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# ANEC MESSENGER



ACTIVE NONVIOLENCE EDUCATION CENTER

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## 'Soul Force over Physical Force' – Gandhi-ji's Priceless Legacy

By Tenpa C. Samkhar

(Executive Director – ANEC)

Former Kashag Secretary for Political Affairs/Former CTA Health Secretary

Former Vice President, Indo-Tibetan Friendship Society - Himachal State Head Office

I shall begin with a brief quote by Mahatma Gandhi: *"A small body of determined spirits fired by an unquenchable faith in their mission can alter the course of history."*

Yes, the Mahatma(Great Soul) was absolutely right. Neither the mighty British Empire nor his external physical frailty deterred or demoralized Gandhi-ji from undeviatingly and indefatigably resorting to 'Soul Force' to bring down an old, powerful empire to her knees. His noble, heroic actions have altered the course of history not only for the millions subjugated and enslaved but also for the entire human race.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama, in his message to ANEC, eulogizes Mahatma Gandhi saying: *"What distinguished Gandhi was that he showed how nonviolence could be successful in practice in providing an effective approach to the resolution of conflict."*

The Mahatma's indomitable 'Soul Force' unswervingly backed by the teeming millions who followed him despite all odds and hurdles finally liberated India and elevated her to the 'World's Biggest Democracy'.

Winston Churchill once said so aptly and eloquently: *"The tunnel may be dark and long, but at the end there is light."* The Great Indian Independence Movement was long, painful and

arduous but the sunshine at the end was so bright and blissful; and no sacrifices passed unrewarded. The Mahatma who faithfully stood by his noble principle: *"Hate the sin, but not the sinner,"* became an idol even for the power wielders of the Empire against whom he used his mighty 'Soul Force.'

*"I am not pleading for India to practice nonviolence because it is weak. I want her to practice nonviolence being*



*conscious of her strength and power."* Mahatma Gandhi appealed to his fellow countrymen to embrace nonviolence in these convincing terms. Barely a decade and a half later, the renowned American Civil Rights Activist Reverend Martin Luther King Junior vehemently endorsed Gandhi-ji's words stating: *"In our age of space vehicles and ballistic missiles, the choice is either nonviolence or nonexistence."*

'Satya Graha' or 'Steadfast Adherence to Truth' and 'Non-co-operation with evil' were the guiding principles and convictions that made Gandhi-ji's Soul Force invincible and matchless. Those who arrested, lathi-charged and

imprisoned Gandhi-ji time and again miserably failed to overpower or dismantle the Mahatma's colossal 'Soul Force'. The massive civil disobedience movements and the well planned and disciplined social, economic and political non-co-operation movements led by Gandhi-ji slowly but steadily sagged and emasculated the morale and power base of the British Empire.

Gandhi-ji firmly believed that nonco-operation with evil was as much a duty as was co-operation with good. Gandhi-ji was always at the very forefront of nonviolent actions - receiving blows but giving none, and hating sins but forgiving sinners.

The Mahatma always shunned power, fame, comfort, and luxury.

August 15<sup>th</sup>, 1947 saw the elegant, sacred "Triple colour" national flag of the great Indian Sub-Continent hoisted with tremendous honor, dignity and glory ! The morale boosting message the world received from the historic event remains: Human spirit can never be vanquished. Autocrats and dictators may come, but they will never, ever last. This is nothing but the law of nature. This indeed I think is Gandhi-ji's priceless legacy !!

## ANEC GENERAL WORKSHOP CONTENTS OUTLINE

The following subject matters are covered in ANEC Workshops / Open Forum Discussions on Active Nonviolence Strategies as effective and powerful alternatives to violence and hatred:

1. History, Philosophy and Techniques of Nonviolent Resistance (Based on Professor Gene Sharp's Guidelines on Strategic Nonviolence Methods for peace, nonviolence and democracy)
2. Traditional Buddhist Concept of Nonviolence based on love, compassion, transformation of mind, altruism and nonviolence. (To rightly interpret the message of Lord Buddha and His Holiness the Dalai Lama).
3. Encouraging harmonious integration between the Traditional Buddhist concept of nonviolence and Modern Western concept of Active

Nonviolence.

4. Strategic nonviolence methods for achieving healthy democratic norms.

5. Gandhian Philosophy of nonviolence with particular focus on Gandhian Constructive Program, Peaceful Non-co-operation Movement and steadfast adherence to truth and nonviolence.

6. Nonviolence Philosophy as advocated and implemented by the 1964 Noble Peace Laureate - The World renowned US Civil Rights Leader Reverend Martin Luther King Junior during the Historic American Civil Rights Movement based on the famous Kingian Principles of Nonviolence.

7. Training facilitation through screening of video films on various Case Studies of Nonviolent Actions

and active exchange of views and thoughts between facilitators and participants in a truly democratic fashion.

8. To lay particular emphasis to resort to the above different philosophies and practical implementation of nonviolent strategies for resolving disagreements, differences and problems at all levels of human society and bringing about the requisite changes and innovations for the establishment of solidly based healthy, peaceful, democratic societies.

*The above are simply broadly based guidelines of the topics covered in the ANEC Workshops / Training / Open Forum Discussions on nonviolence theory and practice.*

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## MESSAGE




The Active Non-violence Education Center (ANEC), based in Dharamsala, has been engaged in educating many Tibetans and non-Tibetans on the various active non-violent strategies for resolving disagreements and problems at all levels of the human society.

