

Gene Sharp's 198 Tactics List: *'The Politics of Nonviolent Action'*

Formal statement

1. Public speeches [e.g. 1934 speech by non-Nazi vice-chancellor in Germany expressing alarm and calling for restoration of freedoms]
2. Letters of opposition or support
3. Declarations by organisations and institutions [priests in Vichy France against deportation of Jews]
4. Signed public statements
5. Declarations of indictment and intention
6. Group or mass petitions

Communications with a Wider Audience

7. Slogans, caricatures, and symbols [Baum Jewish group in Berlin, 1941-2]
8. Banners, posters and displayed communications
9. Leaflets, pamphlets, and books
10. Newspapers and journals
11. Records, radio, and television [Czechoslovakia in 1968 most advanced use of radio for nonviolent resistance within a country]
12. Skywriting and earthwriting

Group representations

13. Deputations
14. Mock awards [Dawn magazine's 'Adolf' awards named after 20th century dictator!*
15. Group lobbying
16. Picketing
17. Mock elections

Symbolic Public Acts

18. Displays of flags and symbolic colours [Hungarian flags 1865 to Austrian emperor]
19. Wearing of symbols [Jewish yellow star in WW2 adopted voluntarily]
20. Prayer and worship
21. Delivering symbolic objects [rats, rubbish etc]
22. Protest disrobings [women protesting at men-only Forty Foot bathing place, Dublin*]
23. Destruction of own property [tea in colonial North America]
24. Symbolic lights [candles etc]
25. Displays of portraits
26. Paint as protest
27. New signs and names [Poland in 1942, Northern Ireland ongoing*]
28. Symbolic sounds
29. Symbolic reclamations [e.g. planting seeds to reclaim land]
30. Rude gestures

Pressure on Individuals

31. "Haunting" officials [following them around etc.]
32. Taunting officials
33. Fraternisation [e.g. winning people over by being friendly as deliberate strategy]
34. Vigils

Drama and Music

35. Humorous skits and pranks [1956 East German skits on communist propaganda]
36. Performances of plays and music
37. Singing

Processions

38. Marches
39. Parades [marching in an organised manner as protest]
40. Religious processions
41. Pilgrimages [e.g. Gandhi, 1947, to persuade Muslims and Hindus to live together peacefully]
42. Motorcades

Honouring the Dead

43. Political mourning
44. Mock funerals [e.g. 'Liberty']
45. Demonstrative funerals [half a million attended Jan Palach's funeral, Prague, 1969]
46. Homage at burial places

Public Assemblies

47. Assemblies of protest or support
48. Protest meetings
49. Camouflaged meetings of protest [e.g. political 'banquets' in Russia, 1904-5] [when protests were banned in Marcos-era Philippines, protest jogs took place!*
50. Teach-ins

Withdrawal and Renunciation

51. Walk-outs
52. Silence
53. Renouncing honours [during Ronald Reagan's Irish visit, some people handed back honorary degrees when he was awarded one*]
54. Turning one's back.

The Methods of Social Noncooperation

Ostracism of Persons

55. Social boycott
56. Selective social boycott
57. Lysistratic nonaction [where women refuse to sleep with their warring menfolk, named after Lysistrata in play of same name by Aristophanes]
58. Excommunication [religious]
59. Interdict [i.e. general excommunication of an area or district]

Noncooperation with Social Events, Customs and Institutions

60. Suspension of social and sports activities [e.g. Norway in World War II]
61. Boycott of social affairs
62. Student strike
63. Social disobedience [e.g. fraternising with untouchables, India]
64. Withdrawal from social institutions

Withdrawal from the Social System

65. Stay-at-home
66. Total personal noncooperation
67. "Flight" of workers
68. Sanctuary [giving refuge with

- religious connotations]
69. Collective disappearance
70. Protest emigration (hijrat)

The Methods of Economic Noncooperation: Economic Boycotts

Action by Consumers

71. Consumers' boycott
72. Non-consumption of boycotted goods [even where you've already bought them]
73. Policy of austerity
74. Rent withholding [e.g. withholding 'unjust' rents, Land League, Ireland, 1879]
75. Refusal to rent
76. National consumers' boycott
77. International consumers' boycott

Action by Workers and Producers

78. Workmen's boycott
79. Producers' boycott [refusal to sell or deliver products]

Action by Middlemen

80. Suppliers' and handlers' boycott

Action by Owners and management

81. Traders' boycott
82. Refusal to let or sell property
83. Lockout [all examples given by Sharp are politically reactionary]
84. Refusal of industrial assistance [by other firms]
85. Merchants' "general strike"

Action by Holders of Financial Resources

86. Withdrawal of bank deposits [e.g. people protesting about apartheid era S Africa]
87. Refusal to pay fees, dues and assessments
88. Refusal to pay debts or interest
89. Severance of funds and credit
90. Revenue refusal
91. Refusal of a government's money [e.g. paper money]

Action by Governments

92. Domestic embargo
93. Blacklisting of traders
94. International sellers' embargo [refusal to sell to another country]
95. International buyers' embargo [prohibition of goods from specific country]
96. International trade embargo

