



Introduction

The purpose of this section is to indicate the existence of important works on the theory and practice of nonviolence and civil resistance in other languages and provide a preliminary introduction to key authors and titles in four major European languages.

It is designed partly to inform all those who might be interested, but in particular for those whose first language is not English and might find French, German, Italian or Spanish books and articles easier to read.

The French section includes works by Lanza del Vasto, an exponent of Gandhian nonviolence, and by two leading scholars in the field: Jean-Marie Muller and Jacques Sémelin. The German titles include publications by Hildegard Goss-Mayr, who through the International Fellowship of Reconciliation played a key role (with her husband Jean Goss) in promoting nonviolent resistance to repressive regimes; and longstanding scholars of civil resistance, for example Theodor Ebert, as well as more recent theorists such as Martin Arnold, are also represented. The Italian section includes works by Aldo Capitini, Danilo Dolci and Pietro Pinna, who were after 1945 pioneers of nonviolence and war resistance. There are also subsections on the successful struggle to achieve legal recognition of conscientious objection to military service in Italy, and on forms of civil resistance to the Mafia. The Spanish list includes titles from a significant literature on civil disobedience, and its expression in the major movement of resistance to conscription ('*insumisión*') from 1988-2000. There is some cross-referencing between sections: for example Muller is listed in Spanish translation, and del Vasto and Sémelin in German.

All literatures draw on the historical evolution of ideas of nonviolent resistance, for example the writings of Etienne de la Boetie on the potential of non-cooperation, Henry David Thoreau on civil disobedience, Tolstoy on refusal to cooperate with war and violence, and above all Gandhi's development of a theory and strategy of 'satyagraha'.

The Dutch anti-militarist Bart de Ligt wrote on the potential of mass noncooperation and defiance in the context of the 1930s in his influential *Conquest of Violence*. More recently Gene Sharp's highly influential works elaborating on the potential of nonviolent action to overthrow repressive regimes have been widely translated from English – in particular his pamphlet *From Dictatorship to Democracy*, translated into over 30 languages, including Spanish and Italian.

The titles in all four languages focus primarily on the theory of nonviolence and in



particular the theory, strategy and methods of civil resistance (including civil disobedience), drawing on examples from a range of movements. In addition they list selected titles on Gandhi and the concept of nonviolent civilian defence (topics covered in the introductory section of Volume 1 of this Guide). A much more extended list of titles, also covering a wider range of movements using methods of nonviolent action, will in due course be available on our website: <http://civilresistance.info> [1].

[French titles](#) [2]

Compiled by [Véronique Dudouet](#) [3] and Alain Refalo.

[Theory, Methods and Examples](#) [4]

ANV (revue *Alt Non-Violentes*), [Une Force Entre Dans l'Histoire: Les Luttres Non-violentes Au XXeme Siècle](#) [5], [2001], ANV, issue 119-120, 2001, pp. 154

This special double issue of the review *Alternatives Non-Violentes* presents numerous examples of nonviolent struggles and of leading figures in the field of nonviolence that have marked the 20th century.

Bové, José ; Luneau, Gilles, [Pour La Désobéissance Civique](#) [6], Paris, La Découverte, 2004, pp. 260

This essay by leading politician and activist Bové and journalist Luneau traces the world history of civil disobedience and explains its current relevance.

Cervera-Marzal, Manuel, [Désobéir En Démocratie: La Pensée Désobéissante De Thoreau à Martin Luther King](#) [7], Paris, Aux forges de Vulcain, 2013, pp. 170

Largely based on the author's PhD thesis, this book analyses three historical approaches to civil disobedience, from conservative and liberal philosophies to the applied theory of disobedience derived from Gandhi and Martin Luther King.

Collectif, [La lutte non-violente en 50 points, approche stratégique de la tactique quotidienne](#) [8], Belgrade, Centre for Applied Non Violent Action and Strategies, 2006, pp. 185

This document was developed by the leaders of the Otpor movement, which inspired civil resistance against Milosevic in Serbia in the 1990s. It examines a strategic approach to nonviolent struggle presented in four thematic sections: definition and analysis of the framework of nonviolent struggle; elaboration and planning of the struggle; the techniques of nonviolent combat; and measures to resist repression.

de la Boetie, Etienne, [Discours de la servitude volontaire](#) [9], [1548], (there are several editions), Paris, Flammarion, 1983, pp. 217

Renowned philosophical treatise on civil disobedience against tyranny, written by a young disciple of Montaigne in



1548.

Translations: [English](#) [10]

del Vasto, Lanza, [Technique de la Nonviolence](#) [11], [1974], Paris, Gallimard, 1988, pp. 280

Originally written in 1974, this essay explores the philosophy and strategy of nonviolence inspired by the author's meeting with Gandhi in 1937, and applies it to environmental and solidarity struggles as well as in the daily life of the Arch communities, which he founded across France.

Diogene (revue), [Theories Et Pratiques De La Non-violence](#) [12], PUF, issue 243-244, 2014, pp. -250

This special number of *Diogene* (international review of the human sciences) presents diverse perspectives on different themes relating to nonviolence: the language of nonviolence; the links between nonviolence and religion; and between nonviolence and civil resistance. It also considers the future of nonviolence.

MAN, [Pour Une Nonviolence Ethique Et Politique](#) [13], Ed. du MAN, 2014, pp. 93

This book is the key reference guide to the main French nonviolent action movement. It presents the basis for applying a culture of nonviolence to the spheres of the economy, ecology, education, democracy, defence and international solidarity.

Maurel, Olivier, [La Non-violence Active. 100 Questions Pour Résister Et Agir](#) [14], Paris, Ed. La Plage, 2001, pp. 121

Manual presenting nonviolent strategies and tactics being used in contemporary environmental or social rights campaigns in France.

Mellon, Christian ; Sémelin, Jacques, [La Non-violence](#) [15], Paris, Presse Universitaire de la France, 1994, pp. 128

The authors offer a definition of nonviolence and its main components, before reviewing the history of nonviolent struggles, as well as the past and future research agenda on civil resistance.

Muller, Jean-Marie, [Stratégie De L'Action Non-violente](#) [16], Paris, Le Seuil, Col. Points Politique, 1981, pp. 256

This book has become a key reference on the subject of nonviolent action, and notably was circulated clandestinely in Poland after 1981. It has been translated in Italian, Spanish, Polish, Croatian and Arabic.

Muller, Jean-Marie, [Le Principe De La Non-violence. Parcours Philosophique](#) [17], Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, 1995, pp. 328

The goal of this book is to develop a philosophical concept of non-violence to challenge the ideology that violence is necessary, legitimate and honourable.

Muller, Jean-Marie, [Le Dictionnaire De La Non-violence](#) [18], Paris, Le Relie de poche, 2005, pp. 410

This encyclopaedia by leading French theorist compiles and analyses key words in the philosophy of nonviolence, as well as strategic components for effective nonviolent action.

Quelquejeu, Bernard, [Sur Les Chemins De La Non-violence – Etudes De Philosophie Morale Et Politique](#) [19],



Paris, Vrin, 2010, pp. 224

This collection of articles by the author gathers philosophical reflections on the ethics and politics of nonviolence, with reference to numerous classical and contemporary philosophers.

Renou, Xavier, [Petit Manuel De Désobéissance Civile – A L'Usage De Ceux Qui Veulent Vraiment Changer Le Monde](#) [20], Paris, Syllepse, 2009, pp. 142

Training manual on civil disobedience addressed to political or social activists, it covers the theory and practice of nonviolent action, including strategy and advice on media and the law. The author is himself a trainer and former leader of Greenpeace on nuclear disarmament.

Sharp, Gene, [De La Dictature A La Démocratie : Un Cadre Conceptuel Pour La Libération](#) [21], Paris, l'Harmattan, 2009, pp. 137

Translation of Sharp's manual *From Dictatorship to Democracy* on conducting nonviolent resistance written for and consulted by activists in many parts of the world.

Translations: [English](#) [22] | [Spanish](#) [23] | [Italian](#) [24]

Sémelin, Jaques, [La Non-violence Expliquée A Mes Filles](#) [25], Paris, Le Seuil, 2000, pp. 57

Short manual on civil education on nonviolence in simple terms, in the form of a dialogue with the author's pre-teenage daughters. It has been translated in English, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Catalan, Japanese, Hebrew and Indonesian

Sémelin, Jaques, [Face Au Totalitarisme, La Resistance Civile](#) [26], Ed. André Versaille, 2011, pp. 112

Presentation of fifteen years of research into the resources available for civil resistance in the heart of totalitarian systems of the 20th century. Sémelin also extends and develops his analyses of civil resistance in the context of European Communism.

[Civil Disobedience](#) [27]

Cervera-Marzal, Manuel, [Désobeir En Démocratie:La Pénsee Désobeissante De Thoreau A Martin Luther King](#) [28], Paris, Aux forges de Vulcain, 2013, pp. 170

Largely based on the author's PhD thesis, this book analyses three historical approaches to civil disobedience, from conservatives and liberal philosophies to the applied theory of disobedience derived from Gandhi and Martin Luther King.

Gros, Philippe, [Désobeir](#) [29], Ed. Albin Michel/Flammarion, 2017, pp. 265

In this essay Gros reconsiders the roots of political obedience in order to understand the different forms of civic and civil disobedience, in so far as they constitute an ethical resistance to promote democracy.

Muller, Jean-Marie, [L'Imperatif de Désobeissance, Fondements Philosophique et Stratégiques de la Désobeissance Civile](#) [30], Le Passager Clandestin, 2011, pp. 281



The author analyses the foundation texts and historic campaigns of civil disobedience in France and in the world. He constructs a definition of the concept understood as both an ethical imperative and a form of nonviolent direct action.

Renou, Xavier, [Petit Manuel De Désobéissance Civile – A L'Usage De Ceux Qui Veulent Vraiment Changer Le Monde](#) [31], Paris, Syllepse, 2009, pp. 142

Training manual on civil disobedience addressed to political or social activists, it covers the theory and practice of nonviolent action, including strategy and advice on media and the law. The author is himself a trainer and former leader of Greenpeace on nuclear disarmament.

[Nonviolent Defence \(including Resisting Coups and Lessons from the Second World War\)](#) [32]

Marichez, Jeanet ; Olagne, Xavier, [La Guerre Par Actions Civiles: Identité d'Une Stratégie De Défense](#) [33], Paris, Fondation pour les Etudes de Défense, 1998

This book aims to sensitise policy-makers and especially those active in the security sector, to the strategic utility of mass-based civilian resistance, and its potential use for national defence purposes.

