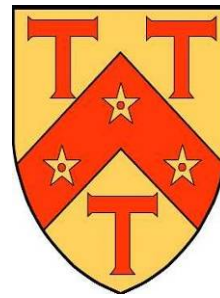


**CENTRE FOR
INTERNATIONAL
STUDIES**

DEPARTMENT OF
POLITICS AND
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



**EUROPEAN
STUDIES
CENTRE**

ST ANTONY'S COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF
OXFORD

CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RESISTANCE & POWER POLITICS

St Antony's College, University of Oxford

15-18 March 2007

PROGRAMME

All sessions will take place in St Antony's College Lecture Theatre

Sponsors:

**International Center
on Nonviolent Conflict**



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**Foreign Affairs and
International Trade Canada**
Human Security Program

Organizing Committee:

Professor Judith Brown, Balliol College

Dr Peter Carey, Trinity College

Professor Timothy Garton Ash, St Antony's College

Dr Rana Mitter, Institute for Chinese Studies

Dr Alex Pravda, St Antony's College

Professor Sir Adam Roberts, Balliol College (Chair)

Professor Jan Zielonka, St Antony's College

Research Associate:

Dr Thomas Richard Davies

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The conference proceedings will be under the Chatham House Rule: 'when a meeting, or part thereof, is held under the Chatham House Rule, participants are free to use the information received, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speaker(s), nor that of any other participant, may be revealed.'

Thursday 15 March 2007

11.30 am **Registration** in St Antony's College Hilda Besse Building (ground floor)
- 2.00 pm Coffee available from 11.30 am
 Buffet lunch available in Hall from 12.30 pm

The registration desk will remain open throughout the conference. From 9.00 am on Friday 16 March the registration desk will be located at the entrance to the Lecture Theatre, where all conference sessions take place.

Asterisks indicate those who have submitted a paper but cannot be present in person.

2.00 pm **Session 1: Civil resistance and power politics: the questions**
- 3.15 pm *Chair:* Timothy Garton Ash (Professor of European Studies, University of Oxford)
Paper-giver: Adam Roberts (Montague Burton Professor of International Relations, University of Oxford)
Respondent: Jacques Semelin (Research Director, CERI/CNRS, Paris)

3.15 pm **Session 2: Gandhi and civil resistance in India: some key questions**
- 4.30 pm *Chair:* David Washbrook (Reader in Modern South Asian History, University of Oxford)
Paper-giver: Judith Brown (Beit Professor of the History of the British Commonwealth, University of Oxford)
Respondent: Bhikhu Parekh (Professor of Political Philosophy, University of Westminster)

4.30 pm Tea and coffee in the Hilda Besse Building

5.00 pm **Session 3: *The Politics of Nonviolent Action and the spread of ideas about civil resistance***
- 6.30 pm *Chair:* Adam Roberts (Montague Burton Professor of International Relations, University of Oxford)
Paper-giver: Gene Sharp (Senior Scholar, Albert Einstein Institution)
Respondents: April Carter (formerly Politics Lecturer at Somerville College, Oxford), Mary King (Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies, University for Peace), and Steve York (Senior Producer, York Zimmerman Inc.)

7.15 pm Dinner in Hall at 7.15 pm prompt

8.30 pm **Session 4: The US civil rights movement: power from below and above**
- 10.00 pm *Chair:* Rana Mitter (Fellow of St Cross College, Oxford)
Paper-giver: Doug McAdam (Professor of Sociology, Stanford University)
Respondent: Harris Wofford (former senator and civil rights lawyer)

Friday 16 March 2007: Morning

- 9.00 am **Session 5: Interplay of non-violence and violence in Ireland, 1967-72**
- 10.00 am *Chair:* Adrian Guelke (Professor of Comparative Politics, Queen's University, Belfast)
Paper-giver: Richard English (Professor of Politics, Queen's University, Belfast)
Respondents: Kenneth Bloomfield (formerly Northern Ireland Victims Commissioner) and Bob Purdie (Tutor in Politics and History, Ruskin College, Oxford)
- 10.00 am **Session 6: Interplay of non-violence and violence in South Africa, 1983-94**
- 11.00 am *Chair:* William Beinart (Rhodes Professor of Race Relations, University of Oxford)
Paper-giver: Tom Lodge (Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Limerick)
Respondents: Mkhuseli Jack (South African businessman and anti-apartheid activist) and Adrian Guelke (Professor of Comparative Politics, Queen's University, Belfast)
- 11.00 am Coffee in the Hilda Besse Building
- 11.30 am **Session 7: Portugal: 'Revolution of Carnations,' 1974**
- 1.00 pm *Chair:* Laurence Whitehead (Official Fellow in Politics, Nuffield College, Oxford)
Paper by: Kenneth Maxwell* (Director, Brazil Studies Program, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University)
Respondent: Zita Seabra (Publisher, Social Democratic Parliamentarian, and former member of the Political Commission of the Portuguese Communist Party)
Written comment by: Carlos Gaspar* (Director, Portuguese Institute of International Relations and advisor to Presidents Soares and Sampaio)
- 1.00 pm Buffet lunch in Hall