I have known Mr. Tenpa C Samkhar, Executive Director, ANEC, and former Political Secretary, Kashag, and also Dr. Mary Gendler and Rabbi Everett Gendler, chief resource persons of ANEC. They have together been instrumental in enabling ANEC in the implementation of its noble aims and objectives such as spreading and promoting the message of love, peace, compassion and non-violence advocated by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Mahatma Gandhi and other world-renowned souls.

At a time when there is much hatred, violence and animosity in the world, it is a source of inspiration to see ANEC dedicated to the realization of the following noble objectives:

- To instill among both Tibetans and non-Tibetans belief and confidence in Nonviolence as the most reliable method in the Tibetan people's national movement or for that matter in their way of life.
- To help people understand more fully the practical meaning of nonviolence as taught by His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Mahatma Gandhi.
- To cultivate the development of personal qualities and moral values taught by Buddhism, among them compassion, tolerance and human understanding.
- These personal qualities provide an essential basis for a successful nonviolent campaign.
- To increase the knowledge of support for and commitment to the use of active nonviolent resistance in the national cause of Tibet.

I express my appreciation and good wishes to ANEC and its team members for initiating this non-violent educational campaign and for its eventual success.

  
Dr. Lobsang Sangay  
KALON TRIPA



## 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 third issue of 'ANEC Messenger':

Tibetan Buddhist teachings emphasize compassion. A fine example of the value of this teaching is a true story to us by a Tibetan teacher whose family had fled Tibet to India many years ago. Traumatized as a young woman by her escape from Tibet, the mother passed her fears on to her young daughter (the teacher), who reports having had, throughout her childhood, recurring nightmares that she would be captured and harmed by the Chinese. These fears and nightmares followed her into young womanhood. It was not until years later, when she was in a hospital in Nepal visiting her sister, that she met her first Chinese person, a young girl who was all alone in the next bed. At first all she could feel was the hatred which had been

instilled in her by her mother, and she refused to talk to the Chinese girl despite the girl's obvious misery. Finally, her own feelings of compassion won out, and she comforted the girl. From that moment on her nightmares and feelings of hatred ceased.

Both Western and Tibetan means of confronting these emotions might be taught and practiced. Role-playing the Chinese view of the problem to gain an emotional comprehension of how it feels to them could also be a useful way of getting past some of these emotions. How does it feel as a Chinese soldier / businessman / administrator when confronted with a Tibetan protester? How might it feel as a Tibetan in Tibet when confronted with Chinese protestor? How can the situation be humanized? This approach could aid in finding ways to

approach the Chinese that would take into full account their humanity while still advancing the Tibetan cause.

### Social Elements

The experience of living and working together in community is, in itself, valuable training for nonviolent resistance. Co-operation, consideration, discipline, are all important elements in a successful nonviolent campaign as well as in living together in a nonviolent community. Spending sometime on



consciously understanding and developing ways to develop a better community would be a helpful way to bring these elements to the awareness and experience of young people. For example, how we resolve disputes and settle arguments among ourselves can provide clues for how to handle such problems at a larger level. This is valuable training in how to be good citizen in a peaceable, democratic society.

Affinity groups have been an integral part of nonviolence training for many years. These are small groups which meet regularly so that their members come to know one another personally, learn how to communicate effectively with one another, and slowly develop strong bonds of mutual trust and respect. Such close interaction helps form a cohesive bond which remains

with the members even when separated by time and geography. The sense of closeness is valuable in reducing fear and alienation. Over the years the common experience of the training program should help create a cohesive nonviolent society with a sense of shared purpose and commitment. Linked to the larger community and reflecting its purposes, the affinity groups are like cells in a biological organism, ready to act when signaled from the central

nervous system, the Central Tibetan Administration, so direct them. And if communications are impaired, the affinity groups, like cells in the body, have become imprinted with the purposes of the organism and so can function as self-directed entities working independently, yet in harmony, with other such groups.

### Cultural Elements

Instruction in traditional Tibetan arts, culture, and religion would be an important part of the training. Along with the political struggle, these elements are crucial to ensuring the continuity of an identifiable Tibetan people. Shared, they create a sense of social solidarity whose basis extends into the remote past and looks towards an unbounded future. They transmit social and religious values which bind members of the community to one another and give them definition as a people. No longer living in their traditional land, therefore without the unifying effects of shared territory, their need for these artistic, cultural, and religious traditions is all the greater.

*See remaining in next issue...*

## ANEC Activities for Peace and Nonviolence - A Bird's Eye View (February 2011 - July 2011)

### FEBRUARY, 2011

- Ongoing ANEC workshops for the Tibetan Transit School and Tibetan New Arrivals at the Tibetan Reception Center.
- Visit to ANEC by Kalon Tripa candidate Former Kalon Tashi Wangdi and meeting with ANEC Executive Director and Staff members.
- ANEC Executive Director's talk and brainstorming with M.A students of Nelson Mandela Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Jamia Millia Islamia University, Delhi on 24<sup>th</sup> Feb, 2011.

### MARCH, 2011

- Ongoing ANEC workshops for the TTS and Tibetan new arrivals at the Tibetan Reception center.

### APRIL, 2011

- ANEC Trainers Lobsang Tenzin and Tenzin Dasel facilitated month long workshop for five southern major Tibetan settlements in the Karnataka State.
- ANEC trainer Lobsang Tenzin and Tenzin Dasel interviewed by VOA, Radio Free Asia, and VOT and Tibetan Messenger while they were in

Bylakuppee facilitating ANEC month long special workshops for the five southern Tibetan settlements in the Karnataka State.

