and they can live. It is hard to practice our way of life in modern America. We are now bringing it back.

**5. Mr. Ledum Mitee,
Acting President, The Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People, (MOSOP),
Panel Chairperson:**

The panel has identified strong leadership and structure of organization as an internal condition. Most speakers said that internal and external conditions interlap. Resources were also named. Speakers mentioned how cultural and traditional influences influence the implementation of nonviolence, and the environment of where the action is taking place.

**6. Mr. Menelaos Tzelios,
General Secretary, International Federation for the Protection of the Rights of Ethnic,
Religious, Linguistic and other Minorities, Representative of Greeks in Albania:**

During the Bonn Preparatory meeting, it was raised that violence starts at home. Does this relate to internal nonviolent solutions?

**7. Mr. Henriques Tiago N'Zita,
President, Front de Liberation de L'Enclave du Cabinda, Head of the Provisional
Government of Cabinda:**

The Cabinda people were forced to accept violence. How can we put an end to violence in Cabinda by using nonviolent means? Women, children and old people suffer tremendously due to the fact that their villages are burned down. The Cabinda people have to fight the military with peaceful means.

8. Chief Lawrence Pootlass (Nuximlaye), Head Hereditary Chief, Nuxalk Nation:

The Nuxalk Nation is experiencing genocide and ethnocide. In the past settlers were welcomed and helped by the Nuxalk. There is only one village left with 200 Nuxalk inhabitants, where there were in the 1860's 160 towns and thousands of Nuxalk. Despite this, my elders, chiefs and people believe in nonviolence, as we continue to protect our forests,

land and sacred areas. We have many sacred areas, one is Ista where the First Lady descended. I was imprisoned for a month in 1995 for protecting a sacred area, from which I was forcibly removed. They are using monies and our own people to oppress us.

9. Chief Edward Moody (Quatsinas), Hereditary Chief, Nuxalk Nation:

The teaching of nonviolence has touched a lot of our people. We will continue to use nonviolence to protect our land and our forests and our way of life. The forests have been stripped, which threatens our way of life, which I consider a force of violence against my people. Because we are using our own laws and culture to protect our land we have been criminalized and imprisoned. But our own laws which were given to us by our Creator give us our responsibility to look after our land, which in turn gives us our life.

10. The Hon. Akhyad Idigov, Chairman, Parliament Committee of Foreign Affairs, former Chairman of the Parliament, Chechen Republic Ichkeria:

Over 1 million people lost their lives during the Chechen war against Russia, a lot of people were disabled, and the Chechen economy stopped functioning properly. Nonviolent means are too difficult at the moment, but they will have a principle role in the future. Nonviolent measures should be registered in our Constitution, to help our nation to survive. The European Union did not help in the conflict. Practical help is needed in order to make laws to avoid conflicts.

11. Senator Parris Chang, Member of the Senate, Taiwan:

The history of nonviolence is exemplified by Gandhi's effective nonviolent struggle against the British. An internal condition in that movement was leadership, the charisma of Gandhi, but also his ability to convince his colleagues and followers to adhere to nonviolence. Also the Reverend Martin Luther King's nonviolent fight for civil rights, in which he was supported by people of all ethnicities, and which brought about laws on equal rights for all Americans. Martin Luther King's ideals may not have yet been fully realized, but the environment has been created for more nonviolent changes.

12. The Honorable Nadir Byekir, MP, Mejlis of Crimean Tatar People., Republic of Crimea:

Psychological and institutional conditions are necessary for hope for success of nonviolent activity. The size of the people relates to the success of the movement. There are, unfortunately, many examples of unsuccessful nonviolent movements, many are small minorities who do not have a choice of either violence or nonviolence. In some cases there is a traditional background for nonviolence, in some cases there is not. Unlike Buddhists, the Crimean Tatars are a warrior nation, yet are practising nonviolence. Discipline and control is very important as an internal condition. All sectors of the movement must support nonviolence. A small group of terrorists may discredit the nonviolent intentions of the whole movement. Nonviolence takes more planning and resources than military action. Usually nonviolence takes a long time. Where will resources for nonviolent action be found?



Mothers of Russian soldiers and monks protest against the war in Chechnia, one of the most harrowing and dreadful conflicts of recent times

13. Ms. Kimberly Kealoha Pisciotta, Representative of Ka Lahui Hawaii:

Regarding cultural influence on nonviolent solutions, the Native Hawai'ians adopted nonviolence ten years ago, bearing in mind the nonviolent stance Queen Liliu'okalani took when she submitted to the US when it took over Hawai'i. The Queen was strong and hoped that the US would do the correct thing. She asked us to yield because there were not many of us left. Today, there are 6,000 pure-blooded Hawai'ians. The elders want to fight for their land, since the land created the Kanaka Maoli. If you destroy the environment, you destroy the people. It is an affront to the Creator and creates unbalance and sets creation unraveling. Our cultural background stresses our commitment to all people; if we do not fight for the environment and peace, everybody in the world will die. We are also a warrior society and understand there is a need for a nation's self- defense. We must try nonviolence first, and if that does not work, we must see what comes next.

**14. Mr. Goran Hansson,
Stiftelsen Skansk Framtid - Foundation for the Future of Scania:**

To stage nonviolent resistance costs money. One way to limit opposition from states' points of view is to starve the opposition so that they cannot carry out activities. How can people obtain the financial means under violent repression, to promote nonviolent activity?

**15. Mr. Hamad Massoud Hamad,
Director - Human Rights, Civic United Front, Zanzibar.**

Without committed leadership, the policy of nonviolence cannot work. Within nonviolent movements collaborators can damage the nonviolent system, and are used by the oppressing system. When they are expelled they may become troublemakers. Unless people are educated about nonviolence the system will not work, but what about when the oppressors will never allow demonstrations or seminars which will allow for this type of education? If people are provoked, they can be arrested, in these cases lawyers should represent the oppressed.

16. Dr. Gene Sharp, Senior Scholar, The Albert Einstein Institution:

I am concerned about the formulation "conditions necessary for effective non-violent change" since "necessary" implies that without them you cannot use non-violence, which is not true. I recommend the use of another word, such as "favourable" or "unfavourable" conditions. I am also concerned with the statements dealing with the need for charismatic and strong leadership, since those leaders can be removed, assassinated, or make a mistake. There are some few struggles that have such a leader. One can make up for the absence of a charismatic leader in other ways, such as by diffusing the concept of nonviolence throughout the society, and by creating diffuse leadership and strategic sophistication on how nonviolence is used pragmatically. We should not exclude possibilities by the way we formulate our questions.

**17. Mr. Th. Muivah,
General Secretary, National Socialist Council of Nagaland:**

If a leader of a people can do to his opponent what he wants the opponent to do to him the basis for nonviolence is there. If he cannot do that, nonviolence is meaningless. The change must start with the leader's approach to the problem. We must have a philosophical basis for nonviolence, from there everything follows. Without this there can be no internal changes.

**18. Chief Germaine Tremmel,
Vice President of UNPO Steering Committee,
Head Hereditary Chief, Lakota "Hunkpapa" Nation:**

The Lakota people denounced going to war against the United States, and we struggle with the fact that this may have ended our people. In 1990 the Lakota Nation declared ourselves independent on one of our sacred mountains. Leaders of nations and peoples have an obligation to be among their people. We come from a warrior society of which we are very proud. It does not mean necessarily going to war. It took the Lakota about 200 years to be able to say that we believe in peace. Part of the process was to implement a protocol, to commit ourselves to nonviolence, and to educate our people on that stand. Next, the decolonization process had to be in place, by educating our people and restoring our cultures and societies. It is important to understand and know the environment around you and have accountable leadership within each nation's cultural context.

19. Rev. Prajnalankar Bhikkhu Chakma, Representative of the Chittagong Hill Tracts:

A collective effort is necessary since both sides are an essential part of the process of achieving nonviolence. We must respect, trust and recognize each other. Nonviolence (ahimsa) is the ultimate way to realize reality and peace and to obtain a solution. The

people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts believe in this principle and we strive for a nonviolent solution.

20. The Honorable Audrius Butkevicius, MP, Member of the Seima, former Defense Minister, Lithuania:

When we speak about nonviolent change, we have different understandings. I mean the ability to use power in society in order to defend it. For this method to be effective, one must be active spiritually, mentally and physically. For this I am speaking about a social and psychological violence, not physical violence. Co-operations between human beings are based on conventions of all kinds and this method is to use these conventions to defeat your enemy. This very concrete method starts with the organization. Leaders do not necessarily have to be charismatic, but at least enough to break old stereotypes. There are 243 methods of the Civilian Based Defense. Dynamite might destroy a building, but Civilian Based Defense can destroy a state. But it is necessary to know how to use it.

21. Mr. Ledum Mitee, Acting President, Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni Peoples (MOSOP), Panel Chairperson:

Conditions "favorable" for nonviolent change is more appropriate to this discussion than "necessary." Leadership may be important, but we should consider why some leaders are more effective in nonviolent movements than in other kinds of movements. A leader should be ready to sacrifice himself, this distinguishes the leadership. Cultural and geographical factors can be favorable for enhancing nonviolent strategies. For example, in the Tibetan case, violence is not an option, because the geography does not support it.

DAY TWO - July 22, 1997

Opening Statement

1. Dr. Linnart Mdl,
First Chairman of the UNPO General Assembly:

Today we will address the issue of external conditions for effective nonviolent change. My friends will speak today about our struggle for freedom in every part of the world. UNPO must be the most democratic organization in the world, without violence, physical or moral.

Panel 3

External Conditions for Effective Nonviolent Change

Panel Three sought to define and discuss conditions external to movements, such as the behavior of governments, international organizations, the media and others, which influence the efficacy and encourage the use of nonviolent action.

Panel Chairperson

Mr. Kenneth Deer, Mohawk Nation, Council of Chiefs

Panel Members

Mr. Jose Amorim Dias,
Representative of East Timor to the European Union

The Honorable Akhyad Idigov,
Vice President of the UNPO Steering Committee, Chairman, Parliament Committee of Foreign Affairs, former Chairman of the Parliament, Chechen Republic- Ichkeria

Mr. Hans Thoolen, Regional Representative, United Nations High Commission on Refugees, Sweden

1. Mr. Kenneth Deer,
Mohawk Nation, Council of Chiefs, Panel Chairperson:

I come from the Mohawk people, part of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy in North America. It is my duty to bring you greetings from our chiefs, our clan mothers, our men, our women and our children and to those yet unborn, to yours. We mention the unborn because our unborn will one day meet your unborn in the future. As Chairman, I will try to find the balance between the time allotted for the panel and the importance of the issue of non-violence. Yesterday we discussed the internal conditions for nonviolent change, and some speakers noted that they are inseparable from external conditions.