Mellon, Christian ; Muller, Jean-Marie, [La guerre par actions civiles: Identité d'une stratégie de défense](#) [34], Paris, Fondation pour les Etudes de Défense (FEDN), 1985, pp. 204

Study commissioned by the then French Defence Minister on the principles and techniques of nonviolent defence.

Mellon, Christian ; Muller, Jean-Marie ; Sémelin, Jacques, [La dissuasion civile](#) [35], Paris, Fondation des Etudes de Défense Nationale (FEDN), 1985, pp. 204

Study commissioned by the then French Defence Minister on the principles and techniques of nonviolent defence.

Sémelin, Jacques, [Sans Armes Face A Hitler: La Résistance Civile En Europe, 1939-1945](#) [36], [1989], Paris, Payot, 1998, pp. 268

Historical essay presenting and analysing various examples of civil resistance to Nazi occupation across Europe.

Translations: [English](#) [37] | [German](#) [38]

Sémelin, Jacques, [Persécutions Et Entraides Dans La France Occupée. Comment 75% Des Juifs Ont Echappé A La Mort](#) [39], Paris, Le Seuil/Les Arènes, 2013, pp. 912

Huge historiography which uncovers the role of civil servants in resisting the deportation of Jews during WWII occupation in France; based on several years of archival and interview-based research.

[International Nonviolent Intervention and Accompaniment](#) [40]

Alternatives Non-Violentes (ANV), [L'Intervention Civile. Une Chance Pour La Paix](#) [41], ANV no. 124, ANV,



2002, pp. 80

This special issue of the magazine *Alternatives Non-Violentes*, collects papers presented at a landmark conference organized at the French National Assembly in October 2001 on civil peace intervention.

Dufour, Martine, [Intervention Civile De Paix: Une Expérience Au Kosovo \[42\]](#), Ed. Du MAN, 2013, pp. 98

Martine Dufour is a member of the Movement for a Non-violent Alternative. She took part in several civil missions to Kosovo between 1993 and 2011. This book relates a pioneering experiment in civil intervention and includes elements of analysis, appreciation and assesment of the Civil Peace Intervention in a post-conflict area.

Muller, Jean-Marie, [Principes Et Méthodes De L'intervention Civile \[43\]](#), Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, 1997, pp. 176

A key resource on the French approach to international civilian peace intervention as an alternative to military or humanitarian intervention in conflict zones. It has been translated in Italian and Portuguese.

[People Power \[44\]](#)

Popovic, Srdja, [Comment Faire Tomber Un Dictateur Quand On Est Seul, Tout Petit Et Sans Armes \[45\]](#), Paris, Payot, 2015, pp. 282

Drawing on his own experience with the Otpor movement in Serbia and an analysis of numerous nonviolent struggles, the author shows how it is possible to start a democratic nonviolent opposition to a dictatorship, to structure it and to guide it to victory.

Sémelin, Jacques, [La Liberté Au Bout Des Ondes. Du Coup De Prague A La Chute Du Mur De Berlin \[46\]](#), Paris, Belfond, 1997, pp. 347

This book provides accounts of the various peaceful revolutions in Eastern Europe against totalitarianism after 1948, culminating in 1989, with a specific emphasis on the role of media.

Sémelin, Jaques, [Quand Les Dictatures Se Fissuerent... Résistances Civiles A l'Est Et Au Sud \[47\]](#), Paris, Ed. Desclée de Brouwer, coll. "Culture de paix", 1995, pp. 260

Jacques Sémelin has brought together historians, sociologists and political scientists to analyse examples of civil resistance in countries of the East and South, mainly in the 1980s.

[Italian titles \[48\]](#)



Compiled by Silvia De Michelis

[Theoretical Approaches to War, Peace and Nonviolence](#) [49]

Balducci, Ernesto, [L'Uomo Planetario](#) [50], [1989], Firenze, Giunti Editore, 2005, pp. 192

Balducci examines fundamental ethical questions from a global perspective following the fall of the Berlin Wall, the end of Cold War and the attack on the U.S. on 11th September 2001. His analysis draws upon Catholicism and the necessity of pursuing a secular, nonviolent renovation that – as he argues - all religions must face.

Balducci, Ernesto ; Grassi, Ludovico, [La Pace. Realismo Di Un'utopia](#) [51], Milano, Edizioni Principato , 1985, pp. 468

In this critique of both idealism and realism the authors argue that, in the atomic era, the former should incorporate some aspects of realist thinking and the latter should incorporate some idealist concepts if it is to escape the negation of itself. The work focuses on the exploration of pacifism. The authors distinguish 'humanitarian pacifism' - centered on the human conscience; 'democratic pacifism' - centered on peace as a process resulting from the exercise of popular sovereignty; and 'socialist pacifism' - centered on the labour movement and its main characteristic: nonviolence as a tool for achieving change. By arguing on the limits of idealism and realism the authors reach the conclusion that the only way forward is international cooperation, solidarity and the solidification of a culture of peace that focuses on faith in humankind.

Bobbio, Norberto, [Il Problema Della Guerra E Le Vie Della Pace](#) [52], Bologna, Il Mulino, 1979, pp. 209

Bobbio discusses the interconnection of human rights, democracy and peace as central elements for the achievement of peace. He discusses nonviolence as a tool for establishing a condition of 'institutional pacifism' capable of regulating violence and managing the peaceful resolution of conflict.

Capitini, Aldo, [Teoria Della Nonviolenza](#) [53], Perugia , Edizioni del Movimento Nonviolento, 1980

Italian philosopher Aldo Capitini expounds the principles and practices which he regards as inherent in nonviolence and explains his own ethics-based philosophy, which informs his political analysis. He evaluates the role of the United Nations, the Cold War, the relations between Italy and Europe, the arguments for economic controls versus the free market, the global role of the USA and the confrontation between East and West. He argues that only an individual transformation of the actors concerned will favour the implementation of new forms of politics and, therefore, lead to new realities

Galtung, Johan, [Ci Sono Alternative! Quattro Strade Per La Sicurezza](#) [54], Torino, Edizioni Gruppo Abele , 1986

In this work Johan Galtung provides a conceptualisation of peace and security, with reference to the East-West conflict, the global balance of power, the disarmament issue and security policies. The analysis founded on his own epistemological approach to conflict resolution.

Galtung, Johan, [Pace Con Mezzi Pacifici](#) [55], [1996], Milano, Edizioni Esperia, 2000, pp. 499

In this study Galtung provides four major theoretical approaches to peace, including peace education and peace action. This work is divided into four parts: Peace Theory, where he elucidates the epistemological foundations of peace studies and the nature of violence; Conflict Theory, where he focuses on explaining the culture of conflict and moves onto discussing nonviolence as a tool for conflict resolution; Development Theory, where he illustrates



the dynamics of structural violence (economic in particular); and Civilisation Theory, where he discusses cultural violence, cosmology, and what he terms 'codes' and 'programmes'.

Kaldor, Mary, [Le Nuove Guerre. La Violenza Organizzata Nell'Eta' Globale](#) [56], Roma, Edizioni Carocci, 2001, pp. 188

By examining the wars in Rwanda, in the former Yugoslavia, across the Middle East and in the former Soviet Union, Kaldor discusses the elements and dynamics of structural violence that determined the nature of these wars. She argues that these wars were predominantly determined by military and criminal factors, as well as by the presence of an illegal economy and human rights' violations. She also argues that the underlying causes of these conflicts lie in the relationship between military and civilian victims, and in the changed perception of threat by the Western powers.

Panikkar, Raimon, [Pace e Disarmo Culturale](#) [57], Milano, Rizzoli, 2003, pp. 192

Panikkar's is an attempt to define the meaning of 'peace' in relation to war, politics, religion and ecology. He introduces the concepts of 'cultural disarmament' and 'intercultural dialogue' as paramount elements for pursuing reconciliation between nations.

[Nonviolent Action in Theory and Practice](#) [58]

Arconti, Laura ; Turco, Maurizio, [Marco Pannella, il Partito Radicale e la Nonviolenza](#) [59], Reality Book, 2016, pp. 454

This book introduces key documents presented by the Italian Partito Radicale Nonviolento Transnazionale e Transpartito (Nonviolent Radical Party, Transnational and Transparty (PRNTT)) enunciating the core values from which nonviolence was extrapolated as the guiding principle for the party's political action. It is also a testament defining the Party's programme on the abolition of the death penalty; the abolition of prohibitionism, especially with regards to drugs; the abolishment of Genital Female Mutilation; freedom in scientific research, especially in relation to stem cells research; and the enabling of international jurisdiction aimed at ensuring citizens' access to international legal institutions to advance their political and social goals.

Barone, Giuseppe, [La Forza Della Nonviolenza. Bibliografia e Profilo Biografico Di Danilo Dolci](#) [60], Napoli, Edizioni Dante & Descartes, 2004, pp. 176

This work organises Danilo Dolci's scholarship on nonviolence and nonviolent action through a selection of his most significant experiences and works.

Barone, Giuseppe, [Ciò Che Ho Imparato e Altri Scritti Di Danilo Dolci](#) [61], Messina, Edizioni Mesogea, 2008, pp. 200

This work, divided in two parts, reprints in the first Danilo Dolci's writings on his struggle for employment and democracy; the struggles he led for the construction of dams in Sicily, and nonviolent anti-mafia initiatives in the 1950s and 1960s in Sicily. The second part recalls Dolci's work on development educational programmes, the development of democratic and participatory models and his critique of the mass consumption model.

Barone, Giuseppe ; Mazzi, Sandro, [Aldo Capitini – Danilo Dolci. Lettere 1952-1968](#) [62], Roma, Edizioni Carocci, 2008, pp. 279



This work contains selected letters between anti-fascist Italian philosopher Aldo Capitini and nonviolent activist Danilo Dolci, initiated by the former when Dolci was on his first hunger strike. This series of letters testifies to the close and unique relationship that developed through time between the two figures, which inspired both to develop their work and further implement insights in the field of culture, politics, education, and religion in the second half of the twentieth century in Italy.

Bravo, Anna ; Buzzone, Anna M., [In Guerra Senza Armi. Storie di Donne \(1940-1945\)](#) [63], Roma and Bari, Edizioni Laterza , 1995, pp. 236

Bravo and Buzzone collect biographical recounts and other documents that narrate women's history in war. The authors argue that war cannot be a way to achieve progress, and debate the use of violence and on the rejection of violence. They also stress the importance of not underestimating civil and unorganised forms of struggle alongside more common forms of organised forms of resistance, and of including more on the contributions of women in the organisation and study of resistance movements.