- Ongoing ANEC workshops for the Tibetan new arrivals at the Tibetan Reception Center.

### MAY, 2011

- ANEC Executive Director's Trip to Mussoorie to arrange ANEC Special Pilot Workshop for Tibetan Homes Foundation (THF) and Ten Day Intensive Workshop for CST( Central School for Tibetans ) in Mussoorie.
- Ongoing ANEC workshops for the Tibetan new arrivals at the Tibetan New Arrivals Reception Center.
- Visit to ANEC office and meeting with Executive Director by Former Tibetan Parliament member Mr. Norbu Dhargyal now living in Boston, U.S.A.
- ANEC Executive Director attended the Third Tibetan National General Conference at the upper TCV from 21st May to 24<sup>th</sup> May, 2011.

### JUNE, 2011

- ANEC designed and developed a revised website, which is now fully operational ( [www.anec.org.in](http://www.anec.org.in) ).

•ANEC Executive Director facilitated talk on Active Nonviolence with Professors and students of the University of ARKANSAS, U.S.A at the Choenor House.

•ANEC Executive Director and Trainer Lobsang Tenzin facilitated special half day intensive workshop for Tibetan teacher trainees from Varanasi (Tibetan Institute for Higher Studies) at the invitation of the Department of Education, CTA.

### JULY, 2011

- ANEC Executive Director and two trainers facilitated special half day intensive training at the TIPA (Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts) for 20 Tibetan cultural performance teacher trainees organized by DOE (Department of Education), CTA.
- Visit to ANEC office and meeting and discussions with ANEC Executive Director regarding ANEC activities on Peace and Nonviolence by staunch Tibet supporter Mr. Fabian from France.
- ANEC Executive Director's meeting and discussions on ANEC activities with Assit. Professors Mark McClish and Sharyn Jones from Alabama, U.S.A.

## ANEC Activities at a Glance (February 2011 - July 2011)



ANEC Training Officer Tenzin Dasel giving talk on active nonviolence to Teacher Trainees at the TIPA, Dharamsala on 11th July 2011



ANEC Trainers Lobsang Tenzin and Tenzin Dasel with workshop participants (Students & Head Mistress of CST) at the Hunsur Settlement on 20th April, 2011

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## **“A Tunisian-Egyptian Link That Shook Arab History”**

By David D. Kirkpartick and David R. Sanger  
(Published in the New York Times: Feb 13, 2011)

As protesters in Tahrir Square faced off against pro-government forces, they drew a lesson from their counterpart in Tunisia; "Advice to the youth of Egypt: Put vinegar or onion under your scarf for tear gas."

The exchange on Face book was part of a remarkable two-year collaboration that has given birth to a new force in the Arab world - a pan-Arab youth movement dedicated to spreading democracy in a region without it. Young Egyptian and Tunisian activists brainstormed on the use of technology to evade surveillance, commiserated about torture and traded practical tips on how to stand up to rubber bullets and organize barricades. They fused their secular expertise in social networks with a discipline culled from religious movements and combined the energy of soccer fans with the sophistication of surgeons. Breaking free from older veterans of the Arab political opposition, they relied on tactics of nonviolent resistance channeled from an American scholar through a Serbian youth brigade - but also on marketing tactics borrowed from Silicon Valley. (...)

"Tunis is the force that pushed Egypt, but what Egypt did will be the force that will push the world," said Walid Rachid, one of the members of the April 6 Youth Movement, which helped organize the Jan. 25 protest that set off the uprising. He spoke at a meeting on Sunday night where the members discussed sharing their experiences with similar youth movements in Libya, Algeria, Morocco and Iran. (...)

The Egyptian revolt was years in the making. Ahmed Maher, a 30-year-old civil engineer and a leading organizer of the April 6 Youth Movement, first became engaged...in about 2005. Mr. Maher and others organized their own brigade, Youth for Change. But they could not muster enough followers. ...By 2008, many

of the young organizers had retreated to their computer keyboards and turned into bloggers, attempting to raise support for a wave of isolated labor strikes set off by government privatizations and runaway inflation. After a strike that March in the city of Mahalla, Egypt, Mr. Maher and his friends called for a nationwide general strike for April 6. To promote it, they set up a Facebook group that became the nexus of their movement... in Mahalla a demonstration by the workers' families led to a violent police crackdown — the first major labor confrontation in years.

Just a few months later, after a strike in Tunisia, a group of young online organizers followed the same model, setting up what became the Progressive Youth of Tunisia. The organizers in both countries began exchanging their experiences over Facebook. The Tunisians faced a more pervasive police state than the Egyptians, with less latitude for blogging or press freedom, but their trade unions were stronger and more independent. "We shared our experience with strikes and blogging," Mr. Maher recalled.

For their part, Mr. Maher and his colleagues began reading about nonviolent struggles. They were especially drawn to a Serbian youth movement called 'Otpor', which had helped topple the dictator Slobodan Milosevic by drawing on the ideas of an American political thinker, Gene Sharp. The hallmark of Mr. Sharp's work is well-tailored to Mr. Mubarak's Egypt: He argues that nonviolence is a singularly effective way to undermine police states that might cite violent resistance to justify repression in the name of stability. ...Another influence...was a group of Egyptian expatriates in their 30s who set up an organization in Qatar called the 'Academy of Change', which promotes ideas drawn in part on Mr. Sharp's work.

