

CATHOLIC BISHOPS CALL FOR CONSIDERATION OF NONVIOLENT POPULAR DEFENSE

On May 3, 1983, United States Roman Catholic Bishops approved a national pastoral letter entitled "The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response". Their letter constitutes an invitation and a challenge to U.S. Catholics to help shape the conscious choices and deliberate policies required to influence the course of the nuclear age.

In their lengthy pastoral the bishops examine scriptural and theological perspectives on war and peace and they take up issues of public policy and strategy. Section III, entitled "The Promotion of Peace: Proposals and Policies" contains the bishops' references to popular defense. The following excerpts are from Section III, Part A of the Pastoral.

"We affirm a nation's right to defend itself, its citizens and its values. Security is the right of all, but that right, like everything else, must be subject to divine law and the limits defined by that law. We must find means of defending peoples that do not depend upon the threat of annihilation. Immoral means can never be justified by the end sought..."

"Non-violent means of resistance to evil deserve much more study and consideration than they have thus far received. There have been significant instances in which people have successfully resisted oppression without recourse to arms. Non-violence is not the way of the weak, the cowardly or the impatient. Such movements have seldom gained headlines even though they have left their mark on history. The heroic Danes who would not turn Jews over to the Nazis and the Norwegians who would not teach Nazi propaganda in schools serve as inspiring examples in the history of non-violence."

"Non-violent resistance, like war, can take many forms depending upon the demands of a given situation. There is, for instance, organized popular defense instituted by government as part of its contingency planning. Citizens would be trained in the techniques of peaceable

non-compliance and non-cooperation as a means of hindering an invading force or non-democratic government from imposing its will. Effective non-violent resistance requires the united will of a people and may demand as much patience and sacrifice from those who practice it as is now demanded by war and preparation for war. It may not always succeed. Nevertheless, before the possibility is dismissed as impractical or unrealistic, we urge that it be measured against the almost certain effects of a major war."

"Nonviolent resistance offers a common ground of agreement for those individuals who choose the option of Christian pacifism even to the point of accepting the need to die rather than to kill and those who choose the option of lethal force allowed by the theology of just war. Non-violent resistance makes clear that both are able to be committed to the same objective; defense of their country."

In discussing the final outcome of the practice of popular defense, the bishops envision results which go further than some proponents would believe possible:

"Popular defense would go beyond conflict resolution and compromise to a basic synthesis of beliefs and values. In its practice the objective is not only to avoid causing harm or injury to another creature, but, more positively, to seek the good of the other. Blunting the aggression of an adversary or oppressor would not be enough. The goal is winning the other over, making the adversary a friend."

Finally, the bishops recognize that popular defense may be a real alternative;

"Non-violent popular defense does not ensure that lives would not be lost. Nevertheless, once we recognize that the almost certain consequences of existing policies and strategies of war carry with them a very real threat to the future existence of humankind itself, practical reason as well as spiritual faith demands that it be given serious consideration as an alternative course of action."
(Emphasis added)

The Roman Catholic bishops' call for consideration of popular defense as an alternative course of action is an encouraging development. It should be the stimulus for

a great deal of study and discussion within the Catholic community in the years ahead.

For copies of the pastoral letter, send to: Origins, National Catholic News Service, 1312 Mass. Ave. N.W., Washington D.C. 20005. Ask for the May 19th, 1983 issue. (Volume 13, No. 1) Price \$1.25 per copy.

PROGRAM ON NONVIOLENT SANCTIONS IN CONFLICT AND DEFENSE

The "Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense" was established within the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University in mid-May, 1983. It is headed by Gene Sharp.

The focus of the Program is primarily on the nature and policy potential of nonviolent sanctions and will include basic research, problem-solving research, policy development, critical evaluation, and development of literature and educational resources. The Program may include comparative studies with violent sanctions.

The Program will differ from usual peace studies programs in that it will include study of dictatorships, genocide, and systems of social oppression, as well as war.