Capitini, Aldo, [Le Tecniche Della Nonviolenza](#) [64], [1967], Roma, Edizioni dell'Asino, 2009, pp. 224

This work elucidates fundamental principles of nonviolence, and proposes a toolkit of nonviolent practices and techniques with reference to some of Capitini's lived experiences in Italy and worldwide. To develop his argument, Capitini draws connections between ethics and politics, ends and means of both politics and social action, and between the rule of law and civil disobedience.

Costantino, Salvatore, [Raccontare Danilo Dolci. L'Immaginazione Sociologica. Il Sottosviluppo. La Costruzione Della Società Civile](#) [65], Roma , Editore Riuniti, 2003, pp. 159

A collection of essays – including by Johan Galtung - on the life and work of Danilo Dolci, aimed at exploring his contribution to the practice of nonviolent civil resistance, to the project of building a resilient civil society and being an agent of change.

Dolci, Danilo, [Processo All'articolo 4](#) [66], [1956], Palermo, Sellerio Editore, 2011, pp. 440

Dolci's account of the 'reverse strike' by unemployed agricultural workers which he led in Partinico to repair a disused road, and his subsequent trial in 1956. The demonstration dramatised the extreme poverty endured in Sicily, while affirming the right to work inscribed in Article 4 of the Italian Constitution, and was supported by many of the unemployed, farmers and representatives of the labour movement. The reverse strike created a new form of nonviolent protest.

See also: Ancora del Mediterraneo (ed.) (2006), *Perché L'Italia Diventi Un Paese Civile*, Napoli: L'Ancora, pp. 153.

This covers the mass fast in San Cataldo, the subsequent reverse strike and the trial, and provides a chronology of the events leading to Dolci's conviction.

Giummo, Lucio C. ; Marchese, Carlo, [Danilo Dolci E La Via Della Nonviolenza](#) [67], Manduria, Bari and Roma, Piero Lacaita Editore, 2005, pp. 292

Giummo and Marchese collect the major inspiring ideas that Danilo Dolci used to project a model for development based on nonviolence, which has at its core the imperative of including all the population involved.

Muller, Jean-Marie, [Simone Weil. L'Esigenza Della Nonviolenza](#) [68], Torino, Edizioni Gruppo Abele, 1994, pp. 188

This work discusses Weils's nonviolent militancy during the 1930s and 1940s and highlights her rejection of violence as the epicentre of Weil's discussions on economy, politics, philosophy and religion.



Pannella, Marco ; Angioli, Matteo, [Una Libertà Felice. La Mia Vita](#) [69], Milano, Edizioni Mondadori , 2016, pp. 180

In this work, Marco Pannella, Italian journalist and politician, founder of the Partito Radicale Nonviolento Transnazionale e Transpartito (Nonviolent Radical Party, Transnational and Transparty (PRNTT)), narrates the story of his political life and devotion to nonviolence as the core principle of his political programme. He also narrates the hunger-strikes and dialogues he engaged in to pursue political objectives.

Further information about the Party can be found at <http://www.radicalparty.org/> [70], which is available in Italian, English, French, Russian, and Arabic.

The page dedicated exclusively to him can be found at <https://www.partitoradicale.it/marco-pannella/> [71]

Sharp, Gene, [Politica Dell’Azione Nonviolenta. Vol 1, Potere E Lotta; Vol 2, Le Tecniche; Vol 3, La Dinamica](#) [72], Torino, Edizioni Gruppo Abele (Out of print), 1985, pp. 818

Translation of Gene Sharp’s classic three-volume of nonviolent resistance, its techniques and dynamics. Volume 1 is a discussion on the nature of power where Sharp establishes his main arguments that governments are ultimately dependent on the support of the people and of intervening institutions. So cooperation can always potentially be withdrawn, both by specific institutions and by the people as a whole. He distinguishes nonviolence from passivity and submission, and provides examples to illustrate its main characteristics. In Volume 2 he describes the methods of nonviolence, which amount to almost 200 grouped into three broad categories: protest and persuasion, non-cooperation and intervention. Finally, in Volume 3 he discusses the dynamics and factors that constantly change within a society that can determine the success of nonviolent action. These can be regarded as social sources of power, leadership, negotiation and so on, alongside strategy and tactics. The third volume also discusses the retribution suffered by those involved in nonviolent struggles, the dynamics that need to be implemented for improving cohesion within nonviolent groups and offers other analytical considerations on power and its distribution within society.

Pdf versions can be found at:

- Volume I: <https://www.peacelink.it/storia/docs/4905.pdf> [73]
- Volume II: <https://www.peacelink.it/storia/docs/4906.pdf> [74]
- Volume III: <https://www.peacelink.it/storia/docs/4907.pdf> [75]

Translations: [English](#) [76]

Sharp, Gene, [Come Abbattere Un Regime. Manuale Di Liberazione Nonviolenta](#) [24], Milano, Chiarelettere, 2011, pp. 144

This work was firstly published in the 90s, following a request that Sharp received from some Burmese activists who were attempting to dismantle their dictatorial regime. It was then used in Thailand and in Serbia in the same decade. It has been translated into over 30 languages and was cited during the Arab awakening in 2011-12. Sharp discusses the nature of dictatorship and the tools and dynamics to dismantle it. He gives prominence to the importance of strategy and planning of nonviolent action and offers insights on how to establish a lasting democracy.

Translations: [English](#) [22] | [Spanish](#) [23] | [French](#) [21]

[Nonviolent Conflict Resolution and Peace Education](#) [77]



Arielli, Emanuele ; Scotto, Giovanni, [Conflitti E Mediazione: Introduzione A Una Teoria Generale](#) [78], Milano, Edizioni Mondadori, 2003, pp. 212

The work touches upon general conflict theories and proposes conflict resolution techniques in relation to specific conflict resolution case samples.

Camino, Elen ; Marasso, Angela Dogliotti, [Il Conflitto: Rischio E Opportunità. Riflessioni E Percorsi Didattici Dal Personale Al Globale](#) [79], Torre dei Nolfi (L'Aquila), Edizioni Qualevita, 2004, pp. 172

The editors, Elena Camino, researcher in Natural Sciences, and history teacher Angela Dogliotti, who are both leading nonviolence and civil resistance activists, reproduce here the contents of seminars they organised on the concept of 'conflict' from a Galtungian perspective with the purpose of re-enforcing a culture on peace education.

Galtung, Johan, [La Trasformazione Nonviolenta Dei Conflitti. Il Metodo Transcend](#) [80], Torino, Edizioni Gruppo Abele, 2000, pp. 198

This toolkit elucidates a method for nonviolent conflict resolution, the so-called Transcend method established by Galtung himself. The book expounds Galtung's theory on the visible, cultural and structural aspects of violence, and includes his conflict theory. It is intended to be a resource for those that would like to benefit from training in nonviolent resolution techniques, whilst primarily focusing on dialogue as the main tool for settling disputes.

A reduced version of the book is available at: <http://serenoregis.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Johan-Galtung-La-trasformazione-dei-conflitti-con-mezzi-pacifici-web.pdf> [81]

Montessori, Maria, [Educazione E Pace](#) [82], [1949], Roma, Opera Nazionale Montessori, 2004, pp. 150

In this work, Maria Montessori elucidates her theory of education. She argues that children are the most important actors in a society and therefore stresses the role of education as a tool for building a culture of peace.

Novara, Daniele, [Scegliere La Pace. Guida Metodologica](#) [83], [1986], Torino, Edizioni Gruppo Abele, 1996, pp. 86

In this toolkit for educators working with teenagers between the age of 9 and 13 years old, Novara proposes methodological and pedagogical approaches to transforming conflict nonviolently.

Patfoort, Pat, [Difendersi Senza Aggredire. La Potenza Della Nonviolenza](#) [84], Pisa, Pisa University Press, 2012, pp. 354

In this work, Patfoort proposes a theoretical framework for nonviolent conflict management and provides practical examples on how to resolve conflicts non-violently at the personal level, in contexts affecting the environment as well as within international politics.

Pontara, Giuliano, [La Personalità Nonviolenta](#) [85], Torino, Edizioni Gruppo Abele, 1996, pp. 104

A discussion on the need to solidify a culture of nonviolence and peace education as the starting point for elaborating broader educational strategies and systems for peaceful coexistence.

[Gandhi and Martin Luther King jr.](#) [86]



Altieri, Rocco, [Mohandas K. Gandhi. Guerra Senza Violenza. La Nascita Della Nonviolenza Moderna](#) [87], Firenze, Libreria Editrice Fiorentina, 2005, pp. 307

A narration of Gandhi's life in South Africa and his battle for the civil rights of the Indian minorities who were living there at the time. The work illustrates how Gandhi's teaching and practice of nonviolence developed from the South African experience.

King, Coretta Scott, [Martin Luther. King. Il Sogno Della Nonviolenza. Pensieri](#) [88], [1983], Milano, Edizione Feltrinelli, 2006, pp. 117

In this book, Coretta Scott King collects a series of extracts on Dr. King's views on issues such as racism, justice, civil rights, freedom, religion, nonviolence and peace. She also includes some of her husband's major speeches.

Manara, Fulvio C., [Una Forza Che Dà Vita. Ricominciare Con Gandhi In Un'Età Di Terrorismi](#) [89], Milano, Edizione Unicopli, 2006, pp. 360

A selection of Gandhi's writings that illustrate his thought and action, his relationship with the West and his reflection on the West-East relationship. The author presents also research findings on educational programs based on Gandhian principles, Gandhi's thought on economic issues, nonviolence, nationalism, intercultural dialogue, terrorism and war, as well as experiments in Italy based on the Gandhian philosophy.

Pontara, Giuliano, [Teoria E Practica Della Nonviolenza](#) [90], [1973], Torino, Edizioni Einaudi, 2014, pp. 408

This is an anthology of Gandhi's writings on ethical-political orientations and his teachings on nonviolence. The first part covers the fundamental principles of nonviolence, including the difference between the nonviolence of the strong and the nonviolence of the weak; the relationship between ends and means; and his perspectives on violence and war. In the second part, Pontara discusses practical aspects relating to preparation for a nonviolent struggle and elucidates different nonviolent techniques.

