

Civilian-Based Defense

A PUBLICATION OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR TRANSARMAMENT STUDIES

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A WEAPON FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

BY LECH WALESZA*

Gentlemen, victory can be achieved by various means. It can be gained with tanks and missiles, but I think that one wins better with truth, honesty and logic -- in running the economy, in everything. And just take our example, and note that we have not fired a single shot. And we do not know what other means would have to be employed here to win such a victory as ours, except without firing a single shot. I think that the 20th and 21st century should be modeled on a struggle such as the one we have demonstrated. This is a new weapon. Well, not a new one. Actually, an old one. But it is very effective, and tailored exactly to the needs of the 21st century.

* This was Walesa's concluding statement on the Columbia Broadcasting System's News Special Report, "Two Voices of Poland" as broadcast over the CBS Television Network, Monday, Nov. 2, 1981, 11:30-12:00 Mid-night EST, with Walter Cronkite.

Introduction . . .

Many peoples of the world live their lives under the shadow of repressive governments. One of the questions which is often asked is how can these people be liberated? And especially for those of us who argue that nonviolence should replace violence, "How can nonviolent means be used to liberate an oppressed people?"

While there is much that those of us outside the country may be able to do to change or oust a repressive government, this article gives us one example of how people in Poland organized the beginnings of their movement and perhaps provides us with some ideas which might be applied in other situations.

- PHILIP D. BOGDONOFF, Editor

LESSONS FROM POLAND:

THE BEGINNINGS OF KOR AND ITS ROLE IN ORGANIZING A RESISTANCE MOVEMENT BY JAN ZIELONKA*

The Committee of Social Self-Defense (KSS-KOR) invented and promoted a new model of social self-defense. KOR, the Committee of Defense of Workers, was founded in 1976 by a small group of intellectuals and confined itself to defending persecuted participants of the worker's protest in June, 1976. However, even though KOR never aspired to be a mass organization (originally 12 members, and eventually 33 in 1978 as KSS-KOR), it rapidly developed into an influential political pressure group.

The events of 1976 were provoked by an unexpected rise in food prices on June 24. On the next day, work stopped all over Poland and strike committees appeared within hours. Riots took place in Radom and Ursus. Many workers were arrested. Even in cities like Lodz, Poznan, and Grudziac where no riots had taken place, strikers were dismissed. Special summary courts sentenced many workers from Radom and Ursus to prison.

In July, 1976 a spontaneous action of help for repressed workers began. Zbigniew Romaszewski, Antoni Maciarczyk, Wojciech Onyszkiewicz, Bogdan Borusewicz and some other persons initiated the collection of money for persecuted workers and their families.

On September 23, 1976, the "Appeal to the Society" was announced, which informed the public about the establishment of KOR, the Committee of Defense of Workers. It stated that the "worker's protest against unjustified price rises, the protest which expressed the opinion of the majority of society, had been met with brutal punishment". The appeal described the brutality and physical terrorization by the police forces, it indicated the illegal steps taken by the special summary courts and condemned the repressive policy of the authorities.

According to the Appeal, victims of the recent repressions could not count on any help from the traditional institutions, such as trade unions, which "play a deplorable role". In this situation, society itself had to play the role of the defender of those persecuted. But "the society can only defend itself against the lawlessness by solidarity and mutual aid". Therefore, the authors of the Appeal created the Committee of

Defense of Workers, with the aim to "initiate various forms of help and assistance". The Appeal summoned financial, legal, and medical help. It also emphasized the importance of public information about the scale of repressions and individual cases of persecution. "In a country where people are repressed, the society has an obligation to organize itself in order to defend those repressed" the Appeal stated, and it consequently promoted grassroot initiatives which would organize a social self-defense at the shop and plant level.

KOR was organized as an action group, as an organization which was supposed to organize help for persecuted workers rather than to provide any political or ideological discussion. According to Jan Jozef Lipski, the main object of KOR was to help particular persons - "to help a person who needs money, advice, legal or medical assistance or who looks for a job". It is therefore not surprising that the main function in KOR was performed by the so-called "Office of Intervention" which dealt with concrete examples of persecution.