Friday 16 March 2007: Afternoon

- 2.00 pm **Session 8: Iranian resistance to the Shah, 1963-79**
- 3.30 pm *Chair:* Judith Brown (Beit Professor of the History of the British Commonwealth, University of Oxford)
Paper-giver: Ervand Abrahamian (CUNY Distinguished Professor of History, Baruch College)
Respondent: Abbas Milani (Hamid & Christina Moghadam Director of Iranian Studies, Stanford University)
- 3.30 pm **Session 9: Philippines: 'People Power,' 1983-7**
- 5.00 pm *Chair:* Peter Carey (Laithwaite Fellow and Tutor in Modern History, Trinity College, Oxford)
Paper-giver: Amado Mendoza (Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of the Philippines)
Respondents: Ed de la Torre* (former leader of the National Democratic Front), Stephen Bosworth (Dean, Fletcher School, Tufts University) and James Fenton (journalist and former Professor of Poetry, University of Oxford)
- 5.00 pm Tea and coffee in the Hilda Besse Building
- 5.30 pm **Session 10: China: Tiananmen, 1989: defeat of civil resistance**
- 7.00 pm *Chair:* Rana Mitter (University Lecturer in Modern Chinese History and Politics, University of Oxford, and Fellow of St Cross College)
Paper by: Merle Goldman* (Professor Emerita of History at Boston University)
Respondents: Wang Juntao (co-founder, Beijing Social and Economic Sciences Research Institute), Minxin Pei (Director, China Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace) and Frank Pieke (Director, Institute for Chinese Studies, University of Oxford)
- 7.15 pm Dinner in Hall at 7.15 pm prompt
- 8.30 pm **Session 11: Peace & green movements in the 1980s in West Germany & other western European countries: intended & unintended consequences**
- 10.00 pm *Chair:* Martin Ceadel (Professor of Politics, University of Oxford, and Fellow of New College)
Paper-giver: Konrad Jarausch (Lurcy Professor of European Civilization, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)
Respondents: Mient Jan Faber (Professor, Department of Political Science, Free University Amsterdam) and Mary Kaldor (Professor of Global Governance, London School of Economics and Political Science)

Saturday 17 March 2007: Morning

9.00 am *Sessions 12 to 16: Central and eastern Europe from 1968 to the end of the*
- 3.30 pm *Soviet Union*

9.00 am **Session 12: The Soviet response to civil resistance within the bloc, 1968-91**
- 10.45am *Chair: Timothy Garton Ash (Professor of European Studies, University of Oxford)*
Paper-giver: Mark Kramer (Professor and Director of Cold War Studies, Harvard University)

Session 13: Civil resistance in Czechoslovakia, 1968-89

Chair: Timothy Garton Ash (Professor of European Studies, University of Oxford)
Paper-giver: Kieran Williams (Instructor in Politics, Drake University)
Respondent: Monika MacDonagh-Pajerová (Chairperson, ANO pro Evropu; spokesperson for the University Strike Committee during the Velvet Revolution)

10.45 am Coffee in the Hilda Besse Building

11.15 am **Session 14: Civil resistance in Poland, 1970-89**
- 1.00 pm *Chair: Timothy Garton Ash (Professor of European Studies, University of Oxford)*
Paper by: Aleksander Smolar (President, Stefan Batory Foundation, Warsaw)*
Respondent: Janusz Reykowski (Professor, Polish Academy of Science and Warsaw School of Social Psychology; former co-chair, political reform table and 1989 Round Table negotiations)

Session 15: East Germany and the fall of the Wall

Chair: Timothy Garton Ash (Professor of European Studies, University of Oxford)
Paper-giver: Charles Maier (Leverett Saltonstall Professor of History, Harvard University)