...Then, about a year ago, the growing Egyptian youth movement acquired a strategic ally, Wael Ghonim, a 31-year-old Google marketing executive. Like many others, he was introduced into the informal network of young organizers by the movement that came together around Mohamed ElBaradei, the Nobel Prize-winning diplomat who returned to Egypt a year ago to try to jump-start its moribund political opposition. Mr. Ghonim had little experience in politics but an intense dislike for the abusive Egyptian police, the mainstay of the government's power. He offered his business savvy to the cause. "I worked in marketing, and I knew that if you build a brand you can get people to trust the brand," he said. The result was a Facebook group Mr. Ghonim set up: We Are All Khalid Said, after a young Egyptian who was beaten to death by police. Mr. Ghonim...said that he used Mr. Said's killing to educate Egyptians about democracy movements. He filled the site with video clips and newspaper articles about police violence. He repeatedly hammered home a simple message: "This is your country; a government official is your employee who gets his salary from your tax money, and you have your rights." He took special aim at the distortions of the official media, because when the people "distrust the media then you know you are not going to lose them," he said. He eventually attracted hundreds of thousands of users, building their allegiance through exercises in online democratic participation.

...After the Tunisian revolution on Jan. 14, the April 6 Youth Movement saw an opportunity to turn its little-noticed annual protest on Police Day (Jan. 25)...into a much bigger event. Mr. Ghonim used (Continued on next page)

the Facebook site to mobilize support. If at least 50,000 people committed to turn out that day, the site suggested, the protest could be held. More than 100,000 signed up. "I have never seen a revolution that was preannounced before," Mr. Ghonim said. By then, the April 6 movement had teamed up with Mr. ElBaradei's supporters, some liberal and leftist parties, and the youth wing of the Muslim Brotherhood to plaster Cairo with eye-catching modernist posters advertising their Tunisia-inspired Police Day protest. ...When the 25th came, the coalition of young activists... wanted to tap into the widespread frustration with the country's autocracy, and also with the grinding poverty of Egyptian life. They started their day trying to rally poor people with complaints about pocketbook issues: "They are eating pigeon and chicken, but we eat beans every day." By the end of the day, when tens of thousands had marched to Tahrir Square, their chants had become more sweeping. "The people want to bring down the regime," they shouted, a slogan that the organizers said they had read in signs and on Facebook pages from Tunisia. ... "When I looked around me and I saw all these unfamiliar faces in the protests, and they were more brave than us — I knew that this was it for the regime," Mr. Maher said. It was then that they began to rely on advice from Tunisia, Serbia and the Academy of Change, which had sent staff members to Cairo a week before to train the protest organizers. After the police used tear gas to break up the protest that Tuesday, the organizers came back better prepared for their next march on Friday, the 28th, the "Day of Rage." This time, they brought lemons, onions and vinegar to sniff for relief from the tear gas, and soda or milk to pour into their eyes. Some had fashioned cardboard or plastic bottles into makeshift armor worn under their clothes to protect against riot police bullets. They brought spray paint to cover the windshields of police cars, and they were ready to stuff the exhaust pipes

and jam the wheels to render them useless. By the early afternoon, a few thousand protesters faced off against well over a thousand heavily armed riot police officers on the four-lane Kasr al-Nile Bridge in perhaps the most pivotal battle of the revolution. "The strategy was the people who were injured would go to the back and other people would replace them," Mr. Maher said. "We just kept rotating." After more than five hours of battle, they had finally won — and burned down the empty headquarters of the ruling party on their way to occupy Tahrir Square.

The next day...Mr. Mubarak launched another attack against the protesters, many of whom had by then spent five nights camped out in Tahrir Square. By about 2:30 p.m., thousands of burly men loyal to Mr. Mubarak and armed with rocks, clubs and, eventually, improvised explosives had come crashing into the square. The protesters — trying to stay true to the lessons they had learned from Gandhi, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Gene Sharp — tried for a time to avoid retaliating. A row of men stood silent as rocks rained down on them. An older man told a younger one to put down his stick. But by 3:30 p.m., the battle was joined.

A rhythmic din of stones on metal rang out as the protesters beat street lamps and fences to rally their troops. The Muslim Brotherhood...issued an order for all able-bodied men to join the occupation of Tahrir Square. They now took the lead. As a secret, illegal organization, the Brotherhood was accustomed to operating in a disciplined hierarchy. The group's members helped the protesters divide into teams to organize their defense, several organizers said. One team broke the pavement into rocks, while another ferried the rocks to makeshift barricades along their perimeter and the third defended the front. "The youth of the Muslim Brotherhood played a really big role," Mr. Maher said. "But

actually so did the soccer fans" of Egypt's two leading teams. "These are always used to having confrontations with police at the stadiums," he said.

Soldiers of the Egyptian military, evidently under orders to stay neutral, stood watching from behind the iron gates of the Egyptian Museum as the war of stone missiles and improvised bombs continued for 14 hours until about four in the morning. Then, unable to break the protesters' discipline or determination, the Mubarak forces resorted to guns, shooting 45 and killing 2, according to witnesses and doctors interviewed early that morning. The soldier — perhaps following orders to prevent excessive bloodshed, perhaps acting on their own — finally intervened. They fired their machine guns into the ground and into the air... scattering the Mubarak forces and leaving the protesters in unmolested control of the square, and by extension, the streets. Once the military demonstrated it was unwilling to fire on its own citizens, the balance of power shifted. ...Then a four-day-long stalemate ensued, in which Mr. Mubarak refused to budge, and the protesters regained momentum. ...It was that rambling, convoluted address [Mubarak's last attempt to stay in power] that proved the final straw for the Egyptian military, now fairly certain that it would have Washington's backing if it moved against Mr. Mubarak, American officials said. Mr. Mubarak's generals ramped up the pressure that led him at last, without further comment, to relinquish his power.