The Program will not be offering grants but will be conducting research only. Staff are in the midst of planning and seeking funding for work for the next few years. Those persons or institutions interested in supporting the Program should write to PNVS, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1737 Cambridge St., Cambridge, MA 02138. (617-495-5580)

ORGANIZATION UPDATE

The Association for Transarmament Studies was organized in 1982 as a nonprofit membership group to facilitate more widespread study, discussion and research relating to the concept of transarmament. The Association publishes a quarterly newsletter, "Civilian-Based Defense: News and Opinion", to further this purpose. The first issues appeared in November, 1982 and March, 1983. Paid memberships and subscriptions number approximately 300, from the United States and from a number of other countries. The Association is governed by an eleven-member Board of Directors. They are:

LLOYD J. DUMAS Garland, Texas
ROBERT A. IRWIN Cambridge, Massachusetts
BRY J. ENGBRETSSEN Grimes, Iowa
HERBERT W. ETTTEL Philadelphia, Pa.
JULIA A. KITROSS Seattle, Washington

CHRISTOPHER KRUEGLER Columbia, Missouri
RACHEL M MAC NAIR Kansas City, Missouri
JOSEPH C. SPOTTS Omaha, Nebraska
MELVIN G. BECKMAN Omaha, Nebraska
MARGARET A. SCHELLENBERG, Vienna, Virginia
MARY B. CARRY Bloomfield Hills, Michigan

Directors held their first meeting in Omaha on April 23rd and 24th. Four major goals were adopted for implementation during the next year:

- 1) To improve public understanding of the concepts of civilian-based defense and transarmament, through educational efforts.
- 2) To develop a more extensive international exchange-of-information network.
- 3) To encourage scholarly research and development of the concept.
- 4) To build A.T.S. into an effective organization with adequate financial support.

The directors discussed different approaches to the implementation of civilian-based defense, and specifically, whether societies must be changed internally before CBD can be implemented. Consensus was reached that, although certain features of specific societies may be more or less compatible with the implementation of CBD, it is not the role of the Association for Transarmament Studies to be the catalyst for possibly needed changes. Directors did not feel it necessary to affiliate with the various groups working for societal change. It was felt that A.T.S. should adopt a two-pronged approach: a) to develop the concept of CBD, and, b) to project it competently and widely. In targeting various audiences, A.T.S. should not exclude the government, even though some authors have expressed pessimism about governmental cooperation.

Preliminary approval was given to the idea of a national conference on CBD to be held in the Spring of 1984. In addition, two existing centers will be utilized for the stocking and distribution of books and literature relating to CBD.

Robert Irwin, Mel Beckman, Christopher Kruegler and Julia Kittross were named to an Executive Committee for the Association. Mel Beckman was designated A.T.S. Coordinator. Christopher Kruegler was appointed spokesperson for the group. (He can be reached, after Aug. 15th, at the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1737 Cambridge St., Cambridge, MA 02138. Ph. 617-495-5580) Occasional clerical help will be hired as needed. Joe Spotts will continue as Treasurer. There are no funds for paid positions.

As various programs approved at the directors' meeting are developed, they will be announced in this newsletter.

- ²Gene Sharp, Exploring Nonviolent Alternatives. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1970, p. 31.
- ³Gene Sharp, in War Without Violence by Krishnalal Shridharani, pp. 8-9.
- ⁴Gene Sharp, The Potitics of Nonviolent Action. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973, p. 6.
- ⁵Ibid., pp. 183-284.
- ⁶Gene Sharp, Exploring Nonviolent Alternatives, p. 5.
- ⁷Paul Wehr, "Nonviolent Resistance to Occupation: Norway and Czechoslovakia," p. 12.
- ⁸In Anders Boserup and Andrew Mack's War Without Weapons (London: Frances Pinter, 1974) the authors point out that "the opportunity to influence the morale or the beliefs and attitudes of the opponent and to implement effective noncooperation arises only after the invader becomes the occupier." p. 41.
- ⁹Polarization is important for a CBD campaign's success. Boserup and Mack state: "Polarization is in fact the prerequisite of collective actions because it creates the national unity, the attitudinal alignment and the emotional foundation which are required for the success of actions such as strikes, boycotts and general noncooperation." (p. 34) Not only must a "we versus them" attitude become well defined, "the active resistance must be able to depend upon at least passive support, and preferably active moral and material support from the quasi-totality of the population." (p. 38) In the case of an invasion, polarization can often occur naturally; it can be encouraged through the use of a simple, but effective method of noncooperation--the "cold shoulder"--used against collaborators, neutrals and the occupiers themselves.
- ¹⁰Adam Roberts, ed., Civilian Resistance as a National Defense. England: Pelican Books, 1969, p. 17.

