

NONVIOLENCE - A POWERFUL INTEGRATING FORCE

By Tenpa C. Samkhar

(Executive Director - ANEC)

Former Kashag Secretary for Political Affairs/CTA Health Secretary

A careful retrospection of the annals of human history leaves no doubt that the power of nonviolence is much greater than the force of violence.

Peaceful, nonviolent strategies are much more effective than repressive, violent methods. The Indian independence movement under Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the American Civil Rights Movement under Reverent Martin Luther King Junior, the Anti-apartheid Movement in South Africa under Nelson Mandela and the recent Egyptian revolution through nonviolent action stand out as glaring examples of the indisputable victory of peace and nonviolence over repression and violence.

Why resort to methods that result in suffering, animosity, vengeance and bloodshed when there are peaceful, nonviolent alternatives for resolving these same problems, differences and predicaments in human society? The ideal path shown by M.K. Gandhi, His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Martin Luther King Junior, Nelson Mandela and other immortal stalwarts of peace and nonviolence leave no room for the least skepticism.

When Barack Obama of the 21st century America embraces the path of peace and nonviolence and declares himself to be a steadfast advocate of the

"Gandhian Philosophy" the relevance of the same time-tested philosophy to the 21st century requires no acrimonious debate. Peaceful, nonviolent civil disobedience, passive resistance and non-cooperation can do magic if implemented in the right



manner, at the right time and on a massive, national or international scale. Revolution without bloodshed, scars and casualties can be assured. It is merely a question of time. **“Hate the sin but not the sinner”** should be our motivation behind all nonviolent actions. This remains well in line with the core teachings of the Buddha, Jesus and other colossal spiritual exponents – both past and present.

Hitlers, Maos and Mussolinis came and went leaving behind abominable memories of hatred, bloodshed and destruction. Gandhis,

Martin Luther Kings and Mother Teresa are no more in flesh and bones but remembered with love, respect, gratitude and honour.

Nonviolence is not inaction but action devoid of violence aimed at reaching a noble goal for the long term benefit of all parties involved. Love, compassion, peace, stability, healthy democracy and economic and social leaps should be the end result for all concerned. No reason is justifiable for resorting to violence and bloodshed while endeavouring to achieve such a noble goal. The ultimate objective is to establish a firmly rooted culture of peace and nonviolence. The path for such a pure and lofty cause should not be stained with

hatred, animosity and violence!

In the words of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi: **“Non cooperation with evil is as much a duty as is Cooperation with good.”** The end objective is to turn the evil into good through passive resistance and non-cooperation. When there is no more evil in our world our ultimate goal of establishing a firmly rooted culture of peace and nonviolence will be achieved. This will take both time and effort but a cause worth striving for. Yes, it is indeed a herculean task, I very much agree!

“Cooperation, consideration, discipline are all important elements in a successful nonviolent campaign as well as in living together in a nonviolent community.”

By Rabbi Everett Gendler & Dr. Mary Gendler(Chief Resource Persons of ANEC, Legacy of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.)

Around ANEC Main Office in Lower Dharamsala - Feb 2011



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His Holiness the Dalai Lama Congratulates Liu Xiaobo for Nobel Award

DALAI LAMA CONGRATULATES LIU ON WINING NOBEL

(By Times Of India on 15th July 2010)

The exiled spiritual leader of the Tibetan community, the Dalai Lama, while congratulating Liu Xiaobo, Chinese dissident, on being awarded this year's Nobel Peace Prize on Friday, said, "It is the international community's recognition of the increasing voices among Chinese people in publishing China towards political, legal and constitutional reforms."

The Dalai Lama said "I have been personally moved as well as encouraged by the efforts of hundreds of Chinese intellectuals and concerned citizens, including Liu Xiaobo, in signing the charter 2008, which calls for democracy and freedom in China. I had expressed my admiration in a public statement on December 12 2008, two days after it was released while I was on a visit to Poland. I believe in the years ahead, future generations of Chinese will be able to enjoy the fruits of efforts that the current citizens are making towards responsible governance."

"I believe Chinese premier Wen Jiabo's recent comments on freedom of speech being indispensable for any country and people's wish for democracy and freedom being irresistible, are

reflection of the growing yearning for more open China. Such reform can only lead to a harmonious China, which can contribute greatly to a more peaceful world," he added.

He said he would like to take this



opportunity to renew his call to China to release Liu Xiaobo and others who have been imprisoned for exercising their freedom of expression.

Meanwhile the de facto prime minister of Tibet Samdong Rinpoche, said the whole China should be proud of this singular honor bestowed on one of its sons.

"His support for the Tibet cause and the middle way policy are well known to

everyone. We, Tibetans, pray that Liu Xiaobo will be able to receive the well-deserved Nobel Peace Prize in person on December 10," Rinpoche added.

DALAI LAMA TO OPEN WORLD PEACE FEST

(By Times Of India on 1st Oct. 2010)

The spiritual head of the exiled Tibetan community, Dalai Lama, would inaugurate the Happy Thoughts World Peace Festival to be organized by Tej Gyan Foundation at the agricultural College Ground in Pune on October 10. The event will mark the culmination of foundation's 2010 movement of World Peace: Piece by Piece.

The foundation will hold world peace events across 50 cities of India as part of the festival. The flagship event in Pune will be inaugurated by His Holiness the Dalai Lama at 10.10 am and is expected to attract an audience of over one lakh people.

The Dalai Lama would deliver an inaugural address on Peace among Nations. Other keynote speakers are Dr Kiran Bedi, Padmashree D.R. Kaarthekeyan, Padmashree Dr Vijay Bhatkar, Padmashree SB Mujumdar and Tami Simo.

Obama tells young African leaders to follow Mahatma Gandhi

(Economietimes,indiatimes.com Wed, Aug 4, 2010 - 03:10 PM)



Washington: US President Barack Obama, who sees Mahatma Gandhi as

an inspiration, has asked young African leaders to follow the legendary Indian icon to bring the changes they want on their continent.