[Opposition to War and Conscientious Objection](#) [91]

L'Abate, Alberto, [Riflessioni su "La Rivoluzione Disarmista" di Carlo Cassola \(Rizzoli, 1983\), a oltre trenta anni dalla sua pubblicazione](#) [92], [2016], Torino, Centro Studi Sereno Regis, 2016

In this long article, L'Abate reflects on Cassola's work, *La Rivoluzione Disarmista*, which focuses on pursuing a nonviolent 'disarming revolution' aimed at strengthening fraternity amongst people and abolishing nuclear weapons. Starting from Cassola, L'Abate examines the relevance of nonviolent movements in Italy and worldwide, starting from those whose activity contributed to the adoption of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, signed in 1987 by Gorbachev and Reagan. He also sharply analyses the pervasive, global structural violence caused by the huge concentration of natural resources in the hands of a few, and reflects on how nonviolence can contribute to changing the current global financial system. L'Abate cites both Italian and internationally renowned authors on nonviolence, and proposes his solutions for overcoming the current state of affairs.

Available at <http://serenoregis.org/2016/12/12/riflessioni-su-la-rivoluzione-disarmista-di-carlo-cassola-rizzoli-1983-a-oltre-trenta-anni-dalla-sua-pubblicazione-alberto-labate/> [93]

Merton, Thomas, [La Mia Passione Per La Pace](#) [94], Miano, Garzanti Editore, 2017, pp. 164

Merton explains his theoretical approach, which draws on exponents of nonviolence such as Gandhi and Martin



Luther King Jr, and in this context discusses the Danish people's resistance against the Nazis, the perils of the nuclear age and racism.

Pinna, Pietro, [Pietro Pinna. L'uomo che per primo disse no \[95\]](#), 2012

In this short interview, Pinna recounts his reasons for becoming a conscientious objector and the impact this decision had within the political Italian context. Additionally, he elucidates the elements of nonviolent actions.

Available on YouTube at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=emniqr2trk4&t=609s> [96]

Pinna, Pietro, [La mia obiezione \[97\]](#), 2012

This interview is a message that Pinna sent to the conference marking the 40th Anniversary of the legal recognition of the right to conscientious objection held in Florence on 15th-16th December 2012. He narrates his experience during the Second World War and how this shaped his decision to object to military service on the ground of 'conscience'. He then explains his position on the co-participation of civil society in war-making and arms production and finally touches upon nonviolent civil disobedience.

Available on YouTube at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kOz7PFa180A> [98]

Polito, Pietro, [Elogio Dell'Obiezione Di Coscienza \[99\]](#), Miano, Edizioni Biblion, 2013, pp. 178

In this book, Polito analyses the philosophical conceptualisation of 'conscience', central to the elaboration of the ethical and moral tenets of the practice of objection to military service. Polito pays tribute to the most famous conscientious objectors who shaped the history of the Italian Republic and promoted nonviolent theory and techniques, such as Aldo Capitini – anti-fascist Italian political philosopher; Ada Gobetti – anti-fascist journalist; Norberto Bobbio – Italian philosopher, Sereno Regis – peace activist; Danilo Dolci – peace activist; Lorenzo Milani – priest and educator; Rodolfo Venditti – Italian judge and conscientious objection supporter; Goffredo Fofi- Italian author, and literature, drama and movie critic; and Pietro Pinna – Italian nonviolent activist. The book provides a refutation of the belief in the necessity of violence embedded in politics - even where it may seem justified as in preventive wars and humanitarian intervention. Polito also argues that violence is at the root of the economic and financial global system that is becoming profoundly detrimental to the environment.

Regis, Centro Studi Sere, [Ricordando Pinna. Le lettere a Capitini". 1st, 2nd and 3rd part \[100\]](#), Torino, Centro Studi Sereno Regis, 2016

This is a series of letters that Pietro Pinna exchanged with Aldo Capitini, both key protagonists of the nonviolence movement in Italy in the aftermath of the Second World War. Their relationship proved to be fruitful for the elaboration of a theory on nonviolence and related techniques. The first set of letters from Pinna to Capitini depicts Pinna's thoughts and feelings following his decision to refuse military service and challenge the Italian government. The second set describes the supporting network that was formed around Pinna when he was in prison, awaiting his trial. This network ensured Pinna's case resonated with the public. The third set of letters starts from his release from prison and reveal the process of creating the Nonviolent Movement for Peace with Capitini.

Available at:

- <http://serenoregis.org/2016/04/22/ricordando-pietro-pinna-le-lettere-a-capitini-prima-parte-a-cura-di-marco-labbate/> [101];
- <http://serenoregis.org/2016/04/22/ricordando-pietro-pinna-le-lettere-a-capitini-prima-parte-a-cura-di-marco-labbate/> [101];
- <http://serenoregis.org/2016/05/05/ricordando-pietro-pinna-le-lettere-a-capitini-terza-parte-a-cura-di-marco-labbate/> [102]



Terzani, Tiziano, [Lettere Contro La Guerra](#) [103], Milano, Edizioni Longanesi, 2002, pp. 196

A collection of letters following the attack in the US on 11th September 2001 that Terzani published in response to some declarations made by his colleague, Oriana Fallaci, on the same event. In his collection Terzani discusses the need to explore the root causes of violence and extremism within human nature. He also advocates nonviolence as the only creative response to conflict, alongside the necessity to reconstitute the paradigms upon which the idea of Western globalisation rests.

[Resisting the Mafia](#) [104]

Cavadi, Augusto, [Liberarsi Dal Dominio Mafioso](#) [105], Bologna, Edizioni Dehoniane, 1993, pp. 47, pb

By recalling the trauma that society suffered following the homicides by the mafia organisation Cosa Nostra that took place in the Italian island of Sicily in 1992 - which involved more than 20 victims, including the judges Giovanni Falcone and Paolo Borsellino, their security and mafia informers -, Cavadi introduces some reflections on how every part of civil society is responsible for building a different society. He discusses the importance of awareness of how mafia works, alongside the importance of adopting a particular ideological, ethical, political, economic, and pedagogic orientation to solidify a strong anti-mafia movement.

Cavadi, Augusto, [Strappare Una Generazione Alla Mafia. Lineamenti Di Pedagogia Alternativa](#) [106], Trapani, Edizioni Di Girolamo, 2005, pp. 191

In this work, Cavadi argues that the anti-mafia movement should be as organised as mafia organisations are. He proposes that alongside the repressive forces of police and policing institutions, a predominant and pedagogical role should be fulfilled by schools, churches and social organisations and should aim at counterposing a moral and intellectual form of resistance to the mafia phenomenon.

Cavadi, Augusto, [A Scuola Di Antimafia](#) [107], Trapani, Edizioni Di Girolamo, 2007, pp. 294

This work comprises a theoretical discussion and proposed methodological tools for establishing a critical and comprehensive anti-mafia educational programme. It's divided into five parts: theoretical aspects of anti-mafia education; pedagogical approaches; practical experiences; law procedures; available bibliographies on the topic.

Dolci, Danilo, [Racconti Siciliani](#) [108], [1963], Palermo, Sellerio Editore, 2008, pp. 428

These stories, which Dolci collected in Sicily, are the medium through which he elucidates the local dimension of the mafia – its action and influence in Sicily – and its wider impact in Italy and beyond. This is a record of how ordinary people coped with their suffering of violence, and it aims to transmit their vision of social justice. The work has an educational value.

Impastato, Giovanni ; Vassia, Franco, [Resistere A Mafiopoli. La Storia Di Mio Fratello Peppino Impastato](#) [109], Viterbo, Stampa Alternativa, 2009, pp. 127

The story, narrated by his brother, of one of the most iconic figure of the anti-mafia struggle, Peppino Impastato, who revolted against the patriarchal structure of his family, went against his father who belonged to the Sicilian mafia organisation and ignited an anti-mafia culture and actions at the cost of his own life.

Puglisi, Anna, [Donne, Mafia E Antimafia](#) [110], Trapani, Edizioni Di Girolamo , 2005, pp. 157



An analysis of the role that women had from the period of the 'Fasci Siciliani' (Sicilian Workers Leagues' revolts) until now in changing the mafia culture and mafia organisations in Sicily.

Sanfilippo, Vincenzo, [Il contributo della nonviolenza al superamento del sistema mafioso](#) [111], [June 2003], Quaderni di Satyagraha,, issue 3, 2003, pp. 195-215

In this work, Sanfilippo provides a definition of nonviolence and elaborates on the Gandhian vision of the world. He also elaborates on the origin and root causes of the mafia system, according to which, he argues, a theory of systems is the necessary methodological and epistemological tool for the analysis of this phenomena and for building a nonviolent reaction against it. His perspective encompasses the cultural, economic, political, institutional, and social dimensions of the system where mafia organisations exist and where nonviolent antimafia movements need to be organised.

Sanfilippo, Vincenzo, [Nonviolenza E Mafia. Idee Ed Esperienze Per Un Superamento Del Sistema Mafioso](#) [112], Trapani, Edizioni Di Girolamo, 2005, pp. 158

By recalling Danilo Dolci's pioneering role, this work explores the relationship between civil society, mafia and nonviolence, a theme that remains predominantly unexplored up to now. It's a composition of arguments, opinions and experiences stemming from a dialogue between individuals and organisations that want to build a solid anti-mafia movement in Italy, with particular regard to the South.

Santino, Umberto, [Peppino Impastato: alle radici dell'antimafia difficile](#) [113], [1998], Liberazione, , Liberazione, 08/05/1998,

This article briefly narrates the life of Giuseppe (aka, Peppino) Impastato, who initiated a cultural and political change that then gave rise to the anti-mafia movement from the 60s onwards. Impastato's life is highly symbolic because of his political and civil anti-mafia struggle stemmed from his personal experience. In fact, he belonged to a family where his father was affiliated to the Mafia criminal organisation, and had his uncle murdered by them. Impastato's revolt against some core members of his family, including his father, led to his murder in 1978, but he is still considered in Italy as one of the most iconic figures of the nonviolent anti-mafia struggle today.

Retrievable also

at: <http://www.centroimpastato.com/umberto-santino-peppino-impastato-alle-radici-dellantimafia-difficile/> [114]

Santino, Umberto, [Movimenti sociali e movimento antimafia](#) [115], [May 2000], Città d'Utopia, issue 29, 2000, pp. 11-21

This long article highlights the three different periods of time that defined the anti-mafia movement, namely from 1891-1894 until 1950s; 1960s and 1970s; and from 1980s up to now. The analysis provides an initial understanding of the typology and tools of the anti-mafia struggle in each of these phases, alongside the ethical and cultural factors that supported it. The article also elucidates the social, economic and cultural composition of the mafia organisation as well as the anti-mafia movement and touches upon its development as a national movement, rather than configuring it as an issue concerning solely the island of Sicily. Finally, it depicts the peculiar characteristics of the anti-mafia movement and what differentiates it from social movements as traditionally considered, by contextualising the analysis within power relationships in Italy.