Strategic Studies, and further, that such organizations (as the proposed Institute) be financed by those groups of people who perceive the need for their existence. Sinn, on the other hand, maintains that exploration of methods of defense is a federal responsibility and should not be passed off to others.

In 1982 the Project published and distributed a four-page public-education broadsheet entitled "Social Defense" (Later reprinted and distributed in Australia as well). The Canadian Council of Churches and Project Plowshares provided some financial support. The broadsheet poses the question, "Why is Social Defense Needed in Canada"? The answer given:

Canada is a buffer state. Its role and function is that of experimental ground, early warning system and forward defense for the United States. There is no specific Canadian defense system designed to protect the interests of the Canadian population.

Social Defense works at the grass roots and serves the security needs of the people in their immediate environment. A population organized for Social Defense automatically increases its capacity to cope with all forms of emergencies. These emergencies can be man-made or natural, such as: internal or external aggression and/or oppression, nuclear catastrophe, economic collapse, civil disorder, storms, floods and fires. By virtue of their increased knowledge and skills, Canadians will be able to assist populations in other countries who are caught in emergency situations.

Also published in November, 1982, was a thirty-one page paper by Hans Sinn, "Civilian Based Defense From Theory to Practice". It is addressed to the "International Community of Social Defense Researchers and Activists." In the paper he tries to give thoughtful answers to questions like: "Why are governments seemingly so uninterested in civilian-based defense?", "Is there some way to help a civilian-based defense system come into being with or without the cooperation of central governments?", and "Can social defense rely on some base in society?" (Sinn uses "social defense" and "civilian-based defense" interchangeably)

Sinn has little hope that governments will embrace the idea of social defense, simply because of its potential for disturbing the status quo and its "uselessness" for defense, as judged by prevailing concepts of power. Governments will not necessarily oppose social defense but they will not be for it. Still, Sinn feels we should not abandon attempts to persuade central governments to support research and experiments into unarmed resistance. He thinks that, sooner or later, governments will want to explore the field, in some way, for their own reasons.

CANADA: THE SOCIAL DEFENSE PROJECT

By Mel Beckman

Canada's "Social Defense Project" is an attempt to encourage consideration of a civilian-based defense system. Workshops, seminars, discussion papers, flyers, broadsheets and some press and radio coverage have been used. Spokesperson Hans Sinn describes the Project as small at this point, involving himself and some friends.

In 1981, Project sponsors urged the Canadian government to consider establishment of an Institute for Social Defense, to explore the possibilities of a civilian-based defense strategy. The Defense Minister's response, basically, has been to suggest that the matter be studied by a non-governmental organization, the Canadian Institute of

While Sinn is reserved in his expectations of governmental support in the future, he does see implicit support for social defense in three existing movements: the ecology movement, the feminist movement and the peace movement. People in these movements have already been mobilizing themselves in their own defense and that of the natural environment for the past few decades. In these movements he sees a civilian-based defense system "in the making". He takes special note of the "Freeze" campaign in the U.S. and "Operation Dismantle" in Canada. Through grass-roots political effort, these campaigns allow alienated civilians to have a say in matters of their own security and this is an important precedent. In Sinn's mind, then, even though he sees the Canadian peace movement as supportive of civilian-based defense, the question will soon be not so much "does the peace movement support this idea?", but rather, "How many people have become aware that they are participating in the building of a civilian-based defense system?"

Under the present circumstances, Sinn suggests, a people's resistance movement in a Western society might do well to emphasize positive nonviolent defense, as explained by Anders Boserup and Andrew Mack in War Without Weapons. This is a Gandhian approach, seeking a meeting of minds, assuming that the opponent is still open to reconsider a position. Until actual invasion, the time has not yet arrived for negative nonviolent defense, which is coercive and assumes that the opponent's mind will have to be changed against his will.

Sinn urges attention to governmental programs for civil defense as well. Civil defense planning is the one place where nuclear strategists dare anticipate the failure of their supposedly infallible strategy. It is also the only place where unarmed civilians are asked to look after their own defense. Sinn suggests that citizens might pay more attention to their own defense if we help them explore the meaning, theory and practice of civil defense.

To obtain a copy of the paper, send a donation of \$3.00 or more to cover printing and postage, to: THE SOCIAL DEFENSE PROJECT, R.R. No. 4, PERTH, ONTARIO. CANADA K7H 3C6. Ph. 613-267-1899.