KOR never tried to hide its activity, on the contrary, it always tried to make it public. Four kinds of activities were important for KOR. First, KOR took part directly in the successive trials against the workers who protested in June, 1976. KOR attended these trials and tried to organize a good legal defense for the accused workers. Second, KOR organized financial support for persecuted workers and their families. It offered financial support to wives and children of the men sentenced to prison terms. It provided financial assistance for those who were dismissed from their jobs. It covered costs of legal, medical, or educational expenditures caused by the repressions. A special financial foundation was created, the "Foundation of Social Self-defense", which assisted more than 1000 persons.

Third, KOR organized medical assistance for workers and their families. This assistance was particularly relevant in light of police brutalities directed against the organizers of worker's protests.

Fourth, KOR established an independent information network which reported all examples of governmental persecution and terror. This activity had tremendous importance. It not only conditioned the implementation of the three activities mentioned above, but it also prevented the development of any further repressions. The "KOR's Report" and "Information Bulletin" informed the public about the scale and forms of repression as well as about the people personally involved in the execution of these repressions (e.g., indicating names of policemen who brutally beat workers). They also informed the public about successive initiatives carried on by KOR and governmental reactions to KOR's initiatives. A reader could find in these publications a guide for how to behave, in accordance with the Polish law, in the case of detention or other forms of police repressions.

On November 15th, KOR asked the Polish Parliament to establish the "Extraordinary Inquiry Commission" in order to investigate the cases of repression in Radom and Ursus. The Polish authorities did not respond directly to KOR's appeals and other demands. Nevertheless, repressions against workers became gradually more restrained. Finally, on February 3rd, and July 19th, 1977, two successive "Amnesty Acts" were announced by the

Polish Council of State, which resulted in all imprisoned workers being released.

One could assume that the demands of KOR were indirectly met by the authorities. In consequence KOR members said in September, 1977 that "the basic goals of the Committee of Defense of Workers were fulfilled", and concluded that the activity of KOR should be expanded or replaced by an "organization with more general social goals". On September 29th, 1977, the Committee of Social Self-defense, KSS-KOR, was established. A declaration which announced the establishment of KSS-KOR confirmed a continuation of KOR's struggle against remaining repressions directed against the worker's protest in June, 1976, but simultaneously it enumerated four other basic goals.

First, the Committee of Social Self-defense committed itself to fight all existing forms of political, ideological, religious, or racial discrimination and promised to help those who were being repressed on this basis.

Second, the Committee announced a fight against the illegal behavior of the authorities, which included helping the victims of such illegalities

Third, the Committee promised to initiate actions which would lead to institutional protection of citizens' rights and freedoms.

Fourth, the Committee announced support for every social initiative which would lead towards the realization of basic human and citizens' rights.

A clear distinction was never made in KOR between the self-defense movement and the resistance movement. Under Polish conditions every kind of self-defense activity was simultaneously an example of social self-organization and social resistance. KOR was considered by its members as a pure self-defense organization. However, its activity was for its members also a form of resistance activity against the monopolistic and repressive aspirations of the communist government. On the one hand, the Polish resistance movement was peaceful and therefore could not be compared with historical resistance movements which proclaimed a military resistance (e.g., in Poland during the Second World War). Yet there was nothing preventing it from being identified with traditional self-defense. On the other hand, the Polish self-defense movement could only be developed on the basis of popular social self-organization, which implied various forms of positive activity (not only defensive) aiming at the creation of an independent (from the state) network of social cooperation. The self-defense activity (in the limited meaning of this word) was only a part of the broader process of social self-organization.

When Jacek Kuron summarized in 1981 the activity of KOR, he said: "KOR was created in order to stimulate self-organization. We understood that this is the idea -- people organize themselves. This is the revolution -- the most peaceful one you can imagine -- that abolishes the existing system, because this system means the monopoly of the state to organize people -- and suddenly citizens do it themselves. They are able to do it themselves. And from that moment when they do it, everything changes."

* Dr. Jan Zielonka, formerly of the Institute of Political Science at the University of Warsaw; currently at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences and representative of the Solidarity Office Abroad at the United Nations General Assembly. The above article was edited by Philip Bogdonoff, with the author's permission.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS



GERMANY

The German edition of War Without Weapons (Krieg Ohne Waffen), co-edited by Anders Boserup and Andrew Mack, has reportedly had sales of over 47,000 copies and is still selling briskly.

BRAZIL

Gene Sharp's Poder, Luta e Defesa: Teoria e pratica da acao nao-violenta, 273 pp. was published in Brazil on June 8, 1983. It includes an Introduction by the highly respected Catholic Cardinal of Sao Paulo, Paulo Evaristo Cardinal Arns. Cardinal Arns wrote in part:

The book...helps us to understand the feeling and the strategy of the struggle against violence...