2. The Hon. Akhyad Idigov,
Vice President of the UNPO Steering Committee, Chairman, Parliament Committee of Foreign Affairs, former Chairman of the Parliament, Chechen RepublicIchkeria:

Nonviolence is an old theory, which can be found in the Bible and the Koran. It is characteristic of humankind to solve conflicts with military weapons, and without adherence to human principles. Co-operation between nations and peoples is necessary to solve conflicts in a nonviolent way. All conflict should be resolved in a peaceful way, but this requires the will of all parties involved.

Chechenia has followed all the rules of international law and the constitutions from the Soviet Union and Russia from the beginning of its existence. Chechenia has never voluntarily joined another country. The Chechen Republic used nonviolent means during its presidential and parliamentary elections. This is the way the Chechens built up statehood. Before 1995, many negotiations took place with the Russian Federation on the future relationship between the two countries. The Russians nevertheless started a war in which 30 percent of the Chechen population was killed, of which 30,000 were children. Many children, women and old people still suffer from injuries, but Chechenia lacks the medical resources to help its war victims, since the Russians destroyed many hospitals. This is a fact although it is not known by many people.

The Chechen delegation fully supports nonviolent methods as the best way to solve problems. The Chechen Republic wants to have peaceful relations with all the nations in the world, because external relations are of great importance, and all nations should express solidarity against an aggressor. The Chechen people have been victims of genocide for centuries but effective action has never been taken to stop the oppressor. All Participants should consider things that happen in another part of the world as if they were happening to themselves, instead of ignoring them. Participants and UNPO should unite and solve the problems together and send missions to the hot spots of the world.

3. Mr. Jose Amorim Dias, Representative of East Timor to the European Union:

Nobel Peace Prize winner Jose Ramos-Horta is unfortunately not able to address the Participants, he has other obligations and is currently busy in Lisbon, Portugal.

The people in East Timor suffer the same problems as many of the Participants and the people inside our countries cry for freedom and peace. Although I look young, I have been involved in the East Timorese resistance for more than ten years. I was 11 years old during the Indonesian invasion, and when I was 15, I started my involvement in the East Timorese resistance. Besides organizing peaceful demonstrations I collected information on human rights violations in order to inform the international community. I continued this work while in university and got arrested; after my release I finished my study alongside my struggle for East Timor and left for Indonesia in 1986. I tried to raise awareness among the Indonesian people about the struggle of East Timor. I established contacts with students, intellectuals and activists. The movement in Indonesia has grown since then.

This movement also strives for democratisation in Indonesia, a country that has suffered under the dictatorship of General Suharto for more than 30 years. We explain to the Indonesian people why we fight for East Timor and that it is similar to the struggle for independence Indonesia fought against the Dutch colonial rule. The support for East Timor in Indonesia has become greater, especially among young people, and they have set up solidarity groups. We gather all supporters of East Timor, both in Portugal, and inside and

outside of Indonesia into solidarity groups so we can discuss the problems. We also contribute to the Indonesian people by raising awareness of their situation internationally.

In the past five years, as a sign of our success, the Indonesian regime has become more oppressive and many of the East Timor supporters are in prison now, serving sentences from five to ten years. I am talking about external conditions within Indonesia, ie: building solidarity with Indonesians. We try to build trust among young people in Indonesia; in the future they will build a democratic regime and I hope that it will lead to a solution of the problem of East Timor.

We have support from NGOs and even friends within the Indonesian government, with their help we go to the UN and try to make friends who will help our struggle. The leader of East Timor, Xanana Gusmao, is still in prison in Indonesia, and through his cell tries to reach all levels of the Indonesian society and to bring the message of peace to the Indonesian government, to understand that East Timor is not a threat to Indonesia and the solution of the problem of East Timor will help save Indonesia's national integrity. During the last 22 years the East Timorese resistance achieved some success: the world has been informed about the issue of East Timor and the continuing human rights violations, and the awareness within Indonesia has been increased. The armed resistance in East Timor represents only a symbol of the whole resistance because we are a small people we cannot count on our forces to defeat Indonesia. We changed our strategy to peaceful means, during these more than 20 years.

**4. Mr. Hans Thoolen,
Regional Representative, United Nations High Commission on Refugees, Sweden
(speaking in a personal capacity):**

While discussing external conditions for nonviolent change, the focus should be on three factors:

- Nonviolence should be recognized and (with more difficulty) rewarded.
- Respect for human rights should be enforced even handedly, even in the case of big nations.
- There should be more understanding that prevention is better than cure and that real solutions require long-term work.

To what extent can the 'international community' influence these factors? To clarify since the international community is all of us, it therefore could mean nobody. Often people when they speak of the international community seem to have in mind some regional or international organization, but actually identifying a particular organization, such as the UN and the OSCE is out of fashion, perhaps not so surprising after some serious failures by the UN and a decade of UN-bashing in the media of several countries. By using the vague international community, speakers do not have to be too realistic about matching resources and expectations. Still, it should be possible to address some of these aforementioned factors, especially in the less ideological world of the post-Cold War.

Nonviolence should be recognized, upgraded and rewarded by international organizations. The UN itself is based on the concept of nonviolent change. The monopoly of the legitimate use of force in the UN Charter clearly points in that direction. Although the maneuverability

of the UN organization is small, there are certainly possibilities to demonstrate, more than before, that nonviolence pays, and at least that certain forms of violence, even if committed under the cloak of sovereignty, do not. The recent creation of international tribunals is a case in point, but also in the conduct of peacekeeping, conflict resolution and technical assistance activities, international organizations could seek to privilege nonviolent counterparts and defend their legitimate right to seek a change to the status quo.

It would appear at first glance that the UN would be the best place to address issues of peoples rights, to a lesser degree group rights and would not be effective in the many cases of individual rights. The reality is the other way around. Individual rights are handled more easily by international organizations than group rights. The question of self-determination is in many respects a no-no. However, even effective protection of individual rights, including the individual rights of persons belonging to minorities and peoples, should go a long way in making the option for nonviolence a more realistic and fruitful one. In this regard, I call your attention to an excellent article by Mr. Menelaos Tzelios in the recent edition of UNPO *News*.

Regarding prevention and long-term commitment, the UN and other international organizations have made some progress at the conceptual level, but in the implementation there is still a lot lacking. It is not realized enough that a typical feature of conflicts involving minorities and peoples is their longevity, and too often a return to normalcy and simple cessation of armed conflict is proclaimed as a definite solution. Even a relative success story such as Cambodia seems to be unraveling. The fire brigade mentality is not helpful in the search for long-term policies applicable to minorities and unrepresented peoples. For this reason alone, seeking better and sustained co-operation with external, non-traditional actors seems to be the least that the UN and other international organizations could do.

International rules on self-determination, particularly outside the colonial context, are narrow, and certainly so when applied and interpreted by a body composed of states. Efforts to change the situation with regard to the right of self-determination should not be abandoned but tempered with the realization that progress will be slow. Getting the UN to support a wider self-determination approach is only one out of the many tools and methods you have at your disposal. According to Martin Ennals, "Nowhere is there a procedure of arbitration, no definition of terms, no UN body which will entertain about self-determination as such. It is a right which creates expectation without fulfillment. People are dying for that right which is known to exist but nowhere defined (1991, *preparing for the conference of self-determination held in Saskatoon, Canada*)."

**5. The Honorable Akhyad Idigov,
Vice President of the UNPO Steering Committee, Chairman, Parliament Committee of
Foreign Affairs, former Chairman of the Parliament, Chechen Republic – Ichkeria**

Everybody speaks about the outcome of conflicts, but not about the causes. Conflicts are models of force. It should be examined who produces and proliferates weapons; the big nations are responsible for this. Big countries can kill people without any punishment, e.g. the Russians killed 100,000 people in Chechnia, but Russia is a member of Security Council, the body that governs morality in the world. There is human rights monitoring in the Baltic States, but not in Russia, Chechnia or in Tibet, all because Russia is a member of the Security Council of the UN. President Clinton said that the problems in the Chechen

Republic have to be solved with as little blood as possible. Any blood is too much. This attitude is also to be found in the UN bodies, otherwise there would be no need for UNPO.

The UN is an organization that only serves the interest of the big nations at the expense of all peoples and nations. Everybody looks up to the UN and its branches all over the world, but no one dares to say the king is naked. We should sit down with the big nations to make them aware about the fate of small nations, because the people with power have all the resources but they have lost their hearts. Otherwise the good work of UNPO will have little effect. The UN should enlarge the Commission on Decolonization and this Commission should also represent UNPO. Members should visit embassies of Russia, the United States and China to deliver this message.

**6. Kalon T. C. Tethong,
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tibetan Government in Exile:**

External conditions apply to both parties, not only to the party seeking resolution. They are also the responsibility of the dominant power and the international community. Regarding the clarification given by Mr. Thoolen about the international community as all and nobody, this is the crux of the problem, wherein nobody is responsible for the problems of unrepresented nations and peoples.

Both parties must show will and courage to settle and negotiate, the absence of which can lead to violent conflict and the loss of lives, such as in Chechenia and East Timor. This comes from the frustration and desperation of the people who are struggling for their freedom and fundamental rights. It is the primary responsibility of the parties involved to create the external conditions for the peaceful resolution of conflicts. However, international bodies are equally responsible; it is not good enough to say, as many dominant countries do, as they exploit the resources and the peoples of weaker nations, that they do not want to intervene in the internal affairs of another country.

For example the People's Republic of China, which uses the excuse that Tibet is an internal affair of China. If that is so, then China can violate international human rights law and claim it is written that within the boundaries of China's sovereignty they can violate international law. I use the word responsibility, because all conflicts affect neighbouring environments, and once regional, conflicts become international problems, i.e. Tibet affects the whole of the sub-continent of India and Central Asia. The favourable conditions for nonviolence must be created on both sides of the conflict.

7. Representative of the Organization to Maintain the Erzyan Language:

I was born in the town where the first atomic bomb was made, in the country of Mordva. The Mordvan people are not even given the right to be identified as such (since they are only known as Erdzyan), and 600,000 of them cannot speak their mother tongue anymore. We cannot teach Mordvian in school and are denied practice of our religion. We must use self-defense, by peaceful means or we are doomed to perish as a people. We cannot be a member of UNPO which is a symbol for peace.

**8. Mr. Werner Lottje,
Secretary for Human Rights, Diakonisches Werk der Evangelischen Kirche in
Deutschland:**

Much hope is placed on international human rights organizations in the struggle for human rights and self-determination. Organizations involved in struggles should know how human rights organizations function and that their scope of action is limited, compared with what is needed. Human rights organizations, though, can make an important contribution by removing the veil of legitimacy of violence used against just causes. Today, the international human rights community cannot grow fast enough, in answer to the growing number of organizations seeking their help. Organizations involved in struggles should not be frustrated if human rights organizations inform them that they do not have the time to help them.