HOW YOU CAN HELP

Study the resolution adopted at the Detroit Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church (elsewhere in this newsletter). Can you introduce a similar resolution at some level in your own church structure?

CHURCH RESOLUTION ADOPTED

In June, 1982, the Detroit Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church passed "A Resolution On The Study Of Civilian Based Defense: An Alternative To War". The text of the resolution appears below. More information may be obtained from Rev. Richard Peacock, 140 E. Flint, Lake Orion, Michigan 48035. (Ph. 313-391-0930) The resolution was accompanied by supporting material.

WHEREAS the teachings of Jesus regarding "loving one's enemies" appeared to reject participation in war for most Christians of the first three centuries A.D.:

WHEREAS for decades the United Methodists have condemned war in a manner similar to the 1980 General Conference: "We believe that war is incompatible with the teachings and example of Christ..."(Social Principles):

WHEREAS war has become very destructive and could possibly eliminate most or all life:

WHEREAS civilian-based defense as an alternative to military defense is being considered by the governments of two countries as well as by many individuals:

WHEREAS in 1981 the Institute for World Order presented the first prize for peace plans to Gene Sharp for his essay on civilian-based defense:

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that we ask our local churches and especially church and society commissions to study civilian-based defense in light of usefulness and Christian ethics.

FURTHER BE IT RESOLVED that the pro and con results of these studies be reported to the Peace Section of the Division of Church and Society of our Conference.

FURTHER BE IT RESOLVED that we ask our government, including the Department of Defense, to study the practicality of civilian-based defense.

ASSOCIATION FOR TRANSARMAMENT STUDIES

As this second issue of "Civilian-Based Defense: News and Opinion" is prepared, membership in the Association for Transarmament Studies has grown to two-hundred. Members come from thirty-four states and Canada. Nebraska leads with 70 members, followed by New York with 19, Massachusetts with 11, Iowa and Pennsylvania with 9 each, etc. Correspondence has been received from as far away as France, Belgium and Australia. Many have written and called, expressing their pleasure in receiving the newsletter.

An eleven-member Board of Directors has been elected. 1983 directors are:

LLOYD J. DUMAS, Texas
ROBERT A. IRWIN, Massachusetts
BERY J. ENGBRETTSEN, Iowa
HERBERT W. ETTTEL, Pennsylvania
JULIA A. KITTROSS, Washington
CHRISTOPHER KRUEGLER, Missouri
RACHEL M. MAC NAIR, Missouri
JOSEPH C. SPOTTS, Nebraska
MELVIN G. BECKMAN, Nebraska
MARGARET A. SCHELLENBERG, Virginia
MARY B. CARRY, Michigan

A meeting of the directors may be held as early as April. Now would be a good time to drop us a line and describe what you think the organization should do in 1983. Your ideas will be carefully considered. Let us know about what you are doing too. Your techniques and activities for helping others understand civilian-based defense may be helpful to other readers of this newsletter. Please mail articles, announcements and letters for the next issue no later than May 1st. Financial contributions are also needed to pay for start-up costs, such as facilitation of meetings, long-distance telephone bills, printing of literature, purchase of office supplies and equipment and the like.

Finally, I hope all our members will take the time to see "Gandhi". It is a powerful movie and will leave deep impressions. As a result of seeing it, some people may become more interested in non-violent means of struggle. Perhaps this year would be an excellent time to sponsor "Gandhi" study groups. If we could help viewers focus their attention on Gandhi both as an admirable person and as an experimenter in new techniques of defense, then the movie may have a more lasting impact than might otherwise be the case. Gene Sharp's book, Gandhi As A Political Strategist (Porter Sargent, 11 Beacon Street, Boston, MA 02108. Paper, \$7.95) makes good reading after viewing the movie.

MELVIN G. BECKMAN
President
402-558-2085

LOGO

We have received several drawings for an organizational logo. More would be welcome. Thank you for your interest and suggestions.

HOUSTON SEMINAR

Houston Nonviolent Action is sponsoring a macroanalysis seminar using U.S. Defense Policy: Mainstream Views and Nonviolent Alternatives (A publication of International Seminars on Training for Nonviolent Action). For information, write: Houston Nonviolent Action, 850 Jaquet, Bellaire, Texas 77401, or call 713-661-9889.