1.00 pm Buffet lunch in Hall

Saturday 17 March 2007: Afternoon

- 2.00 pm **Session 16: The struggle for independence in the Baltic Republics**
- 3.30 pm *Chair:* Paul Chaisty (University Lecturer in Russian Government, St Antony's College, Oxford)
Paper-giver: Mark Beissinger (Professor of Politics, Princeton University)
Respondents: Grazina Miniotaite (Professor of Politics, Military Academy of Lithuania) and Lars Fredén (Ambassador, Embassy of Sweden, Zagreb, Croatia)
- 3.30 pm **Session 17: Skills or conditions: what key factors shape the success or failure of civil resistance?**
- 5.00 pm *Chair:* Adam Roberts (Montague Burton Professor of International Relations, University of Oxford)
Paper-giver: Peter Ackerman (Founding Chair, International Center on Nonviolent Conflict)
Respondents: Zarni (Founder, Free Burma Coalition) and Lucy Nusseibeh (Founder and Director, Middle East Nonviolence and Democracy)
- 5.00 pm Tea and coffee in the Hilda Besse Building
- 5.30 pm **Session 18: Civil resistance in Chile, 1983-9**
- 7.00 pm *Chair:* Alan Angell (former Director of the Latin American Centre, St Antony's College, University of Oxford)
Paper-giver: Carlos Huneeus (Associate Professor of Politics, University of Chile)
Respondents: Patricio Silva (Professor of Modern Latin American History, Leiden University) and Samuel Valenzuela (Professor of Sociology, University of Notre Dame)
- 7.00 pm Evening free
onwards

Sunday 18 March 2007

9.00 am **Session 19: Civil resistance in Kosovo to 1999**

- 10.45 am *Chair:* Richard Caplan (Professor of International Relations, Oxford University)
Paper-giver: Howard Clark (Chair, War Resisters' International)
Respondent: Hydajet Hyseni (MP, Assembly of Kosova)

Session 20: Serbia: civil resistance leading to revolution after war, 2000

- Chair:* Richard Caplan (Professor of International Relations, Oxford University)
Paper-giver: Ivan Vejvoda (Executive Director, Balkan Trust for Democracy)
Respondent: Srdja Popovic (Executive Director, Centre for Applied Non-Violent Action and Strategies)

10.45 am Coffee in the Hilda Besse Building

11.15 am **Session 21: Georgia, 2003: 'Rose Revolution'**

- 1.00 pm *Chair:* Jan Zielonka (Professor of European Politics, Oxford University)
Paper-giver: Stephen Jones (Professor of Russian and Eurasian Studies, Mount Holyoke College)
Respondent: Ghia Nodia (Chairman of the Board, Caucasus Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development)

Session 22: Ukraine, 2004-5: 'Orange Revolution'

- Chair:* Jan Zielonka (Professor of European Politics, Oxford University)
Paper-giver: Andrew Wilson (Senior Lecturer, Russian and Ukrainian Studies, School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College London)
Respondent: Dmytro Potekhin* (Director, European Strategy Group)

1.00 pm Buffet lunch in Hall

2.00 pm **Session 23 (panel discussion): Civil resistance and the roles of external actors**

- 3.30 pm *Chair:* Adam Roberts (Montague Burton Professor of International Relations, University of Oxford)
Panelists: Michael McFaul (Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution), Edward Mortimer (Senior Vice President and Chief Programme Officer, Salzburg Seminar), and Jonathan Steele (Senior Foreign Correspondent, *The Guardian*)

3.30 pm Tea and coffee in the Hilda Besse Building

4.00 pm **Session 24 (panel discussion): Civil resistance in a world of power politics: lessons learned and questions unanswered**

- 5.30 pm *Chair:* Timothy Garton Ash (Professor of European Studies, University of Oxford)
Panelists: Thomas Richard Davies (Research Associate, Project on Civil Resistance and Power Politics, University of Oxford) and Chris Patten (Chancellor of the University of Oxford)

Overview of the Project on 'Civil Resistance and Power Politics'

The Centre for International Studies in Oxford University's Department of Politics and International Relations and the European Studies Centre at St Antony's College are jointly organizing the project on 'Civil Resistance and Power Politics: Domestic and International Dimensions.' The landmark international conference on this topic in Oxford (15 to 18 March 2007) is to be followed by a major scholarly edited book. There will also be certain other workshops and seminars, and other forms of output – e.g. journal articles, shorter books, web pages, and radio/TV programmes. A full-time Research Associate, Dr Thomas Davies, is co-ordinating the work. The project's Organizing Committee consists of seven Oxford academics. The project also reflects extensive consultations with numerous other colleagues in Oxford, the UK generally, and many other countries. Details of the programme are at:
<http://www.sant.ox.ac.uk/esc/esc-civil-resistance.shtml>

1. PURPOSES

The Project on Civil Resistance and Power Politics: Domestic and International Dimensions is an exploration of the nature and significance of civil (i.e. non-violent) resistance, especially, though not exclusively, in the period since the 1960s. It aims first and foremost to raise the academic level of treatment of the subject. This mode of political action has been of demonstrable importance in the past hundred years and more, yet there has been far too little serious study of many of its aspects. A focus on this phenomenon and its roles in international politics challenges the view that only the exercise of power by military means can bring about fundamental changes in authoritarian societies. The project will explore this phenomenon in a rigorous and open-minded way, asking a number of hard questions that are often avoided, and exploring a wide range of relevant historical evidence. The resulting book and other output will have as an aim to assist a better understanding of civil resistance on the part of governments, activists, members of the public, and scholars. They may therefore have significance for future action as well as for understanding the past and the present.