9. Rev. Prajnalankar Bhikkhu Chakma, Representative of the Chittagong Hill Tracts:

The UN is the most powerful instrument for effective nonviolent change in conflicts. Under the UN, the world is characterized as having peace, security and justice. Many human rights organizations all over the world defend human rights, yet there are many human rights violations recorded at the UN Human Rights Commission. For example, on June 12 1996, Ms. Kalpana Chakma, Secretary of the Hill Women's Federation was kidnapped by an armed military group led by Lieutenant Ferrous, and is still missing. The main human rights organization in CHT reported her disappearance to the UN, yet to this date we still don't know her whereabouts. How effective is the UN in contributing to effective peaceful change to a conflict? I question whether the UN can take any initiative for a solution to an internal conflict or human rights violations.

10. Mr. Zephyrin Kalimba, Association for the Promotion of Batwa:

I come from Central Africa where conflict and violence have been present for a long time. These acts are influenced by foreign countries like the United States and France. Genocide occurred in Rwanda, and the Batwa pigmy minority suffered greatly as well, and could not take real actions against the regime. The international community did nothing to help Rwanda until it was too late. A nonviolence campaign should start to provide information to governments and international organizations on the problem, which would not only prevent conflict but also acts of violence.

11. Mr. Henriques Tiago N'Zita, President, Front de Liberation de L'Enclave du Cabinda, Head of the Provisional Government of Cabinda:

The people of Cabinda are committed to applying nonviolence principles to solve problems, since we are peace loving people. A commission must be formed by the UN, UNPO and the Organization for African Unity (OAU) to investigate the human rights situation in Cabinda and the refugee camps in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Congo Brazzaville. This commission should see how violence is applied by the Angolan forces in the Cabinda territory. The leaders of Cabinda have written many times to the UN and OAU, but all these appeals met no success. I hope that the UN, OAU and UNPO will take serious steps this time to find out about the human rights situation in Cabinda.

**12. Mr. Reynaldo Mariqueo,
International Co-ordinator, Mapuche Interregional Council.**

The Mapuche Nation live in the southern part of Chile and Argentina. Our nation fought a war of more than 300 years against colonial invasion, but this was an act of self-defense and not of aggression. Self-defense in this context is a fundamental principle adopted by the UN. Today the Mapuche face cultural genocide and ethnocide. Our culture has never been recognized by the dominant nations. Therefore we are dying out as a nation, our language is not recognized and land is taken away from us, and our environment destroyed. Another threat is the economic development of Chile, e.g. the construction of highways and of six hydroelectric dams in the Bio-Bio River will affect many indigenous families. Participants should think about the problem of cultural ethnocide, because many indigenous peoples around the world are facing assimilation and non-recognition of our fundamental rights as peoples. As the next millennium approaches, a gathering should be organized, perhaps by UNPO, where nations could bring their culture and music and tell the world we exist and will continue to exist in the future.

**13. Dr. Robert Gyula Cey-Bert,
International Ambassador of Karenni State**

I agree with the statement made by Mr. Mariqueo that cultural violence is the most dangerous form of violence. It is more difficult to resist cultural violence than physical violence because the former attacks the national and cultural values, your soul. If you are destroyed culturally, your nation will disappear. There are many forms of cultural violence: when children cannot be educated in their own language and about their own history and national traditions. The invasion of the CocaCola, hamburgers and Marlboro culture, and religious missionaries are forms of cultural violence. The only way to resist this influence is to protect the nation with cultural and psychological strength and to defend tradition. Nonviolent resistance should be psychological and cultural.

14. The Honorable Rytas Kupcinskas, MP, Lithuania:

The media has a strong influence on international developments, since they cover the whole world. For example the extensive media coverage of the killing of the famous fashion designer Versace, while the killing of hundreds of people in Tibet and East Timor almost gets no media attention at all. UNPO has the authority and moral force to support national liberation movements. UNPO is well informed and will grow and achieve more authority in the future. Finances are extremely important and UNPO should try to obtain a clear picture of how conflicts are financed, especially when a big power is involved. The respect for the organization will be based on the support it can give to its Members.

**15. The Honorable Akhyad Idigov,
Vice President of the UNPO Steering Committee, Chairman, Parliament Committee of Foreign Affairs, former Chairman of the Parliament, Chechen RepublicIchkeria:**

UNPO plays an important role in the world today. It depends on the Members to influence which direction the organization will go: a passive or an active one. The future of UNPO also depends on financial resources. I welcome the presence of Mr. Thoolen, a representative of UNHCR, since this organization has difficulties protecting the rights of refugees, especially

when big powers are involved. The big powers try to make the problems of small countries invisible, and the smaller nations will face many problems in the future. UNPO and Participants should defend the rights of peoples. I propose a resolution which includes such points as to obtain influence through mass media and to raise the importance of the situation of UNPO Members. We could refer to the problems in Chechenia and ask the UN to recognize the independence of the Chechen Republic. I propose a commission be set up, which would study the situation in Chechenia. UNPO should call on other international organizations, like the UN and the European Parliament, to impose concrete measures instead of just words. In this way situations like Chechenia could be avoided. This commission should also investigate the death of the Chechen leader General Djokhar Dudaev. The active position of UNPO could be used every time we need to solve problems.

**16. Mr. Hans Thoolen,
Regional Representative, United Nations High Commission on Refugees, Sweden:**

It is worthwhile for UNPO Members as much as for other groups to educate oneself about NGOs, the UN and other intergovernmental regional bodies. The UN is not as complex as many people think. It is sad that some comments including those made in the debate here, continue to show confusion regarding factual issues. For example, the UN does not monitor the Baltic States at all, the OSCE does monitor two out of three of the countries. Russia tried to have the UN monitor the Baltic States, but their attempt failed last year. This shows the opposite of what has been said here, that even big countries sometimes fail to have their way at the UN.

Big countries do have extra weight in the UN, but this is necessary for the effectiveness of the UN: a Security Council consisting only of small, peace-loving nations would not have the same impact. You need to have a compromise between what you want the UN to do and how you want it composed.

The arguments of internal jurisdiction and territorial integrity are not only invoked by big countries. This is a problem UNHCR faces everywhere even with the Nordic and Baltic States. However, it is completely *passé* to use that argument when there are gross and systematic violations of human rights; the UN recognizes control over domestic jurisdiction, but this principle cannot be invoked so a country is free to do whatever it wants within its borders. Many countries support this view nowadays, and this is an enormous step forward compared to the situation only a decade ago when most countries argued against it.

The UN procedure for solving the disappearance of an individual is in many cases inadequate. It functions largely due to the input of non-governmental international human rights organizations. The structure of the UN is not obsolete and the UN is not too big. The budget of the UN is the same as that of the New York City fire brigade, and the budget is small compared to the expectations people have of the UN. For example the budget of the UNHCR (US\$ 1.2 billion in 1996) is not that much, considering the 26 million people who need care by the UNHCR.



"The path of nonviolence may take some time, but its result is more lasting and it does not have negative side effects," - His Holiness, the Dalai Lama

PANEL 4

Nonviolent Strategies

Panel Four addressed the role and relevance of strategies in nonviolent campaigns. Participants stressed the central requirement of strategic planning for successful nonviolent action and named those elements which need to be considered in planning strategy. Concrete examples of strategies used by particular nations were presented.

Panel Chairperson

Senator Parris Chang,
President of the UNPO Steering Committee, Member of Senate, Taiwan

Panel Members

The Honorable Nadir Byekir,
M.P., Mejlis of Crimean Tatar People, Republic of Crimea

Ms. Michele Ernsting,
International News Producer, Radio Netherlands

Venerable Samdhong Rinpoche,
Chairman, Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies, Tibetan Government in Exile

Dr. Gene Sharp,
Senior Scholar, The Albert Einstein Institution

**1. Senator Parris Chang,
President of the UNPO Steering Committee, Member of Senate, Taiwan, Panel
Chairperson:**

The era of revolution is over. Leaders who used armed struggle brought suffering to their own and other people. We have seen the reversal of the trend. In the past decade the international community has honored statesmen and human rights leaders who practice nonviolence. The rewarding of people who practice and preach nonviolence is an external condition which promotes nonviolence. Successful strategies have included those used in Gandhi's struggle, and the US Civil Rights Movement.

The revolution which occurred in Taiwan ten years ago went largely unnoticed by the international community. Before martial law was abandoned at that time, more than 25 of the current Members of Parliament were imprisoned for their activism. Taiwan is trying to maintain its freedom and independence from China. To cope with China's threat, Taiwan businessmen infiltrate the Chinese market. If China invades Taiwan, the mainland economy and people will suffer the most. We are trying to induce peaceful evolution in China. We try to persuade China that one nation could organize many states, just like Germany at one time; we could form a separate state. An independent Taiwan would not be hostile towards China.

The Chinese colonization practices should be condemned and resisted by the international community. We have not been so successful in this area: when China intimidated Taiwan in 1996, the UN did nothing. The international attitude was that China should solve its own internal affairs. We want the international community to accept that the use of force against people is an international issue, not the internal affair of that country. The Taiwanese cannot be pacifist, we must defend our freedom and independence and save our sovereignty. We only possess defensive weapons.

**2. Venerable Samdhong Rinpoche,
Chairman, Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies, Tibetan Government in
Exile:**

My statement is based on my own individual ideas; it concerns the topic of the discussion and in this capacity I do not represent the Tibetan community. I am not a strategist and feel that the word 'strategy' belongs to the vocabulary of generals, armed forces and defense establishments. Nonviolence is neither a matter of strategy nor does it contain any strategic dimension, because it has no battles to wage and no wars to win. 'Strategy' implies use of all possible means to gain victory without any consideration for right or wrong. It aims at winning a war and hence it implies defeat of the enemy and victory for one's own side.

The aim of nonviolence is the establishment of truth and removal of injustice. It does not aim to eliminate or defeat someone. For a true nonviolent activist there is no enemy. Nonviolence aims to end injustice by making the perpetrator of the injustice see reason and undo the wrong done by him. In the end the nonviolent activist and the wrong-doer should have no bitterness left between them. They may even become friends. Uprooting

or weakening violence is the ultimate aim of nonviolent action. It does not aim to eliminate the wrong-doer.