LECTURE TAPE AVAILABLE

An audio-cassette tape of Gene Sharp's address ("A Case for Nonviolent Defense") at the 1982 Pax Christi National Assembly in Rochester, Minnesota, may be ordered from: Catholic Education Center, 328 W. Sixth St., St. Paul, Minn. 55102. Price: \$6.95, plus 70¢ for postage & handling. Ph. 612-291-4500.

NEWS FROM ARIZONA

Member Cary Fleck, (720 N. 82nd St., #E-112, Scottsdale, Arizona 85257) reports plans for a video presentation, a study group, and design of hand-out literature for conferences. If such handout material is already available she would like to receive copies.

SEMINAR MANUAL REVIEWED

U.S. Defense Policy: Mainstream Views and Nonviolent Alternatives, by Bob Irwin and Beverly Woodward was reviewed in the March, 1983 issue of "The Progressive". While generally favorable to the manual, the reviewer seems to question one of its strong points - the presentation of a diversity of readings without heavy-handed labeling of them as "good" or "bad". For publication information: ISTNA, Box 515, Waltham, MA 02254.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

INVULNERABILITY WITHOUT THREAT

An article by A.T.S. member, Dietrich Fischer (Dept. of Economics, N.Y. University) entitled, "Invulnerability Without Threat: The Swiss Concept of General Defense", appeared in the Journal of Peace Research, No. 3, Vol. XIX, 1982, pp. 205-225. Fischer explores the concept of a nation strengthening its own security without posing any threat to others - and then examines to what extent Switzerland's approach to national defense corresponds to that concept.

UNIVERSITY COURSE OUTLINES AVAILABLE

Leonard Gambrell (Associate Prof. of Pol. Sc. at the Univ. of Wisconsin at Eau Claire, Eau Claire, WI 54701) has made available two syllabi of courses he teaches. Both incorporate sections exploring nonviolent power as applied to national defense. Copies may be obtained from the Association for Transarmament Studies. Donation of \$1.00 is requested to cover printing and postage. Prof. Gambrell may be reached by phone at 715-836-2188 (office).

FILM LIST

A descriptive listing of scores of war-peace related films is available for \$2.00 from John Dowling, Physics Dept., Mansfield State College, Mansfield, PA, 16933.

NONVIOLENCE COURSE: JUNE 26 – JULY 8

To be given at the Inter-University Centre of Postgraduate Studies, Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia. The course presents the many meanings of "nonviolence", and analyses its various forms and uses in social change. The links between ideas and action will be reinforced by several training sessions, and an introduction to designing a nonviolent future. Resource persons include Elise Boulding, Narayan Desai, Danilo Dolci, Jim Forest, Johan Galtung, Paul Hare, Barry Hollister, Harcourt Klinefelter, Kenneth Lee, Stephen Marks, Thyra Quensel, Michael Randle, Paul Wehr and Gene Sharp. For information from the Directors: Theodore Herman, Peace Studies Colgate University, Hamilton, N.Y. 13346, USA (315-824-1000) or Nigel Young, at Hetton House, Hetton nr. Skipton, North Yorkshire, U.K. (44) 0756-73-231, or Inter-University Centre, Frana Bulica 4, YU-50 000 DUBROVNIK, YUGOSLAVIA (38)50-28-666; Cable INTER-UNIVERSITY.

PHILADELPHIA CHAPTER, A.T.S.

Participants in recent seminars in Philadelphia have organized themselves and wish to be known as a chapter of the Association for Transarmament Studies, according to member Herb Etel. The group's goal is to promote greater public understanding and support for nonviolence and transarmament. The group is planning eight programs at area colleges and libraries during late February and March. They are using the "Alternatives to Violence Video Forum". To contact the group, call 215-729-4663 or write: 4724 Warrington Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143.

MAKING EUROPE UNCONQUORABLE: A CIVILIAN – BASED DEFENSE AND DETERRENCE SYSTEM

Gene Sharp's new publication will likely be available in late April or early May, for \$6.95. It will be published, not as a working paper as previously announced, but as a book of about 128 pages, according to the publisher, The World Policy Institute, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE FORUM

All five programs in this video forum are now available. A total of four hours viewing time is involved. Many groups are finding the forum beneficial. Purchase: \$295, or, lease for 60 days: \$150, or preview: \$30. Write to WTL Productions, Box 351(D), Primos, Pa. 19018, for brochure.