Santino, Umberto, [Antimafia civile e sociale](#) [116], [October 2003], Narcomafie, issue 10, 2003

This long article touches on the development of the anti-mafia movement and distinguishes within it civic anti-mafia and social anti-mafia. It delineates the developments that took place in three different periods of time in Italy: 1950s, that saw the birth of the nonviolent anti-mafia movement; the 1960s and 1970s, when socio-political-cultural aspects of the anti-mafia movement started to develop organically; up to the 1980s-1990s, a period that saw the development of the pacifist movement rising against the US militarisation of the Italian island of Sicily that paralleled the reinforcement of the anti-mafia movement and a stronger participation of organisations within it



alongside individuals. It touches also on the growth of the anti-mafia movement outside the confines of Sicily, and its extension to the entire Italian peninsula, mainly because of the activity of teachers and students that facilitated the adoption of the first set of anti-mafia legislation and led to the removal from public offices of staff involved with the mafia organisation. It also establishes a conceptual distinction between the anti-mafia movement and social movements as traditionally considered, and stresses the peculiar nature of the first as being pro-system and anti-system, simultaneously. Finally, it highlights the weak points that undermine the continuity and cohesiveness of the anti-mafia movements.

Retrieval also at: <http://www.centroimpastato.com/voci-per-il-dizionario-di-mafia-e-di-antimafia-di-narcomafie-2/> [117]

Santino, Umberto, [Nonviolenza, mafia e anti-mafia](#) [118], Palermo, Centro Impastato, 2005
Santino analyses the Mafia organisation and social consensus. He sees in the latter a supportive element to mafia organisations as well as the ground on which it is possible to build forms of nonviolent education and practices that could lead to a change within the current system. He adopts a 'paradigm of complexity' at the foundation of the epistemological and methodological approach to the mafia phenomenon and identifies the limit of the military and repressive reaction against it. In so doing, he discusses what action civil society can undertake to sustain nonviolent forms of resistance against mafia.

Retrieval at: <http://www.centroimpastato.com/nonviolenza-mafia-e-antimafia/> [119]

Santino, Umberto, [Storia Del Movimento Antimafia. Dalla Lotta Di Classe All'Impegno Civile](#) [120], Roma, Editori Riuniti , 2009, pp. 488

This work narrates the anti-mafia movement that started in Sicily at the end of the 19th century and extended to the entire Italian peninsula in more recent years. Santino recounts the origin of the Sicilian mafia organisation, the reactions to it by Italian institutions, and the socio-cultural context by drawing from different authors and first-hand interviews.

Santino, Umberto, [Mafia e Antimafia. A Brief History](#) [121], London and New York, I.B. Tauris, London , 2015, pp. 224

As an expert on mafia organisations, Umberto Santino elucidates the nature and structure of the Sicilian mafia phenomenon as well as the building of the anti-mafia movement and related campaigning by civil society representatives and social organisations in Sicily.

[German Titles](#) [122]

Compiled by [Christine Schweitzer](#) [123]. Additional and updated references by Markus Bayer and Ibrahim Alhadjiui (2018).



[Theory and Practice of Nonviolent Action](#) [124]

Arnold, Martin, [Gütekraft. Ein Wirkungsmodell aktiver Gewaltfreiheit nach Hildegard Goss-Mayr, Mohandas K. Gandhi und Bart de Ligt](#) [125], Baden-Baden, Nomos, 2011, pp. 284

Arnold, a Protestant cleric, explores the ideas of three protagonists of nonviolent resistance (Goss-Mayr, Gandhi and de Ligt) on how nonviolent action 'works'. The author, who does not use the German translation of 'nonviolence' but his own term 'the power of good', argues that, regardless of the origin and religion of the practitioners, the effects of nonviolence are basically the same. This volume – the fourth in a series – is a summary of his conclusions from three more detailed case studies, each published as a separate book, and derives from a dissertation undertaken late in the author's life.

Arnold, Martin, [Guetekraft: Grundlage der Arbeit fuer Freiheit, Gerechtigkeit und Menschlikeit](#) [126], Sicherheit und Frieden, Vol. 31, issue 3, 2013, pp. 150-156

Presents an 'ideal type' of nonviolence (the power of good) which synthesizes the approaches developed by the Catholic Hildegard Goss-Mayr, the Hindu Gandhi and the atheist de Ligt. Attempts to describe the common core of the various traditions of nonviolence: the conception of how nonviolent action typically works. Differentiates between nonviolence as a pattern of interaction, a model of behaviour and a human potential. 'The power of good' chiefly has an impact through action by committed individuals, 'contagion' and the evolution of both in mass noncooperation.

Bala, Sruti, ["Unsere Waffe ist die Beharrlichkeit": Auftreten, Konzept und Aktivaeten der gewaltfreien Paschtunischen Armee der Khadi Khidmatgar \(1929-1948\)](#) [127], In , [Gewaltfrei Aktion - Erfahrungen und Analysen](#) [128] Frankfurt am Main, Brandes & Aspel, , 2011, pp. 119-125

Sruti Bala comes from the state of Tamil Nadu in southern India. In her dissertation on nonviolent protest she discusses some significant elements of nonviolent resistance such as 'action', 'play' and 'display'. She also tries to define certain consequences of nonviolent protest for political identity. Finally, these conclusions are related to the ideas of Gandhi and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (the 'Frontier Gandhi').

Bayer, Markus ; Kusawe, Janet, [Gewaltfrei Widerstand und urbaner Raum](#) [129], Wissenschaft und Frieden, 2016-2: Stadt im Konflikt - Urbane Gewalttraeume, 2016, pp. 29-31

Nonviolent resistance is a mass phenomenon that can challenge corrupt and autocratic regimes. This form of resistance and its symbiotic relationship to cities is not at all new: the plebeians in the Roman Republic used this kind of struggle when they abandoned the city until their demands were met. But how do modern cities as conflict spaces favour nonviolent resistance? The authors systematically analyse the relationship between the urban sphere and nonviolent resistance.

del Vasto, Lanza, [Die Macht der Friedfertigen. Radikale Alternativen zu Elend, Knechtschaft, Krieg und Revolte](#) [130], Freiberg/Heidelberg, F.H. Kerke, 1982, pp. 320

Translation from French of 'The Power of the Peaceful', by well known nonviolent activist and theorist who drew inspiration from Gandhi.

Destradi, Sandra ; Vuellers, Johannes, [Gewaltfrei Widerstandsbewegungen und ihre Erfolgsbedingungen - Eine Uebersich der neueren englischsprachigen Forschungsliteratur](#) [131], Zeitschrift fuer Friedens und Konfliktforschung, Vol. 4, issue 1, 2015, pp. 116-146

This article is a literature review examining the latest English literature on nonviolent resistance. It discusses different types of protest and delineates the characteristics of nonviolent resistance movements, and then focuses on explanations for the success of such movements. Last but not least, the authors discuss possible new avenues



for research.

Ebert, Theodor, [Gewaltfreier Aufstand. Alternative zum Bürgerkrieg \[132\]](#), (4th edition), Waldkirchen, Waldkircher Verlagsgesellschaft, 1981, pp. 253

Analysis of nonviolent resistance by leading German scholar of nonviolent uprisings, based on his dissertation. In this book Ebert outlines an often quoted series of steps in the escalation of nonviolent action.

Ebert, Theodor, [Macht von unten durch gewaltfreie Aktion: Neue Beiträge zur direkten Aktion in der Demokratie \[133\]](#), Lebenshaus Schwäbischer Alb, 2017

'Power from below through nonviolent action' is the latest contribution from German's best known proponent of civilian defence and nonviolent resistance. Aware that he is 80 years old, Ebert sums up his experiences and elaborates on new ideas for future research

Gerster, Petra ; Gleich, Michael, [Die Friedensmacher \[134\]](#), ed. Institut für Friedenspädagogik, München/Wien, Carl Hanser, 2005, pp. 260

Mit CD: Peace Counts: Die Erfolge der Friedensmacher: ed. Institut für Friedenspädagogik.

The 'peace makers' is an exhibition of people from all over the world engaged in resistance and conflict transformation. The book, which the TV journalist Petra Gerster wrote with the producer of the exhibition, Michael Gleich, gives an impression of the range of nonviolent activism world-wide.

Goss-Mayr, Hildegard, [Der Mensch vor dem Unrecht. Spiritualität und Praxis gewaltloser Befreiung \[135\]](#), (4th edition), Wien/München/Zürich, Europaverlag, 1981

Theological approach to nonviolence and what the author terms 'nonviolent liberation'.

Goss-Mayr, Hildegard, [Wie Feinde Freunde werden. Mein Leben mit Jean Goss für Gewaltlosigkeit. Gerechtigkeit und Versöhnung \[136\]](#), Freiburg, Herder, 1996, pp. 186

Goss-Mayr and Goss played a significant role in promoting nonviolent action and training internationally. This book is Goss-Mayr's biography and memories of their work in Latin America, Madagascar and the Philippines.

Jochheim, Gernot, [Die Gewaltfreie Aktion. Ideen und Methoden. Vorbilder und Wirkungen \[137\]](#), Hamburg, Rausch und Roehrig, 1984, pp. 334

A general description of nonviolent action, its ideas, methods and effects.

Krippendorff, Ekkehart, [Staat und Krieg: Die historische Logik politischer Unvernunft \[138\]](#), Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp, 1985, pp. 435

A 'classic' for grassroots activists. A study of the interdependence of the state, as a form of political organization, and war.

Nagler, Michael ; Spiegel, Egon, [Politik ohne Gewalt. Prinzipien, Praxis und Perspektiven der Gewaltfreiheit \[139\]](#), Berlin, Lit, 2008, pp. 196

The American activist and academic Nagler and the German theologian Spiegel describe the principles, practices and perspectives of nonviolence.



Patfoort, Pat, [Sich verteidigen ohne anzugreifen - Der Macht der Gewaltfreiheit, Sicherheit under Frieden](#) [140], Baden, Wekstatt fuer gewaltfreie Aktion, 2008

Many people dream about a world without hate violence and war, but they doubt such a world is possible. So finally, they cease to dream about it. Patfoort challenges such resignation with a book of hope, but also describes the system within which people are inhibited. Finally, he offers a model of equality in rank and nonviolence, where self-assertion without attacking others seems possible.