The roots of violence are embedded in hatred, greed and egotism that seeks domination over others, and the search for glorification on the part of a person, group, a race or a nation. From the nonviolent point of view all of these are mental defilements that go against truth, justice and human dignity. As nonviolence is rooted in truth, love and compassion, its practitioners see the world in a way which is entirely different from the world-view of a person taking recourse in violence. Once the wrong-doer starts seeing reason the roots of violence start drying up. As violence is based on untruth it cannot be sustained in the long run. Being based on truth nonviolent endeavor is sustainable and despite serious setbacks, hurdles and slow progress, it is bound to weaken the roots of violence. The only condition is that the practitioners of nonviolence do not forsake steadfastness, patience, and above all, their commitment to truth.

To persons like me nonviolence in its general form has no strategic use. If we take it as a strategy it implies that one is making use of it because of certain compulsions. It may be so because under the given circumstances the means or resources of violence are not available to him. It may also imply that no sooner one feels he is strong enough to use violence he may easily replace 'strategic nonviolence' by truly 'strategic' violence. For a true nonviolent practitioner, nonviolence is not a matter of convenience, it is a matter of conviction.

I suggest finding ways and means to implement the principle of nonviolence in different situations and propose two essential principles:

- (i) Unity and purity of ends and means. The means employed for the application of nonviolence in concrete situations should be chosen very carefully. If the end to be achieved is truthful and just, then without exception, the means should be pure and unassailable likewise.
- (ii) Skillfulness in the choice of means and methods. The practitioner of nonviolence has to use all his skills to determine the most effective way or ways of action. Skillfulness in choosing and using the right means is a rare quality and that is why a nonviolent movement needs a highly principled as well as a highly skilful cadre and leadership.

It is difficult to enumerate the methods of nonviolent action. There are more than 200 methods identified by Mr. Gene Sharp. Which methods are to be employed when and where can only be decided by its practitioners on the basis of the nature and needs of the actual situation, which may differ from case to case. In many cases well-tried methods like noncooperation or civil disobedience can be easily adopted but there may also be situations where it is difficult to use these methods. Existing or old methods may have to be suitably revised or new methods may have to be evolved. Therefore, the choice of methods depends upon the nature of the specific situation.

Factors concerning the decision on the method to be used should include:

- (i) time and duration;
- (ii) place;
- (iii) levels and scales of action;
- (iv) tempo of action;
- (v) tackling violence;

- (vi) facing suppression; and
- (vii) degree of assertiveness.

I belong to that category of practitioners of nonviolence who, according to their tradition, believe that nonviolence is one of the noblest ideals of human society which must be practised and upheld not only during the course of a national or human rights struggle, but should be practised throughout one's life. People like us may be considered outdated in the modern world of ever-changing ideas, practices, techniques and technologies.

The views expressed reflect my personal belief. I am of the firm opinion that anyone who considers nonviolence as a noble value and tries to see it being practised in a non-traditional way, is a person of noble intentions and of high moral commitment. If anyone endeavors to conceive nonviolence as a 'strategy' and sincerely desires to resolve conflicts through nonviolence is a hundred times superior to one who preaches or uses violence in any form. What is most important in the present age is to bring nonviolence at the top of the agenda.

3. Dr. Gene Sharp, Senior Scholar, The Albert Einstein Institution:

Clear thinking in this area is currently still impeded by inadequate use of clear concepts and terminology. Major confusion is introduced by accepting the widely used term 'nonviolence.' The word is variously used to refer to ethical or religious nonviolence ('principled nonviolence'), nonviolent action or nonviolent struggle (usually on a pragmatic basis), inaction or passivity, and any activity that is not violent. Those various beliefs or behaviors can be extremely different from each other, and need to be given different names. Otherwise we cannot discuss the various phenomena with any clarity. My recommendation is that we drop the word 'nonviolence,' except for a very restricted use. Instead, we should call the different phenomena by separate names.

This discussion is on 'nonviolent action'- a technique of conflict without violence that uses methods of symbolic protest, non-cooperation and intervention to gain objectives.

There is also a conceptual problem. It is understandable that many people will see it natural and correct to group together at one end of a continuum the forms of action and beliefs that are without use of violence. These may include negotiations, conciliation, conflict resolution, pacifism, nonviolent action, and others. On one level that makes sense.

However, the grouping can lead to lack of clarity and confusion. A different perspective is, first, to separate beliefs (as the various types of pacifism or principled nonviolence) from types of action. Then, second, within the category of types of action to place non-conflictual types of action that do not involve violence (such as negotiations, conciliation, and others) at one extreme and, at the other extreme, means of waging conflicts. The means of waging conflicts would then be divided in two parts (at least), violent conflict and nonviolent conflict. Nonviolent action is in this view parallel with violent conflict. Both share some similar characteristics (being means of applying pressures and of fighting) and also are separated by some sharp differences (the means of action and types of pressures used, whether violent or nonviolent methods). It is therefore understandable that warriors and others who have used violence bravely can switch to the use of nonviolent struggle without immense problems.

Nonviolent action includes three classes of methods:

- (i) symbolic protests;
- (ii) non-cooperation (including social boycotts, economic non-cooperation, as economic boycotts and labor strikes, and many forms of political non-cooperation); and
- (iii) nonviolent intervention (including sit-ins, hunger strikes, and parallel government). Attention is called to the list of 198 methods that has been distributed.

The effective use of nonviolent action has requirements. These include nonviolent discipline and persistence, as well as other important ones. Both those who might otherwise choose to use violence in other circumstance and believers in principled nonviolence can use this technique.

In the conference program attention has focused on 'necessary' internal and external conditions for the use of nonviolent action. In my view there are favorable and unfavorable internal and external conditions but these are not absolute requirements. At times groups may compensate for specific unfavorable conditions by increasing the strength of other existing favorable conditions.

There are many factors that determine the outcome of a nonviolent struggle. Many of these are listed in the distributed reprint.

This includes four factors in the social situation, nine in the opponent group, four in third parties, and seventeen in the nonviolent group. The nonviolent group can influence most of these.

However, as with the use of violence, not every attempt to apply nonviolent struggle succeeds. Skill, strength, discipline, wise strategy, numbers, persistence, and other factors are needed.

Nonviolent struggle can be made more effective than it has been in the past by deliberate efforts to do so.

The available resources for making future applications more effective include the past experience of many groups in many parts of the world. This history is often little known and its importance minimized. Yet it has frequently been powerful.

Historically, nonviolent action has been widely practiced. This includes its application here in Estonia, as well as in neighboring Latvia and Lithuania, *against the Soviet Union*. It has been used in many other conflicts in the Americas, Africa, Asia, Europe, and Australasia. Nonviolent struggle has been waged, sometimes successfully, against all types of political systems, including extreme dictatorships and empires. Improvised and unprepared nonviolent struggle has been more effective in a large number of cases than has been generally recognized.

The whole phenomenon of nonviolent action has long suffered from limitations. Past cases were often improvised or had only minimal planning and preparations. There were

only limited scholarly studies available. The phenomenon was plagued by misconceptions and confusion.

Many of the popular conceptions of what is required to make nonviolent action work are not valid. Such misconceptions include the ideas that success requires a democratic, or even nonviolent, opponent; or that success requires world support; the aid of the media; a much longer time span to succeed than does violence; or a climate of nonviolence.' Those views are not accurate.

The view has been expressed that if a group is using nonviolent action, the opponents should be expected to respond nonviolently also, and that if the response is instead violent repression there is something wrong. That view is not in accordance with reality. The opponent group often depends on violence to maintain itself and its practices. When challenged nonviolently, violent repression is a sign that the nonviolent movement is threatening the status quo. It is not true that the opponent side must respond nonviolently or the movement has failed. Nonviolent action is a technique for combating violent opponents.

It is also not true that the right of self-defense requires a shift to violence. A switch from nonviolent struggle to violent struggle can lead to the defeat of the previously nonviolent resisters. The opponent group is almost always very well equipped to fight violence by superior violence. Indeed, in many cases the opponent group often attempts to provoke the nonviolent resisters to apply violence instead in order to help defeat them.

Self-defense can be conducted with nonviolent struggle to the advantage of the resisters. (Indeed, such a defense policy has been developed that is called 'civilian-based defense.' Writings on it were used in planning the 1991 defense against the Soviet Union in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.)

The technique of nonviolent struggle, applied skillfully, is able to withstand violent repression and still succeed. The casualty rates are almost certainly much lower than with violent resistance. Against violent repression, in addition to the impact of non-cooperation and other resistance, this technique employs 'political jiu-jitsu' which makes the violent repression of the opponents rebound to weaken the opponent group and to strengthen the resistance.

Nonviolent struggle can operate through four mechanisms: conversion of opponents (unlikely), accommodation (involving compromise), nonviolent coercion (the opponents have no choice), and disintegration (the opponent regime falls apart). These are described in the distributed monograph "The Role of Power in Nonviolent Struggle." (It needs to be read very slowly, as each sentence covers the content of several pages of *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*.)

As mentioned previously, despite the unprepared earlier practice of nonviolent action, there have been more successes in the past than might reasonably have been expected.

Very importantly, there has also been a growth of politically significant cases in the twentieth century in various parts of the world.

It is now possible to increase the effectiveness of nonviolent struggle in the future through careful analysis, planning, and preparations. I suggest the following twelve steps in that direction that a group considering the use of nonviolent action might take.

- 1) Conduct an in-depth study of nonviolent struggle as a political technique, including its methods, dynamics, and mechanisms. The dynamics will show how the technique operates against violent repressive opponents.
- 2) Determine in clear terms the group's objective(s). These need to be more precise than 'freedom,' for example. The objective(s) should be formulated so that it can be easily measured whether or not it/they have been gained. Examples might be *de jure* independence, autonomy, federal status, minority rights, or other.
- 3) Conduct an analysis of the nature of the problem. What maintains the unwanted domination? What makes liberation possible?
- 4) Learn how to think and plan strategically. Attention is suggested to the distributed article on the importance of strategy in nonviolent action.
- 5) Prepare a strategic estimate of the conflict. What are the strengths and weaknesses of both the opponents and the potential nonviolent resisters? Attention is especially drawn to identification of weaknesses of the opponents, how to aggravate them, and how to weaken the opponents' strengths. Attention is also required on means of strengthening weaknesses of the dominated group and how to capitalize on that group's strengths.
- 6) Prepare a grand strategy - a master plan for the whole coming struggle to achieve the identified objective(s). It must be well done.
- 7) Plan individual campaigns for identified, more limited, specific goals. Using identified strategic principles of nonviolent action, prepare a strategic plan for achieving such specific limited goals.
- 8) Aim for maximum self-reliance, but plan for third party nonviolent assistance if possible.
- 9) Strengthen one's own institutions, and possibly create new ones to serve the needs of the population that is to resist. Some of these may also serve as resistance organizations during the conflict.
- 10) Prepare one's own population for struggle. A variety of means will be required, including among others spreading knowledge of nonviolent action, preparing layers of leadership, arranging communications, assisting provision of the population's physical necessities and medical assistance for injured resisters, and establishing communications to the outside world.
- 11) Learn how to calculate and make gains despite setbacks that may be encountered. Setbacks are not permanent defeats. Lessons should be learned from them such as how to improve the development of strategies, increase the solidarity of the resisters, maintain discipline, increase the capacity to continue resistance despite repression,

and other factors. Weaknesses need to be identified and efforts made to strengthen the population and the resisters, while undermining the opponents. Gains and accomplishments need to be recognized and the resisters given credit.