"Eighty-five million people live in Egypt, and less than 1,000 people died in this revolution — most of them killed by the police," said Mr. Ghonim, the Google Executive. "It shows how civilized the Egyptian people are." He added, "Now our nightmare is over. Now it is time to dream."

## Nothing Succeeds Like Non-violence

by Erica Chenoweth (Times of India on March 12, 2011)

The rebellion in Libya stands out among the recent unrest in the Middle East for

its widespread violence: unlike the protesters in Tunisia or Egypt, those in

Libya quickly gave up pursuing non-violent change

(Continued on next page)

and became an armed rebellion.

And while the fighting in Libya is far from over, it's not too early to ask a critical question: which is more effective as a force for change, violent or non-violent resistance? Unfortunately for the Libyan rebels, research shows that non-violent resistance is much more likely to produce results, while violent resistance runs a greater risk of backfiring.

Consider the Philippines, although insurgencies attempted to overthrow Ferdinand Marcos during the 1970s and 1980s, they failed to attract broad support. When the regime did fall in 1986, it was at the hands of the people power movement, a non-violent pro-democracy campaign that boasted more than two million followers, including labourers, youth activists and Catholic clergy.

Indeed, a study I recently conducted with Maria J Stephan, now a strategic planner at the State Department, compared the outcomes of hundreds of violent insurgencies with those of major non-violent resistance campaigns from 1900 to 2006. We found that over 50% of the non-violent movements succeeded, compared with

about 25% of the violent insurgencies.

Why? For one thing, people don't have to give up their jobs, leave their families or agree to kill anyone to participate in a non-violent campaign. That means such movements tend to draw a wider range of participants, which gives them more access to members of regime, including security forces and economic elites, who often sympathize with or are even relatives of protesters.

What's more, oppressive regimes need the loyalty of their personnel to carry out their orders. Violent resistance tends to reinforce that loyalty, while civil resistance undermines it. When security forces refuse orders to say fire on peaceful protesters, regimes must accommodate the opposition or give up power - precisely what happened in Egypt.

This is why the Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak took such great pains to use armed thugs to try to provoke the Egyptian demonstrators into using violence, after which he could have rallied the military behind him.

But where Mubarak failed, Muammar Gaddafi succeeded. What began as a peaceful movement became, after a few days of brutal crackdown by his corps of foreign militiamen, an armed but

disorganized rebel fighting force. A widely supported popular revolution has been reduced to a smaller group of armed rebels attempting to overthrow a brutal dictator. These rebels are at a major disadvantage, and are unlikely to succeed without direct foreign intervention.

If the other uprisings across the Middle East remain non-violent, however, we should be optimistic about the prospects for democracy there. That's because, with a few exceptions - most notably Iran - non-violent revolutions tend to lead to democracy.

Although the change is not immediate, our data show that from 1900 to 2006, 35% to 40% of authoritarian regimes that faced major non-violent uprisings had become democracies five years after the campaign ended, even if the campaigns failed to cause immediate regime change. For the non-violent campaigns that succeeded, the figure increases to well over 50%.

The good guys don't always win, but their chances increase greatly when they play their cards well. Non-violent resistance is society. Every dictatorship has vulnerabilities, and every society can find them.

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

**By Sara Wilf**

**Continued from third issue)**

In the end, it seems that Suu Kyi's confinement has done nothing but increase her popularity. Especially following her receipt of the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize, she has been seen internationally and in Burma as an inspiring figure for pro-democracy nonviolent movements everywhere. Countless international activities cite her as a role model, and she has become a figure in pop culture and among celebrities as well - she counts Richard Gere, Bill Clinton, and U2 among her vocal supporters. In fact, Bono regularly speaks out during concerts against the occupation and has written a song dedicated to her. Youth world-wide have also been inspired by her cause, as evidenced by

the almost 300,000 fans she has on Facebook.

"The more she's confined, the more popular she becomes," explains Dhardon Sharling, Research and Communications Officer for the Tibetan Women's Association based in McLeod Ganj. "She has opened a fresh chapter of hope and meaning for Tibetan struggle. We can see it as a triumph against tyranny in Asia... not just in Tibet, but what the Chinese are doing to their very own people."

The parallels between the Burmese and Tibetan democracy movements are extremely strong. Both Suu Kyi and His Holiness the Dalai Lama lead nonviolent, peaceful resistance movements against dictatorial regimes. Both have been exiled (physically and

symbolically) from their countries - His

Holiness in India, and Suu Kyi in her own home. Moreover, due to a common Buddhist influence, the NLD and the

Tibetan activists are led by similar principles and philosophies. As a result, many Tibetan activists, particularly women, see Suu Kyi as a model of tolerance and effective nonviolence.

"As a female activist fighting similar injustices against a government or people who derive (continued on page 9) their strength and arrogance from



military might, Aung San Suu Kyi is not just an inspiration and someone I would love to emulate but also such a breath of fresh air," says Tenzin Chokey, General Secretary of the Tibetan Youth Congress. "Daw Aung San Suu Kyi personifies conviction, strength, wisdom and intellect. I get a thrill from the fact that the Burmese Junta with its hefty arms and ammunitions and fierce backing from big brother China, have to feel so threatened by her."