"One of the things that I think everybody here has to really internalize is the notion that, you know, I think it was (Mahatma) Gandhi who once said, you have to be the change that you seek," Obama said.

He was responding to a question after addressing a meeting of Young African Leaders Forum, which he had convened bringing in young leaders from nearly

50 African countries to the White House.

In his speech at the event, the first of its kind organized by the US for African leaders, Obama said Africa's future belongs to its young people.

"We are going to keep helping empower African youth, supporting education, increasing educational exchanges like the one that brought my father from Kenya, in the days when Kenyans were throwing off colonial

rule and reaching for a new future,"

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UNIVERSAL NONVIOLENT TRAINING - A Moral Equivalent of Universal Military Training

Proposed by: Rabbi Everett Gendler & Dr. Mary Gendler (Chief Resource Persons of ANEC)

(continued from the second issue of 'ANEC Messenger')

Intellectual Elements

The theoretical, the historical, and the pragmatic need to be addressed here. For a beginning, one would want a simple yet accurate introduction to the basic theories of power and obedience that help make understandable how pragmatic nonviolence has been able to work, what has made it an effective force politically. For this, Gene Sharp's condensed work, *The Power and Practice of Nonviolent Struggle*, available in both English and Tibetan versions, could serve admirably. Of special interest is the idea of pillars of support: those social institutions and groupings that enable a society to function. These include schools, monasteries, armies, police, merchants, farmers, nomads, the press, etc, etc. One would also encourage students to practice using this scheme to analyze and comprehend the strengths and weaknesses of the Tibetans and the Chinese in occupied Tibet. A further dispassionate factual analysis of China today --- its strength, its weaknesses, its accomplishments, and its problems in the social, political, economic, military, and religious areas of life -- would also be valuable.

The historian could begin by providing a brief review of how this method of struggle was developed and employed by M.K. Gandhi in South Africa and India, and M.L. King, Jr., in the United States of America. In addition to these well known and much studied campaigns, some lesser known nonviolent struggles against ruthless totalitarian regimes and brutal opponents should also be studied. These case studies provide examples of other peoples, in other places and at other times, struggling with issues

similar to those facing the Tibetans today. Significant cases might include: the 1942 Norwegian teachers' strike against the attempted Nazi cultural infiltration and ideological domination of the schools; the Czech resistance to the Warsaw Pact invasion of 1968, where the Czechs found ways to reduce the morale of invading troops and make them increasingly unwilling to carry out orders from Moscow; the 1986 overthrow of President Marcos in the Philippines by an unarmed citizenry which faced a ruthless dictator with overwhelming military superiority;



Latvia, 1989, where Russian settlement over the decades had resulted in the Latvians having become a numerical minority in their own country, yet the Latvians were able to gain independence from Russia using nonviolent means, and to set up independent nation state.

The pragmatic would ask the students to apply strategies learned from the theories and the case studies to the Tibetan situation today. Two examples can illustrate. As mentioned above, the Czechs succeeded in demoralizing many of the invading soldiers, whose willingness to carry out orders was consequently diminished. How were they able to do this? The students would try to answer these questions on the basis of historical accounts: how the Czechs communicated with or refused

to speak to the soldiers, what they said, how the soldiers reacted, etc. The students would then try to imagine, and perhaps role-play, how Tibetans in Tibet might work to reduce the willingness of Chinese soldiers to follow orders from Beijing.

Another crucial area is the economic. Here reference would be made to Gandhi's constructive program, with its central symbol, the spinning wheel, its dedication to *sarvodaya*, working towards the well-being and basic equality. Of all members of the society, and its community-based cooperative

economic orientation. With respect to the Tibetans today, one might pose the following question for strategic consideration. Imagine that you are in occupied Tibet, where you suffer many economic disadvantages in relation to the Chinese. What concrete actions can you think of that would help improve the economic situation now for you and other members of the Tibetan community?

Desire for revenge; hatred. It could be said that these two emotions are extensions of anger in its more extreme form. As with fear and anger, they are normal and understandable responses to abusive situations. This, however, doesn't make them useful emotions, and so, as with anger, ways need to be found to get past them. Again, a Western approach would include recognizing and acknowledging the feelings, talking about the situation(s) which gave rise to them, and trying to figure out ways to turn the negative energy into positive.

Tibetan Buddhist teachings emphasized compassion.

(See remaining in next issue).....

Obama said.

"We are helping to strengthen grassroots networks of young people who believe, as they are saying in Kenya today, yes, youth can."

"You represent the Africa that so often is overlooked: the great progress that

many Africans have achieved, and the unlimited potential that you've got going forward into the 21st century," he added.

"I see Africa as a fundamental part of our interconnected world... we have to have a strong, self-reliant and prosperous Africa," he said.

"So the world needs your talents and your creativity. We need young Africans who are standing up and making things happen, not only in their own countries but around the world. And the US wants to be your partner," Obama said.

Shy U.S. Intellectual Created Playbook Used in a Revolution

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

Published: February 16, 2011 in the New York Times
the Tunisia and Egypt revolts. She said that some activists translated excerpts

BOSTON — Halfway around the world from Tahrir Square in Cairo, an aging American intellectual shuffles about his cluttered brick row house in a working-class neighborhood here. His name is Gene Sharp. Stoop-shouldered and white-haired at 83, he grows orchids, has yet to master the Internet and hardly seems like a dangerous man. But for the world's despots, his ideas can be fatal.

Few Americans have heard of Mr. Sharp. But for decades, his practical writings on nonviolent revolution — most notably "From Dictatorship to Democracy," a 93-page guide to toppling autocrats, available for download in 24 languages — have inspired dissidents around the world, including in Burma, Bosnia, Estonia and Zimbabwe, and now Tunisia and Egypt.

When Egypt's April 6 Youth Movement was struggling to recover from a failed effort in 2005, its leaders tossed around "crazy ideas" about bringing down the government, said Ahmed Maher, a leading strategist. They stumbled on Mr. Sharp while examining the Serbian movement Otpor, which he had influenced.