A SEARCH FOR RESEARCH

Since much of the scholarly work being undertaken on nonviolence and civilian-based defense is extremely recent, the editors of Civilian-Based Defense: News and Opinion are interested in attempting to put together a regular column listing unpublished papers on the topic.

If you are an undergraduate or post graduate, a credentialed professor or independent scholar, and have written on some aspect of nonviolent action, please send us the title of the paper, thesis or article, with a short annotation. We will then share the information with our readers and encourage them to directly contact the author for details on obtaining a copy. The author is perfectly free to pass on the cost of copying and mailing to the potential researcher.

Additionally, people looking for information, primary sources, etc. on a particular topic, area, historical event, etc., should also send in their request. For example, Professor John Beer (Dept. of History, Univ. of Delaware, 401 Kirkbride Office Bldg., Newark, Delaware 19711. Ph. 302-738-2371) is interested in the area of technology and civilian-based defense. His approach will be the analysis of past practice and theory in regard to use of technology as a tool in resistance and how civilian resisters cope with the technological resources of the oppressors. Please contact Prof. Beer if you can suggest references.

Address information and queries to:
Julia A. Kittross, 1514 NE 45th Street,
Seattle, WA 98105.

THE DUTCH RESEARCH PROJECT

In November, 1981, the now defunct Dutch Advisory Group on Research into Nonviolent Conflict Resolution and Social Defense presented a detailed research program to the Dutch cabinet. The commission, consisting of representatives from five ministries and a number of academic people, suggested the following ten research projects:

- 1) What categories of possible conflicts exist, to which a nonviolent defence system may be relevant?
- 2) The Dutch resistance in World War II in light of social defense thinking.
- 3) The nature of contemporary occupations and its implication for social defense.
- 4) Repression technologies and non-violent counter-strategies.
- 5) Dissemination and reception of the social defense idea in the Netherlands.
- 6) Guidelines for public servants as a policy measure for an effective social defence system in case of a military occupation.

7) Social defence and social organization: an exploratory investigation into the relationship between centralization and decentralization within a social defense system.

8) A study of the (conflict-) sociological literature in the light of the problems and assumptions of social defense thinking.

9) Psychological processes at work in confrontations between armed and unarmed groups.

10) The role of the committee for social self-defense (KOR) and the independent trade union organization Solidarity in Poland in the light of social defense thinking.

The Dutch government approved some funding (32 months of research by one researcher) for projects 1 and 3. According to Dr. Alex P. Schmid, who will do the research, the idea is to inventorize contemporary armed conflicts in general and military occupations in particular and to assess the potential effectiveness of social defense in a sample of them. The research is scheduled to be completed in August, 1985. Dr. Schmid can be reached at: Centre for the Study of Social Conflicts (C.O.M.T.), State Univ. of Leiden, Hooigracht 15, 2312 KM Leiden, The Netherlands.

POLAND

The "Snail and Victory V" symbol has appeared on the walls and in the underground publications in Poland as a symbol of Solidarity's resistance to marshall law. Since strikes were made illegal, work slowdowns were used: "Go slow to victory!"



**BIERNY
OPÓR**

HOW YOU CAN HELP

Have a post-movie discussion of "Gandhi" at your home, school or church. Have samples of CBD literature available. Invite guests to continue as a study group if there is sufficient interest.

BOOK REVIEW

Nuclear Holocaust & Christian Hope: A Book for Christian Peacemakers, by Ronald J. Sider and Richard K. Taylor. (Downers Grove, Ill. 60515: Intervarsity Press, 1982; 368 pp., \$6.95)

Review by Bob Irwin.

Some forty million Americans are said to describe themselves as "conservative Christians." When politically active at all, such persons seem all too frequently to back militarist policies that oppress people abroad and maintain a high risk of nuclear war. What if significant numbers of these people become convinced that support of civilian-based defense is most consistent with their faith?

Nuclear Holocaust and Christian Hope aims to convince Christians of precisely that. It contains three chapters on civilian based defense and is one of the few available discussions on the relevance of civilian-based defense for the United States. Published by the evangelical (believing in the authority and inerrancy of the Bible) Intervarsity Press and described by the evangelical weekly Christianity Today (Oct. 8, 1982) as "sure to provoke discussion," the book is viewed as seeking "to appeal to an audience including but going beyond the historic peace churches," as evidenced by the use of "back-cover blurbs from nonpacifist evangelicals."