- 12) Consolidate limited victories in individual campaigns to achieve specific goals short of the full objective(s). Resisters and the general population need to recognize when they have won achievements, and to learn how to follow those successes with further efforts in the next stages of the conflict.
- 13) When the declared objective(s) is/are won, protect them from being stolen by internal or external forces (as by a coup d'état) and take steps to ensure consolidation of a new democratic system.

These are among the steps that can increase the effectiveness of future applications of nonviolent action. This technique is already a major tool of liberation. It can be made still more powerful.

4. The Honorable Nadir Byekir, MP., Mejlis of Crimean Tatar People, Republic of Crimea:

Nonviolent strategies vary a lot, and I'm not ready to draw any conclusions from all the different possibilities. I will suggest to you some observations made on the basis of the peaceful struggle of the Crimean Tatar National Movement. The main qualities of our strategies are:

- Universality, trying all possible measures of nonviolent actions.
- Legality, using all existing legal opportunities, in four capacities:
 - a) the Constitution and other Ukrainian legislature;
 - b) International law, especially obligations of the Ukraine, using precedents in the practices of democratic foreign states that are known to be critical of the position of the Ukrainian government;
 - c) using legal procedures (court procedures, administrative complaints, etc), both internal and external, like parallel reports to the responsible UN agencies, communications to human rights-protecting institutions; and
 - d) drafting legal proposals for the Ukrainian government which could be used to find a just solution to the problem of the Crimean Tatars. Government experts avoid public and free discussions with our representatives because they are not sure of their own legal arguments.
- Pro-activism, such as blocking railways and damaging buildings of the local parliament or restaurants and shops belonging to the Mafia, but always under the strict condition that no personal harm is inflicted. We try to keep political initiatives in our own hands. We would be happy if the government could work on proposals acceptable to my people. Unfortunately this is not the case. So we need to force the government into political dialogue.

- Co-operation with the international community in the broadest sense, including UN agencies like UNDP, UNHCR, UNESCO, ILO, IOM, OSCE and others, especially those that are concerned with the protection of human rights, like the Sub-commission, CERD, etc., international NGOs; and seeking understanding with other, weaker indigenous peoples of the Crimea, the Karais and Crimchaks.
- Scientifically-based approach, obtaining relevant analyses from all disciplines including sociology, psychology, political science, legal and economic issues.
- Planning, i.e. developing an overall strategy. Serious strategy needs to be structured in a real 'step by step' manner in all possible directions with variants for urgent circumstances. It is very important that a policy keep space for improvisation and unexpected actions, which may be the most effective in the struggle with the bureaucratic machinery.

**5. Ms. Michele Ernsting,
International News Producer, Radio Netherlands:**

I would like to react to the media section in the discussion paper on nonviolence. I believe this presents a much worse picture of media's motives than actually is the case.

The paper says that 'half-truths are reported to enhance sensationalism' and entertainment value. I think more often than not half-truths are reported because journalists like myself simply don't have time to gather the adequate information before a deadline; often journalists simply do not know whole truths.

Radio Netherlands broadcasts 24 hours a day, and we have relations everywhere. I work for 'Newline', a current events news program. What we do is look at relations between countries or of opposing groups within countries. The issues or incidents which affect these relationships are important to us.

We assessed media coverage of both violent and nonviolent actions. At first glance, it seemed to most of us that violent actions were more effective in terms of getting media attention. But on closer inspection we realized that our coverage of specific nonviolent campaigns was in the end more thorough than our coverage of violent ones. For example the Ogoni struggle in Nigeria, and the mass rallies in Serbia last winter.

Though objectionable, a high degree of tension is of interest to the media. When a violent action occurs, we often do spot coverage; who, what, when, where and why. Because we have to cover the act of violence, and explain the reasons for it in three minutes, our coverage of violent issues can be superficial. Many violent events become 'same old stories,' as has become the case with Northern Ireland where most attention is given to the peace process, rather than to terrorist attacks. It's not as interesting to us anymore because we make the assumption that it is no longer interesting to a listener. Also, we tend to wait for a 'news peg' before we look at a particular subject. If we know there will be a violent action to peg the story to, we are far less likely to cover the same issue during peaceful periods. In other words, the violence, and how to deal with it becomes the story. The real issues of human rights and repression get lost along the way.

On the other hand we found our coverage of specific nonviolent campaigns to have more depth. A successful nonviolent campaign can be very compelling for the media. In the case of the Serbian opposition demonstrations in Belgrade, the coalition became expert in the art of brinkmanship. The tense stand-off between the opposition and the Serbian government was extremely compelling from our point of view, because it seemed that at any moment the Serbian leadership could have resorted to violence to quell the protests.

During this campaign, we looked at the characters involved in the stand-off, we examined the background issues, such as human rights, workers rights, and post-war democracy in the region. In a sense we were forced to do this because there were no 'easy' violent actions to focus on, we had to dig deeper for story angles. As a result we made many contacts in the region. In this case, a nonviolent campaign produced more thorough coverage, something which is good for the groups involved and for the media.

The fact is from our experience, there are few campaigns which successfully create the amount of tension necessary to attract international attention. Many of the successful campaigns involve wellknown dissidents or powerful governments or corporations. So how do you get an issue on the media's agenda? This is difficult to answer effectively, but we did come up with some possible media strategies.

- 1) Remember coverage is a two-way street, in that the media outlet has to get something out of it as well: good information, access, contacts, a quality interview that is interesting to listeners. Think about what you're offering.
- 2) Having several articulate spokespersons is essential, and they must be fluent in English, and be able to voice the aims of the people in a clear concise way e.g. Hanan Ashrawi, spokesperson of the Palestinian authority.
- 3) Good background information from reliable, not necessarily supportive, sources, which UNPO has provided in the past.
- 4) Try to make a link between the immediate situation and a more universal issue, such as environmental issues, e.g. Shell in Ogoniland.
- 5) Try to link issues to other events in the news, which already have the public's attention.
- 6) Get to know the international journalists in your area, and develop a trustworthy relationship with them.
- 7) Use available technology, such as the Internet.
- 8) Conduct active rather than passive campaigns, i.e. do not victimise yourself but show initiative.

6. Mr. Salav Alijev, Representative of Kumyk:

I appreciate the problems some UNPO Members are facing while dealing with China, but I want to stress the problems the Kumyk people face with Dagestan. The Kumyk people are

divided up. I am a doctor of genealogy. My people are vulnerable, and have a right to assistance, since they advocate nonviolence.

**7. Mr. Akhtar Buskunov,
Chairman of the Board, Bashkirian Public Center "Ural", Representative of
Bashkortostan:**

Bashkortostan, as a sovereign republic, should have the right to participate in international organizations. My people first lived in tribes, and then became a nation. They were first subjected to Tatar and Mongol rule, and later were taken over by Russia, and suffered serious repression. They are separated into various provinces. There is an artificial border between Bashkortostan and Kazakhstan. All imperial states will disintegrate, and small nations will survive. Bashkortostan will try to be a trustworthy UNPO Member.

8. Chief Lawrence Pootlass (Nuximlaye), ea Hereditary Chief, Nuxalk Nation:

I am grateful to the Creator for this Conference, and congratulate the President of Estonia. When I first came to this land we felt the pain in our hearts for the many years of suffering you have had. Our people are very anxious to learn what has happened in such a short time in this part of the world.

Our people over the past 150 years have been oppressed and persecuted. I am grateful to the Founding Members of UNPO; all the flags that represent so many different nations. I am honored to give recognition to Dr. Michael van Walt van Praag. I am not very educated but I speak from my heart and spirit. I am honored to give him the name LaQuaymiis, which means "he who gives feast by the sea," also on behalf of Chief Germaine Tremmel of Lakota Nation and Ms. Pisciotta of Hawai'i, with whom the Nuxalk share so much history. I endow Dr. Michael van Walt van Praag with an eagle feather, which gives him the right to come to our territory.



Ms Sheri Jay, coordinator of the conference with Ms Inaria Kaisiepo (West Papuan Peoples Front)

PANEL 5

UNPO's Role in the Promotion and Implementation of Nonviolent Change

Panel Five solicited recommendations and discussion on how UNPO can be more effective in promoting nonviolence generally, and assisting its Members to implement nonviolent change.

Panel Chairperson

Ms. Inaria Kaisiepo, Representative of the West Papuan Peoples Front

Panel Members

Mr. Felix Marti, Director, Centre UNESCO de Catalunya

Mr. Menelaos Tzelios,

UNPO Assistant General Secretary for Relations with the UN and the Americas;

General Secretary, International Federation for the Protection of the Rights of Ethnic, Religious, Linguistic and other Minorities; Representative of the Greek Minority in Albania

Mr. Isak Chishi Swu,

Chairman, National Socialist Council of Nagaland

1. Ms. Inaria Kaisiepo, Representative of the West Papuan Peoples Front, Panel Chairperson:

The promotion and implementation of nonviolence link us to the international community. It is important to recognize, identify and strengthen groups with a history of nonviolence, in particular women's groups.

2. Mr. Felix Marti, Director, Centre UNESCO de Catalunya:

Catalunya, an unrepresented nation, through peaceful means has reached a good level of self-government and recognition within the Spanish kingdom, and we are trying to become a recognized nation member of the European Union. I work with the UNESCO Secretariat in several international programs in order to promote a culture of peace and the promotion of language diversity.

Peoples, minorities and nations are not the main sources of conflict in the world, conflict is often instigated by big powers: political, economic and the mass media. When nations and peoples want to work for an effective peaceful change they should develop strategies in order to act in the fields of these main players.