When the nonpartisan International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, which trains democracy activists, slipped into Cairo several years ago to conduct a workshop, among the papers it distributed was Mr. Sharp's "198 Methods of Nonviolent Action," a list of tactics that range from hunger strikes to "protest disrobing" to "disclosing identities of secret agents."

Dalia Ziada, an Egyptian blogger and activist who attended the workshop and later organized similar sessions on her own, said trainees were active in both



of Mr. Sharp's work into Arabic, and that his message of "attacking weaknesses of dictators" stuck with them.

Peter Ackerman, a onetime student of Mr. Sharp who founded the nonviolence center and ran the Cairo workshop, cites his former mentor as proof that "ideas have power."

Mr. Sharp, hard-nosed yet exceedingly shy, is careful not to take credit. He is more thinker than revolutionary, though as a young man he participated in lunch-counter sit-ins and spent nine months in a federal prison in Danbury, Conn., as a conscientious objector during the Korean War. He has had no contact with the Egyptian protesters, he said, although he recently learned that the Muslim Brotherhood had "From Dictatorship to Democracy" posted on its Web site.

While seeing the revolution that ousted Hosni Mubarak as a sign of "encouragement," Mr. Sharp said, "The people of Egypt did that — not me."

He has been watching events in Cairo unfold on CNN from his modest house in East Boston, which he bought in 1968 for \$150 plus back taxes.

It doubles as the headquarters of the Albert Einstein Institution, an organization Mr. Sharp founded in 1983 while running seminars at Harvard and teaching political science at what is now the University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth. It consists of him; his assistant, Jamila Raqib, whose family fled Soviet oppression in Afghanistan when she was 5; a part-time office manager and a Golden Retriever mix named Sally. Their office wall sports a bumper sticker that reads "Gotov Je!" — Serbian for "He is finished!"

In this era of Twitter revolutionaries, the Internet holds little allure for Mr. Sharp. He is not on Facebook and does not venture onto the Einstein Web site. ("I should," he said apologetically.) If he must send e-mail, he consults a handwritten note Ms. Raqib has taped to the doorjamb near his state-of-the-art Macintosh computer in a study overflowing with books and papers. "To open a blank e-mail," it reads, "click once on icon that says 'new' at top of window."

Some people suspect Mr. Sharp of being a closet peacenik and a lefty — in the 1950s, he wrote for a publication called "Peace News" and he once worked as personal secretary to A. J. Muste, a noted labor union activist and pacifist — but he insists that he outgrew his own early pacifism and describes himself as "trans-partisan."

Based on studies of revolutionaries like Gandhi, nonviolent uprisings, civil rights struggles, economic boycotts and the like, he has concluded that advancing freedom takes careful strategy and meticulous planning, advice that Ms. Ziada said resonated among youth leaders in Egypt.

Peaceful protest is best, he says — not for any moral reason, but because violence provokes autocrats to crack down. “If you fight with violence,” Mr. Sharp said, “you are fighting with your enemy's best weapon, and you may be a brave but dead hero.”

Autocrats abhor Mr. Sharp. In 2007, President Hugo Chávez of Venezuela denounced him, and officials in Myanmar, according to diplomatic cables obtained by the anti-secrecy group WikiLeaks, accused him of being part of a conspiracy to set off demonstrations intended “to bring down the government.” (A year earlier, a cable from the United States Embassy in Damascus noted that Syrian dissidents had trained in nonviolence by reading Mr. Sharp's writings.)

In 2008, Iran featured Mr. Sharp, along with Senator John McCain of Arizona and the Democratic financier George Soros, in an animated propaganda video that accused Mr. Sharp of being the C.I.A. agent “in charge of America's infiltration into other countries,” an assertion his fellow scholars find ludicrous.

“He is generally considered the father of the whole field of the study of strategic nonviolent action,” said Stephen Zunes, an expert in that field at the University of San Francisco. “Some of these exaggerated stories of him going around the world and starting revolutions and leading mobs, what a joke. He's much more into doing the research and the theoretical work

than he is in disseminating it.”

That is not to say Mr. Sharp has not seen any action. In 1989, he flew to China to witness the uprising in Tiananmen Square. In the early 1990s, he sneaked into a rebel camp in Myanmar at the invitation of Robert L. Helvey, a retired Army colonel who advised the opposition there. They met when Colonel Helvey was on a fellowship at Harvard; the military man thought the professor had ideas that could avoid war. “Here we were in this jungle, reading Gene Sharp's work by candlelight,” Colonel Helvey recalled. “This guy has tremendous insight into society and the dynamics of social power.”

Not everyone is so impressed. As'ad AbuKhalil, a Lebanese political scientist and founder of the Angry Arab News Service blog, was outraged by a passing mention of Mr. Sharp in The New York Times on Monday. He complained that Western journalists were looking for a “Lawrence of Arabia” to explain Egyptians' success, in a colonialist attempt to deny credit to Egyptians.

Still, just as Mr. Sharp's profile seems to be expanding, his institute is contracting.

Mr. Ackerman, who became wealthy as an investment banker after studying under Mr. Sharp, contributed millions of dollars and kept it afloat for years. But about a decade ago, Mr. Ackerman wanted to disseminate Mr. Sharp's ideas more aggressively, as well as his own. He put his money into his own

center, which also produces movies and even a video game to train dissidents. An annuity he purchased still helps pay Mr. Sharp's salary.

In the twilight of his career, Mr. Sharp, who never married, is slowing down. His voice trembles and his blue eyes grow watery when he is tired; he gave up driving after a recent accident. He does his own grocery shopping; his assistant, Ms. Raqib, tries to follow him when it is icy. He does not like it.

He says his work is far from done. He has just submitted a manuscript for a new book, “Sharp's Dictionary of Power and Struggle: Terminology of Civil Resistance in Conflicts,” to be published this fall by Oxford University Press. He would like readers to know he did not pick the title. “It's a little immodest,” he said. He has another manuscript in the works about Einstein, whose own concerns about totalitarianism prompted Mr. Sharp to adopt the scientist's name for his institution. (Einstein wrote the foreword to Mr. Sharp's first book, about Gandhi.)