In this moment of economic crisis and political hesitation, it becomes necessary to find alternatives for the popular classes to have the capacity to divide and control power and for the political body of the nation to be capable of integrating national life with participation and control of production and social organization...

We hope that the reading of this book by Gene Sharp will be helpful for the popular communities, for the intermediary institutions, for the organizations of the working classes and for all those groups that believe in life and in liberty....

NETHERLANDS

On July 2nd and 3rd, 1983, a conference on "Building Nonviolent Defence" was held at Santpoort, the Netherlands. It was sponsored by the War Resisters International and the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, with encouragement from MIR/IRG (Belgium). Thirty-four persons attended: 5 from Belgium, 6 from Britain, 2 from Finland, 7 from France, 9 from the Netherlands, 1 from Sweden, 1 from Spain, 1 from Switzerland and 2 from West Germany. According to the Newsletter of War Resisters International (August, 1983), "considerable differences of approach were revealed without acrimony" during the weekend. The conference report is not yet available but the background papers are available in English and French in bound form. Cost, 60p. The papers include: "Approaches to Nonviolent Defence" by M. Randle. "Popular Defence" by M.A.N. "Setting Defence up on its two legs" by R. Polet (MIR). "Implementing the Strategy" by Hans Sinn. "Civil Disobedience and Nonviolence Training" by Gordon Matthews (FOR). "Europe: A nonviolent battle-

field" by Jean Jacqmain. "NVPCD" by Patrick Pecharot (UPF). The various papers provide one with an insight into the range of thought in Europe regarding the potential of civilian-based defense and the problems of implementation. In ordering, one should state whether English or French is preferred. Order from: War Resisters International, 55 Dawes St., London SE 17 1EL, ENGLAND.

Dr. Alex Schmid, Senior Researcher at the Center for the Study of Social Conflicts at the State University of Leiden, is continuing his work on a government funded research project relating to civilian based defense (cf News-Opinion issue of March 1983)

FRANCE

Christian Mellon, the editor-in-chief of a quarterly journal, alternatives non violentes (circulation 3000) reports that on five occasions since 1980, the magazine has published articles relating to civilian-based defense, the most recent being the translation earlier this year of Chapter 7 of the report of the Alternative Defense Commission in England, Defence Without the Bomb. In addition, he writes, there is the movement called "Mouvement pour une Alternative Nonviolente" (M.A.N.) which is something different from the journal but with close links. It has a membership of 700 and last year published a pamphlet on non-military defence "Se defendre sans se detruire" (Defence without self-destruction). Two thousand copies have been sold and a second edition has been made. M.A.N.'s address is: 20, rue du Devidet, 45200 Montargis. For the last two years this movement has been campaigning for a Government-funded Research Institute on "Nonviolent conflict resolution". Last November, in a poll published by a catholic magazine, La vie, 61% of the people answered yes to the following question: "Do you agree with people thinking that, in the defence budget, the share of purely military expenditure should be reduced so that other means of defence, based on nonviolent methods, may be organized?" Lastly, Mellon reports that the French branch of IFOR (M.I.R., B.P. 369, 75625 PARIS Cedex 13) publishes regularly the "Monographies de la defense civile" worked out by the Belgian French-speaking branch of IFOR.

SWEDEN

The Commission on nonviolent resistance as part of Sweden's "total defense" policy, which was appointed by Cabinet Decision in December of 1980, continues work within the Ministry of Defense. Lennart Bergfeldt, a former student of Gene Sharp, is a staff member of the Commission.

BELGIUM

A new book in Flemish on civilian-based defense has been published. It is Veiligheid en Alternatieve Defensie: De Idee van Social Verdediging (Security and Alternative Defense: The Idea of Social Defense), and is edited by Gustaaf Geeraerts and Patrick Stouthuysen. Other contributors from Belgium and the Netherlands are Alex Schmid, Luuk Zonneveld and Johan Niezing. The 178 page book is published by the Flemish section of the War Resisters International and distributed by KRITAK, Vesaliusstr. 1, 3000 Leuven, Belgium.

ENGLAND

Defence Without the Bomb: The Report of the Alternative Defence Commission (April, 1983) can be obtained from Taylor & Francis, 114 E. 32 St. New York, N.Y. 10016. \$10, plus 3% for postage.