Alongside Tibetan activists and world-wide supporters, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has been a long-time advocate for Suu Kyi's cause, and recently gave his opinion on her release, stating on his website one day afterwards:

"I welcome the release of fellow Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi and extend my appreciations to the military regime in Burma. I extend my full support and solidarity to the movement for democracy in Burma and take this opportunity to appeal to freedom-loving people all over the world to support such non-violent movements."

As is evident, the Dalai Lama views Suu Kyi's struggle as part of a world-wide movement for freedom and democracy corresponding to the

Buddhist principles of peaceful resistance that inflicts no harm on oneself or others. On a more personal level, however, His Holiness is more candid - when asked by a reporter upon leaving a lecture how he felt about Suu Kyi's release, he responded with an exuberant "I'm overjoyed!"

Despite the obvious practical differences in their quests for freedom, the Dalai Lama and Suu Kyi are bound by almost identical ideologies consisting of an attitude of forgiveness and tolerance that is rarely seen in Western politics. As Suu Kyi stated at one point in the interview with Mr. Simpson, "I would like the military government to take the initiative... I would like them to be the people who decide that our country has a right to certain standards of freedom, to certain standards of security.. I want them to be the heroes. I think we would all get along a lot better if they were the ones who brought true democracy to Burma."

These deeply compassionate, selfless words are echoed in His Holiness's policies towards his Chinese "brothers and sisters." As Ms. Chokey explains, the Dalai Lama's attitude towards the Chinese is not to "self-righteously" impose ideas on them, but rather to "help them see" that there are other paths towards happiness. In His Holiness and Suu Kyi's ideal world, the

dictatorships that oppress Tibetans and Burmese will dissolve naturally in time from a discontentment that will sprout organically from the oppressors themselves, rather than forcibly imposed from outside.

Suu Kyi's impact on the Tibetan independence movement is clear, and hopefully with her new (relative) freedom her powers to lead and influence will only increase. It is heartening to see that in the face of physical imprisonment, her mind has remained independent and strong. Perhaps this internal fortitude is due to the "spirit" of which she, and so many Tibetan activists, speak. As Suu Kyi stated in her "Freedom from Fear" speech, "The quintessential revolution is that of the spirit, born of an intellectual conviction of the need for change in those mental attitudes and values which shape the course of a nation's development." Suu Kyi's courage and determination, and her persistence in voicing her opinions, make her an advocate for those suffering under tyranny. Her ability to survive and prosper despite her confinement, Ms. Sharling says, reflect how "no matter how dark or gloomy the cloud might be right now, there is light at the end of the tunnel."

## What you can do to support The Active Nonviolence Education Center (ANEC) ?

1. You can always help ANEC by Nonviolent alternatives. informing people about ANEC, its aims and objectives, its activities for spreading and promoting peace and non-violence and its ongoing workshops and public outreach programs for educating people on Active Nonviolence strategies for peace and non-violence and also through resolving all human problems and disagreements through active
2. You can help ANEC through individual financial donations or through fund raising on a bigger scale to support ANEC in the production of resource materials, such as; DVDs, leaflets and books on love, compassion, peace and non-violence and also through facilitating workshops, seminars and conferences on peace and non-violence.
3. You can also help ANEC by volunteering to do public outreach and information dissemination in collaboration with ANEC.
4. You can also help ANEC by inviting active and dedicated members. This can be done in consultation with the ANEC Executive Director and getting the membership forms from ANEC.

## Some Significant Quotes on Peace, Nonviolence and Democracy

"True democracy cannot be worked by twenty men sitting at the center. It has to be worked from below by the people of every village."  
----- Mahatma Gandhi

"The purpose of religion is to control yourself, not to criticize others. Rather, we must criticize ourselves. How much am I doing about my anger? About my attachment, about my hatred, about my pride, my jealousy?"  
-----H.H. the Dalai Lama

"Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." -----Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

"Problem with many authoritarian regimes is that they get further and further away from the people."

-----Aung San Suu Kyi

## The Joy of Activism

By Tenzin Tsundue, Tibetan Writer, Activist, General Secretary of Friends of Tibet, Mumbai and President of Regional Tibetan Youth Congress, Dharamsala

In the early 1980s, when a government contractor arrived in the Gharwal Himalayas armed with chain-saws to fell trees for 'urban development', hundreds of women from nearby villages swooped on the site. By hugging the trees, they saved their forest.

Activism is that social consciousness that refuses to be cowed down under the weight of injustice and apathy, not because the cause being fought for has a high quotient of future success, but because your conscience forbids you to remain a silent witness; your efforts can bring change.

Activism starts in a rebellious mind and ends in caring motherly hands.

I am an India-born Tibetan, therefore my birth makes me responsible for the Tibetan freedom movement. But I relate very closely with all social, political and environmental issues in India and globally.

The state demands obedience, to help maintain 'peace'; corporations nurture blind consumers. Few among us have the courage to voice dissent and risk threats to personal safety and even life. Himanshu Kumar and Irrom Sharmila are such freedom fighters of our times.

The lawyers and social activists of Alternative Law Forum and Human Rights Law Network who otherwise could be making a fortune in the great Indian litigation industry are championing justice for the disadvantaged.

Theatre activists like Jaya Aiyer and Parnab Mukherjee spread the message of humanity through the stage.

Their strength makes them fearless modern-day warriors wielding cell phones and Reynolds pens.