UNPO could be active in three areas:

- 1) Information: nations, minorities and peoples do not have a strong presence within the mass media, and suffer from silent or secret violence. When peoples' struggles appear in the media they are presented as being violent. It is important to present objective information about our realities and our movements and pass it on to the media, in order to influence public opinion. This might not be easy at the local level, but UNPO could be very effective at the international level. The UNPO Yearbook should be used not only as an internal report, but also as a report for others.
- 2) UNPO should become a specialized organization for conflict resolution in the specific field of collective rights. UNPO can have the moral authority to act as mediator and negotiator in the conflicts of people, nations and minorities. There are conventions and courts that deal with individual human rights, but there is nearly nothing for the protection of peoples' or collective rights. UNPO could establish, for example, a permanent 'International Council for Peoples' Rights' for that purpose.
- 3) UNPO should fight against political marginalization, and try to reform the UN system into a mechanism in which all peoples in the world can effectively participate. The UN is based on a state system that frequently ignores the reality of these peoples and it would be positive for UNPO to help international organizations establish peace and security, on the basis of the recognition of collective rights. Some states are open to establishing a new international democratic system without exclusions and fully accepting the right of self-determination. UNPO can also establish new forms of political co-operation between unrepresented peoples and independent peoples. UNPO should not be a ghetto of second class nations, but rather a model of co-operation and solidarity for the future.

UNPO can be a space of co-operation between nations that agree on three basic principles:

- (i) protection and promotion of cultural and linguistic diversity;
- (ii) respect for collective rights, including the right of self-determination; and
- (iii) the adoption of nonviolent methods of conflict prevention and conflict resolution.

**3. Mr. Menelaos Tzelios,
UNPO Assistant General Secretary for Relations with the UN and the Americas;
General Secretary, International Federation for the Protection of the Rights of Ethnic,
Religious, Linguistic and other Minorities;
Representative of the Greek Minority in Albania:**

Since its establishment over six years ago, UNPO has been actively involved in promoting nonviolence to resolve conflicts between its Members and state governments. Although six years is a very short time for any organization of this nature to produce dramatic results, UNPO has been able to establish itself as a serious and reputable organization. This is due mainly to the fact that the organization deals with the peoples and movements who are often at the center of controversial issues involving the rights of peoples and to the fact that UNPO

was able to provide credible and accurate information to the international community regarding impending conflicts involving one or more of our Members.

The current question is what UNPO can and should do to capitalize on this reputation and move to the next stage where our warnings to governments and international community will not only be taken seriously, but also motivate them to intervene before conflicts reach the uncontrollable stage with catastrophic and unpredictable results for all parties concerned.

To achieve these objectives, UNPO should concentrate its efforts, strategy and financial support to:

- (i) governments, the international community, financial institutions, multinational corporations, and the international media that our Members and UNPO on their behalf, are prepared to begin dialogue and negotiations for conflict resolution through nonviolent means;
- (ii) activate the Peace Action Council as soon as possible;
- (iii) prepare Members by providing training on how to effectively use the media, conflict resolution and nonviolence, and leadership training; and
- (iv) select one or two cases and devote all our efforts and energy until satisfactory results are achieved. This could have a tremendous impact and will increase the powers and effectiveness of UNPO among our membership and the international community.

For UNPO to be strong and effective, Members must do their share to support the organization by providing the necessary funds and the most accurate and credible information possible on their situations. Every organization is as strong as its Members want it to be, and UNPO is no exception.

**4. Mr. Isak Chishi Swu,
Chairman, National Socialist Council of Nagaland.**

It is difficult to define nonviolence. If it has to do with the doctrine of love, to understand its meaning may not be that intractable. Resorting to force when dealing with problems that could be solved without it is an act of violence, and when violence is used, man's rationality is relegated to the background. How effective can nonviolence be when countering violence? Nonviolence is indispensable for resolving conflicting issues, especially if higher values, such as life, are involved. Therefore, commitment to nonviolence is a necessity.

But the assertion that nonviolence is unreserved and total is against the laws of creation. It is a principle whose application may be restricted due to the nature of the issue concerned. Violence often begets violence. It is not clear to what extent nonviolence can prevent bloodshed, especially in certain instances of conflict. Therefore, generalization of violence or nonviolence as a means to deal with conflicting problems is without much basis. In the ultimate analysis it is basic human nature that needs to be taken into practical consideration to make violence or nonviolence a realistic means to solve problems.

Commitment to nonviolence must be one's principle and that of the organization he belongs to. It should never be an expediency. Any ideal principle must have strategy. Otherwise it is

only a mere piece of untenable idealism. It tends toward passivity; it is also apt to be superseded by interests. Without the initiations of correct strategy for the realization of ideal values, it is impossible to make the nonviolent principle a living force or a living reality. In other words, without a correct approach to the problem it is simply not possible for one to prove himself with the principle.

Nonviolence is not only a defensive law but it is also a means to take initiative to be on the defensive. A principle is vulnerable when there is no strategy for its defense. A principle is dead or dormant when initiative for its fostering or realization is absent. The leaders who are committed to the principle must see that they have the initiative always in their hand to enable them in the first place to uphold the principle; secondly, to enable them to create a suitable situation whereby high values of the principle are proved through; thirdly, to enable them to solve the situation in the light of the principle. Only then can people be persuaded to the effectiveness of the nonviolent principle. This is the way violence can be effectively replaced by peaceful means.

But this issue has also much to do with the leadership in many respects. Idolization of the leadership or the temptation of the leaders to raise or place themselves above the organization, above the principle and even above righteousness, sometimes marked the chapters of history. When an organization or a people cannot check or halt such tendency, things turned out disastrous, affecting the principle as well. In order to prevent the organization from degenerating into irresponsibility, the working principle of the organization must be democratic and leadership must always be on a collective basis. Only in this way, can there be coherency and transparency in the working system of the organization.

**5. Ms. Iris Almeida,
Director of Programmes, International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic
Development, Montreal, Canada:**

The organization I represent was created by the Canadian Parliament to promote the application of the International Bill of Rights. We have the privilege to support UNPO's work and I am proud to discuss the theme of strategies of nonviolence. When we look at the world today, we see an escalation of war, civil strife and conflict, which will multiply. UNPO can make significant contributions to this situation.

There are several important factors that should be taken into consideration:

- (i) globalization and the concentration of land and wealth in the hands of the few;
- (ii) the increase of arm trafficking, especially of small arms, sometimes more accessible than a piece of bread; and
- (iii) impunity, that is lack of punishment and accountability for massive, continued and systematic violations of human rights.

It is very important to have a concrete and deep analysis before acting, which UNPO could conduct. Humanitarian action can never replace political action. Rwanda received millions of dollars after the genocide had happened, but its conflict was never prevented. The strategies of nonviolence must be seen in the political sense, because we are talking about power, the power to decide on the lives of peoples and their destinies.

There is a need for local action, and for the dialectic between local and global struggles. UNPO can bond East with West, North with South and collaborate with the achievement of peace.

**6. Mr. Erkin Alptekin,
Chairman, Eastern Turkestan Union in Europe, Germany, Representative of Eastern
Turkestan:**

I am an Uighur from Eastern Turkestan. In the UNPO Covenant it is stated that in order to become a Member, a people must adhere to nonviolence. If so, UNPO has to develop trainings and research to support Members to carry out nonviolence. Some live on territories and carry on struggle inside countries, others live outside and try to be the voice for the people in foreign countries.

Uighurs learned from our history to carry out nonviolence, use of violence gave an excuse to the People's Republic of China to slaughter us. The Chinese have killed at least two-and-a-half million Uighurs, injured 500,000 and imprisoned another 500,000. At home, Uighurs are forced to choose between two ways: do nothing, be assimilated and appear as cowards or rise against the Chinese and die like a herb.

How can I convince the people back home about the benefits of nonviolence? My adherence to nonviolence here is no help. This is especially difficult since we do not have an outstanding leader, like H.H. the Dalai Lama, to pacify them, and people are gradually losing their patience.

**7. Mr. Menelaos Tzelios,
UNPO Assistant General Secretary for Relations with the UN and the Americas;
General Secretary, International Federation for the Protection of the Rights of Ethnic,
Religious, Linguistic and other Minorities,
Representative of the Greek Minority in Albania:**

UNPO denounces terrorism, not violence, not that we encourage violence. UNPO's purpose is to teach and train Members to achieve their goals without violence. Quite a few Members are engaged in violence, for example East Timor; UNPO has been trying to convince the government of Indonesia to start dialogue with East Timorese. UNPO is also training Members in nonviolence.

8. Mr. Alexander Shpontak, Russins:

My nation has existed as such for more than a millennia, when we were first called White Croats and then Russins. In 1918 the Russins wanted independence, and in October of that year they were recognized as an independent people with self-determination. The Paris Treaty recognized our autonomy, although this was never reconfirmed by the Czech State of which we are a part at the moment. After that time, the Vienna Arbitration took the decision to give part of the Russian land to Hungary. I am not a UNPO Member and have not had the possibility to state my people's case in other fora, and our problems are not covered by mass media. Ukraine has kept us under suppression and does not want to give our autonomous status back.

**9. Mr. Cham Toik,
Representative, Mon Unity League:**

This is the first time the Mon have attended UNPO. I have been involved with nonviolence since my student years, because of repressive military regime I was a victim of violence, and worked in the resistance movement. Nonviolence is a complex issue and I request UNPO to define its issues clearly. We are living in similar situations as other UNPO Members, under suppressive states and are being assimilated. It is important to define nonviolent strategy, violence and cultural genocide, and how to reach the media. Many people living in Burma are dying every day and this remains unknown to many in the world.

**10. Mr. Heino Ainsoo,
former Director, UN Division of the Estonian Foreign Ministry, Estonia:**

For UNPO to be more effective in nonviolence one must recognize that the world order is established by the UN, which is a collection of states. Recent violent events in the former Yugoslavia have given self-determination a bad reputation. Self-determination is under attack and its importance is deteriorating while the principle of territorial integrity is being made more supreme. UNPO should concentrate to preserve the strength of the right to self-determination in international law. With such action, nonviolence will stand a chance.

**11. Mr. Aleksander Kiryanen,
Vice-Chairman, National Movement "Inkerin Liitto", Representative of Inkeri:**

UNPO can do several things for the promotion and implementation of nonviolent change, such as aiding in the development of languages. It would be a great achievement if the UN passed a declaration on the rights of minorities. It is important to deal with the right for the preservation of mother tongues; the main role of the UN should be to provide mechanisms for people to defend this right. UNPO should exercise control so this right is adhered to, and Members should help the organization for this purpose.

**12. Mr. Th. Muivah,
General Secretary of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland.**

When we analyze nonviolent strategy, we must consider whether it is realistic to practice nonviolence. Even Mahatma Gandhi told a woman to scratch British soldiers if attacked by them. Those committed to nonviolent principles should make strategies realistic. If it is only a principle, it will not solve any problems.

**13. Mr. Salav Alijev,
President, Kumyk People's Movement "Tenglik":**

When I go back home, I am faced with the problem of telling the young Kumyk people what I have learned. Young people are always asking about ways to deal with the colonizers, and they, and other Kumyk people in general, have tried many peaceful methods like strikes, blockades of airstrips, to no avail. They are convinced nonviolence is the best way to solve conflicts. I hope UNPO paid attention to the fact that some representatives from the former Soviet region are not prepared to take part in the discussion. This is due to the different types of thought, the mind of the old world, versus that of the developing countries. We understand all about nonviolence, but when we go back home it seems impractical and unrealistic;

especially since the young are so desperate. Some of us say taking up arms is the only solution. UNPO should have a special training or conference on nonviolent struggle, devoted to the questions of nations and peoples of the former Soviet Union.