The Methods of Economic Noncooperation: The Strike

Symbolic strikes

97. Protest strike
98. Quickie walkout (lightning strike)

Agricultural Strikes

99. Peasant strike
100. Farm workers' strike

Strikes by Special Groups

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101. Refusal of impressed labour
102. Prisoners' strike [e.g. USA 1943 against racial segregation at meals]
103. Craft strike [i.e. a single craft, e.g. dressmakers]
104. Professional strike [salaried or self-employed]

Ordinary Industrial Strike

105. Establishment strike [at a single unit under one management]
106. Industry strike
107. Sympathetic strike [outlawed in UK under Thatcher regime*]

Restricted Strikes

108. Detailed strike [leave or stop one by one]
109. Bumper strike [taking on one firm at a time]
110. Slowdown strike
111. Working-to-rule strike
112. Reporting "sick" (sick-in) [e.g. Garda Siochana 'blue flu' in the Republic over pay!*
113. Strike by resignation
114. Limited strike [e.g. refusal to do marginal work or work more than 8 hours]
115. Selective strike

Multi-Industry Strikes

116. Generalised strike [less than a majority of industry]
117. General strike

Combination of Strikes and Economic Closures

118. Hartal [India; suspension of economic life to make a political point]
119. Economic shutdown [everyone]

The Methods of Political Noncooperation

Rejection of Authority

120. Withholding or withdrawal of allegiance [Hungary, America, Ruhr 1923, Ireland]
121. Refusal of public support
122. Literature and speeches advocating resistance

Citizens' Noncooperation with Government

123. Boycott of legislative bodies [e.g. Ireland 1919]
124. Boycott of elections [Northern Ireland, various*]
125. Boycott of government employment and positions
126. Boycott of government departments, agencies and other bodies [e.g. by unionists and loyalists in Northern Ireland, post Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985*]
127. Withdrawal from government educational institutions

128. Boycott of government-supported organizations
129. Refusal of assistance to enforcement agents [Ireland 1881; cattle moved before bailiffs arrive]
130. Removal of own signs and placemarks
131. Refusal to accept appointed officials
132. Refusal to dissolve existing institutions

Citizens' Alternatives to Obedience

133. Reluctant and slow compliance [e.g. to paying taxes]
134. Nonobedience in absence of direct supervision
135. Popular nonobedience
136. Disguised disobedience [e.g. banned newspaper changes its name]
137. Refusal of an assemblage or meeting to disperse [e.g. France, 1789]
138. Sitdown
139. Noncooperation with conscription and deportation
140. Hiding, escape, and false identities
141. Civil disobedience of "illegitimate" laws [e.g. salt tax in British-occupied India]

Action by Government Personnel

142. Selective refusal of assistance by government aides
143. Blocking of lines of command and information
144. Stalling and obstruction [scientists engaged in atomic research, Nazi Germany]
145. General administrative noncooperation
146. Judicial noncooperation
147. Deliberate inefficiency and selective noncooperation by enforcement agents
148. Mutiny [military refuse orders]

Domestic Governmental Action

149. Quasi-legal evasions and delays
150. Noncooperation by constituent governmental units

International Governmental Action

151. Changes in diplomatic and other representations
152. Delay and cancellation of diplomatic events
153. Withholding of diplomatic recognition
154. Severance of diplomatic relations
155. Withdrawal from international organizations
156. Refusal of membership in international bodies
157. Expulsion from international organizations [USSR expelled from league of Nations over attack on Finland, 1939]

The Methods of Nonviolent Intervention

Psychological Intervention

158. Self-exposure to the elements
159. The fast: Fast of moral pressure [e.g. St Patrick to get King Trián to treat slaves well], Hunger strike [could be to death], Satyagrahic fast [Gandhian, intention to convert people but coercive elements]
160. Reverse trial [defendants hold prosecutors and authorities to account]
161. Nonviolent harassment [psychological harassment by various means]

Physical Intervention

162. Sit-in
163. Stand-in
164. Ride-in [on public transport]
165. Wade-in [e.g. on beaches]
166. Mill-in [staying mobile]
167. Pray-in
168. Nonviolent raids
169. Nonviolent air raids [e.g. leaflets]
170. Nonviolent invasion [e.g. Goa 1955]
171. Nonviolent interjection [placing body inbetween]
172. Nonviolent obstruction [body used as physical barrier]
173. Nonviolent occupation

Social Intervention

174. Establishing new social patterns [social mixing across barriers]
 175. Overloading of facilities
 176. Stall-in [conducting legitimate business as slowly as possible]
 177. Speak-in
 178. Guerrilla theatre
 179. Alternative social institutions
 180. Alternative communication system ['samizdat' publishing in USSR]
- #### Economic intervention
181. Reverse strike [work in]
 182. Stay-in strike [strike but stay in work place]
 183. Nonviolent land seizure
 184. Defiance of blockades [e.g. Berlin in Cold war]
 185. Politically motivated counterfeiting
 186. Preclusive purchasing [buying resources so others can't get them]
 187. Seizure of assets
 188. Dumping [deliberately selling at low price]
 189. Selective patronage
 190. Alternative markets
 191. Alternative transport systems
 192. Alternative economic institutions
 193. Overloading of administrative systems [e.g. excessive compliance as protest against USA involvement in Vietnam]
 194. Disclosing identities of secret agents
 195. Seeking imprisonment
 196. Civil disobedience of "neutral" laws
 197. Work-on without collaboration
 198. Dual sovereignty and parallel government [e.g. Ireland, 1919]