JAPAN

Adam Roberts' article "Rethinking Japanese Security Policy: A Case for Civil Resistance" was published in the respected Japanese journal Sekai (Tokyo), in August, 1982. Roberts' main conclusion was "to call for the setting up of a commission to examine whether any alternative approaches to defence, including particularly the technique of civil resistance, could make a useful contribution to the security of Japan; whether such an approach would be potentially effective against the wide variety of threats, external and internal, which Japan might face in the future; whether such an approach would have deterrent power - i.e. whether it could effectively discourage certain types of attack; whether civil resistance could be a partial or complete substitute for existing defence preparations; and whether further studies into particular aspects of these problems are needed." The commission, he suggested, might be a parliamentary one with some academic assistance, and conduct some research. It should be representative of various political parties, interest groups, and intellectual tendencies, and aim to publish its report as a foundation for further discussion.

AUSTRALIA

An essay entitled "The Strategy of Non-Military Defense", by Andrew Mack (co-author of War Without Weapons), was published this year in Strategy and Defense (D. Ball, ed., Allen and Unwin, Sydney, Australia, 1983). In the essay, Mack discusses the relevance of both guerilla warfare and non-military defense as options for Australia. He sees both types of struggle as forms of "territorial defense", being based on the same strategic principle in an asymmetric conflict situation. In both kinds of struggle the goal is not primarily to erode the enemy's physical capacity to fight, but rather, to gradually destroy the political capability to wage war. Mack also discusses internal threats. He writes that considerable military preparation is made to defend against possible external invasions, even though the likelihood of such an invasion is small. Nothing comparable is done to defend the government and people from a possible internal military intervention in a Uruguay-type situation where social conditions would have deteriorated as a result of long-term economic decline. While the threat of such an intervention is also minimal, it is at least as plausible as the other threats which prompt defense preparations in Australia. Non-military defense preparations could be crucial in preventing or defeating such an internal coup attempt. Examples, historically, are the Generals' coup in Algeria in 1961 and the Kapp Putsch in Germany in 1920. Andrew Mack can be reached at The Flinders University, Bedford Park, South Australia 5042.

THAILAND

Work is more than halfway complete on a Thai translation of Gene Sharp's Power, Struggle, and Defense. The book is expected to be published by the summer of 1984.

YUGOSLAVIA

Between 60 and 70 people met in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia this past July at the Inter-University Center for Post-Graduate Studies to participate in a course on "Nonviolence: Meanings, Forms, and Uses". In the words of its organizers, Professor Ted Herman and Dr. Nigel Young, "the course was designed to offer a comprehensive view of non-violence based on writings, experiences, and several training sessions." Attenders came predominantly from North America and Europe (nearly half from the U.S.). Although Kenya, India, Pakistan and the Philippines were represented, it was a disappointment that more did not come from the crisis areas of the world.

Michael Randle gave a presentation on the work of the Alternative Defence Commission in England.

Gene Sharp stirred much discussion with his presentation on the technique approach to non-violent struggle as contrasted to many people's view that nonviolence must be practiced as a way of life.

Other speakers included Narayan Desai on Gandhi, Bernard Lafayette on Martin Luther King, Jr. and the civil rights struggle in the American South, Danilo Dolci on social regeneration in rural Sicily, and Lynne Jones on the women's encampment at Greenham Common Air Force Base in England. Mary Link led a workshop on Imaging a World Without Weapons; June Hare gave a demonstration on the use of role-playing and psychodrama. And Harcourt Klinefelter organized a series of non-violence training sessions. The presentation of a set of papers by one attender, Prof. Kenneth Smal, on "Deterrence by a Reciprocal Hostage Exchange" was very well received.

The "course" was very informal, and, in fact, became more of a conference as attenders and resource people alike realized that all had something to share and learn.

The papers which were presented and the tapes which were made of many of the presentations have been collected and a book may be written. For information about possible publications and future conferences contact Prof. Ted Herman, Cornwall Manor, Cornwall, PA 17016, U.S.A.

UNITED STATES

The Association for Transarmament Studies continues to grow steadily. There are currently over 400 members and subscribers. Board members made the decision recently, to proceed with publication of a 96 page booklet by Gene Sharp, to be entitled, National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense. Details about cost and ordering will be published in the next issue of this newsletter. The Association has also completed a listing of some 20 speakers who are available to make presentations relating to civilian-based defense. All are in the United States. Send 40¢ postage with request for the list.