The conference, participation in which is by invitation/application only, will consist mainly of academics and analysts plus some practitioners who have been involved in particular campaigns of civil resistance. On the basis of prepared papers, it will look at some general themes, and also at a large number of cases. The cases considered will include, but not be limited to, the Indian independence struggle to 1947; the US civil rights movement in the 1960s; the Iranian resistance to 1979; the overthrow of President Marcos in the Philippines in 1986; opposition activity in South Africa contributing to the end of the apartheid regime; many examples of civil resistance in central and eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, culminating in the regime changes of 1989-91; Serbian opposition activities culminating in the fall of Slobodan Milosevic in 2000; the 'rose revolution' in Georgia in 2003; and the 'orange revolution' in Ukraine in 2004-5. It will also examine a number of apparent failures such as the Czechoslovak resistance in 1968; the events leading to the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989 in China; and the resistance in Kosovo before the 1999 war.

2. COMMON QUESTIONS IN CASE STUDIES

The project, and its conference, will explore a wide range of issues relating to the role of civil resistance in international politics. Some common questions will be addressed in the case studies and also in some thematic papers:

1. Were the reasons for the use of non-violent methods derived from an absolute rejection of all political violence, or from more particular strategic, moral, cultural and other considerations?
2. To the extent that a non-violent movement was able to operate effectively, was this in part due to particular favourable circumstances in the overall power situation, both domestic and international? How important are methods of civil resistance in comparison to the conditions within which it operates?
3. Has civil resistance demonstrated a particular value as one instrument (alongside other instruments such as external election monitors) for challenging fraudulent election processes and ensuring a free and fair outcome?
4. Can an international legal/normative regime provide a favourable background for civil resistance?
5. To what extent did the non-violent movement succeed in undermining, or threatening to undermine, the adversary's sources of power and legitimacy (military, economic, psychological, organizational, etc)?
6. Was any force or violence used alongside non-violent methods, and if so what were its effects?
7. What has been the role of external actors of all kinds (government, quasi-non-governmental organisations, NGOs, diasporas) in assisting or attempting to influence civil resistance?
8. Is there evidence of *agents provocateurs* being sent in by the state, or of other efforts to discredit the movement by depicting it as violent?
9. How has the development of technologies, especially information technology (e.g. fax, email, internet), affected the capacities of civil resistance?
10. Was there any implicit or explicit threat of a future use of force or violence to carry forward the non-violent movement's cause if the movement did not achieve a degree of success, or if extreme repression was used against it?
11. If there was such a threat, was it from the leaders of the movement itself, from potential allies among its 'constituency' of support, or from outside forces such as, for example, the governments of neighbouring states or international bodies?
12. In cases where outside governments or organizations supported the movement, did they understand and respect the reasons for avoiding the use of force or violence? Should rules (possibly in the form of a draft code of conduct) be established regarding the character and extent of such external support?
13. Was civil resistance in one country instigated or assisted by another state as a mere instrument for pursuing its own ends or embarrassing an adversary? If accusations of this kind were made, did they have any credibility?
14. Overall, can the movement be viewed as a success or failure? How adequately do these labels reflect outcomes that may be highly ambiguous, especially with the benefit of hindsight?
15. In what time-frame should the effectiveness of civil resistance be judged?
16. Has experience of civil resistance had an impact on the way in which civil society groups have subsequently operated? If they entered into government, did the leaders and exponents of civil resistance show any distinctive approach to the management and use of military and police power by their state?
17. Is there a connection between the practice of civil resistance and liberal outcomes (such as democratic government and respect of minority rights)? If yes, what is the nature of that connection, and what lessons might be learned?

The conference organizers would like to express their considerable gratitude to the following funders for their generous support for the project on Civil Resistance and Power Politics:

The International Center on Nonviolent Conflict

The United States Institute of Peace

The Zeit Foundation

The Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The Rockefeller Brothers Fund

The Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs
and International Trade Human Security Program

The British Foreign and Commonwealth Office
Conflict Issues Group and Research Analysts

The British Academy

The conference organizers would also like to express their thanks for the kind assistance of Oxford University's Contemporary China Studies Programme and the South East Asia Fund of the Asian Studies Centre at St Antony's College.

AR/TGA/TD
21 March 2007