In the meantime, he is keeping a close eye on the Middle East. He was struck by the Egyptian protesters' discipline in remaining peaceful, and especially by their lack of fear. “That is straight out of Gandhi,” Mr. Sharp said. “If people are not afraid of the dictatorship, that dictatorship is in big trouble.”

Andrew W. Lehren contributed reporting from New York, and David D. Kirkpatrick from Cairo.

“If the love within your mind is lost and you see other beings as enemies, then no matter how much knowledge or education or material comfort you have, only suffering and confusion will ensure.” His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama

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Aung San Suu Kyi: A Model of 'conviction, strength, wisdom and intellect'

By Sara Wilf

(reprinted from Contact (A Free Dharmasala Community Publication) Dec. 2010 - Jan. 2011)

On November 15th, 2010, Aung San Suu Kyi sat down for an interview with the BBC's John Simpson. She appeared elegant and composed, with a string of flowers in her hair and a simple blue dress adorning her slight figure. No one would have guessed that she had spent the last fifteen years under house arrest, denied the right to see her dying husband or to spend time with her two children. In response to Mr. Simpson's questions, which urged her to speak out against the Burmese military junta that had so cruelly imprisoned her, she was straightforward, pragmatic, and forward-looking.

"Why should I be a danger to them?" she said seriously, responding to Mr. Simpson's query regarding whether the Burmese government saw her as a threat. "I don't wish them ill."

Mr. Simpson seemed quite baffled as she continued to answer his increasingly goading questions with calm statements such as these. Indeed, one would expect that a woman subjected to her pain and suffering would be all too willing to speak out angrily against her oppressors. But rather than expressing resentment, Suu Kyi spoke optimistically about the positive impact that the military could still have in Burma, and her hope that the Burmese political battle could be resolved as peacefully and democratically as possible. This interview demonstrates that despite years of imprisonment and harsh treatment, Suu Kyi is still strongly advocating nonviolent resistance and a democratic, peaceful revolution in Burma.

Although Suu Kyi did not initially intend to become a politician, she was born into a prominent political family. She was born in Rangoon, Burma (which has now been renamed the Republic of Myanmar), to a father who founded the Burmese army and

negotiated with the British for independence in 1947. Foreshadowing her future career, she graduated from Lady Shri Ram College in New Delhi with a degree in politics. She received a Ph.D. at the University of London, and became a Fellow at the Indian Institute of Advanced Studies in Shimla shortly thereafter.

Suu Kyi's involvement in Burmese politics began as a result of the



mass demonstrations for democracy in Burma following General Ne Win's resignation as leader of the military in 1988. In the demonstrations, which took place on the 8th of August, 1988, over 5,000 Burmese protestors were massacred by the military. It was a tragedy that the Burmese, and the world, would not soon forget. Following the "8888 Uprising," Suu Kyi spoke to a crowd of 500,000 rallying in the capital city, urging her fellow citizens to continue to fight for democracy; after this appearance she was catapulted to fame as a leader of the Burmese democracy movement. When a new military junta came to power in September, defying the people's calls for a democratic government, Suu Kyi and

other activists formed the National League for Democracy (NLD), which would try to rebel against the military government through nonviolence and civil disobedience. Suu Kyi was appointed general secretary.

As a Theravada Buddhist, Suu Kyi was raised with principles of nonviolence and compassion for fellow human beings that she brought to the NLD. She was also influenced by Mahatma Gandhi, especially after having spent so much time studying in India. As she stated in her "Freedom from Fear" speech,

"Gandhi, that great apostle of nonviolence, and Aung San, the founder of a national army, were very different personalities, but as there is an inevitable sameness about the challenges of authoritarian rule anywhere at any time, so there is a similarity in the intrinsic qualities of those who rise up to meet the challenge."

Despite her peaceful intentions, she was immediately seen as a threat to the Burmese government and placed under house arrest on July 20th, 1989. In 1990, due to increased international pressure, the Burmese government held national elections. However, despite the NLD winning over 80% of the seats for Parliament, the government did not release Suu Kyi or allow her to assume her rightful place as Prime Minister. They ceased to call her by her name – she became "that woman," or "the troublemaker." They also tried to convince her to leave Burma and never return.

"The concept of driving somebody out of their own country is totally unacceptable to me," she said in response to the military's demands, resigning herself instead to her house-bound fate.

(See remaining in next issue...)

"Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere."

-Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

ANEC VOLUNTEERS COLUMN

MOST MEMORABLE TIME WITH ANEC

By Darren Fleetwood from the United Kingdom

Active non-violence is at its heart a salient expression of democratic rights, even where none formally exist. In the Western tradition, it is a set of philosophies and strategies that, when employed en-masse, can be used to bring about political and social changes. In this respect, an active non-violent campaign is analogous to a military insurrection. However, whereas the latter draws its strength from a commitment to cause destruction to property and life, the former relies on the courage to eschew bloodshed; to accept and endure whatever measures of oppression are dealt out without turning to violence; to hate one's enemies' actions but not his self; to always take the higher moral ground. Through this courage, the non-violent campaign takes one's enemy's strongest measures of suppression and turns them on himself. By appealing to morality, not arms, an opponent's political and social support can be fractured and undermined where violence may have coalesced it. Armies and security forces are trained to fight wars and insurrections; they do not know how to fight those who will not fight back.

It is the threat of force that is used to control populations, not the force itself. The active non-violent campaign calls this bluff; it forces an opponent to use oppressive means on its own citizens to such an extent that it must concede or demonstrate to its supporters, the public, and often the world's media, the raw nature of the regime. This is what Professor Gene Sharp calls 'political ju-jitsu': suppression demonstrates the impotence of violence when it is willing to be endured and draws further support for the non-violent movement. This isolates the regime as more people become uncomfortable with its nature. When the campaign reaches a critical mass, political support for the regime collapses and it is supplanted, or the tyrannical nature of its government is demonstrated so lucidly that it feels it must change to regain some measure of moral integrity.