Gene Sharp completed a very successful eight day speaking tour on the West Coast during November, visiting Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz, Berkeley, and San Jose. Attendance at each event was between 200 and 500 people. He has also in recent months spoken to the Pax Christi conference in St. Paul, Minnesota, a Catholic conference in St. Louis, Missouri, a conference at West Virginia University, a presentation before the national meeting of the Campaign for Human Development in Washington, and other speaking engagements at West Virginia Wesleyan College and Colgate University.

Presentations have been made by other A.T.S. members also. Mel Beckman made a presentation on "Transarmament" at the F.O.R. Regional Meeting at Camp Frontenac in Minnesota on Oct. 1st. Christopher Kruegler conducted a workshop in October at the Pax Christi National Assembly in Cincinnati, and, more recently, talked at a meeting of Canadian peace researchers in Toronto. Richard K. Taylor spoke at the College of St. Teresa in Winona, Minnesota in September. Bob Irwin gave a presentation lately to the Boston College radio station.

The Resource Center for Nonviolence in Santa Cruz, California is in the midst of an ISTNA seminar. Contact the Resource Center, P.O. Box 2324, Santa Cruz, CA 95063 for information.

"Making Europe Unconquerable", the pamphlet originally to be published by the World Policy Institute, has grown into a book and will be published simultaneously in London and New York by Taylor and Francis, Ltd. sometime early this Spring.

Harvard's Program on Nonviolent Sanctions has sponsored four seminars for students and faculty. The first, by Gene Sharp, Robert Irwin and Christopher Kruegler, was an introductory talk titled "The Technique Approach to Nonviolent Struggle". Michael Randle of the British Alternative Defence Commission gave a report on the Commission for the second seminar. The third seminar was a presentation by Christine Clamp on "The 1944 Nonviolent Revolution in Guatemala". The fourth and final seminar of 1983 was a discussion led by Dr. Jan Zielonka, formerly of the Institute of Political Science at the University of Warsaw, on "Poland After Martial Law: Is the Hungarian Model an Option?". The seminars have been well attended and will be continued.

"Transarmament Network" sets up CBD study groups in Philadelphia and shows the "Alternatives to Violence" video program. Contact Herb Ettel, at 215-729-4663, for more information.

For information about a new videotape on alternative defense, based on Gene Sharp's lecture at the Whittier Institute, Whittier College, in California in June, 1983, write to: Educational Film and Video Project, 1725 Seabright Ave., Suite B, Santa Cruz, CA 95062.

As part of "Quest for Peace", a Washington

Commission for the Humanities funded series of radio documentaries and humanities lectures in Seattle, WA, "Alternatives to War" were addressed by a panel including Julia Kittross, ATS Board Member. Civilian-based defense was one such alternative discussed at this public lecture which concluded the "Quest for Peace" project.

The current issue of "The New Yorker" magazine contains a section on Gene Sharp in "Talk of the Town". The March-April issue of "Discovery", an insert in "Harvard" magazine, carried an article by Robert H. Holmes entitled "The Sleep of Reason Brings Forth Monsters". It includes a discussion of social defense.

The Stanley Foundation recently released a thirty-minute interview with Gene Sharp to the 103 stations which regularly broadcast its "Common Ground" programs. Cassettes of the tape, "A Modern Alternative to War?" (Tape #8324) are available for \$5.00 from the Stanley Foundation, 420 East Third St., Muscatine, Iowa 52761.

HOW YOU CAN HELP . . .

Have this issue of the A.T.S. newsletter delivered to key people in your city or state. Send us as many names and addresses as you wish, by Jan. 15th and we will include them in an upcoming bulk-mailing. A donation of 15¢ per name will help us meet costs. If possible, have the names and addresses typed on ready-to-use mailing labels.

NEWS RELEASE... HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Nov. 3, 1983

A new program to explore the potential of non-violent forms of struggle in settling conflicts and forming defense was recently established by the Center for International Affairs (CFIA) at Harvard University.

As the first of its kind in the world, the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions will include research and policy studies on the nature of nonviolent sanctions and their potential to resolve the problems of dictatorship, genocide, social oppression and war.

"Our purpose is to learn how and to what degree nonviolent sanctions can serve as effective alternatives to violent ones," said Program Director Gene Sharp, an Associate of the CFIA and Professor of Political Science and Sociology at

Southeastern Massachusetts University. "Despite the frequent perception of nonviolent leaders as noble but naive souls, there is much evidence that this type of struggle has wielded effective power in highly dangerous situations."