Popovic, Srdja ; Miller, Matthew, [Protest! Wie man die Maechtigen das Fuerchten lehrt](#) [141], Frankfurt am Main, Fischer, 2015

Popovic and his student friends formed Otpor, that developed into the movement that forced the dictatorial President Milosevic in Serbia to accept defeat in the 2000 election. Since then Popovic has advised civil and democratic movements around the world. In this book he provides suggestions and strategies for organizing nonviolent protests, for example how to gain favourable media coverage and find the right allies.

Schweitzer, Christine, ["Was heisst "gewaltfreie Aktion". Ein Beitrag zur begrifflichen und konzeptionellen Klaerung](#) [142], Sicherheit und Frieden, Vol. 31, issue 3, 2013, pp. 140-144

Nonviolent action is a form of political action based on the decision, either principled or pragmatic, not to physically harm or destroy human life. In many social movements it has proved an effective tool for political change, which can be explained by Gene Sharp's theory that all power rests ultimately with those who can withdraw their consent. Nonviolent action applies in several fields: local and regional struggles; in popular (people power) uprisings; in the theory of civilian-based defence; in approaches of nonviolent intervention in conflicts; and in what has been called unarmed civilian peacekeeping.

Schweitzer, Christine, [Soziale Verteidigung und Gewaltfreier Aufstand Reloaded - Neue Einblicke in Zivilen Widerstand](#) [143], Hintergrund- und Diskussionspapier Nr. 41, Minden, Bund für Soziale Verteidigung, 2015, pp. 26

This paper summarizes the most recent English-language literature on civil resistance for a non-English speaking readership.

Schweitzer, Christine ; Johansen, Jørgen, [Kriege verhindern oder stoppen - Der Beitrag von Friedensbewegungen](#) [144], IFGK Arbeitspapier No 26, Wahlenau, Institut für Friedensarbeit und Gewaltfreie Konfliktaustragung, 2014, pp. 81

Historical survey of the contribution of seven peace movements to halting or preventing the involvement of their own governments' in wars – from Sweden/Norway 1905 to Iraq 2003.

Steinweg, Reiner ; Laubenthal, Ulrike, [Gewaltfreie Aktion: Erfahrungen und Analysen](#) [145], Frankfurt am Main, Brandes & Aspel, 2011

Noting that nonviolent actions, like the resistance to 'Stuttgart 21', seem to become the focus of public attention, the authors (who have participated in many such protests in recent years) analyze the theory, practice, history, and current situation of nonviolent resistance in its international context.

Steinweg, Reiner ; Laubenthal, Ulrike, [Gewaltfreie Aktion. Erfahrungen und Analysen](#) [146], Frankfurt am Main, Brandes and Aspel, 2011, pp. 288

This book contains a number of articles on examples of nonviolent action, as well as more theoretical reflections on nonviolent action, both nationally and internationally.



[Gandhi](#) [147]

Arnold, Martin, [Gütekraft – Gandhi's Satyagraha](#) [148], Overath, Bucken and Sulzer, 2011, pp. 408

One in a series of four books analysing how nonviolent resistance works, focusing on Gandhi. [See comments under Arnold in section above.]

Dieter, Anne ; Hillmer, Marianna ; Szilat, Julia, [Das Verstaendnis von Wahrhaftigkeit – ein Wegweiser durch Gandhis Leben anlaesslich seines 140. Geburtstages](#) [149], MenschenRechts Magazin, issue 2, 2009, pp. 252-262

On the occasion of Mahatma Gandhi's 140th birthday the authors offer a guide to understanding Gandhi's personality and life through different chapters in his life, for example the role of his family, his youth and the long period in South Africa.

Gandhi Informationszentrum, [My Life is my message: Das Leben und Wirken von M.K. Gandhi](#) [150], Kassel, Weber, Zucht und Co, 1988

This book gives an insight into Gandhi's life (including a chronology), as well as a chronology of events in India and South Africa, plus speeches and articles by Gandhi on truth, nonviolence, civil disobedience, etc.

Poehlmann, Horst Gerog, [Mahatma Gandhi – Sein Leben und Denken](#) [151], Neue Zeitschrift fuer Systematische Theologie und Religionsphilosophie, Vol. 57, issue 3, 2013, pp. 418-428

This article presents a comprehensive account of Mahatma Gandhi's life, work and thought and explores his continuing significance.

Sternstein, Wolfgang, [Gandhi und Jesus. Das Ende des Fundamentalismus](#) [152], Guetersloh, Guetersloher Verlagsgesellschaft, 2009, pp. 368

The Ploughshares activist Wolfgang Sternstein compares Gandhi's ideas of religion and ethics with the teaching of Jesus. He contrasts both to fundamentalism and dogmatism of any kind.

[Civil Disobedience](#) [153]

Ballestrem, Karl Graf, [Widerstand Ziviler Ungehorsam, Opposition, Eine Typologie](#) [154], In Enzmann, Birget, (ed.) Handbuch Politische Gewalt, Weisbaden, Springer V S, pp. 67-74

The subject of this article is the right to resistance, and in particular whether this right can exist within a liberal and democratic order, which emphasizes protection of civil rights, freedom of speech and the right to public criticism and the right to form an opposition.

Burschel, Friedrich ; Kahrs, Andreas ; Steinert, Lea, [Ungehorsam! Disobedience! Theorie & Praxis kollektiver Regelversoesse](#) [155], Munster, edition assemblage, 2014, pp. 144



There have been frequent examples of civil disobedience in Germany in recent years. Protests in cities and regions such as Heiligendamm, Dresden, Stuttgart, Wendland and Frankfurt represent a kind of renaissance of civil resistance. This book examines the sources of legitimation and points of dispute, and also notes different definitions of civil disobedience and how these are discussed in the literature. Therefore this book draws on the ideas and experience of various authors.

Ebert, Theodor, [Erfolg durch zivilen Ungehorsam?](#) [156], *Forschungsjournal Soziale Bewegung*, Vol. 25, issue 1, 2012, pp. 60-65

Social movements come into being due to contradictions within a society. They create a growing number of people that fear a social catastrophe or believe they can change the current situation. These motives also provide legitimation for people to protest, resist or, in some circumstances, even promote a radical change in their society.

Geis, Max-Emanuel, [Ziviler Ungehorsam'](#) [157], In Hilgendorf, E. und J. Juergen, *Handbuch Rechtsphilosophie*, J.B. Metzler, Stuttgart, pp. 480-484

The terms civil disobedience, resistance and the right or duty to resist are well known elements of political rhetoric. The use of these terms often combines various dimensions of interpretation, such as religious, moral and ethical ideas, or philosophical and political approaches too. This book therefore seeks to analyze the term 'civil disobedience' from the perspective of the philosophy of law.

Heuer, Wolfgang, [Hannah Arendt: Ein Zuhause fuer den zivilen Ungehorsam](#) [158], *INDES- Zeitschrift fuer Politik und Gesellschaft*, issue 4, 2017, pp. 66-76

Hannah Arendt presented her ideas about civil disobedience at a symposium of the New York Bar Association in 1970, and posed as the central question whether the law was dead. This article explains Arendt's 'republican' philosophy and distinguishes it from the liberal approaches of Rawls and Habermas, and from democrats like Etienne Balibar, before discussing in some detail Arendt's work *On Revolution*.

Kleger, Heinz, [Widerstand und ziviler Ungehorsam im demokratischen Rechtsstaat](#) [159], In Enzemann, Birgit, ed., *Handbuch Politische Gewalt.*, Wiesbaden, Springer VS, pp. 163-203

The author stresses that a democratic state based on the rule of law provides a rigorous normative order, which guarantees basic civil and human rights for each citizen, whilst also allowing for democratic government. Therefore, resistance and civil disobedience are always caught in a conflict between social (and political) rules and individual rights.

Kleger, Heinz, [Protestantismus und die Tradition des zivilen Ungehorsams](#) [160], In Klein, A und O. Zimmerman, (eds.) *Impulse der Reformation: Buergergesellschaft und Demokratie*, Wiesbaden, Springer VS, pp. 51-58

Since the protests against the use of nuclear energy in the 1980s, civil disobedience is part of German society. The author claims that this kind of resistance shouldn't be confused with the right to resist. Civil disobedience has certain stringent criteria that have to be fulfilled, and should moreover be an exception in a democracy founded on the rule of law and the principle of representation.

Kroepil, Karl, [Ziviler Ungehorsam und whistleblowing: Begriffe und rechtliche Bezuege](#) [161], *Recht und Politik*, Vol. 49, issue 4, 2013, pp. 193-198

The author distinguishes between 'civil disobedience' and 'whistle blowing', discusses possible classification of the terms and clarifies their meaning with reference to historical context.



[Civilian-based Defence](#) [162]

Boserup, Anders ; Mack, Andrew, [Krieg ohne Waffen](#) [163], [1971], Reinbek b. Hamburg, Rowohlt, 1980, pp. 156

One of the best conceptualizations of civilian-based defence, enriched with examples of civil resistance.

Ebert, Theodor, [Soziale Verteidigung](#) [164], Waldkirch, Waldkircher Verlagsgesellschaft, 1981, , 2 volumespp. 387

- Vol. 1: Historische Erfahrungen und Grundzuege der Strategie, 1981, 193pp;
- Vol. 2. Formen und Bedingungen des Zivilen Widerstands, 1981, 194 pp.

Ebert has researched important examples of earlier nonviolent resistance, e.g. the 1953 East German uprising, and has been a leading theorist of nonviolent action and civilian defence since the 1960s. Both books are compilations of articles Ebert wrote on the subject in the 1970s.

Graswurzelrevolution, [Sonderheft Soziale Verteidigung](#) [165], No 98/99, November, Graswurzelrevolution, 1985

'Grassroots Revolution' is a nonviolent-libertarian-anarchist magazine. This special issue focuses on an anarchistic approach to 'social defence' as opposed to proposals for governments to adopt civilian-based defence.

Jochheim, Gernot, [Frauenprotest in der Rosenstrasse. Berlin 1943. Bericht. Dokumente. Hintergründe](#) [166], Berlin, Hentrich and Hentrich, 2002, pp. 223

Study of important and rare example of open protest against Gestapo, by German wives demanding release of their German Jewish husbands who had been arrested.

Mez, Lutz, [Ziviler Widerstand in Norwegen](#) [167], Frankfurt am Main, Haag and Herchen, 1976, pp. 376

The resistance by Norwegian teachers and other civil society groups to Quisling's attempt to impose fascist ideology during the German occupation is one of the most important and successful examples of resistance during World War Two.