While it is true that violent insurrections can achieve the same ends, the means used to achieve them are important. The requirement of a non-violent campaign to reach a large critical mass of public support is both a weakness and strength. A violent campaign needs sufficient support and firepower to militarily overcome its opponent. This can be achieved with comparatively small numbers and limited public approval. Indeed, public support is often won through violent coercion. There is therefore no assurance of the legitimacy of the campaign.

Furthermore, armed insurrections offer poor training for civil life, and the fighters, people, land and economy are often left deeply scarred by years of civil fighting. This creates a perfect breeding ground for poor government, often replacing one form of tyranny with another. Therefore, while the requirement of a non-violent campaign to achieve near ubiquitous public support is a chief problem for planners, it provides an assurance of legitimacy that violent campaigns need not achieve. In the words of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, 'through violence, you may 'solve' one problem, but you sow the seeds for another'.

In the West, love, compassion and non-violence sound like nice ideals not fit for this 'real' world. In secular society, 'love your enemy' and 'turn the other cheek' sound like antiquated religious clichés. But non-violence demonstrates the power of such a philosophy. While men and woman can be imprisoned or killed, an idea can move like fire, and once alight, it may be impossible to extinguish. Such an idea can produce changes which are very real. Mahatma Ghandi's campaign to expel British rule from India, Dr. Martin Luther King's civil rights campaign in America, the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia (and the other revolutions of 1989), Leymah Gbowee and the women in Liberia's campaign to achieve peace, the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa and the movement for women's suffrage in Britain are but a few better-known examples which demonstrate the power and efficacy of active non-violent action.

Non-violence advocates should, however, be under no illusions that such successes are easily won. A non-violent campaign shares many characteristics with its

violent contemporaries. It requires the same level of planning, strategy, coordination



, logistics, commitment and ultimately courage. One must remember that they are inviting their opponent to "do their worst"; non-violence does not mean peace.

It is my belief that one should always move towards the most constructive solution, even if the goal seems far from sight. The Active Non-violence Education Center (ANEC) is working to remove violence from the vocabulary of revolutionaries, demonstrating a feasible alternative to violence in Tibet and distancing the understanding of non-violence from pacifism. His Holiness the Dalai Lama has equated violence in Tibet with 'suicide', insisting what is common sense to most, that Tibetans cannot challenge China militarily. Furthermore, as suggested previously, if one opts for a violent campaign with knowledge of non-violence, one must automatically question the legitimacy of one's actions. Yet, to resign oneself to pacifism is to enter into blind acceptance. For Tibet, this means further assimilation into the Chinese nation and lifestyle and erosion of an identity which is very much alive.

Non-violence offers an alternative between 'suicide' and resignation for the Tibetan people. Though, I concede, there is no end in sight, advocates of non-violence should take heart in the change in the world that is constantly going on around us. Though the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa took 82 years to bear its fruit, it was the last 18 years that brought real change. Change, in the end,

came much quicker in Eastern Europe. A leading advocate at the start of the American Civil Rights movement, Diane Nash, said of her training: "I thought non-violence would not work, but I stayed with the workshops for one reason...they were the only game in town". It is perhaps encouraging to advocates of a Tibetan non-violent campaign that the obstacles facing what is now held as a salient example of the

power of non-violence seemed at the start to be insurmountable.

I am proud of my three months volunteering with ANEC. Its goal of producing a world-wide culture of non-violence is both noble and required. Before coming to Dharamsala I knew of only violence or pacifism; the greatest lesson I'll take from my time spent with ANEC is that there is a 'third way'. I believe that this is an incredibly

empowering message, one that deserves to be shouted and heard. That is why I thank ANEC for their kind help and support and wish them the best in the future. I also hope those reading this article will take some time to contact ANEC and learn a little of what they do, so that, as in the past, non-violence may be found as the answer to some of the greatest questions of our time.

"Militarism By Any Other Name"

By Andrew Taylor from Guilford College

Chances are if you're reading this newsletter, you have stumbled into an ANEC workshop or seminar. And chances are, if you have stumbled into an ANEC workshop or seminar, you have at least a proclivity towards nonviolence; you might even be ninety-nine percent pacifist. However, statistics and personal experience from discussions at previous workshops suggest it is equally likely there is at least a circumstance or two in which you think violence is necessary. Maybe you think violence is justified when it would save innocent lives, such as killing a dictator to stop a holocaust or massacre. This puts you squarely in the camp of Gandhi, the father of *Satyagraha* and the Indian Nonviolence movement. Perhaps you think all political or social movements should be driven by pacifism, but in cases of immediate, personal self-defense violence may not be an evil.

The one percent which separates ninety-nine and one hundred percent pacifism, which separates partial and holistic pacifism, is an infinite division. It is a distinction which, some argue, raises nonviolent theory from a theoretical enterprise incapable of affecting social dynamics

Frankly, beings who do not fight in a situation in which flight is impossible are at an evolutionary disadvantage compared to their more aggressive counterparts. On a more personal level, many of us have lost friends to violence, friends we miss and will not see again.



Thus, it should come as no surprise that very few groups or even individual philosophers have embraced the concept of holistic pacifism. I belong to one of the few sects which have the Religious Society of Friends, often called Quakers. As a Quaker, I historically have restricted my own pursuit of active nonviolence to a personal endeavor since it often seemed impossible to justify total pacifism to someone who does not share my own particular metaphysical foundation. But while flipping through an old notebook doing some research for ANEC, I stumbled across a provocative excerpt from Aldous Huxley's novel *Eyeless in Gaza*:

Note that we're all ninety-nine percent pacifists. Sermon on Mount, provided we're allowed to play Tamerlane or Napoleon

in our particular one percent of selected cases. Peace, perfect peace, so long as we can have the war that suits us. Result: everyone is the predestined victim of somebody else's exceptionally permissible war. Ninety-nine percent pacifism is merely another name for militarism. If there's to be peace, there must be hundred percent pacifism.