Although violent forms of struggle, such as military tactics, have been examined in depth, nonviolent sanctions have been largely neglected by scholars and policy analysts, Sharp pointed out.

Examples of such struggles include the Solidarity movement in Poland, anti-Nazi resistance in Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands in World War II, and the Czechoslovak resistance in 1968-69. The forms of nonviolent action that will be studied in the program include symbolic protest, social and economic boycotts, strikes, and organized political non-cooperation and disruption.

The focus of the program is twofold, Sharp said. "It will investigate the nature of nonviolent sanctions--social, economic, psychological, and political--and explore the policy potentials these sanctions might have in refined and developed forms.

Funded by private contributions and grants, the new program is sponsoring bimonthly seminars on nonviolent sanctions. Workshops and conferences on special problem areas may also be scheduled. The program has also lined up more than 30 projects for future research. They include: an historical annotated bibliography of nonviolent sanctions, a book on the 1944 El Salvador nonviolent insurrection, a dictionary entitled The Vocabulary of Civilian Struggle, and preparation of recommended courses, educational resources, and faculty training programs concerning nonviolent struggles.

"When Harvard takes on an innovation of this kind, it gets noticed," said Thomas C. Schelling, Littauer Professor of Political Economics, who brought Sharp to Harvard. "The establishment of this program is to some extent a formal recognition that this is a legitimate field of study."

Sharp is the author of several books and pamphlets on the study of nonviolent sanctions. Other program personnel will include researchers, analysts, visiting scholars, post-doctoral fellows, student aides, and interns. In addition, social scientists, historians, military officers, and nonviolent practitioners will be called in for special projects.

Although no courses or degrees are offered through the program, the results of the research and policy projects may be published.

Sharp's upcoming book, Making Europe Unconquerable, will be the first publication produced by the program. It examines the potential of organized nonviolent defiance in deterring invasions of Western Europe. Christopher Kruegler, Program Fellow, is writing a book on nonviolent practices since World War II, and Ronald McCarthy, professor at Merrimac College, is continuing research on nonviolent sanctions during the American Revolution.

Introduction . . .

With the creation of the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions at Harvard has come the often-asked question "What are nonviolent sanctions?" I have drawn primarily from Gene Sharp's definition in his yet-to-be-published Vocabulary of Civilian Struggle to draft this response which readers might find helpful.

- PHILIP BOGDONOFF, Editor

NONVIOLENT SANCTIONS

A sanction is a punishment or reprisal for failure to behave in the expected or desired manner, or a coercive measure used to achieve a goal from an opponent in a conflict.

Although "sanction" may be used more specifically as a legal term, the phenomenon itself occurs in a wide variety of social relationships, such as the spanking of a disobedient child or the firing of a disobedient employee, as well as imprisonment for disobedience to State laws.

Sanctions are used by governments to supplement voluntary acceptance of their authority and to enforce obedience. Other types of sanctions may be applied by trade unionists seeking to enforce wage increases, by the citizenry against an established ruler or against a usurper attempting to seize control of the government, for example. Sanctions in domestic and international politics are usually a key element in political power.

The widespread practice of defining "sanction" also to include positive inducements and rewards to attain one's aim is not followed in our use of the word. Clear communication is not facilitated by simultaneous use of a single term to indicate opposite meanings. Instead, such words and phrases as "permission", "approval", "positive inducements for obedience", or "rewards for compliance", and the like may be used to indicate these other phenomena.

Most State sanctions involve the threat or actual use of violence. But nonviolent sanctions also exist.

Nonviolent sanctions are forms of action without physical violence which are intended to influence, apply leverage, achieve objectives, or apply punishment or reprisals by psychological, social, economic, or political means. Nonviolent sanctions include demonstrations, social boycotts, economic boycotts and embargoes, political noncooperation (including civil disobedience), and forms of nonviolent intervention (including sit-ins, hunger strikes, and parallel government).

Most violent sanctions are applied in fact basically as punishments for disobedience, and not primarily as a means to achieve the aim of the original command, as is often thought. But some violent sanctions and more often nonviolent sanctions may be used with the primary intent of achieving the original objective which an opponent has refused to grant or to accept. This is often true in the case of conventional war, strikes, political noncooperation, and the like.