Mueller, Barbara, [Passiver Widerstand in Ruhrkampf. Eine Fallstudie zur gewaltlosen zwischenstaatlichen Konfliktaustragung und ihren Erfolgsbedingungen](#) [168], Münster, Lit, 1995, pp. 529

The officially organized German resistance to the French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 is an especially relevant case study for proponents of civilian-based defence.

Mueller, Barbara ; Schweizer, Christine, [Zur Aktualitaet von Sozialer Verteidigung. Dokumentation eines Workshops von IFGK and BSV vom 15-16 April 2005](#) [169], Arbeitspapier Nr 20 , 2008

This working paper is the product of a joint workshop on 'The Timeliness of Civilian-based Defence' held by the Union for Civilian Defence. It discusses the role of nonviolent resistance in successful conflict management today in the context of the current direction of world politics.



Sémelin, Jacques, [Ohne Waffen gegen Hitler: Eine Studie zum zivilen Widerstand in Europa](#) [38], Frankfurt am Main, dipa Verlag, 1995, pp. 302

Translation from French of authoritative scholarly study of forms of civil resistance in German-occupied Europe in World War Two.

Translations: [English](#) [37] | [French](#) [36]

[Nonviolent Intervention](#) [170]

Büttner, Christian W., [Friedenbrigaden: Zivile Konfliktbearbeitung mit gewaltfreien Methoden](#) [171], Münster, Lit, 1995, pp. 147

On different peace brigade projects, including the Gandhian-inspired Shanti Sena.

Evers, Tilman, [Ziviler Friedendienst. Fachleute für den Frieden. Idee – Erfahrungen – Ziele](#) [172], Opladen, Leske and Budrich, 2000, pp. 380

Compilation of articles on the rationale, history and practice of the Civilian Peace Service (CPS) in Germany. The CPS, which started in 2000, is a governmentally financed programme with implementers both from state and non-state organizations.

Heinemann-Grueder, Andreas ; Bauer, Isabella, [Zivile Konfliktbearbeitung. Vom Anspruch zur Wirklichkeit](#) [173], Opladen/Berlin/Toronto, Barbara Budrich, 2013, pp. 246

This book, which deals with international approaches to conflict transformation, has been compiled by two researchers/practitioners with a background in the Civil Peace Service.

Mueller, Barbara, [Balkan Peace Team 1994-2001. Mit Freiwilligenteams in gewaltfreiem Einsatz in Krisenregionen](#) [174], Braunschweig, Bildungsvereinigung Arbeit und Leben, Niedersachsen, 2004, pp. 240

A description and evaluation of the work of the international Balkan Peace Team that worked in Croatia and Serbia/Kosovo in the 1990s.

[Specific Nonviolent Protests and Movements](#) [175]

Al-Taher, Sarah, [Macht und Ohnmacht der Medien: der Medienkrieg in Syrien und der friedliche Widerstand](#) [176], Diskussionspapier 34, Bund fuer soziale Verteidigung, 2013

Al-Taher begins by observing that, unlike in the beginning of the Syrian Spring 2011-12, the international and western press no longer reported on peaceful protests in Syria. The paper discusses two possible explanations: a problem of information (either a lack of information or an excess of news), or the absence of nonviolent protests in the region. The author refutes the second thesis, arguing that despite the ongoing bloody civil war in Syria, large parts of the society nevertheless participate in peaceful protests.



Atac, Ilker ; Dursun, Ayse, [Gezi Park protests in Turkey: new opportunities, old boundaries?](#) [177], Oesterreichische Zeitschrift fuer Politikwissenschaft, Vol. 42, issue 4, 2013, pp. 443-450

The article deals with the Gezi Park protests against the demolition of a public park in Istanbul in May 2013, which turned into nationwide protests against the government. One source of these protests can be located in the conservative-religious neo-liberalism of the ruling AKP. The fundamental thesis of the authors defines the protests as an expression of a search for new spheres and forms of participatory politics, as an alternative to institutional structures.

Bartkowsky, Maciej, [Analyse: Die Maidan-Revolution in der Ukraine - Gewaltloser Widerstand in gewaltgeladener Situation](#) [178], (online), bpb, 2014

This study of the Maidan Revolution analyzes what Bartkowsky calls nonviolent resistance in violence-loaded situations. He argues that the major use of force and violence by the regime was not a sign of strength, but of the fundamental weakening of the regime and seemed to be a desperate attempt to avert its threatened defeat. Therefore Janukowytsch's fall was preceded by three months of mobilization and civil resistance that undermined the already weak defences of the regime.

Bruckmiller, Aaron ; Scholl, Franziska, [Blockupy - Ziviler Ungehorsam als Solidaritaet](#) [179], Forschungsjournal Soziale Bewegung, Vol. 29, issue 1, 2016, pp. 76-82

Numerous protests took place round the world contemporaneously with the global economic crisis, but the left in Europe as a whole failed to organize. This gap should be filled by Blockupy, a European network of activists composed of trade unionists, political parties and different social movements. The article traces the history of this organization and assesses how far Blockupy has the power to create a new left movement in Germany.

Mullis, Daniel, [Demonstrieren! Blockieren ! Okkupieren! - Blockupy Frankfurt und die Produktion des Politischen](#) [180], Europa Regional, Vol. 20, issue 1, 2015, pp. 20-32

Blockupy in Germany is one of the broadest ranging attempts to politicize the austerity measures, which have been introduced throughout Europe since 2010. Blockupy was enabled to emerge through the combination of embedding protest in the 'Global City' of Frankfurt with the practice of civil disobedience. Drawing on the theories of Lefebvre, Laclau/Mouffe and also Ranciere, the author highlights the links between dissident production of space, the historical formation of the crisis and the focus on Frankfurt as the stage for the protests.

Naucke, Philipp, [Der Stein im Schuh: ueber friedlichen, zivilen Widerstand in gewaltsamen Konfliktregionen - eine Fallstudie der Friedensgemeinde San Jose de Apartado, Kolumbien](#) [181], Marburg, Curupira, 2011

During the forty years of armed conflict in Colombia, civil society was continuously assaulted by violent infringement of rights by both left wing guerrilla movements and paramilitary groups. Nevertheless, since the end of the 1990s many communities declared themselves 'municipalities of peace'. Their members commit themselves to behave neutrally and to reject any collaboration with armed actors. Naucke investigates the origin, function and structure of San Jose de Apartado, which is one of the peaceful communities that decided to confront repression.

Vollnhall, Clemens, [Jahre des Umbruchs: Friedliche Revolution in der DDR und Transition in Ostmitteleuropa](#) [182], Goettingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012

The disintegration of the Soviet bloc led to different kinds of peaceful transformation in Central Eastern Europe at the end of the 1980s. In spite of many differences, common tendencies became apparent. Leading experts elaborate on similarities and differences in the GDR, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

Willems, Joachim, [Ziviler Ungehorsam? Pussy Riots Performances im Moskauer](#) [183], Forschungsjournal Soziale Bewegungen, Vol. 25, issue 1, 2014, pp. 8-14



Pussy Riot demonstrated provocatively in the Christ the Saviour Cathedral in Moscow (which is a symbol of Russian Orthodoxy) in February 2012, and then uploaded a video of this event with the caption 'Mother of God, drive out Putin'. This protest resulted in the arrest of the activists and made Pussy Riot world-famous, though they had staged four other politically and artistically motivated performances. This article assesses whether Pussy Riot's acts can be seen as civil disobedience.

A much more extensive list of German titles is available in:

Steinweg, Reiner, with Saskia Thorbecke, *Gewaltfreie Aktion, Ziviler Ungehorsam, Soziale Verteidigung*, Linz/Donau 2011.

Link on <http://reinersteinweg.blogspot.com/p/books.html> [184]

The bibliography (which includes a few titles in English and other languages) covers the theory of nonviolent action, case studies and reports on individual campaigns, movement literature, training for nonviolent action, civil disobedience, social defence and third party intervention including nonviolent action. It also includes materials on influential individual resisters and activists and theorists. Volumes 2 and 3 cover a list of authors and titles listed by year of publication.

NB It is hoped to make this bibliography more readily available on the internet in the future.

[Spanish Titles](#) [185]

Compiled by Jesús Castañar and Javier Gárate.

[Nonviolence and Nonviolent Action in Historical Perspective](#) [186]

Castañar, Jesús, [Teoría e Historia de la Revolución Noviolenta](#) [187], Barcelona, Virus, 2012, pp. 327

This is a historical review of nonviolent ideas and movements from the first recorded strike in ancient Egypt to the 21st century. It connects the concepts of revolution and transformation in each era with the historical movements which often inspired them. There are chapters on Tolstoy, Gandhi and other theorists of nonviolent action, e.g. Bart de Ligt and Gene Sharp, as well as chapters on conscientious objection, nonviolent resistance to Hitler and opposition to other dictatorships round the world, but no detailed examples after the 1960s. Instead it focuses on different approaches to nonviolent action, from the 'pragmatic' approaches of Sharp and Ackerman to the principled commitment to nonviolence of Burrowes, Martin and Lakey.

da Rocha, Antonio Casado, [La Desobediencia Civil a partir de Thoreau](#) [188], San Sebastian, Gakao Lubruak, 2002, pp. 133

This essay updates Thoreau's thought in the light of later additions by academics and activists. Starting from



Thoreau's own context, and using extracts from his classic text and other unpublished fragments available in Spanish, the author recreates Thoreau's thinking for today.

Equipo Plan Congruente de Paz y Nonviolencia, [Noviolencia. La transformacion creative del conflict social](#) [189], Medellín, Gobernación de Antioquia, 2004, pp. 168

This as an introductory book on nonviolence by various authors (Equipo Plan Congruente de Paz y Nonviolencia), centred on the classics: Thoreau, Gandhi and Luther King. It provides exercise sheets for students and develops the concept of 'kingian' nonviolence (following Martin Luther King's approach).

Ortega, Pere ; Pozo, Alejandro, [Noviolencia y Transformación social](#) [190], Barcelona, Icaria, 2005, pp. 131

This book is an introduction to some of the classic theories and movements of nonviolent action, based on the studies of Sharp and Ackerman, which have not yet been translated into Spanish. But it provides a personal interpretation derived from the principled approach to nonviolent action. A very good starting point for beginners in this subject.

Randle, Michael, [Resistencia Civil](#) [191], Barcelona, Paidós, 1998, pp. 262

Translation from English of 1994 study of the evolution of the concepts and practice of nonviolent action since the 18th century to 1991, the trends promoting its use, and its dynamics. The second part examines nonviolent civilian defence.