If one eventually hopes to live in a nonviolent world, as I believe most people reading this newsletter do, holistic pacifism is the only practical philosophy to adopt for the long term, however difficult the short-term may be. After all, George W. Bush was able to justify his war in Afghanistan as one of moral righteousness and his war in Iraq as one of immediate self-defense in the modern age, and even if one disagrees with his particular justifications, it's usually trickier arguing degrees than principle. Unlike most of my friends at ANEC, I do not think nonviolence is always, or even usually the most effective short-term strategy for achieving political change, but I do think it is the right one. A nonviolent world must come about gradually, and so must begin with a few.

"Be the change you wish to see in the world"

-M.K. Gandhi

By Henry A. Miketa from the University of Denver, Colorado, USA

Since coming to Dharamsala and being immersed in the Tibet-China conflict I have often asked myself the question: what can I do to help the Tibetan people achieve their goals? It is a question that

I think many Westerners ask themselves when they set foot in Dharamsala and McLeod Ganj. The struggle of the Tibetan people, a nonviolent, peace-loving people who have been divorced from their homeland is a struggle that resonates with many Westerners who envision a world where all people in the world coexist peacefully and harmoniously. To these Westerners,

~~myself included, it is simply not~~

enough to stand by and watch the current national tragedy of the Tibetan plight. It is not enough to see the situation as a cycle of karma, in which case the Tibetan people are simply feeling the



repercussions of the actions that they may have committed in previous lifetimes.

The peaceful, nonviolent approach as voiced by His Holiness the Dalai Lama is and will continue to be the approach of the Tibetan people. Thus, it is important for us to find ways to work under the current approach in an effort to strengthen the effort of the Tibetan people. By simply understanding the powerful approach as set forth by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, we as Westerners can help raise awareness on the Tibetan struggle when we return to our respective countries. By educating our fellow human beings we start building the foundation of awareness that is necessary for Tibet to gain the sort of

political support they need to achieve their goals. At the same time it is critical that we broaden our understanding of nonviolence as a means to achieve political ends. As a consequence we can then engage in meaningful and thoughtful dialogue in an effort to provide the Tibetan people with new and effective nonviolent alternatives.

As we return home to our respective countries it is vital that we further our own personal study of the Tibet-China conflict as well as nonviolent strategies if we are to help the Tibetan people. Nonviolence as a principle and means of achieving political change increasingly resonates with people around the globe because of the power inherent therein. Thus, an increase in global awareness concerning

the Tibet-China issue will garner vital support for the Tibetan people. Likewise, by increasing the global support for and study of nonviolent strategies we can all combine in an intellectual effort providing the Tibetan people with new and effective strategies to achieve their political and social goals. Ultimately, by virtue of practicing nonviolence in our own sphere of existence, simply through our own personal endeavor to achieve total nonviolence in all three spheres of our lives (in thought, in speech and in action) we contribute to the progress of humanity and evolution into a peaceful planet. In this way we can contribute everyday to the welfare of the Tibetan people as well as to the future welfare of humanity as a whole.

IS NON-VIOLENCE IN DANGER IN TIBET ?

By Tony Ecourtemer from France

The 20th century has seen a great deal of violence, allowing for genocides, massacres, and violent manifestations to become all too common. Although some of these violent manifestations are still continuing, I believe it is in the power of each individual to decide if history is going to repeat itself or not. For those who want to finally put violence to an end, they must study past mistakes and promote non violence through the expression of love and compassion. Because I am one of those people, I decided to join ANEC as a volunteer from October 15th to November 15th 2010, during my stay in McLeod Ganj, India.

I have been living in China for 5 years and have had the opportunity to visit the autonomous region of Tibet, as well

as the other provinces that once belonged to Tibet, such as Gansu, Sichuan, and Yunnan. Seeing these areas has allowed me to gain great insight into the current situation in Tibet. During my time volunteering at ANEC, I had the opportunity to view a documentary on the uprisings in Tibet in the year 2008 that were carried out very peacefully and nonviolently on the part of the Tibetan people. However, the Chinese authorities had brutally suppressed these peaceful protests with groundless excuses of being violent in nature.

In this article I will be proposing thoughts that are my personal ideas, which are results of my previous experiences. I hope that these thoughts can bring reflection to any concerned people and help them find their way to their own truth. To begin I will expose why, in my opinion, Tibet should continue to remain non-violent and

following I will propose solutions that I believe are best for Tibet.

I will say that Tibetan people should continue to believe in the Dalai Lama's advice and guidance as the Dalai Lama alone has the right answers and solutions. I would also encourage any person to volunteer for ANEC. ANEC is doing a fabulous job to promote peace, love, compassion, and non violence for Tibet and our troubled world as a whole. Volunteering for ANEC really opened my eyes and I have learned so much during my short period there. I will also encourage people to read the DIIR publications, which are available in the Tibetan Information Center. Those publications also relate to the ongoing negotiations between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese authorities.



Volunteering for ANEC

By Martina Marek from Germany

When I first came to ANEC's weekly Friday Program, I was immediately amazed by the wonderful work of this organization, so I decided to volunteer for them. I got to know more about the work they do for Western people and the Tibetan

Community, like the weekly workshops at the Tibetan Transit School and workshops in Tibetan settlements all around India. I am really glad that I got the opportunity to volunteer for an organization whose goal is to educate not only Tibetans, but the whole world about non-violent principles. It is a really important issue, especially nowadays. Coming from a country that started two world wars, I know how

destructive violence is and that non-violence is the only opportunity in the fight for a better and more peaceful



world.

In Germany, the non-violent methods finally succeeded in the reunification of Eastern and Western Germany in 1989. And while the peaceful demonstrations in Tiananmen Square in Beijing were violently and brutally put down by the Chinese army and the demand for democracy and human rights in China came to an end,

the communist regime in Eastern Germany was finally brought down – without any violence. During the so called 'Peaceful Revolution', non-violent methods were used, which finally led to the fall of the Berlin Wall and opened the way for a peaceful reunification of the divided country.