Under appropriate conditions, the explicit or implicit threat of either violent or nonviolent sanctions may induce compliance with the command without implementation of the sanction.

A key element in the operation of nonviolent action against a repressive opponent is the refusal to capitulate or submit in spite of sanctions and unofficial reprisals.

The distinction between "nonviolent sanctions" and "nonviolent action" (as discussed in the March '83 issue) is mainly one of connotation. The term "sanctions" covers a wide variety of behaviors available to virtually any social group. Nonviolent action, on the other hand, is usually perceived as a technique used by resistance groups. Use of the term "sanctions" enables us to focus on activities which exist in society but are not usually recognized as part of the spectrum of methods available to those waging nonviolent conflict.

The purpose of the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions at Harvard is to learn whether, and if so to what degree, nonviolent sanctions may provide effective substitutes for violent ones in resolving the grave problems of dictatorship, war, genocide, and oppression which continue to confront us and threaten our future.

HOW YOU CAN HELP . . .

Help create a market for literature on civilian-based defense. Ask your group to buy and re-sell the relevant books, tapes and pamphlets. A.T.S. can supply a resource list containing prices and publishers information.

CONDITIONS FOR SOCIAL DEFENSE TO BE A PRACTICABLE DEFENSE POSTURE

The following ten conditions have been developed by Dr. Alex P. Schmid, Senior Research Fellow, Centre for the Study of Social Conflicts, State Univ. of Leiden, Hooigracht 15, 2312 KM Leiden, The Netherlands. He invites comments and criticism and is willing, in a future issue of this newsletter, to systematize the comments, react to them and revise the conditions where necessary.

1) There must be a social carrier who is acquainted with the basic principles of nonviolent resistance and is prepared to apply them. Whether his resistance is nonviolent out of principle or out of pragmatic considerations (absence of weapons, imbalance of armed forces, etc.) is less important than discipline, training, preparation and organization.

2) The social unit to be defended nonviolently must have a certain independence with regard to resources and skills necessary for a defence effort.

3) The social unit to be defended must have, and be able to maintain against countermeasures, an adequate ability to communicate within its own ranks, with third parties, and with the social basis of the attacker.

4) A tradition of free democratic activity with spread political power and an informed and politically conscious population will add to the general will and ability to offer resistance.

5) The social unit to be defended has to have (had) a political system whose perceived legitimacy is greater to the majority of the population than the one imported by the attacker.

6) The social unit to be defended must be able to maintain (or obtain) a high degree of social cohesion in relation to the attacker.

7) A situation of dependence of the attacker on the defending social unit must (be made to)

exist. Where such an economic, political-administrative or social dependence is lacking, such a dependence must at least exist with an ally on whom the social defending unit can count.

8) The social unit to be defended must have (or create) opportunities for interactions (also informal ones) with the adversary on the level of individuals.

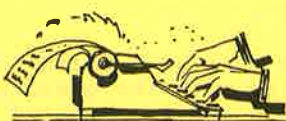
9) The defending social unit must have some legitimate status in either public opinion, with foreign governments, or with the attacker.

10) The chief adversary of the nonviolent resistance--or at least those in his surrounding capable of influencing him - must be rational and not permanently fanatical or crazy.

or stun bullets). These weapons must be 1) able to repel attacks (not retaliate); 2) "designed to exert the minimum violence required to perform the task;" 3) designed specifically NOT to possess the capacity to be used for attack purposes." Sommer's time-line for the development of such "shields" is akin to traditional weaponry R + D time: at least 20 years.

After describing what he calls "the hardware" of national defense, Sommer then gives a good four page description of nonviolence and civilian-based defense, acknowledges its potential and its low profile among defense planners. The author describes the difference between his idea of "shields" and nonviolent strategies of defense by claiming that while the former "repels attack", the latter only "resists occupation." To strengthen both strategies Sommer suggests the blending of the two.

A REVIEW



BEATING OUR SWORDS INTO SHIELDS: FORGING A PRESERVATIVE DEFENSE

BY MARK SOMMER

Sommer correctly recognizes the problem: the choice should not be "limited to attack or surrender; to kill or be killed." His concept is imaginative and thoughtful. However, Sommer acknowledges that he is "not a weapons designer," and "can't say what is technically possible." Nuclear weapons are uncomfortably dealt with by classifying them as the "catch-22" of any defensive weapons proposal; that we must choose NOT to shield ourselves from them, since no complete defense is possible. While Sommer outlines some of the necessary components of how a defense system could be implemented (initiatives, essential verification measures, careful reductions, agreements reached on resolving international conflict through law, etc.), he again admits he doesn't know how to begin this transformation. These apparent "weaknesses," however, are perhaps also the essay's strengths.