**14. Dr. Kara-Kys Arakchaa,
Supreme Khural of the Republic of Tuva,
former MP of the Russian State Duma, Republic of Tuva:**

I hope that in 2004 UNPO will be active in entering agreements with states, holding negotiations and mediation proceedings and have a higher standing on issues. The International Labour Organization (ILO) has a stand regarding indigenous peoples and nations, and on the preservation of their land and languages. Even in the ILO case the issue does not get enough attention at the state level. UNPO could serve as a preventive organization to help avoid misunderstandings between peoples and states. It should also produce a legal document which could be ratified by these states, and remind the UN of the importance of collective rights.

15. Ms. Kimberly Kealoha Pisciotta, Representative of Ka Lahui Hawaii:

The pursuit of peace requires a complete commitment to nonviolence. Global peace should be our ultimate goal. The reality of some Members is more difficult and it should be recognized that self-defense is sometimes an appropriate response to attack. UNPO should adopt policies which reflect reality. Situations should be analyzed very carefully, because the situation for every Member is different. Examples of possible principles governing the use of violence in self-defense are: violence is an option of last resort after all other options have been exhausted; its use should be strategic and used in a defensive manner only against military personnel; UNPO should never condone indiscriminate attacks against civilians or the use of weaponry designed for use against civilian populations. UNPO could facilitate a working group to begin to address specific Member's cases in this regard.

**16. Ms. Inaria Kaisiepo,
Representative of the West Papuan Peoples Front, Panel Chairperson:**

There are no black and white situations, and all experiences are different. Kealoha's comments are very helpful: UNPO should be very realistic in its policies. The UNPO Covenant states that the promotion of nonviolence as a solution is a principle, which does not mean that Members who have to resort to violence as a form of self-defense are excluded, but it is the principle which is most important. As an organization we have to clarify definitions even more.

**17. Mr. Isak Chishi Swu,
Chairman, National Socialist Council of Nagaland:**

From the Nagas' own perspective, nonviolence is a tough problem covering both theory and its practical application. The Nagas pursued nonviolent policy for seven years, after which Nagaland made the Nine-Point Agreement with India, but it was abrogated unilaterally by India whose armed forces massacred more than 150,000 of our people in a ten-year period. At the end of this period we came to a cease-fire agreement. The Naga people were never deterred from the principle of nonviolence. Therefore we never entered into India's territory to attack Indians; we never eliminated innocent civilians. At the end of ten years we partici-

pated in six rounds of talks with the Indian Prime Minister, but the cease-fire was again unilaterally abrogated.

In 1995 several generals admitted that a military solution was not possible in Nagaland. This was because the Nagas were firm in the principle of nonviolence. Finally, the Indian government has agreed to a nonviolent solution. In the beginning we met Mahatma Gandhi, who said the Nagas should be independent, and when presented with the fact that the Indian government would use force on the Naga people, said: "If they do so, I will go to Nagaland and let them shoot me first." India has now realized that nonviolence is the only way, and are going to have dialogue with us. Nonviolence may take a long time and be costly, but it is the only choice.

**18. Mr. Felix Marti,
Director, Centre UNESCO de Catalunya:**

I am concerned on hearing people say they have no power. The only way to find a political solution is by mobilizing our nations and involving some independent state members of the UN. Some Participants have presented the need for strategy, acting alone with no power or recognition. I recommend that UNPO gives us the opportunity to act together for greater power in the pursuit of self-determination. We need training in this respect. Last year 100 NGOs approved the Universal Declaration on Linguistic Rights, which is not yet law, but the start of the process of getting a convention on linguistic rights.

**19. Mr. Menelaos Tzelios,
UNPO Assistant General Secretary for Relations with the UN and the Americas;
General Secretary, International Federation for the Protection of the Rights of Ethnic,
Religious, Linguistic and other Minorities;
Representative of the Greek Minority in Albania:**

I agree with the delegate of Kumyk on the issue of young people, and hope to see more young persons in the next General Assembly. I will propose to the Steering Committee to hold a training program or workshop given by a small team who would visit all parts of the former Soviet Union, in order to carry on the important task of training in nonviolence.

Panel 6

UNPO Policy on Nonviolence

(UNPO Resolution on Nonviolence and Conference Statement)

Panel Six examined UNPO's policy on nonviolence, and how that policy could be refined and implemented to more effectively promote nonviolent change.

Panel Chairperson

Dr. Michael van Walt van Praag, former UNPO General Secretary

Panel Members

Dr. Gudmunder Alfredsson,

Co-director/Professor, Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law,
University of Lund, Sweden

Mr. Atner Huzangai,
President, Chuvash National Congress, Chuvash Republic, Vice Chair of UNPO General
Assembly

Senator John J. Nimrod,
General Secretary/Special Advisor, Assyrian Universal Alliance

Venerable Samdhong Rinpoche,
Chairman, Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies, Tibetan Government in Exile

**1. Dr. Michael van Walt van Praag,
former UNPO General Secretary, Panel Chairperson:**

Our task is to reach some consensus on the issues that have been raised and the opinions that have been stated, and how we are to move on from here: what should UNPO's stand be in respect to nonviolence, in regards to both its Members, and to the international community.

**2. Mr. Atner Huzangai,
President, Chuvash National Congress, Chuvash Republic:**

UNPO represents social, cultural and political conditions of nations and communities and freely defines strategies. Internal and external conditions have changed since UNPO's founding and the number of Members have increased from 15 to 50. The General Assembly is the highest organ in the organisation, and in between their sessions the Steering Committee takes over responsibilities. The Steering Committee unites different nations, speaks about the pain and sufferings of the Members and should be a platform for Members. Members come from all over the world, each region has conditions, difficulties, cultures, struggles and ideas. Many people can express their opinions and worries at UNPO. UNPO gets proper information and stimulates the information exchange between Members. Members should get more acquainted with each other.

A combined final proposal should be written, instead of internal reports for each separate Member. Education for delegates should be given on a regional basis, such as with the co-operation of the Tartu Office. The former Soviet way of thought should change. Through UNPO, attention at the UN has been attracted to national minorities as in Ingushetia, Kosova, Nagaland and South Moluccas. Truthful information on UNPO and its Members should be sent to the public. UNPO sends missions to investigate critical situations and observe elections, such as to Chechenia, Abkhazia and Chuvash. In the former Soviet Union UNPO is hardly known and little information on nations and peoples is available. Each Member should try to get UNPO in the media, such as Chuvash has been trying to do with UNPO resolutions, and General Assembly and regional meetings reports.

Some delegates in the former Soviet Union received a letter from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs before leaving for the General Assembly, which recommended they not attend the General Assembly. The authorities did not know UNPO fights for human rights. Peaceful development is the principle of UNPO.

**3. Dr. Gudmunder Alfredsson,
Co-director/Professor, Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and
Humanitarian Law, University of Lund, Sweden:**

Several thousand nations, peoples and minorities are competing for the attention of international and regional organizations. Most of the time actual facts on minorities are unknown to UN policy makers. Much greater effort must be made to inform them. UNPO is the right organization to provide adequate information, but it is not getting world-wide attention yet. The UNPO publications, i.e. Yearbook and reports should be distributed worldwide, maybe even commercially. Organizations need to be approached with information about nations and peoples, and also about their policy, particularly nonviolent policy.

The Raoul Wallenberg Center has published a compilation of regional and international minority rights standards in international law. It has 140 pages, drawing on 38 instruments, and is only a selection of standards. There is also information on indigenous and peoples' rights. In these, the emphasis is on individual rights, but group and community rights are also addressed. In some cases the groups themselves are given access to pursue these rights through monitoring procedures. The problem is these are not being used.

Regional monitoring or implementation procedures established by international and regional organizations some of which are available to groups and are accessible without registration are not much used. For example the International Convention on Elimination of Racism and Racial Discrimination has been ratified by 140 States, about 30 of whom have granted jurisdiction to the UN Committee on Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) to hear complaints about its violation. Complaints can be submitted by individuals and groups. Not a single complaint has been filed under this procedure. If concrete violations of the convention can be shown, there is a good chance make you point. Racism in the convention expressly includes ethnic and national origin.

There are a multitude of forums available in these organizations, e.g. on the environment and on human rights, but humanitarian, development and other fora are also important. These other fora feed into ECOSOC and General Assembly where the overall policy of the UN is decided. It is time-consuming and costly to work in these fora, however, UNPO and NGOs with UN Consultative Status can be helpful in this regard.

Training is available in instruments and diplomacy. Besides leaders, all membership of peoples and movements should be included in training courses, as well as individuals from national governments, donor organizations, and the media. It is important for all these international actors to be trained regarding these standards, and the trainings can become forums for discussion and useful work. The Raoul Wallenberg Institute offers a Masters program and intensive trainings on human rights, and trainings in more than thirty countries, in, for example, criminal justice, human rights for women, parliamentarians and minorities. All costs will be paid.

**4. Senator John J. Nimrod,
General Secretary/Special Advisor, Assyrian Universal Alliance:**

It is good to establish what should be done, but it is more important to find what is a workable policy. UNPO is diversified, its Members have differing needs. There is no such

thing as 'a' policy which can meet all these needs. UNPO has practiced and expanded its policy on nonviolence over these previous six years, keeping to its Covenant, which promotes nonviolence, and condemns terrorism. UNPO has developed definitions and policy, through workshops, seminars and conferences. UNPO policy puts a limit on Member's violence and nonviolence in pursuit of their aims and goals.

**5. Venerable Samdhong Rinpoche,
Chairman, Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies, Tibetan Government in Exile:**

I am new to UNPO and have not participated in any of its deliberations before. My perception of nonviolence is a bit different from other Member's and the organization's. I will try to make a few points which have come to my mind during this Conference.