In our hugely globalizing, interconnected world, a free Tibet is not just for the Tibetans. If the Tibetan Plateau cannot be saved from Chinese

industrialization, about two billion beings now fed by rivers from Tibet will soon face drought.

I have been an activist to free my country from China

since finishing school. Sixteen years and 12 jail stints later, I am more resolved and live by selling stories and poems published in two tiny books.

As an activist, I have faced beatings by police, spent endless days in jails, but those moments of tension have been my most treasured teachers a part of my education in patience and compassion.

The essence of activism is not only about what you fight for, but more importantly how you fight. I like to keep the Buddha in my heart and Gandhi on my mind.



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## **Dialogue is the Key to the Solution, but when will Beijing Realize it?**

By Tenzin Dickyi - Doing Masters in Liberal Arts in International Relations at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA, has a Bachelor of Arts in International Relations from University of California, Davis and a Legal Studies Diploma from New York University.

One of the vexing questions in International Relations remains: why do peaceful negotiations fail? The advantages of states and leaders pursuing peaceful negotiations often preventing conflicts from escalating into a war, enabling peaceful co-existence between nations, states, and leaders are too great to pass. Yet despite these potential gains, negotiations are complicated, time-consuming, and as a result quite often fail.

In this article, let's consider a case study of a peaceful negotiation, the dialog between China and Tibet (also

referred to as the Sino-Tibetan dialogue). I will attempt to address why China is reluctant to bargain the autonomy, which the Tibetan people are demanding. Since this article must connect back to peaceful negotiation (and nonviolence), I will look at the prospective of peaceful negotiation in light of the dialogue failure.

The Sino-Tibetan dialogue remains a complex puzzle because coming to an agreement on the negotiation terms seems to intuitively be in the interests of China and Tibet. For China, granting genuine autonomy to Tibetans in the current terms would "compromise" the security and the territorial integrity of

the People's Republic of China (PRC) and for the Tibetans, it would satisfy their core demands, preservation of their

culture, religion, and to assert their unique national identity. While it may not be as simple as I am putting it, the question of the hour is why then when peaceful negotiations offer to preclude conflict, establish diplomatic relations, and

( Continued on



ensure stability in this case, do they still fail?

In the present negotiation, it seems that the Chinese leaders cannot grant genuine autonomy to the Tibetans because the survival of a separate Tibetan national identity is a threat (as the PRC sees it) to China's territorial integrity, national security, and its sovereignty claim over Tibet. In addition, a closer look at their policies and the reasons behind their decision to grant high-degree of autonomy for Hong Kong and Macau indicate losing full sovereignty over Tibet for China would not only mean relinquishing the

range of all the potential gains from their continued occupation of Tibet but their lack of trust in non-Chinese ethnics. This is a key factor impeding the progress of the dialogue. Therefore, as long as the Chinese leadership does not place trust in the Tibetans and attempt to see through peaceful dialogues, finding a resolution to the current impasse is a daunting task.

While the leadership in Beijing feels that among their various ploys, waiting for the passing away of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in the hope that his role as the unifying force of the

Tibetan movement will disappear with him. They should be wary of such a miscalculation because the Tibetan issue does not rest with one individual leader; it rests with the six million people of Tibet. Moreover, China also continually fails to recognize that the key reason why Tibet and Tibetans enjoy so much support around the world is because Tibetans inherently believe in a non-violent solution to the Tibet issue. Dialogue is key to the solution and until China comes to recognize this simple principle, they will remain the most disliked superpower in the world, and Tibetans will continue to protest nonviolently around the world.

## Nonviolent Education is the first priority for Tibetans

By Lobsang Tenzin, Training cum Teaching Officer-ANEC

In these past 51 years of Exile and struggle, Tibetans have tried to incorporate nonviolent methods but there is certainly room for improvement. As a community, we must think and analyze whether young Tibetans really understand the means and ways of active non-violence based on political needs for the Tibetans and the Tibet issue.

Many young Tibetans still lack the knowledge and do not understand the importance of active non-violence and its basic requirements. Most of these young Tibetans believe that the success of non-violent movement is solely dependent on gathering people. Gathering large masses in any nonviolent movement does not necessarily mean that all the people in the group are aware of and fully understand the three basic principles of non-violence. Albert Einstein said, "Nonviolent strategy is all about creativity and applying it skillfully."

### The three principles of Non-violence

#### UNITY

The first principle of Unity, in turn has three steps: a) Unity of purpose, b) Unity within organization / Unity of organizations

#### c) Unity of People

Unity of purpose means Unity of commitment and sincerity to achieve the common goal; that is Unity within organization and organizers/leaders, and Unity of people in order to work a common goal. Additionally, unity means supportive actions to every movement of Tibet. In this instance, purpose equates both short term and long term goals. Short term goals of Tibetans include: basic human rights, freedom of religion, freedom of press, freedom of language, rights against discrimination, genocide, ending torturing in prisons, etc. Long term goal based on Tibetan freedom struggle can be Middle Path Approach and complete Independence.

In 2011, the two major incidents that took place in Tibet were: 1. Unrest of Kirti Monastery as well as surrounding villagers (religious freedom), 2. The demolition of the Tibetan language.

These two goals of the Tibetan movement have the same purpose whether we are struggling for a Middle Path Approach or Complete Independence.

These three steps of Unity are basic requirements before proceeding



further in any activity of non-violent movements. Tibetans must be united in thoughts and ideologies in order to achieve both short and long-term goals.