"Beating Our Swords Into Shields" is a 25 page pamphlet which outlines an interesting idea; that we should develop and implement a defense system that is only what that name implies--a DEFENSE system. By uniting "unconventional military strategies designed solely to repel attack with a broad range of nonviolent and nonmilitary strategies," the author hopes to point the way out of our present shaky and unsafe system of deterrence to a safer world. In other words, a "good offense is (not) the best defense."

By conceiving of and elaborating on an alternative defense, Sommer has added to the small field which this newsletter tries to cover. Whether such weaponry is possible; whether nonviolence and defensive military weaponry can be "mixed;" whether the political situation of the world would ever allow such a system to be instituted; "Beating Our Swords Into Shields" has asked many of the right questions.

Sommer spends a good deal of time describing why we cling to the military strategies that have been in use until now, and outlines the purposes for which we've maintained those strategies. He then asks some probing questions concerning what it is that a people actually wish to defend, and makes some suggestions about how we may be able to do so through "defensive weaponry."

By admitting ignorance in certain areas, the author has also invited criticism and investigation. This combination: an alternative concept; pertinent questions and areas for needed study, and an invitation for others to consider the proposal is what makes this pamphlet a welcome addition to our discussion.

"Defensive weaponry" are those weapons "capable of repelling an attack, but NOT of initiating one." Under this definition, Sommer includes: the anti-aircraft gun and the ancient fortress and moat as examples, while pointing out that a re-definition of defense would require the development of new weaponry (or "shields", such as "sleeping gas"

Single copies of "Beating Our Swords Into Shields" are \$2.00, from Center for a Preservative Defense, P.O. Box 648, Miranda, CA, U.S.A.

A SEARCH FOR RESEARCH

"Violence--Or Agressive Nonviolent Resistance?", a 30 page pamphlet by Phillips P. Moulton, is available from Pendle Hill Publications, Wallingford, PA 19086, for \$2.10 including postage. The pamphlet "...explores the nature, causes, possible benefits and disadvantages of violence. It then suggests ways to minimize violence by removing its causes. Agressive nonviolent resistance is then presented as an alternative to violence. The remainder of the pamphlet is devoted to the ethical bases of nonviolent resistance, to its practical effectiveness, and to a bibliography."

"The Nonviolent Perspective: Its Potential Contribution for Political Analysis and Understanding", a 13 page paper by Leonard Gambrell, is available from the author, Associate Professor, Dept. of Political Science, Univ. of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, Eau Claire, WI 54701. This paper "...is especially concerned with the issue of how a different perspective on power, (one which integrates a nonviolent perspective into the mainstream study of political science), might effect (the field's) analysis and methods."

"Nonmilitary Defense Against Nuclear Threateners and Attackers," a 7 page position paper by Richard Wendell Fogg. Write the author, Center for the Study of Conflict, 1841 Hillside Rd., Stevenson, MD, 21153, for information. This proposal "considers direct effects on nuclear agressors (by CBD)...The basic question behind this search for effects is Roger Fisher's..."What do we want the other side to do?...The proposal given here

rests on a number of assumptions that are different from those of nearly all peace movement members:...that immediate massive retaliation after a nuclear attack is not inevitable; that a limited nuclear attack need not escalate...and that an alternative, nonmilitary defense against nuclear threateners...is needed."

If you have written on some aspect of nonviolent action, please send us:

- 1) title of the paper, thesis or article.
 - 2) a short (one paragraph) annotation.
 - 3) information on cost for copying or printed copies and where the paper can be obtained.
 - 4) and when possible, a copy of the paper.
- We will then share this information with our readers.

Also received recently, two papers by Prof. Gene Keyes, Canada. More about them in the next issue.

Inclusion in this "Search for Research" column does not imply endorsement or agreement with the conclusions of the articles by the ATS or any of the CBD News-Opinion editors.

HOW YOU CAN HELP ...

Help initiate a study group or investigative committee on civilian-based defense within an existing group. Consider using one of the available audio or video tapes as a first means of exposing new audiences to the idea.

1984 May the New Year bring New Peace...



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