This is proof of the effectiveness of non-violent actions in history, and yet

there is still so much violence in the world. I am really glad that ANEC is educating so many people and is working for a better understanding of non-violent actions to achieve a more peaceful world. I hope that their work for the Tibetan cause and for world peace and harmony will be successful in the end and I am really glad that I could help by volunteering for ANEC. Sometimes the guilt I feel is too much

MY PRECIOUS EXPERIENCE WITH ANEC

*By Lorenzo Sanchez - University of
Denver, Colorado, USA*

I volunteered at ANEC through the University of Denver and found my experience an invaluable one. I have learned about the Buddhist philosophy of nonviolence in not only action, but in speech and thought as well. I have come to the conclusion that through nonviolent action, speech, and thought one can be in peace. And peace is essential because without peace, one cannot have happiness. I just wish someone would have told me that when I was growing up; it would have saved me a lot of trouble, a lot of suffering.

In my twenty years on this Earth, I have witnessed, and participated, in much violence. I was eight years old when I got in my first fight and since then, I have given many free nosebleeds and selflessly provided hospitals with patients. On one occasion, an individual was stabbed on my behalf, and I thought nothing of it. Also, a few months ago a friend of mine was killed in a gang fight. I was there with him and felt guilty because I had his weapon, which he could have probably used to save his life. When he died, we were all angry, and sad. We

wanted revenge and we had the body armor, guns, and cash to get it. But before we could do anything, the police got them. Then, I actually felt pity for them because they were only nineteen years old and now they are going to spend the rest of their lives in prison. I felt pity for them because if the police had not have gotten them, then we would have. I felt pity for them because in one night of violence, they destroyed their entire lives. In one night of violence, they caused their mothers, fathers, sisters, brothers, and everyone who loved them to suffer. In one night of violence they caused everyone who loved my friend to suffer. I can only imagine the pain of a mother losing her only son. I can only imagine having caused that pain.

I sit here and feel pity for them, yet I am not so innocent. I too have caused much pain and suffering. Someone was stabbed because of me. I do not like thinking about the pain his mother felt. I think back to all the suffering I caused through my violent lifestyle. I think of all the physical pain my violent actions brought, of all the emotional pain my speech has caused, and of all the violent thoughts that filled my head and I realize now that, yes, I caused others to suffer, but in doing so I also caused myself to suffer.

and I know that I am not alone. My younger cousin feels responsible for causing his best friend's death.

Enemies came looking for my cousin, but killed his best friend instead. And now, his violent lifestyle haunts him. He tells me that he cannot sleep because he has nightmares that his enemies will finally catch him.

This is a problem in my community even though our skin, language, culture and struggle are the same yet we still fight with each other. We fight because we wear different colors, because we live in different neighborhoods in different parts of the city, even if we only live twenty minutes away.

When I go back to the United States, I feel like I must continue the goal of ANEC and pass on the teachings of His Holiness The Dalai Lama. I feel I must practice and teach nonviolence as a lifestyle to my cousin, to my community.

~~but even then I could not imagine them~~

saying things like “kill all the Chinese in Tibet” or “blow up Beijing.” This is even more shocking when you consider the differences in

the level of initial violence, the extent



What America Can Learn From Tibet

*By Michelle Stinson, ANEC Volunteer,
from USA*

One thing that has surprised me a lot while working amongst the Tibetan community is the lack of animosity and hostility toward the Chinese people from the Tibetans. This is astonishing to me because in the 10 years since the attack on the United

States' economic symbol, the World Trade Towers, on September 11, 2001, I have constantly heard people say many violent things like, “we should blow up Mecca” or “kill all Muslims” or other similar examples of hatred and hostility. I have yet to hear any of the Tibetans living in exile make similar claims or even speak harshly of the Chinese. Perhaps this would be different if I were to talk to the Tibetans still living in Tibet,



of the damage, the number of lives lost, each country's response, and the amount of time each act has continued for, there seems to be no comparison that the Tibetans have seen extremely worse atrocities for a much, much longer time.

One may argue that their almost exclusively nonviolent response has left them without a country and living under an oppressive government, but to that, I can only say the Tibetans I have met have not lost their integrity, dignity, or their culture while many Americans still live in fear of another attack from an unseen enemy. We have our own citizens dying on foreign soil or losing their limbs or sanity in a failed attempt to subdue our fears and we have stripped many people (including innocent ones) of their most basic

rights of Habeas Corpus and privacy. Our fear and hatred has only caused more problems for us, then for our enemy.

From where I stand, America looks weak and helpless compared to the Tibetans who appear strong and determined. They may be in a worse situation right now, but they have not given up on who they are, their values, or their dreams for their country and so no matter what happens to them, they can feel pride in the steps they have taken.

I have the utmost respect for the Tibetan people, their compassion, and their adherence to active nonviolence. I can only hope that America will learn a valuable lesson from the Tibetan people and begin to move towards the use of active nonviolence, perhaps only then will we stand a chance at

dispelling those people in the world who hate us so much that they are willing to blow themselves up. I look forward to my time volunteering for ANEC so that I may learn more about practicing active nonviolence and can bring these ideals back home to America. As my hero, Dr. Martin Luther King said, *"Here is the true meaning and value of compassion and nonviolence when it helps us to see the enemy's point of view, to hear his questions, to know his assessment of ourselves. For from his view we may indeed see the basic weaknesses of our own condition, and if we are mature, we may learn and grow and profit from the wisdom of the brothers who are called the opposition."*

Is Gandhism Relevant in the 21st Century World ?

By Lobsang Tenzin (Mr.) ANEC Training cum Teaching Officer

"We can only win over the opponent by love, never hate. Hate is the subtlest form of violence. Hatred injures the hater, never the hated."

By Mahatama Gandhi

Active Nonviolent Strategies are very pragmatic actions of Nonviolence which are only theoretically heard in today's world. In the past, many Ahimsa (nonviolence) followers laid the true footprint for this generation and made the basic foundation of Swaraj (self rule) for humanity. In today's world these have all become history, which is just a subject to learn by students in schools. That means the seed of Gandhism is still beneath the earth to grow and is still relevant to recover this violent world back into a peaceful greenish planet.