- 1) Nonviolence is, besides an instrument for solving conflicts, essential for human survival. Instruments of violence have developed to an excessively dangerous and powerful level, and can no longer be used for solving social and other problems.
- 2) People still feel that nonviolence is not effective, which hinders the development of nonviolent means. Therefore, it must be taught that nonviolence is most powerful, if requirements, such as faith, courage and wisdom, are met.
- 3) People think that if the adversary is violent it is impossible to respond in a nonviolent way. This is a limited view. Nonviolence is very effective in response to violence, otherwise it has no use. Nonviolence is the most powerful response to violence.
- 4) Today nonviolence is discouraged, violence is encouraged. Today the financial value is the only human value left. The arms trade is profitable, and those who trade in arms are trying to encourage violent conflicts, so that they will profit. This approach must be opposed. Unless there can be opposition to this structural violence, nonviolence has no meaning.
- 5) Nonviolence must be used in a practical manner, otherwise it should not be kept as a principle. If we accept that it is a good principle, that means we accept it as practical. This must be promoted through education and consolidation of nonviolent actions all over the globe. We have to improve faith in nonviolent action. UNPO has contributed quite a deal in this respect. Too often emphasis is put on individual rights, and the duties and responsibilities of individuals and groups are overlooked, these should be promoted.

6. Dr. Michael van Walt van Praag, former UNPO General Secretary, Panel Chairperson:

The report of this Conference will be sent out to the public. From the discussion we have been hearing in the past two days, we can distil the following important comments which will be reflected in the report of the Conference:

- (i) Confirmation of UNPO Member's commitment to nonviolence, as an active instrument;

- (ii) Reaffirmation of fundamental rights of peoples, nations, minorities to exist and develop according to their own way of life, i.e. the right of self-determination;
- (iii) Condemnation of terrorism, both by oppressors and the oppressed;
- (iv) Acknowledgement of unprovoked violence against nations and peoples;
- (v) Recognition that some peoples or nations feel the need to use armed force to protect themselves against genocide;
- (vi) Recognition that violence breeds violence;
- (vii) Nonviolent action can be effective even in cases of severe repression, but that in order for this to be possible strategies, skills, external and internal instruments must be used to the best advantage;
- (viii) It is vital for organizations to have effective and proper tools to conduct nonviolent campaigns;
- (ix) International organizations, governments, NGOs, etc., need to be convinced of the effectiveness of nonviolence and must take action to support and promote nonviolence;
- (x) The spread of accurate and objective information is imperative;
- (xi) Recognition of the linkage of violence and human rights violations, and need for promotion of respect versus sensationalization and commercialization of violence; and
- (xii) Training proposals, including workable methods.

**7. Mr. Menelaos Tzelios,
General Secretary, International Federation for the Protection of the Rights of Ethnic, Religious, Linguistic and other Minorities, Representative of the Greek minority in Albania:**

Financial institutions should be addressed when they support governments which violate human rights. The statement adopted tomorrow by the Conference should be called 'The Tallinn Statement.'

**8. Mr. Th. Muivah,
General Secretary, National Socialist Council of Nagaland, Nagaland:**

How to be realistic in our approach to nonviolence? The nature of the problem demands an objective approach, especially on practicalities much remains to be discussed. When we are confronted it becomes no longer theoretical but practical. UNPO must never appear to be obscure about this issue.

9. The Honorable Musa Yandiev, MP, Republic of Ingushetia:

All texts of UNPO reports should be translated into different languages.

**10. Mr. Aleksander Kiryanen,
Vice-Chairman, National Movement "Inkerin Liitto":**

A clear definition should be adopted by UNPO on the matter of how UNPO can support non-Member unrepresented nations or peoples.

**11. Mr. Werner Lottje,
Secretary for Human Rights, Diakonisches Werk der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland.**

It is important to involve young people. An exchange program between young UNPO Member-representatives should be established.

**12. Mr. Jose Amorim Dias,
Representative of East Timor to the European Union, the Netherlands:**

There should be a broadened dialogue with governments; as well as making demands of governments Members should also have something to offer them. People within nations that suppress can also be mobilised, in particular the young generation can help. This can offer some hope for the future.

**13. The Honorable Nadir Byekir,
MP, Mejlis of Crimean Tatar People, Republic of Crimea:**

UNPO should develop a legal council which could be set up with help of lawyers among the Members and from outside supporters. This council could advise Members on relevant legal topics. The Steering Committee and the General Assembly should install the council. UNPO should publish a special legal magazine, which would be devoted to the special legal problems of unrepresented nations and peoples.

**14. Mr. Bata Bayartuev,
Vice-President, All-Buryat Association of the Development of Buryatia:**

UNPO now consists of 50 Members, with a population of over 100 million. As a whole, UNPO has more subjects than France, England, or Germany. Legal consequences of UNPO membership need to be explained better. UNPO membership means *de jure* recognition. Nonviolence is important, especially since most Members do not possess weapons. It is therefore important that the substance of nonviolent principles should be elaborated upon. For most Members it is difficult to get access to international legal procedures, and it would be vital to have a set of UNPO legal documents to show that they are represented. All Members should bring their local legal documents to the next General Assembly, so UNPO's work can be more effective.

15. The Honorable Mr. Rytas Kupcinskas, MP, Lithuania:

UNPO should act as an early warning system for conflicts to be predicted and for violence to be prevented. There is a need for an assessment of who the perpetrators are, who is committing genocide, who commits the crimes.

**16. Mr. Heino Ainsoo, former Director,
UN Division of the Estonian Foreign Ministry, Estonia**

In the final document the need for self-help should be sufficiently stressed.

**17. Mr. Atner Huzangai,
President, Chuvash National Congress, Chuvash Republic:**

In Chuvash there is a lack of young blood, which jeopardises continuity. UNPO should found a legal council.

**18. Dr. Michael van Walt,
Former General Secretary of UNPO, Chair.**

Thank you to all the speakers and all the Participants. Please return in the morning for the discussion and adoption of the Tallinn Statement.



Chechen women protest as Russian tanks move towards Grozny, 1994

DAY THREE - July 23, 1997

On the third day, Conference Participants adopted the Tallinn Statement, and a press conference was held.

Closing Speech

**1. Mr. Seif Sharif Hamad,
Chairman of the UNPO General Assembly, Vice Chairman, Civic United Front (CUF), former Presidential Candidate, Zanzibar:**

In our religion there is an angel who is called Michael, who is responsible for taking care of all the human beings who pass away, in the North, East, South and West. This angel continues to do so until one person is left, who is God himself. I would like to thank Michael van Walt for being the force behind this Conference and for his guidance and leadership.

During the last two days some very interesting points and issues have been raised. I hope all Participants have learned a lot and will leave with a richer knowledge on nonviolence. The Conference report and the Tallinn Statement will be published and considered seriously by governments, NGOs and other international organizations, in order to make this world a better place.

TALLINN STATEMENT

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON NON-VIOLENCE AND CONFLICT: CONDITIONS FOR EFFECTIVE PEACEFUL CHANGE

Tallinn, Estonia, 21-23 July 1997

Leaders of some fifty nations, peoples and minorities, members of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization, met in Tallinn from July 21-23 1997 with representatives of other international organizations, NGOs and governments to discuss ways of preventing the outbreak of violent conflict and of making nonviolent action effective.

The UNPO policy on nonviolence has been developed, expanded and practised for the past six years since the founding of UNPO. The Covenant of UNPO, which is signed by all its members, provides for the "promotion of nonviolence and the rejection of terrorism as an instrument of policy."

UNPO Member nations and peoples reaffirm their commitment to nonviolence as an active means of promoting and achieving their goals and reject violence as an instrument for resolving political, social and economic problems. Conference participants condemn all unprovoked violence against nations, peoples and minorities and all forms of terrorism, regardless of the perpetrators. Violence is not limited to the use of arms, but can include cultural genocide, forced assimilation and the destruction of the environment on which a people's existence and development depends.

Conference participants reaffirm the fundamental rights of nations and peoples to exist and to develop as they choose, in accordance with their right to self-determination. They recognise that in some cases nations and peoples feel compelled to use armed force to defend themselves against armed aggression, genocide and other prolonged or massive forms of violence against them. At the same time they are well aware of the danger that violence breeds violence and is difficult to control and contain.

Conference participants explored both the philosophical and the pragmatic basis for the use of nonviolent action and stressed the need for realistic approach to the subject. They concluded that effectiveness of nonviolent action - even in the face of a violent oppressor - is dependent in large part on the internal conditions of each specific movement as well as on the attitude and actions of actors outside the movements. Good internal organization, coherent strategies, and the skilful use of existing tools are essential for nonviolent movements to be effective. Responsible leadership can be an important factor in this regard. At the same time, the conference participants are convinced that the behaviour of actors outside the movement, especially that of international organizations, State government, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the media affect -sometimes in a decisive way- the ability of a movement to successfully develop or maintain a non-violent strategy.

Conference participants believe that the inadequate internal organization, internal divisions, or lack of responsible leadership can be factors contributing to the outbreak of violence. The violation of human rights, both collective and individual, is a major factor. The conference participants are convinced that the absence of moral or political response to

nonviolent movements by international organizations (such as the UN), State governments and NGOs and insufficient or misinformed attention by the media not only contribute to the outbreak of violence and armed conflict, but also make it difficult for a movement to sustain a nonviolent approach.

Fundamental to the conduct of nonviolent action is the availability of credible and complete information to all actors whose policies and actions can have an influence on the situation. The training in the use of available international mechanisms and the development of appropriate skills for non-violent action should be an important objective. The importance of developing programs for youth was emphasised. A number of concrete activities were proposed for UNPO and for its Members, which will need to be examined and, where possible implemented. These will be included in the Report of the conference to be published this summer.

The conference participants call on UNPO to strengthen its capability to assist its Members to improve the effectiveness of their nonviolent movements and to inform the world policy makers and public of the plight, aspirations and realities faced by its Members. When needed, UNPO should send missions to investigate the situation on the ground. UNPO is urged to continue to speak out in support of its Members and against injustice, wherever it may occur.

The conference participants urge leaders of peoples and minorities to develop effective strategies for peaceful change appropriate to their specific situations and to open themselves up for dialogue at all levels with the parties with whom they are in conflict. They recommend that UNPO Members make full use of UNPO's facilities, services and training programs, including those relating to the United Nations, and recommends that UNPO and other organizations work together closely to improve and broaden these services and programs.

The conference participants call on governments, international organizations, NGOs and on their leaders to adopt clear and principled policies in order to reduce the use of violence. These must include:

- recognition of and respect for the equal rights of all peoples and those of minorities, regardless of their size, their culture or religion;
- taking the needs and views of unrepresented peoples and minorities seriously; speaking out and condemning all unprovoked acts of violence and gross violations of Human rights against unrepresented peoples and minorities;
- recognition of the legitimacy of movements or governments which use peaceful and democratic means to achieve their objectives;
- engagement in open and sincere dialogue with all such movements and governments and rewarding their adherence to non-violence;
- encouragement and active assistance in the peaceful resolution of conflicts between State governments and nations, peoples and minorities over whom they claim authority.

The conference participants call on corporations and financial institutions to end the violent exploitation of resources which sustain peoples, and to end the promotion of violence through irresponsible arms trade and the commercialisation of violence in the media and in their products.