Ronald J. Sider is a professor at Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary and president of Evangelicals for Social Action. His Rich Christians in an Age of Hunger (1977) has sold over 130,000 copies. Richard K. Taylor has done civil rights and community organizing, co-founded the nonviolent action group Movement for a New Society, and was coauthor (with Susanne Gowan et al.) of Moving Toward a New Society (Phila.: New Society Press, 1972, 1976), one of the first U.S. books to advocate transarmament. He has also written Economics and the Gospel (1973) and Blockade: A Guide to Nonviolent Intervention (Orbis, 1977), a dramatic and enlightening account of a campaign he helped organize to halt U.S. aid to the murderous West Pakistan regime during the 1971 Bangla Desh war. (From the standpoint of civilian-based defense, such a campaign might be viewed as a prototype for third parties wanting to support another country's CBD by cutting off sources of aid to the aggressor nation.)

Joining forces to address the growing number of evangelicals who, like Billy Graham, have in recent years felt deep concern over nuclear war, the authors pose three basic questions:

"Can Christians support government policies which rely on the threat of nuclear war? Given the realities of modern war and the ethics of Jesus, can (they support) war in any form? How can Christians act for peace in today's world?" (p. 11)

Part One of the book (48 pp.) describes "The Threat of Nuclear War." Part Two (100 pp.), "Biblical-Theological Perspectives" discusses the debates in the "just war" and pacifist traditions. Part Three (70 pp.), "What to Do: Concrete Steps Toward Peace," concludes (pp. 212-3) by outlining eight responses to the challenge of the arms race, of which they believe "that only four of the responses are viable for Christians and that only the last two are wise":

- 1) "Nuke 'em";
- 2) "We're number one";
- 3) Mutually assured destruction;
- 4) "Better red than dead";
- 5) "No nukes";
- 6) Unilateral disarmament;
- 7) Transarmament;
- 8) Multilateral disarmament.

Since, of these last two, it is obviously advocacy of transarmament that is innovative, after a few pages of the pros and cons of multilateral disarmament the authors proceed to devote the remainder of their book to building on the following logic:

- 1) Our main concern as Christians should be to follow Jesus in obedient faith rather than to defend the United States or any other nation.
- 2) It is, however, legitimate to have an effective system of defense to protect a nation's cherished values and institutions against outside aggression.
- 3) People see military weapons as the main element in such a defense. They are unlikely to give up the weapons of war unless they see an alternative means of defense that seems both practical and moral.
- 4) It is possible to safeguard American freedom, independence, and democracy by nonmilitary means.
- 5) Therefore, Christians should support a nonmilitary defense system." (p. 229)

Part Four (64 pp.), "Biblical Faith and National Defense," opens by asking "Is Nonmilitary Defense Possible?" (28 pp.) This chapter presents vivid historical examples of nonviolent struggle, including many from anti-Nazi resistance and also El Salvador's successful 1944 overthrow of a dictator. The authors assert the need for a substitute defense policy, anticipate various reader concerns, and in both the text and the extensive notes accurately present many of the major arguments made by Gene Sharp in his speeches and writings.

The next chapter, "How Nonmilitary Defense Works" (14 pp.), presents the five characteristics of "CBD as we define it": the involvement of large numbers of people, active resistance, noncooperation, refusal to use violence and willingness to suffer, and good will.

The final chapter, "Defending the United States by Nonmilitary Means" (20 pp.), outlines how after a "several-year process of preparation for CBD" the U.S. could successfully defend itself against a foreign invader.

The book is clearly meant to be used; it contains 70 pages of notes, bibliographies, and lists of organizations and things to do. I agree with the reviewer in The Christian Century (January 26, 1983) that Sider and Taylor are competent and sometimes insightful over most of the quite extensive ground they cover. The book is well researched and well written, and likely to be highly useful in introducing CBD to a new and significant audience. That said, let me make several criticisms.

My most serious criticisms are closely related, and concern how the authors define the problem they are trying to solve with CBD and the consequent realism (or lack of it) of their solution.