Translations: [English](#) [192]

Schell, Jonathan, [El mundo inconquistable. Poder, no violencia y voluntad popular](#) [193], Madrid, Galaxia Gutenberg, 2005, pp. 528

Translation from English of 2005 study exploring historical trends leading to greater role for nonviolence, Gandhi's innovative thought and the role of unarmed protest in some earlier revolutions. Then focuses in particular on the ideas of the resisters in Eastern Europe in the 1970s and 1980s and on the cooperative concept of power.

Translations: [English](#) [194]

[Civil Resistance in Practice](#) [195]

Delgado, Esperanza Hernández, [Resistencia civil artesana de paz: Experiencias indígenas, afrodescendientes y campesinas](#) [196], Bogotá, Editorial de la Universidad Javeriana, 2004, pp. 468

This is a key book about the Colombian peace communities and the civil resistance of indigenous peoples, Afro Americans and peasants in the context of a bloody civil war. It focuses in particular on the civil resistance of the Nasa people (Paez) in the Cauca department. This is not only the strongest movement (with their Indigenous Guard able to confront guerrillas, the army and paramilitaries), but also the one which has lasted longest and influenced the others. In addition there are studies of the Asociación Campesina Integral del Atrato (ACIA), Asociación de Trabajadores Campesinos de Carare (ATCC), Comunidad de Paz de San José de Apartadó and the Asamblea Municipal Constituyente de Tarso.

Forero, Eduardo Andrés Sa, [La Guardia Indígena Nasa y el Arte de la Resistencia Pacifica](#) [197], Ediciones Colección Étnica: Diálogos Interculturales, Fundación Hemera, 2008, pp. 143

This book combines an anthropological with a political approach, describing the origin, development and activities



of the Indigenous Guard of the Nasa People of Cauca (Colombia) with testimonies from some of their leaders.

Ormazabal, Sabino, [500 ejemplos de no violencia. Otra forma de contar la historia](#) [198], Bilbao, Fundación Manu Robles-Arangiz, 2009

This book is a compendium of many examples of nonviolent action, mainly in the Basque country, but also from the rest of the world. The examples are presented individually, without a connecting link, so this is not a history, but a compendium of cases.

Schock, Kurt, [Insurrecciones no armadas](#) [199], Bogotá, Centro Editorial, Universidad del Rosario, 2008, pp. 305

Translation by Freddy Cante (who contributes a Foreword) of 2005 study which explores issues of strategy and dynamics in nonviolent campaigns seeking political transformation, and discusses reasons for success illustrated by campaigns in South Africa, the Philippines, Nepal and Thailand, and for failure in China 1989 and Burma 1988.

Translations: [English](#) [200]

Sharp, Gene, [De la dictadura a la democracia. Un sistema conceptual para la liberación](#) [23], Boston MA, Albert Einstein Institution, 2003, pp. 104

The first English edition of this widely influential booklet, which gives advice on planning and implementing nonviolent campaigns to those resisting repression, was published in 1993.

Translations: [English](#) [22] | [Italian](#) [24] | [French](#) [21]

[Nonviolent \(Civilian\) Defence](#) [201]

Arias, Gonzalo, [El proyecto político de la No violencia](#) [202], [1973], Madrid, Nueva Utopía, 1995, pp. 204

(First edition was printed illegally in 1973 during the Franco dictatorship.)

This is a compilation of texts on nonviolent alternatives to accepting unjust rule, starting from the classics, e.g. Thoreau, Tolstoy, Gandhi, Gregg and Ramamurti, and providing translations of important contemporary European authors, such as Muller, Ebert, Colbere or Frogner. The second appendix of the second edition offers a summary of the nonviolent movement in Spain up to 1995.

Colectivo Utopía Contagiosa, [Política No violenta y Lucha Social. Alternativa No violenta a la defensa militar](#) [203], Madrid, Ecologistas en Acción, 2012, pp. 302

This book summarizes the long term work of the two person collective Utopía Contagiosa on defense alternatives from an antimilitarist point of view. The model of military defense is challenged from a nonviolence- cooperation paradigm which conflicts with the hegemonic paradigm of domination and violence. The authors then propose transarmament, suggesting criteria, methodological orientations and a two-phase implementation, together with several proposals for sectorial transarmament for debate.

Martínez, Mario López, [Ni paz ni guerra. sino todo lo contrario. Ensayos sobre defensa y resistencia civil](#) [204], Granada, Ano-Lugar, 2012, pp. 134

Professor Lopez presents the concepts of civil defense, people power, civil resistance, nonviolent defense and peace building. Although the book is a compilation of articles, it has a structural connection, and the many references provide the reader with more than an introduction – a full map of sources to research the ideas



presented.

Proyecto AUPA, [Defensa Popular Noviolenta](#) [205], Zaragoza, Ediciones Mamburú, 1989, pp. 40

This pamphlet was for a long time the only publication on the history of nonviolent movements, reviewing classical cases such as the resistance to the Kapp Putsch, the Salt March led by Gandhi and the Prague Spring among others.

[Civil Disobedience in Theory and Practice](#) [206]

Lastra, Antonio, [Desobediencia civil. Historia y antología de un concepto](#) [207], Madrid, Technos, 2012, pp. 308

Primarily a compilation of texts on civil disobedience from a philosophical perspective, using texts from George Anastaplo, G.E. Lessing, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau, plus chapter 6 from John Rawls's *Theory of Justice*. Tolstoy is represented by chapters 14 and 15 from his novel *War and Peace*, and there is an appendix with two short classic texts from Gandhi and Martin Luther King.

Lliso, Juan Carlos Dal, [La Objecion Fiscal a los gastos militares](#) [208], Madrid, Technos, 1996

Study of the Spanish tax resistance campaign against military expenditure, launched in the early 1980s and still continuing.

Pérez, José Antonio, [Manual Práctico para la Desobediencia Civil](#) [209], Pamplona, Amiel, 1994, pp. 254

This is a handbook explaining the scope of civil disobedience written in a readable, non-technical style. The first two chapters cover the origins and traditions of disobedience, followed by practical examples. Emphasis is given to tax resistance and conscientious objection to military service, with detailed explanations how to engage in both, plus examples of letters to send to the administration. There are also chapters on theoretical issues arising.

Tella, María Jose Falco, [La Desobediencia Civil](#) [210], Monografías Jurídicas, Madrid/Barcelona, Macello Pons, 2000, pp. 570

A study of civil disobedience from a legal standpoint.

Turrión, Páblo Iglésias, [Desobedientes. De Chiapas a Madrid](#) [211], Madrid, Editorial Popular, 2011, pp. 260

This book was written in 2011 by the present leader of the radical party 'Podemos', just before he became a TV star. His aim is to explain the genealogy of the 15M movement, linking it with 'Juvenal sin Futuro' (Youth without a Future) and 'Democracia Real Ya' (True Democracy), and connecting these with the lessons learned in the anti-globalization movement at the beginning of the 21st century, and with the Italian 'Disobedienti'.

[Insumisión](#) [212]

Aguirre, Xavier ; Ajangiz, Rafael ; Ibarra, Pedro ; de Rozas, Rafael Sainz, [La insumisión. un singular ciclo](#)



[histórico de desobediencia civil](#) [213], Madrid, Technos, 1998, pp. 171

Primarily an account of the movement of conscientious objection and 'insumision' in Spain, but including analysis and proposals. It was written by university teachers who joined the movement and assisted from inside. Published in the final stage of the movement, when the end of conscription was announced. but there were still objectors jailed in military prisons.

Beristain, Carlos M., [La insumisión encarcelada](#) [214], Barcelona, Virus, 1992, pp. 158

A compilation of the voices and experiences of seven objectors in prison, as well as of their relatives and supporting groups, in the context of the first years of the campaign of disobedience to military service in Spain. This book arose out of the need to train activists to face jail.

Domínguez, Rosario, [La Insumisión. Una forma de vida](#) [215], Madrid, La Malatesta Editorial, 2012, pp. 147

Tells the story of the *insumisos* from the point of view of one of the mothers. It begins with a summary of the historical process and then introduces a personal narrative of the experience of trials and jail, and the struggle of the conscientious objectors' mothers association. Includes press articles and pictures which illustrate each element of the story.

Ibarra, Pedro, [Objeción e insumisión, claves ideológicas y sociales](#) [216], Madrid, Fundamentos, 1992, pp. 319

This collective work analyzes the origins and early stages of conscientious objection and *insumision* in Spain, its ideological debates and evolution. It includes an analysis of the national and international political context, a chapter on alternative civilian service in the Federal Republic of Germany, and a guide to becoming an objector.

Movimiento de Objeción de Conciencia, [En Legítima Desobediencia](#) [217], Madrid, Proyecto Editorial Traficantes de Sueños, 2002, pp. 348

This is the major compilation of declarations, press statements and articles by the protagonists of the *insumisión* campaign at the time of their disobedience. Therefore it includes accounts of various stages of movement, such as the formation of the first objectors' groups, and defiance of the Conscientious Objection Act, and the struggle inside the prison in Pamplona. There are also manifestoes, letters of support and internal documents which record these struggles and others that arose out of them: for example the gender issue raised by antimilitarist-feminist women, and the campaign against military expenditure involving tax refusal.

Oliver, Pedro, [La utopía insumisa de Pepe Beunza. Una objeción subversiva durante el franquismo](#) [218], Barcelona, Virus, 2002, pp. 174

A book about the beginning of the conscientious objection movement in Spain, which tells the story of Pepe Beunza, the first C.O. in Spain who embarked on disobedience under the Franco dictatorship. It is not only about Pepe's personal experience, but also an account of the supporting campaigns and of the next conscientious objectors and the creation of MOC, the C.O. movement that still exists.



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- [19] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/2010/sur-les-chemins-de-la-non-violence-etudes-de-philosophie-morale-et-politique-0>
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- [23] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/2003/de-la-dictadura-la-democracia-un-sistema-conceptual-para-la-liberacion>
- [24] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/2011/come-abbattere-un-regime-manuale-di-liberazione-nonviolenta>
- [25] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/2000/la-non-violence-expliquee-mes-filles-0>
- [26] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/2011/face-au-totalitarisme-la-resistance-civile>
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- [31] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/2009/petit-manuel-de-desobeissance-civile-lusage-de-ceux-qui-veulent-vraiment-changer-0>
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- [35] <https://civilresistance.info/biblio-item/1985/la-dissuasion-civile>
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