#### PLANNING

The second principle is Planning. Planning is a strategy that refers to the art and science of nonviolent command structure or applied to the overall planning plus conduct of large-scale combative operation.

Planning has two steps: a) Building Strategy and b) Linking Tactics

These two important steps should be outlined in an officially written document, but at the same time the organizers should be flexible and prepared to change any part of the document based on changing times and external factors.

Building Strategies refer to the constructive strategies that have been prepared by an organization. These strategies can include (Continued on Page 12)

times, venues, tactics, materials etc. for the successful implementation of a As can be seen in the outcomes of various historical movements, practicing these three basic principles of nonviolence and applying various tactics based on the reactions of the opponent will increase the likelihood of success.

Some Important quotes by renowned leaders

- "If the individual ceases to count, what is left of society?" -----Mahatma Gandhi
- In the practice of tolerance, one's enemy is the best teacher." -----H. H. the Dalai Lama
- “Means we use must be as pure as the ends we seek.” -----Martin Luther King Jr.
- \ "Mankind must put and end to war or war will put an end to mankind." -----John F. Kennedy

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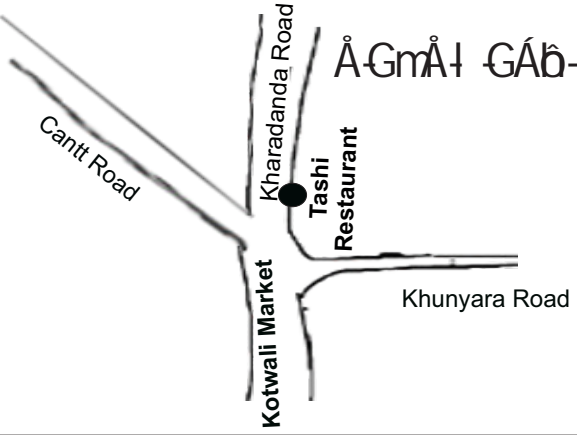
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## ANEC Activities at a Glance (January 2011 - July 2011)



ANEC Chief Resource Persons Dr. Mary Gendler and Rabbi Everett Gendler with H. H. the Dalai Lama in May, 2010



ANEC Executive Director having discussion on peace and nonviolence with Asstt. Professors Mark McClish and Sharyn R. Jones, University of Alabama, US at the ANEC Office on 19 July, 2011



ANEC Executive Director having informal discussions on peace and nonviolence with ANEC friends Tammy Winand and Sara E. Lewis from USA in August, 2011 at the ANEC Office



ANEC Executive Director and Staff with Manager and Assistants from the ICICI Bank in Dharamsala in August, 2011



ANEC Executive Director thanking ANEC Volunteer, Sweta Penemetsa from USA on 23 June, 2011



ANEC Executive Director Tenpa C. Samkhar giving talk on active nonviolence to students of University of Arkansas, Dharamsala on 25th June 2011



ANEC Executive Director Tenpa C Samkhar giving talk on active nonviolence to Teacher Trainees at the TIPA, Dharamsala on 11 July, 2011



ANEC Executive Director Tenpa C Samkhar giving talk on active nonviolence to Teacher Trainees at the TIPA on 11th July 2011



Mr. Tsering Samdup, Education Officer, DOE, CTA, welcoming ANEC Executive Director Tenpa C Samkhar at the Sarah Institute on 16 June, 2011



Mr. Gyaltzen, Education Officer, DOE, CTA, thanking the ANEC Executive Director for his talk on nonviolence at the Sarah Institute on 16 June, 2011

## ANEC Activities at a Glance (January 2011 - July 2011)



ANEC Training Officer Lobsang Tenzin giving talk on active nonviolence to new arrivals at the Tibetan Reception Center on 19 May, 2011



ANEC Trainer Lobsang Tenzin with workshop participants (Community Leaders) at the Bylakuppe Settlement on 16 April, 2011



ANEC trainer Tenzin Dasel brainstorming with workshop participants (Students of TC V) at the Bylakuppe Settlement on 13 April, 2011



ANEC Training Officer Lobsang Tenzin giving talk on active nonviolent strategies to workshop participants (Students of Central School for Tibetans) at Hunsur Settlement on 25 April, 2011



ANEC Trainer Lobsang Tenzin giving talk on active nonviolent strategies to workshop participants (Students and Teachers of CVP) at the Bylakuppe New Settlement on 18 April, 2011



ANEC Trainer Tenzin Dasel giving talk on active nonviolent strategies to workshop participants (Students of Central School for Tibetans) at the CST, Kollegal on 29 April, 2011



ANEC Trainer Tenzin Dasel giving talk on active nonviolent strategies to workshop participants at the Drepung Monastery, Mundgod on May 6th, 2011



ANEC Trainer Lobsang Tenzin giving talk on active nonviolent strategies to workshop participants (Monks of Gaden Monastery) at the Mundgod Settlement 4 May, 2011



ANEC Trainers Lobsang Tenzin and Tenzin Dasel with workshop participants (Community Leaders) at the Mundgod Settlement 7th May, 2011



ANEC Trainer Lobsang Tenzin brainstorming with workshop participants (Community Leaders of TCV) at the Bylakuppe Settlement on 13th April, 2011



ANEC Executive Director Tenpa C. Samkhar giving talk on nonviolence to Professors and students of the University of Arkansas, USA, in July, 2011

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Tenzin Dasel (Miss)  
**Training Officer - ANEC**

Tenzin Nyima (Miss)  
**Office Secretary cum Accountant - ANEC**

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