By focusing on the "problem" of invasion of the U.S., the book connects very little with the chief issues of European security and nuclear deterrence now being hotly debated. It could be argued that it was a good choice to concentrate on what is in a sense the simplest or most elementary aspect of national security: territorial integrity. But as a result, the authors do not deal with a whole group of important questions. What about the overwhelming bulk of U.S. defense spending, which purports to "defend" allies and weaker countries against "Communist aggression"? What responsibilities (if any) do Americans have to the people of these nations? These questions merit more than three sentences (p. 288).

capacity to defend against coups d'etat or presidential usurpations.

Some countries are already much more advanced than this. Sweden is already preparing a plan for the use of nonmilitary resistance as part of its total - predominantly military - defense policy.

It is envisaged that generally the trans-
armament process would be a gradual, phased,
development, building up the civilian-based
defense component as a consequence of a series
of decisions on whether to continue or to ex-
pand it, made through the normal democratic
procedures. As the roles of nongovernmental
organizations would be highly important in the
waging of civilian-based defense struggles, it
would be important that they participate fully
in the activities of the information and ex-
ploration stage, and also of the period of con-
sideration and development. When a decision
is made to add a civilian-based component to
the defense policy, the involvement of those
organizations and institutions would be
essential.

In the advanced stages of consideration of
this defense policy, under special circum-
stances those organizations might exercise more
initiative in decision-making. If the demo-
cratic procedures were blocked at the point at
which the society was ready to begin the trans-
armament process, churches, professional
organizations, unions, business groups, educa-
tional institutions, and many others might
independently determine that in case of
internal usurpation or foreign invasion their
members would be expected and prepared to re-
fuse collaboration and to participate in
civilian-based defense of the country's
constitution and independence.

The non-governmental organizations might,
therefore, be supportive of an official trans-
armament decision, operate parallel to it, or
even provide leadership for defense in cases
where the government had been unable or un-
willing to do so.

Much sharing of information, encourage-
ment of thought, consideration and evaluation -
all on top of research and policy studies -
will be required from the initial points of the
introduction of the concept to the implementa-
tion of a decision to transarm. Great sensi-
tivity and sound political judgement will be
required to determine when the important
groundwork has been adequately prepared to en-
able responsible and durable more ambitious
steps to be taken in the further consideration
and evaluation of the potential of civilian-
based defense.

HOW YOU CAN HELP

Write to A.T.S. for the list of speakers
available in the U.S., and then begin to
plan for inclusion of the subject of
C.B.D. on the agendas of significant
conferences during 1983-1984.

A SEARCH FOR RESEARCH

Two responses have been received to our
request for research/writing on civilian-
based defense or related issues.

Beating Our Swords Into Shields: Forging a
Preservative Defense, a 25 page booklet by
Mark Sommer is available from the Center for
a Preservative Defense, PO Box 648, Miranda,
CA 95553, for \$2.00. This booklet describes
"the hint of an idea" which suggests uniting
"unconventional military strategies designed
solely to repel attack with a broad range of
nonviolent and non-military strategies."
The author believes it is "important to try
to mix military and non-military defense in
order to bridge the chasm between our present
dependence on awesome threats and our wished-
for reliance on cooperative resistance--and
compassion." NOTE: This booklet will be
reviewed in the next issue.

"Nonviolent National Defense: A Philosophical
Inquiry Into Applied Nonviolence," an unpub-
lished thesis by Professor Norman C. Freund,
is available from him at the Dept. of
Religious Studies and Philosophy, Clarke
College, 1550 Clarke Drive, Dubuque, Iowa
52001, for xeroxing costs, \$3.64. The author
describes the work as follows: "This work...
opens with a brief development of the moral
catastrophe of war in the modern period.
Next, it moves to an analysis of practical
applications of nonviolence against foreign
occupiers in the last century and a half.
This includes actions in Hungary, Finland,
the Ruhr, India, Denmark, Norway and East
Germany. Finally, the work incorporates the
theme of these actual resistance campaigns
into a working system of nonviolent national
defense." The Table of Contents: 1) Pathway
to Armageddon. 2) Movement Toward a Non-
violent Alternative. 3) Practical Applica-
tions of Nonviolence. 4) A Program of
Nonviolent National Defense. 5) Difficulties
and Objections. 6) Conclusion.

If you have written on some aspect of
nonviolent action, please send us the title
of the paper, thesis or article, with a
short annotation. We share this information
with our readers and encourage them to con-
tact the author to obtain a copy.

Address information and queries to:
Julia A. Kittross, 1514 NE 45th Street,
Seattle, WA 98105.

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