In today's world, Swaraj of a nation has been turned into Swaraj of capitalization as every people and every nation are very much interested in privatization and globalization. Capitalism has been welcomed by the economists whose only goal is to be richer. This turning towards capitalism has automatically kicked aside the true meaning of Sarvodaya (welfare for

all). So now the world becomes smaller and the relations between people have grown in distance. These factions create more conflicts, more violence, and more bloodshed in the world. Questions that still remain are: where is Ahimsa? Where is Swaraj? And where is genuine Sarvodaya?

Every morning, the first news we hear is nothing but death, bloodshed and the destruction of our planet. We say we are on the way to find a better life because we are now mostly educated, that capitalism will remove our poverty. These voices are only lip service. Gandhi said, *".....American wealth has become a standard, rather than truth, kindness, generosity, love, sensitivity, and sharing the experiences of life freely and fully."* Since they have a highly materialistic ideal, there is so much conflict, violence and killings happening in America and other countries. Additionally we see China is the second largest economic power in the world while they have one of the largest numbers of people living in poverty in the world. This economic progress is only industrialization for the rich.

All this progress in material

development in our world is creating nothing but anger, hatred and jealousy among communities. As these negative emotions increase;

there is more disruption to our moral education. Gandhi said, *"Anger and intolerance are the enemies of correct understanding."* And Martin Luther King Jr. said, *"Darkness cannot drive out darkness; only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate; only love can do that."* Economic power is not the only way to achieve our ultimate happiness, but also training the mind in tolerance, compassion and love for others through learning and practicing Gandhism. His Holiness the Dalai Lama says, *"Happiness is not something ready-made. It comes from your own actions."*



ANEC Activities at a glance (Aug. 2010 - Jan. 2011)



ANEC Executive Director Tenpa C. Samkhar introducing Gandhi Jayanti and International Day of Nonviolence, Oct. 2, 2010



ANEC special Talk Session to celebrate Gandhi Jayanti and International Day of Nonviolence, Oct. 2, 2010



ANEC Day Program with Rev. Lhakdor, Director, Tibetan Library, speaking on Buddhist Philosophy of Nonviolence



Western participants on ANEC Day brainstorming on Buddhist Philosophy of Nonviolence, Sept. 10, 2010



ANEC Executive Director introducing ANEC Day at Lhamo's Croissant Restaurant in McLeod Ganj



Mr. Tenzin Tsondue, General Secretary, Friends of Tibet, Mumbai Speaking on ANEC Day - Sept. 10, 2010



ANEC Special Guests Celebrating ANEC Day on Sept. 10, 2010 at ANEC Main Office



ANEC Training Officer Miss Tenzin Dasei facilitating Talk on Nonviolence to New Arrivals from Tibet in Nov. 2010



ANEC Executive Director Tenpa C. Samkhar giving talk on Nonviolence to New Arrivals from Tibet in Dec. 2010



ANEC Training Officer Lobsang Tenzin giving Training on Nonviolent Strategies to New Arrivals from Tibet

ANEC Activities at a glance (Aug. 2010 - Jan. 2011)



ANEC Executive Director introducing ANEC to Professor and Students of University of Denver, Colorado, USA.



ANEC Executive Director giving talk to Professor and Students of University of Denver, Colorado in Dec. 2010



ANEC Trainer Tenzin Dasei facilitating training on Nonviolent Strategies to Tibetan New Arrivals at the Reception Center in Dec.,10



Miss Dhardhon Sharling, Research & Media Officer, TWA, speaking during ANEC Friday Program on Nov.26, 2010



Miss Tenzin Choekyi, General Secretary, TYC CENTREX, speaking during ANEC Friday Program on Dec. 3, 2010



Mr. Lobsang Tenzin ANEC Trainer facilitating training on Nonviolent Strategies to Tibetan Transit School Students in Dec.,10



Mr. Urgen Tenzin Laytoe, Director, TCHRD, receiving 'Thank You' gift from ANEC Executive Director for his nice speech



Professor and Students of Denver University, Colorado, with ANEC Executive Director and Staff Members



ANEC Executive Director answering questions from participants during ANEC Friday Program in McLeod Ganj



ANEC Friday Program participants watching film screening on Nonviolent movement in Serbia



M.A. students of Nelson Mandela Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Jamia Millia Islamia University, Delhi with ANEC Executive Director Tenpa C. Samkhar at the DIIR, CTA after his talk on 24th Feb. 2011



DIIR Under Secretary Lobsang Choedak introducing ANEC Executive Director before his talk to the MA Students from Nelson Mandela Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution



ANEC Executive Director giving talk to MA Students from Nelson Mandela Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution on 24th Feb. 2011



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Tenpa C. Samkhar (Mr.)
Executive Director-ANEC
(Former Kashag Secretary for Political Affairs/Former CTA Health Secretary)
E-mail: executive_directoranec@yahoo.com

Lobsang Tenzin (Mr.)
Training Officer - ANEC

Tenzin Dasel (Ms.)
Training Officer - ANEC

Tenzin Nyima (Ms.)
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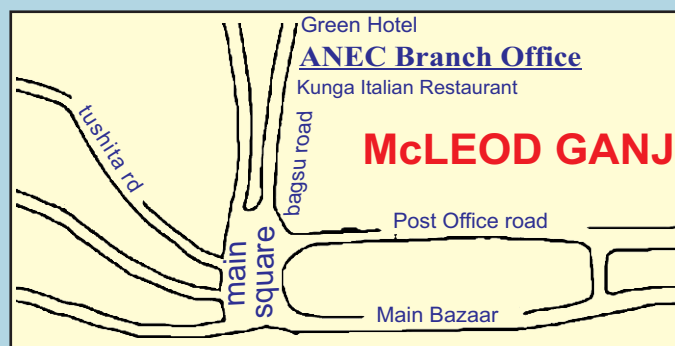
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